

Quantifying national responsibility for climate breakdown: an equality-based attribution for carbon dioxide emissions in excess of the planetary boundary (Jason Hickel) **P. 10**

Cultural Marxism and MAGA McCarthyism (The Editors of Monthly Review) **P. 11**

The United Nations on Palestine (The Editors of Monthly Review) **P. 11**

Reducing human numbers and the size of our economies is necessary to avoid a mass extinction and share Earth justly with other species (Philip Cafaro) **P. 12**

Nature-Based Solutions for Conservation and Food Sovereignty in Indigenous Communities of Oaxaca (Marco Acevedo Ortiz et al) **P. 12**

The Early Socio-ecological Dimensions of Tricontinental (1967–1971): A Sovereign Social Metabolism for the Third World (Alberto García Molinero and Alejandro Pedregal) **P. 12**

What Adaptation Reveals About Global Climate Governance (Seden Anlar) **P. 13**

"The first necessity is not to lose one's life in working to satisfy unlimited desires" (Gaspar D'Allens) **P. 13**

Marxist Ecology in China: From Marx's Ecology to Socialist Eco-Civilisation Theory (Chen Yiwen) **P. 13**

"If you don't commit to degrowth, you will experience impoverishment." (Diego Delgado) **P. 13**

Some Preliminary Theses on the Concept of Eco-Civilisation (John Bellamy Foster) **P. 14**

Engels for Our Times: Gender, Social Reproduction, and Revolution? (Marnie Holborow) **P. 14**

China is overtaking the West in electric vehicles (Pawel Wargan) **P. 14**

The role of climate change in the catastrophic 2025 Los Angeles fires (Jeff Masters and Bob Henson) **P. 15**

A Final Thought **P. 15**

VALUE TRANSFER AND LABOUR ARBITRAGE BASED ON UNEQUAL EXCHANGE: THE CASE OF MEXICO – UNITED STATES — Mateo Crossa Neill and Álvaro de Regil Castilla



Value Transfer and Labour Arbitrage Based on Unequal Exchange: The Case of Mexico–USA

Mateo Crossa Neill – Álvaro de Regil Castilla

Abstract

Unequal exchange is a key concept in Marxist critiques of the capitalist global system, proposing that uneven development between the global core and periphery is driven by the core's retention of a substantial portion of value produced in the periphery. This occurs by establishing average global profit rates and international market prices across the global market despite stark wage disparities. Today, global trade inequality and value transfers largely stem from multinational corporations relocating production to periphery countries, where similar productivity levels are achieved, but wage disparities only grow. These terms of trade underscore the supremacy of the law of capitalist accumulation over a monopoly driven global economic order. Mexico's export manufacturing sector illustrates this pattern, with productivity levels comparable to those in the United States yet a widening wage gap. This study highlights that wage disparities are crucial for monopoly capital accumulation, resulting in diminished wages and precarious social conditions in Mexico, with a labour value drainage of \$135 billion dollars in 2023, representing 7.5% of its GDP.

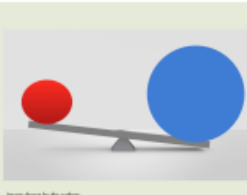


Image drawn by the authors

Introduction

Unequal exchange is a foundational concept in Marxist critiques of the global capitalist system. It posits that the uneven development between the global core and periphery arises because the core countries capture a disproportionate share of the value generated in peripheral regions. This dynamic operates through mechanisms such as establishing average

trade underscore the supremacy of the law of capitalist accumulation over a monopoly driven global economic order. Mexico's export manufacturing sector illustrates this pattern, with productivity levels comparable to those in the United States yet a widening wage gap. This study highlights that wage disparities are crucial for monopoly capital accumulation, resulting in diminished wages and precarious social conditions in Mexico, with a labour value drainage of \$135 billion dollars in 2023, representing 7.5% of its GDP.

Download the full document here!

POST-GROWTH: THE SCIENCE OF WELLBEING WITHIN PLANETARY BOUNDARIES — Giorgos Kallis et al

There are increasing concerns that continued economic growth in high-income countries might not be environmentally sustainable, socially beneficial, or economically achievable. In this Review, we explore the rapidly advancing field of post-growth research, which has evolved in response to these concerns. The central idea of post-growth is to replace the goal of increasing GDP with the goal of improving human wellbeing within planetary boundaries. Key advances discussed in this Review include: the development of ecological macroeconomic models that test policies for managing without growth; understanding and reducing the growth dependencies that tie social welfare to increasing GDP in the current economy; and characterising the policies and provisioning systems that would allow resource use to be reduced while improving human wellbeing. Despite recent advances in post-growth research, important questions remain, such as the politics of transition, and transformations in the relationship between the Global North and the Global South.

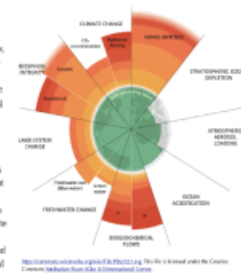


Post-growth: the science of wellbeing within planetary boundaries

Giorgos Kallis, Jason Hickel, Daniel W O'Neill, Tim Jackson, Peter A Victor, Kate Raworth, Juliet B Schor, Julia K Steinberger, Diana Ürge-Vorsatz

Summary

There are increasing concerns that continued economic growth in high-income countries might not be environmentally sustainable, socially beneficial, or economically achievable. In this Review, we explore the rapidly advancing field of post-growth research, which has evolved in response to these concerns. The central idea of post-growth is to replace the goal of increasing GDP with the goal of improving human wellbeing within planetary boundaries. Key advances discussed in this Review include: the development of ecological macroeconomic models that test policies for managing without growth; understanding and reducing the growth dependencies that tie social welfare to increasing GDP in the current economy; and characterising the policies and provisioning systems that would allow resource use to be reduced while improving human wellbeing. Despite recent advances in post-growth research, important questions remain, such as the politics of transition, and transformations in the relationship between the Global North and the Global South.



DOI:10.1017/S0022278X23000000

Download the full document here!

SUSTAINABILITY TRANSITIONS IN CONSUMPTION-PRODUCTION SYSTEMS – Frank W. Geels, Florian Kern and William C. Clark

The need for faster and deeper transitions toward more sustainable development pathways is now widely recognised. How to meet that need has been at the center of a growing body of academic research and real-world policy implementation. This paper presents our perspective on some of the most powerful insights that have emerged from this ongoing work. In particular, we highlight insights on how sustainability transitions can be usefully



Sustainability transitions in consumption-production systems

Frank W. Geels, Florian Kern and William C. Clark

Abstract

The need for faster and deeper transitions toward more sustainable development pathways is now widely recognized. How to meet that need has been at the center of a growing body of academic research and real-world policy implementation. This paper presents our perspective on some of the most powerful insights that have emerged from this ongoing work. In particular, we highlight insights on how sustainability transitions can be usefully conceptualised, how they come about and evolve, and how they can be shaped and guided through deliberate policy interventions. Throughout the paper, we also highlight some of the many how questions that remain unresolved and on which progress would be especially helpful for the pursuit of sustainable development. Our approach to these “how” questions on sustainability transitions draws on two strands of solution-driven research and policy advice: one emerging from studies of how human societies interact with nature and the other emerging from studies of how those societies interact with their technologies. Consumption-production systems have been a focus of extensive work in both strands. To help build bridges between them, we recently brought together a cross-section of relevant scholars for a PNAS Special Feature on “Sustainability transitions in consumption-production systems.” Their contributions are summarised in a companion paper we have written to introduce the Special Feature [F. W. Geels, F. Kern, W. C. Clark, Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A. (2023)]. We draw on that work in the Perspective we present here as well as our reading of the relevant literatures.



Photo: iStockphoto.com/Geels

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch1

conceptualised, how they come about and evolve, and how they can be shaped and guided through deliberate policy interventions. Throughout the paper, we also highlight some of the many how questions that remain unresolved and on which progress would be especially helpful for the pursuit of sustainable development. Our approach to these “how” questions on sustainability transitions draws on two strands of solution-driven research and policy advice: one emerging from studies of how human societies interact with nature and the other emerging from studies of how those societies interact with their technologies. Consumption-production systems have been a focus of extensive work in both strands. To help build bridges between them, we recently brought together a cross-section of relevant scholars for a PNAS Special Feature on “Sustainability transitions in consumption-production systems.” Their contributions are summarised in a companion paper we have written to introduce the Special Feature [F. W. Geels, F. Kern, W. C. Clark, Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A. (2023)]. We draw on that work in the Perspective we present here as well as our reading of the relevant literatures.

[Download the full document here!](#)

IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON BIODIVERSITY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR NATURE-BASED SOLUTIONS – Cor A. Schipper, Titus W. Hielkema and Alexander Ziemba

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) provides regular scientific assessments on climate change, its implications, and potential future risks based on estimated energy matrixes and policy pathways. The aim

07/10/25



Impact of Climate Change on Biodiversity and Implications for Nature-Based Solutions

Cor A. Schipper, Titus W. Hielkema and Alexander Ziemba

Abstract

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) provides regular scientific assessments on climate change, its implications, and potential future risks based on estimated energy matrixes and policy pathways. The aim of this publication is to assess the risks climate change poses to biodiversity using projected IPCC climate scenarios for the period 2081–2100, combined with key species-sensitivity indicators and variables as a response to climate change projections. In doing so, we address how climate-change-driven pressures may affect biodiversity. Additionally, a novel causal relationship between extreme ambient temperature exposure levels and the corresponding effects on individual species, noted in this paper as the Upper Thermal-Tolerance Limit and Species Sensitivity Distribution (UTTL-SSD), provides a compelling explanation of how global warming affects biodiversity. Our study indicates that North American and Oceanian sites with humid continental and subtropical climates, respectively, are poised to realise temperature shifts that have been identified as potential key tipping-point triggers. Heat stress may significantly affect approximately 60–90% of mammals, 50% of birds, and 50% of amphibians in North American and Oceanian sites for durations ranging from 5 to 84 days per year from 2080. In the humid temperate oceanic climate of European sites, the climate conditions remain relatively stable; however, moderate cumulative effects on biodiversity have been identified, and additional biodiversity-assemblage threat profiles exist to represent these. Both the integration of IPCC-IUCN profiles and the UTTL-SSD response relationship for the species communities considered have resulted in the identification of the projected threats that climate pressures may impose under the considered IPCC scenarios, which would result in biodiversity degradation. The UTTL-SSD responses developed can be used to highlight potential breakdowns among trophic levels in food web structures, highlighting an additional critical element when addressing biodiversity and ecosystem concerns.



Photo: iStockphoto.com/Geels

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch2

of this publication is to assess the risks climate change poses to biodiversity using projected IPCC climate scenarios for the period 2081–2100, combined with key species-sensitivity indicators and variables as a response to climate change projections. In doing so, we address how climate-change-driven pressures may affect biodiversity. Additionally, a novel causal relationship between extreme ambient temperature exposure levels and the corresponding effects on individual species, noted in this paper as the Upper Thermal-Tolerance Limit and Species Sensitivity Distribution (UTTL-SSD), provides a compelling explanation of how global warming affects biodiversity. Our study indicates that North American and Oceanian sites with humid continental and subtropical climates, respectively, are poised to realise temperature shifts that have been identified as potential key tipping-point triggers.

Heat stress may significantly affect approximately 60–90% of mammals, 50% of birds, and 50% of amphibians in North American and Oceanian sites for durations ranging from 5 to 84 days per year from 2080. In the humid temperate oceanic climate of European sites, the climate conditions remain relatively stable; however, moderate cumulative effects on biodiversity have been identified, and additional biodiversity-assemblage threat profiles exist to represent these. Both the integration of IPCC-IUCN profiles and the UTTL-SSD response relationship for the species communities considered have resulted in the identification of the projected threats that climate pressures may impose under the considered IPCC scenarios, which would result in biodiversity degradation. The UTTL-SSD responses developed can be used to highlight potential breakdowns among trophic levels in food web structures, highlighting an additional

critical element when addressing biodiversity and ecosystem concerns.

[Download the full document here!](#)

AN ECOLOGICAL CIVILISATION WILL HAVE TO BE SOCIALIST — Ian Angus and Claudia Antunes



An Ecological Civilisation Will Have to Be Socialist

Ian Angus and Claudia Antunes

In this interview with Sumaúma, Ian Angus talks about the ideas set out in Facing the Anthropocene and explains the origin of his thought. The interview took place in late March 2024, shortly after the Sub-commission on Quaternary Stratigraphy, part of the International Union of Geological Sciences, rejected the proposal to formally endorse the idea that we are in a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene. The term, which derives from the Greek word *anthropos*, or human, is already broadly used by scientists and environmentalists to designate an era when human activities interfere directly with Earth's structure and speed up climate change.

Claudia Antunes: Many people have questioned the decision by the International Union of Geological Sciences' sub-commission not to endorse the idea that we have entered the Anthropocene. Could this decision lead support to climate change denial?

Ian Angus: You have to understand that this formal process took place within the geological organization, which has historically been very conservative. From the beginning of this discussion of the Anthropocene, many in the older generation of geologists have been hostile to the whole process. First, because the discussion did not start with geologists, so it came from outside. Second, this is a social and economic crisis, in addition to a natural crisis, and many opponents of the Anthropocene concept spent their whole lives working for oil companies or mining companies. Since that is what geologists mostly do, there is resistance to any change at all as well as to this particular proposal. In addition, political currents that are strongly opposed to social change influenced the process. So, it is not surprising this happened.

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch3

In this interview with Sumaúma, Ian Angus talks about the ideas set out in Facing the Anthropocene and explains the origin of his thought. The interview took place in late March 2024, shortly after the Sub-commission on Quaternary Stratigraphy, part of the International Union of Geological Sciences, rejected the proposal to formally endorse the idea that we are in a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene. The term, which derives from the Greek word *anthropos*, or human, is already broadly used by scientists and environmentalists to designate an era when human activities interfere directly with Earth's structure and speed up climate change.

[Download the full document here!](#)

HOW MUCH GROWTH IS REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE GOOD LIVES FOR ALL? INSIGHTS FROM NEEDS-BASED ANALYSIS — Jason Hickel / Dylan Sullivan

Some narratives in international development hold that ending poverty and achieving good lives for all will require every country to reach the levels of GDP per capita that currently characterise high-income countries. However, this would require increasing total global output and resource use several times over,

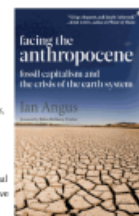


Photo: iStockphoto.com/Geels

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/9781119511111.ch4

DOI:10.1002/97811195

dramatically exacerbating ecological breakdown. Furthermore, universal convergence along these lines is unlikely within the imperialist structure of the existing world economy. Here we demonstrate that this dilemma can be resolved with a different approach, rooted in recent needs-based analyses of poverty and development. Strategies for development should not pursue capitalist growth and increased aggregate production as such, but should rather increase the specific forms of production that are necessary to improve capabilities and meet human needs at a high standard, while ensuring universal access to key goods and services through public provisioning and decommodification. At the same time, in high-income countries, less-necessary production should be scaled down to enable faster decarbonisation and to help bring resource use back within planetary boundaries. With this approach, good lives can be achieved for all without requiring large increases in total global throughput and output. Provisioning decent living standards (DLS) for 8.5 billion people would require only 30% of current global resource and energy use, leaving a substantial surplus for additional consumption, public luxury, scientific advancement, and other social investments. Such a future requires planning to provision public services, to deploy efficient technology, and to build sovereign industrial capacity in the global South.



How much growth is required to achieve good lives for all? Insights from needs-based analysis

Jason Hickel / Dylan Sullivan

Abstract

Some narratives in international development hold that ending poverty and achieving good lives for all will require every country to reach the levels of GDP per capita that currently characterise high-income countries. However, this would require increasing total global output and resource use several times over, dramatically exacerbating ecological breakdown. Furthermore, universal convergence along these lines is unlikely within the imperialist structure of the existing world economy. Here we demonstrate that this dilemma can be resolved with a different approach, rooted in recent needs-based analyses of poverty and development. Strategies for development should not pursue capitalist growth and increased aggregate production as such, but should rather increase the specific forms of production that are necessary to improve capabilities and meet human needs at a high standard, while ensuring universal access to key goods and services through public provisioning and decommodification. At the same time, in high-income countries, less-necessary production should be scaled down to enable faster decarbonisation and to help bring resource use back within planetary boundaries. With this approach, good lives can be achieved for all without requiring large increases in total global throughput and output. Provisioning decent living standards (DLS) for 8.5 billion people would require only 30% of current global resource and energy use, leaving a substantial surplus for additional consumption, public luxury, scientific advancement, and other social investments. Such a future requires planning to provision public services, to deploy efficient technology, and to build sovereign industrial capacity in the global South.



Photo by Dan Yellon on Unsplash

TSOA/Issue/SD 1022/19 September 2025, Hickel et al. Sullivan

[Download the full document here!](#)

ARGHIRI EMMANUEL AND UNEQUAL EXCHANGE: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE RELEVANCE — *Torkil Lauesen*

To paraphrase Mao Zedong: Where do ideas come from? Do they drop from the sky? No, they come from social practice, the struggle for

production, the class struggle, and scientific work. There is a close link between what goes on in the world, the project of classes and states, and theoretical and political debates. This is Arghiri Emmanuel's life story, of which his theory of unequal exchange is a prime example.



Arghiri Emmanuel and Unequal Exchange: Past, Present, and Future Relevance

Torkil Lauesen

To paraphrase Mao Zedong: Where do ideas come from? Do they drop from the sky? No, they come from social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle, and scientific work. There is a close link between what goes on in the world, the project of classes and states, and theoretical and political debates. This is Arghiri Emmanuel's life story, of which his theory of unequal exchange is a prime example.

A Man of the Twentieth Century

Born in 1911 and passing away in 2001, the course of Emmanuel's life and work reflects the twentieth century. However, this also sheds light on the political economy of the twenty-first century. Emmanuel's childhood in Patras, Greece, in the semiperiphery, if not the periphery, of the capitalist world-system, was characterised by interimperialist rivalry. Greece took part in the Balkan wars and was drawn into the First World War.



Saski Lauesen has been an anti-imperialist activist and writer since the late 1980s. He is a board member of the Arghiri Emmanuel Association, dedicated to the dissemination of the knowledge of Emmanuel's work. See the Arghiri Emmanuel Association, "this is a digital statement," [unequalexchange.org](#)

The world economic crisis of 1929 hit Greece severely, leading to mass emigration. Emmanuel studied economics and commerce in Athens from 1927 to 1932, later getting a job in a commerce firm. In Greece, as in the rest of Europe, fascism was on the rise. In 1936, Greek prime minister Ioannis Metaxas initiated a coup d'état and established a fascist, authoritarian regime. In 1937, in the midst of these events, Emmanuel's father died, and, as the eldest son, he became responsible for the well-being of his family. To raise money, Emmanuel, at 26 years old, decided to emigrate to the

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" in Mao Four Essays on Philosophy (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1963), 134.

[Download the full document here!](#)

GLOBAL SYNTHESIS AND REGIONAL INSIGHTS FOR MAINSTREAMING URBAN NATURE-BASED SOLUTIONS — *Timon McPhearson et al*



Global synthesis and regional insights for mainstreaming urban nature-based solutions

Timon McPhearson et al

Abstract

Nature-based solutions (NbS) have emerged as a key strategy for sustainably addressing multiple urban challenges, with rapidly increasing knowledge production requiring synthesis to better understand whether and how NbS work in different social, ecological, economic, or governance contexts. Insights in this Perspective are drawn from a thematic review of 61 NbS review articles supported by an expert assessment of NbS knowledge in seven global regions to examine key challenges, fill gaps in Global South assessment, and provide insights for scaling up NbS for impact in cities. Eight NbS challenges emerged from our review of NbS reviews including conceptual, thematic, geographic, ecological, inclusivity, health, governance, and systems challenges. An additional expert assessment reviewing literature and cases in seven global regions further revealed the following: 1) Local context-based ecological knowledge is essential for NbS success; 2) Improved technical knowledge is required for planning and designing NbS; 3) NbS need to be included in all levels of planning and governance; 4) Putting justice and equity at the center of urban NbS approaches is critical; and 5) Inclusive and participatory governance processes will be key to long-term success of NbS. We synthesised findings from the NbS review results and regional expert assessments to offer four critical pathways for scaling up NbS: 1) foster new NbS research, technological innovation, and learning; 2) build a global NbS alliance for sharing knowledge; 3) ensure a systems approach to NbS planning and implementation; and 4) increase financing and political will for diverse NbS implementation.



Photo by Bequits.Org on Unsplash

TSOA/Issue/SD 1022/19 September 2025, McPhearson et al

Nature-based solutions (NbS) have emerged as a key strategy for sustainably addressing multiple urban challenges, with rapidly increasing knowledge production requiring synthesis to better understand whether and how NbS work in different social, ecological, economic, or governance contexts. Insights in this Perspective are drawn from a thematic review of 61 NbS review articles supported by an expert assessment of NbS knowledge in seven global regions to examine key challenges, fill gaps in Global South assessment, and provide insights for scaling up NbS for impact in cities. Eight NbS challenges emerged from our review of NbS reviews including conceptual, thematic, geographic, ecological, inclusivity, health, governance, and systems challenges. An additional expert assessment reviewing literature and cases in seven global regions further revealed the following: 1) Local context-based ecological knowledge is essential for NbS success; 2) Improved technical knowledge is required for planning and designing NbS; 3) NbS need to be included in all levels of planning and governance; 4) Putting justice and equity at the center of urban NbS approaches is critical; and 5) Inclusive and participatory governance processes will be key to long-term success of NbS. We synthesised findings from the NbS review results and regional expert assessments to offer four critical pathways for scaling up NbS: 1) foster new NbS research, technological innovation, and learning; 2) build a global NbS alliance for sharing knowledge; 3) ensure a systems approach to NbS planning and implementation; and 4) increase financing and political will for diverse NbS implementation.

[Download the full document here!](#)

THE MAGA IDEOLOGY AND THE TRUMP REGIME — *John Bellamy Foster*

One week after the January 20, 2025, inauguration of Donald Trump in his second stint as U.S. president, Matthew J. Vaeth, acting director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), issued a memorandum to federal departments and agencies ordering a temporary pause of agency, grant and loan, and financial assistance spending throughout the federal government. This was the opening shot in what the right has called the "Cold Civil War." The order for a general freeze on federal civilian spending was most likely written by the incoming 2025 OMB director, Russell Vought, then awaiting confirmation by Congress. For Vought "the stark reality in America is that we are in the late stages of a complete Marxist takeover of the country" and that these enemies "already hold the weapons of the government apparatus," which "they have aimed...at us." Vought headed the OMB during the first Trump administration and was a key architect of Project 2025, the plan for the transition to a new absolutist executive, issued in 2022 by the right-wing Heritage Foundation. He wrote the

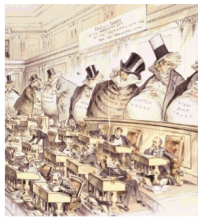
chapter on the “Executive Office of the President of the United States” for Project 2025 and founded the Center for Renewing America, an active branch of Project 2025, which was charged with writing hundreds of executive orders in advance to be implemented immediately on the re-ascendance of Trump to the White House. Project 2025 included plans to close down whole federal departments, massively cut the federal work force, and drastically reduce federal expenditures, forcing states, local governments, universities, and the media to fall in line with the Trump regime’s dictates.



The MAGA Ideology and the Trump Regime

John Bellamy Foster

One week after the January 20, 2025, inauguration of Donald Trump in his second stint as U.S. president, Matthew J. Vaeth, acting director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), issued a memorandum to federal departments and agencies ordering a temporary pause of agency, grant and loan, and financial assistance spending throughout the federal government. This was the opening shot in what the right has called the “Cold Civil War.” The order for a general freeze on federal civilian spending was most likely written by the incoming 2025 OMB director, Russell Vought, then awaiting confirmation by Congress. For Vought “the stark reality in America is that we are in the late stages of a complete Marxist takeover of the country” and that these enemies “already hold the weapons of the government apparatus,” which “they have aimed...at us.” Vought headed the OMB during the first Trump administration and was a key architect of Project 2025, the plan for the transition to a new absolutist executive, issued in 2022 by the right-wing Heritage Foundation.¹ He wrote the chapter on the “Executive Office of the President of the United States” for Project 2025 and founded the Center for Renewing America, an active branch of Project 2025, which was charged with writing hundreds of executive orders in advance to be implemented immediately on the re-ascendance of Trump to the White House. Project 2025 included plans to close down whole federal departments, massively cut the federal work force, and drastically reduce federal expenditures, forcing states, local governments, universities, and the media to fall in line with the Trump regime’s dictates.²



“The Bosses of the Senate” by Joseph Keppler, originally published in Puck magazine, January 1889. Image via Library of Congress.

¹ + Matthew J. Vaeth, “Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies/Subject: Temporary Pause of Agency, Grant, Loan, and Other Financial Assistance Programs,” Office of Management and Budget, Executive Order of the President, January 27, 2025; Tavis Svoboda, “Bosch: A Managerial Trump Order Flagged as ‘Mass Firing’ by Ex-Officials,” *Raw Story*, January 28, 2025; Charles R. Kesler, “America’s Cold Civil War,” *Impress* 47, no. 10 (October 2018).
² + Vought quoted in Thomas R. Edsall, “Trump’s Thomas Corcoran,” *Washington Post*, February 4, 2025.
³ + For a leading MAGA proponent of “Christianism” as constituting the inner ethos of the Trump regime, see Michael Anton, *The Gates of Hell: The United States at the Point of No Return* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2020), 401–18.
⁴ + See, e.g., “Executive Order Project 2025 Co-Author as Trump Budget Chief,” BBC, February 6, 2023; Curt Driener, Casey Nolan, Audrey Ash, and Kyung Loh, “Hidden Camera Video Shows Project 2025 Co-Author Discussing His Secret Work Preparing for a Second Trump Term,” *CNN*, August 15, 2024; Michael Sauter and Ben Olshansky, “Project 2025 Would Destroy the U.S. System of Checks and Balances and Create an Imperial Presidency,” *Center for American Progress*, October 1, 2024.

TSCA/ISSN 0022-0818/2025/8/10

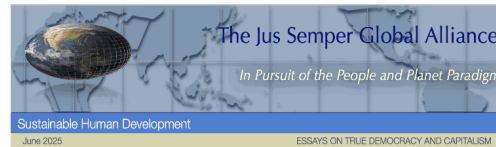
The current mobilisation of the lower-middle class by the right wing of monopoly capital, particularly, the tech, finance, and oil interests, is initially aimed at dismantling the present “administrative state,” replacing it with one more conducive to a neofascist project. Nevertheless, in the process, a widening political gap is already opening up between the billionaire rulers above and their MAGA army below, between different elements within the evangelical movement, and among those supporting a political dictatorship and those wishing to retain liberal-democratic constitutional forms.

In line with all movements in the fascist genus, the current regime will inevitably betray its mass MAGA supporters on the radical right, seeking to relegate them to a more and more subservient and regimented role and negating any policies in fundamental conflict with its capitalist-imperial ends. Nevertheless, a mass of think tanks and influencers has arisen that seek to rationalise the irrational, building on those ideological elements that appeal to a white lower-middle class, but ultimately serving the needs of the billionaire capitalist class. Understanding the basis of this new irrationalism and the forms of class rule

associated with it is crucial in the counter-hegemonic struggle for a democratic, egalitarian, and sustainable—and thus socialist—future for humanity as a whole.

Download the full document here!

COMMUNICATING WITH POLICY MAKERS ABOUT CLIMATE CHANGE, HEALTH, AND THEIR INTERSECTION: A SCOPING REVIEW — Joshua Ettinger et al



Communicating with policy makers about climate change, health, and their intersection: a scoping review

Joshua Ettinger, Julia Fine, Kathryn Thier, Nicholas Badullovich, John Kotcher, Edward Maibach

Summary

Ambitious policies are urgently needed to protect human health from the impacts of climate change. Civil society, including researchers and advocates, can help advance such policies by communicating with policy makers. In this scoping review, we examined what is known about effectively communicating with policy makers to encourage them to act on public health, climate change, or their nexus. We analysed 139 studies published in the literature on health, climate, and their intersection that focused on strategies for communicating with policy makers. Among many other recommendations, the most frequently recommended communication strategies were to tailor messaging to target audiences; share accessible, concise, and timely evidence; and build coalitions and trusted relationships. The studies were largely about health communication to policy makers, were predominantly based in high-income countries, and most frequently used case studies, interviews, and surveys as methods. Further experimental research is needed to test the findings generated by non-experimental methods. Additionally, future research should seek to generate and test communication strategies in more low-income and middle-income countries. Based on this literature, we



Photo by Mathias Seale in Unsplash

TSCA/ISSN 0022-0818/2025/8/10 Ettinger et al

Ambitious policies are urgently needed to protect human health from the impacts of climate change. Civil society, including researchers and advocates, can help advance such policies by communicating with policy makers. In this scoping review, we examined what is known about effectively communicating with policy makers to encourage them to act on public health, climate change, or their nexus. We analysed 139 studies published in the literature on health, climate, and their intersection that focused on strategies for communicating with policy makers. Among many other recommendations, the most frequently recommended communication strategies were to tailor messaging to target audiences; share accessible, concise, and timely evidence; and build coalitions and trusted relationships. The studies were largely about health communication to policy makers, were predominantly based in high-income countries, and most frequently used case studies, interviews, and surveys as methods. Further experimental research is needed to test the findings generated by non-experimental methods. Additionally, future research should seek to generate and test communication strategies in more low-income and middle-income countries. Based on this literature, we have produced a list of strategic questions that

communicators might wish to consider as they prepare to communicate with policy makers.

Download the full document here!

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE CLIMATE CRISIS — Wilhelm Hansberg and Ornela De Gasperin Quintero



The responsibility of the military-industrial complex in the climate crisis

Wilhelm Hansberg and Ornela De Gasperin Quintero

Climate change is a threat to the survival of humanity and of many other species. The more greenhouse gases are released into the atmosphere, the hotter the planet becomes; the hotter it gets, and the more likely we are to reach tipping points in the planet's climate and biological systems. In other words, the alteration in a climate or biological system reaches a threshold beyond which change accelerates and becomes irreversible. This could happen with the melting of the ice caps like the Greenland and West Antarctica Ice Sheet. The Amazon rainforest has been losing moisture and may reach a point where it can no longer sustain itself, turning into a savannah. Global ocean circulation currents like the Atlantic Meridional Overturning Circulation (AMOC) have slowed down and may one day cease altogether. That is why the report on tipping points published in 2023 and signed by 200 scientists from 90 research centres concluded that “Harmful tipping points in the natural world threaten humanity by disrupting life support systems and societal stability. The effects of tipping points will be transmitted and amplified throughout our globalised world. To mitigate these risks, we should focus on positive tipping points—opportunities where beneficial changes become self-sustaining. History shows rapid societal shifts are possible.”



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Pentagon_January_2008.jpg - David R. Cameron from Chicago, IL, CC BY-SA 2.0 - <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:us2.jpg> - No Wikimedia Commons

TSCA/Commentary/ISSN 0022-0818/2025/8/10 Hansberg, O. De Gasperin

Climate change is a threat to the survival of humanity and of many other species. The more greenhouse gases are released into the atmosphere, the hotter the planet becomes; the hotter it gets, and the more likely we are to reach tipping points in the planet's climate and biological systems. In other words, the alteration in a climate or biological system reaches a threshold beyond which change accelerates and becomes irreversible. One of the most polluting economic sectors is the armed forces. For decades, we knew little about their pollution because the United States pushed for military activity to be exempted from the 1997 Kyoto Protocol (which was the US never ratified). During the 2015 Paris negotiations, this exemption for the military was removed, but reporting is “optional”. Statements on the energy consumption of military activities, in almost all countries, are minimal and unspecific. But we now know that the environmental impact of the military-industrial complex is enormous.

Download the full document here!

THE DIALECTICS OF ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CIVILISATION — *Chen Yiwen*



The Dialectics of Ecology and Ecological Civilisation

Chen Yiwen

The materialist dialectics pioneered by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels remains a crucial method for understanding modern issues, including environmental problems. As early as the 1970s, Howard Parsons observed, “Marx and Engels laid down the basic outline and method of dialectical knowledge, but by its very definition such knowledge must be continuously informed and brought up to date, so that it can become relevant and useful with regard to the life-and-death issues that men face anew day after day.” The foundation of dialectics lies in real human beings and the history they have created—both natural and human history—and, thus, dialectics will acquire new forms as human life evolves.

The natural and physical world we inhabit today has experienced profound transformations. According to a widely recognised concept, we have entered the Anthropocene Epoch.¹ In this phase, humanity has become the dominant force driving the development of Earth’s systems, triggering what is referred to as the “anthropogenic rift” in Earth’s history. This rift primarily is characterised by the “Great Acceleration” of global environmental changes and the breaching of planetary boundaries. Furthermore, these ecological crises are closely related to issues of social injustice. The book *Global Change and the*



China Ecological Civilization display from COP15, December 6, 2022. Image credit: LLS/Educators.

¹ + Howard I. Parsons, Marx and Engels on Ecology (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 29.
² + Ian Angus, *Facing the Anthropocene: Social Capitalism and the Crisis of the Earth System* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2016).

³ + + Chae Hanchun and Jacques Griseud, “Was the Anthropocene Anticipated?” *Anthropocene Review* 2, no. 1 (April 2015): 59–72; John Bellamy Foster, Brett Clark, and Richard York, *The Ecological Rift: Capitalism’s War on the Earth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2010).

The materialist dialectics pioneered by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels remains a crucial method for understanding modern issues, including environmental problems. As early as the 1970s, Howard Parsons observed, “Marx and Engels laid down the basic outline and method of dialectical knowledge, but by its very definition such knowledge must be continuously informed and brought up to date, so that it can become relevant and useful with regard to the life-and-death issues that men face anew day after day.” The foundation of dialectics lies in real human beings and the history they have created—both natural and human history—and, thus, dialectics will acquire new forms as human life evolves.

The natural and physical world we inhabit today has experienced profound transformations. According to a widely recognised concept, we have entered the Anthropocene Epoch. In this phase, humanity has become the dominant force driving the development of Earth’s systems, triggering what is referred to as the “anthropogenic rift” in Earth’s history. This rift primarily is characterised by the “Great Acceleration” of global environmental changes and the breaching of planetary boundaries. Furthermore, these ecological crises are closely related to issues of social injustice. The book *Global Change and the Earth System*, written by a number of respected scientists, notes: “In a world in which the disparity between the wealthy and the poor, both within and between countries, is growing, equity issues are important in any consideration of global environmental management.” Moreover, it is crucial to note that this systemic crisis has not directly led to a transformation of

society toward sustainability. On the contrary, it has been co-opted by neoliberalism, exacerbating the crisis.

According to the neoliberal perspective, the finite and contingent nature of the earth gives rise to the problem of how to allocate and conserve natural resources effectively. In this context, the privatisation and marketisation of natural resources are seen as the most efficient means of managing the planet. Consequently, the Anthropocene crisis has not been recognised by capitalism as a fundamental challenge; instead, it has become a new opportunity for capitalism to green itself and expand. Therefore, we urgently need to revive Marxist dialectics and develop the dialectics of ecology that is relevant to contemporary issues in order to analyse the Anthropocene crisis through the lens of dialectical materialism. This means that it is essential to engage in an ecological critique of capitalism, advance a socio-ecological revolution, and ultimately move toward

Download the full document here!

MATERIALISING THE REVOLUTION: THE MOVEMENT TOWARD ECOSOCIALISM — *John Bellamy Foster and Álvaro de Regil Castilla — an interview*



Materialising the Revolution: The Movement Toward Ecosocialism

John Bellamy Foster and Álvaro de Regil Castilla

Thank you for taking the time to do this interview. In my work on social justice, for many years I was primarily concerned with understanding and exposing the global exploitation of workers in the Global South through unequal exchange perpetrated by corporations through labour arbitrage. However, after reading much of what you have written this century, I have concluded that the planetary crisis we are experiencing as a result of dominant monopoly capital poses an imminent existential risk to human and non-human beings and all life at our home unless we urgently organise ourselves to force a radical paradigmatic shift. This new paradigm would replace capitalism with new ecosocialist communities whose only purpose is the pursuit of the well-being of people and the planet through a revolutionary movement. With this vision in mind, I would like to focus on how you envision moving from theory to the actual materialisation of a revolutionary movement that successfully transitions to the ecosocialist paradigm.



Thank you for taking the time to do this interview. In my work on social justice, for many years I was primarily concerned with understanding and exposing the global exploitation of workers in the Global South through unequal exchange perpetrated by corporations through labour arbitrage. However, after reading much of what you have written this century, I have concluded that the

planetary crisis we are experiencing as a result of dominant monopoly capital poses an imminent existential risk to human and non-human beings and all life at our home unless we urgently organise ourselves to force a radical paradigmatic shift. This new paradigm would replace capitalism with new ecosocialist communities whose only purpose is the pursuit of the well-being of people and the planet through a revolutionary movement. With this vision in mind, I would like to focus on how you envision moving from theory to the actual materialisation of a revolutionary movement that successfully transitions to the ecosocialist paradigm.

Download the full document here!

UNEQUAL EXCHANGE OF LABOUR IN THE WORLD ECONOMY — *Jason Hickel, Morena Hanbury Lemos & Felix Barbour*



Unequal exchange of labour in the world economy

Jason Hickel, Morena Hanbury Lemos & Felix Barbour

Abstract

Researchers have argued that wealthy nations rely on a large net appropriation of labour and resources from the rest of the world through unequal exchange in international trade and global commodity chains. Here we assess this empirically by measuring flows of embodied labour in the world economy from 1995–2021, accounting for skill levels, sectors and wages. We find that, in 2021, the economies of the global North net-appropriated 826 billion hours of embodied labour from the global South, across all skill levels and sectors. The wage value of this net-appropriated labour was equivalent to €16.9 trillion in Northern prices, accounting for skill level. This appropriation roughly doubles the labour that is available for Northern consumption but drains the South of productive capacity that could be used instead for local human needs and development. Unequal exchange is understood to be driven in part by systematic wage inequalities. We find Southern wages are 87–95% lower than Northern wages for work of equal skill. While Southern workers contribute 90% of the labour that powers the world economy, they receive only 21% of global income.

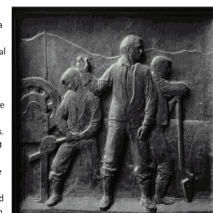


Photo by Leo Meir Clancy on Unsplash

Introduction

Scholars of international political economy have argued that growth and capital accumulation in the wealthy ‘core’ states of the global North relies on the appropriation of value—labour, resources and goods—from the ‘peripheries’ and

Researchers have argued that wealthy nations rely on a large net appropriation of labour and resources from the rest of the world through unequal exchange in international trade and global commodity chains. Here we assess this empirically by measuring flows of embodied labour in the world economy from 1995–2021, accounting for skill levels, sectors and wages. We find that, in 2021, the economies of the global North net-appropriated 826 billion hours of embodied labour from the global South, across all skill levels and sectors.

The wage value of this net-appropriated labour was equivalent to €16.9 trillion in Northern prices, accounting for skill level. This appropriation roughly doubles the labour that is available for Northern consumption but drains the South of productive capacity that could be

used instead for local human needs and development. Unequal exchange is understood to be driven in part by systematic wage inequalities. We find Southern wages are 87–95% lower than Northern wages for work of equal skill. While Southern workers contribute 90% of the labour that powers the world economy, they receive only 21% of global income.

[Download the full document here!](#)

“THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT HAS TO BE PART OF A BROADER ANTI-AUSTERITY MOVEMENT” — Ester Peñas



“The climate movement has to be part of a broader anti-austerity movement”

Ester Peñas

Beyond carbon footprints, waste management and ‘green’ policies, responsibility for the climate crisis lies with a capitalist minority that leaves little room for action to reverse its course. This is the central thesis of the latest essay by Matthew T. Huber (Chicago, 1970), professor of geography at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. An analyst of the relationship between economics and geography with capitalism, climate policies and social justice, he has just presented *The Future of Revolution: Climate Change and the Quest for a Global Democratic Insurrection* (Errata Naturae), in which he proposes a reformulation of solidarity, the recovery of public ownership of key sectors (especially energy) and the decommodification of the needs of the working class.



Photo by Sij on Unsplash

Is a global uprising possible at a time like ours, when political disaffection and screens prevent us from taking to the streets?

Well, we have recently seen mass uprisings in many countries (Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Chile, and one could include the recent revolution in Syria, for better or for worse). However, in the West, the left and the working class are too weak and incapable of imagining a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in the short term. That is why I am committed to rebuilding the working-class movement and returning energy to public ownership as

TBCACommentarySD 0302330 August 2025 Ester Peñas

Beyond carbon footprints, waste management and ‘green’ policies, responsibility for the climate crisis lies with a capitalist minority that leaves little room for action to reverse its course. This is the central thesis of the latest essay by Matthew T. Huber (Chicago, 1970), professor of geography at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. An analyst of the relationship between economics and geography with capitalism, climate policies and social justice, he has just presented *The Future of Revolution: Climate Change and the Quest for a Global Democratic Insurrection* (Errata Naturae), in which he proposes a reformulation of solidarity, the recovery of public ownership of key sectors (especially energy) and the decommodification of the needs of the working class.

[Download the full document here!](#)

THE WAR IN UKRAINE —A HISTORY: HOW THE U.S. EXPLOITED FRACTURES IN THE POST-SOVIET ORDER — Thomas I. Palley



The War in Ukraine—A History: How the U.S. Exploited Fractures in the Post-Soviet Order

Thomas I. Palley

The ongoing war between Ukraine and Russia has been driven by internal and external factors. Those factors constitute two blades of a scissors, and explaining the conflict requires taking account of both blades. The external factors center on post-Cold War U.S. geopolitical strategy and the concomitant U.S.-sponsored eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). That expansion can only be understood by reference to the fractures internal factors created by the Soviet Union's disintegration. The external factors reveal the role of the United States, which is implicated to the point of provoking the conflict and obstructing peace.



The external and internal factors come into play at different moments and take time to work their full effect, which is why history is so important to understanding the conflict. The two sets of factors play out over a timeline involving three key events. The first is Ukraine's declaration of independence from the Soviet Union in August 1991. The second is the Maidan coup in February 2014 that overthrew democratically elected Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, who advocated Ukrainian autonomy and a nonaligned defence policy. The third is Russia's military intervention in Ukraine, launched on February 24, 2022. This timeline is dramatically revealing. The United States and its NATO allies view the conflict as beginning in February 2022 (though sometimes saying it began when Russia first “invaded” Ukraine with the annexation of Crimea in 2014—an event following the coup), enabling them to ignore history. Russia views the conflict, more straightforwardly, as beginning with the February 2014 coup, which makes history and the onset of Civil War in Ukraine central to its political position. That fundamental difference in understanding hinders the possibility of a negotiated political settlement, and it is very hard to see how the difference can be reconciled, as accounting for history (namely the coup and the subsequent Civil War) yields a completely different narrative.

TBCAEssaySD 0022330 August 2025 T. Palley

The ongoing war between Ukraine and Russia has been driven by internal and external factors. Those factors constitute two blades of a scissors, and explaining the conflict requires taking account of both blades. The external factors center on post-Cold War U.S. geopolitical strategy and the concomitant U.S.-sponsored eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). That expansion can only be understood by reference to the fractures (internal factors) created by the Soviet Union's disintegration. The external factors reveal the role of the United States, which is implicated to the point of provoking the conflict and obstructing peace.

[Download the full document here!](#)

IMPERIALISM AND WHITESETTLER COLONIALISM IN MARXIST THEORY — John Bellamy Foster

“It is now widely recognised in the research on settler colonialism that Karl Marx was the foundational thinker in this area in his discussion of “so-called primitive accumulation”; his references to colonialism proper, or settler colonialism; and his analysis of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the “The Modern Theory of Colonisation,” with which he ended the first volume of Capital.⁴ However, such recognition of Marx's numerous references to settler colonialism seldom goes on to uncover the full depth of his analysis in this regard.



Imperialism and White Settler Colonialism in Marxist Theory

John Bellamy Foster

The concept of settler colonialism has always been a key element in the Marxist theory of imperialism, the meaning of which has gradually evolved over a century and a half. Today the reemergence of powerful indigenous movements in the struggles over cultural survival, the earth, sovereignty, and recognition, plus the resistance to the genocide inflicted by the Israeli state on the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, have brought the notion of settler colonialism to the fore of the global debate. In these circumstances, a recovery and reconstruction of the Marxist understanding of the relation between imperialism and settler colonialism is a crucial step in aiding indigenous movements and the world revolt against imperialism.



By National Trust Office (US National Park Service) - b/Sally, Public Domain, Link

Such a recovery and reconstruction of Marxist analyses in this area is all the more important since a new paradigm of settler colonial studies, pioneered in Australia by such distinguished intellectual figures as Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini, has emerged over the last quarter-century. This now constitutes a distinct field globally—one that, in its current dominant form in the academy, is focused on a pure “logic of elimination.” In this way, settler colonialism as an analytical category based on autonomous

TBCAEssaySD 0302340 August 2025 JBF

As an authority on ancient Greek philosophy who wrote his dissertation on the ancient materialist philosopher Epicurus, Marx was very familiar with the ancient Greek cleruchy, or settler colony established as an extension of its founding city state. In many ways, the most notable Athenian cleruchy was the island/polis of Samos, the birthplace of Epicurus, whose parents were cleruchs or settler colonialists. The cleruchy in Samos was established in 365 BCE, when the Athenians forcibly removed the inhabitants of the island and replaced them with Athenian citizens drawn from the indigent population of an overcrowded Athens, turning Samos not only into a settler colony, but also a garrison state within the Athenian Empire. The dispute in the Greek world over the cleruchy in Samos was subsequently at the center of two major wars fought by Athens, resulting in the final downfall of Athens as a major power with its defeat by Macedonia in 322 BCE. This led to the dismantling of the cleruchy in Samos (in compliance with a decree issued by Alexander the Great shortly before his death), the removal of the Athenian settlers, and the return of the original population to the island.

For Marx and other classically educated thinkers in the nineteenth century, the Athenian cleruchy in Samos represented a pure model of colonialism. Although settler colonialism was to take new and more vicious forms under capitalism, reinforced by religion and racism, the underlying phenomenon was thus well known in antiquity and familiar to nineteenth-century scholars.

[Download the full document here!](#)

THE END OF THE MODERN ECONOMY —FILOPONÍA: DIFFUSED CAPITAL AND THE SHIFTING OF THE BOUNDARY — Andrea Surbone



The end of the modern economy —Filoponía: diffused capital and the shifting of the boundary

I conclude with these stentorian words: If the modern economy was born two and a half centuries ago with the moral philosophy of the Wealth of Nations, I can say that Filoponía, also partly a work of moral philosophy, closes its era. Diffused capital and the shift from the economy to the environment remove the economy from its central position in society, and if, on the one hand, they return it to its etymology, on the other, they free it from the yoke of the GDP rectangle to develop it fully. This is the intrinsic singularity of Filoponía: society free of the economy and the economy free of debt.

Andrea Surbone



Anonymous, "The Ideal City", second half of the 15th century.

In a previous essay, I wrote: To pretend to propose a model outside the current dualism seems like a gamble or even a bluff. Today, the research I am carrying out has taken me much further, to the point of affirming that

Andrea Surbone: Filoponía, a distinctive economic model. An introspective opens letter to humanity —The Jus Semper Global Alliance, December 2022.
TSCA/Busey/SD 080219 April 2025/Andrea Surbone

I conclude with these stentorian words: If the modern economy was born two and a half centuries ago with the moral philosophy of The Wealth of Nations, I can say that Filoponía, also partly a work of moral philosophy, closes its era. Diffused capital and the shift from the economy to the environment remove the economy from its central position in society, and if, on the one hand, they return it to its etymology, on the other, they free it from the yoke of the GDP rectangle to develop it fully. This is the intrinsic singularity of Filoponía: society free of the economy and the economy free of debt.

Download the full document here!

THE PERPETUAL STORM — Juan Bordera
— *There is a vast and fatal lack of awareness of the reality we are about to face on the coastline that saw the birth of modern civilisation.*

I don't like writing this, nor do I always like knowing what I know. However, I like it even less that, knowing what I know, more people don't know because what is at stake is absolutely incommensurable. When so much is at stake, the comfortable silence of those who know can be as eloquently treacherous as the worst of lies. We are experiencing increasingly frequent floods and extreme phenomena throughout Europe and North Africa, originating in the Mediterranean. That overheated raft is mutating into a jacuzzi.

Since records began, there have only been two years in which the global sea temperature has been above 21°C at this time of year: the

unforgettable 2024 and this year, 2025, which is off to a strong start.



The Perpetual Storm

There is a vast and fatal lack of awareness of the reality we are about to face on the coastline that saw the birth of modern civilisation.

Juan Bordera

I don't like writing this, nor do I always like knowing what I know. However, I like it even less that, knowing what I know, more people don't know because what is at stake is absolutely incommensurable. When so much is at stake, the comfortable silence of those who know can be as eloquently treacherous as the worst of lies.

We are experiencing increasingly frequent floods and extreme phenomena throughout Europe and North Africa, originating in the Mediterranean. That overheated raft is mutating into a jacuzzi. Proof of this is that while there are still people who have not been able to return to what was once their home after the storm of 23 October, we are once again experiencing another alert, albeit less severe, affecting parts of Spain as far afield as Gran Canaria, Malaga and Castellón.

Some will say that Gran Canaria is not in the Mediterranean... and they would be right, but perhaps not for the reason they think. Indeed, it is not only the most important sea for Europe that is in turmoil; it is the entire vast sea of the Earth, which is breaking temperature record after record. It is the imbalance in atmospheric circulation. It is the ocean currents. It is the abrupt melting of the ice caps. It is the climatic balance on which we depend that is being disrupted.

Since records began, there have only been two years in which the global sea temperature has been above 21°C at this time of year: the unforgettable 2024 and this year, 2025, which is off to a strong start.

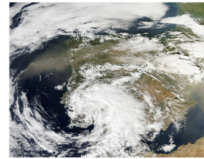


Image of the Iberian Peninsula captured by NASA's MODIS satellite on 1 November 2024, during the ENSO. (Public domain)

TSCA/Commentary/SD 03091 July 2025/Juan Bordera

This year, not even the influence of La Niña (the cold part of the ENSO cycle, the most decisive oscillation on Earth, which warms or cools the waters of the Pacific with repercussions for the entire planet) is incapable of cooling anything. This circumstance is decisive because the destabilisation of this anomaly caused the worst mass extinction in the history of the Earth. And more and more research and evidence, for those who want to see, suggest that we are already beginning to destabilise it. The 'Niñas' are becoming weak and fewer and fewer; the 'Niños' are becoming stronger and growing stronger. The endpoint of this destabilisation is alternating periods of perennial drought and perpetual storms. There is something poetic about it.

There is an enormous and fatal lack of awareness of the reality we are about to face on the coastline that saw the birth of modern civilisation. And it has a lot to do with the increasing radiation being absorbed by the Earth and the accelerated melting of the ice caps at both poles. But above all, the fact that we do not react, that we continue to build even closer to the beach after a storm like the one on 29 October, that we do hardly anything that needs to be done, has to do with the fact that the economic system we have built is allergic to the truth.

Who knows how many jobs and billions of euros in investment and property depend on not accepting the actual limits set by physics, geography, biology and common sense. The biggest problem is that the economic system's greed for lies —because it is based on the great lie that it is possible to grow forever on a finite planet— is infecting the rest of us and gradually leading us towards the growth of fascism, due

to the fascism hidden behind the lie of growth itself.

Download the full document here!

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT THEN AND NOW — Paul Stubbs



The Non-Aligned Movement Then and Now

Paul Stubbs

Faced with the nuclear threat and bipolarity of the Cold War, the non-aligned movement has since the 1960s put forward an alternative model based on decolonial solidarity and a fairer global trading system, but ultimately failed to materialise its most far-reaching economic proposals. Today, non-alignment narratives are revived by the BRICS and sometimes by EU ambitions, but a just multipolar world should prioritise environmental cooperation and have the Global South at its centre. An interview with sociologist Paul Stubbs.

Green European Journal (GEJ): Starting off with a very simple question, what was the Non-Aligned Movement?

Paul Stubbs (PS): Well, it still exists so we can't refer to it in the past tense. But what's behind the question is that there was a golden age of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has long gone. The founding mission of this grouping of countries was to actively challenge the idea that the world is divided between two superpowers. They were not interested in becoming a third bloc but opposed the division of the world into a US-led Western capitalist bloc and a Soviet-led Eastern communist bloc.

Socialist Yugoslavia somewhat unexpectedly played a leading role, but the Non-Aligned Movement was made up mostly of the newly independent states of the Global South in Asia and Africa, and the peripheral countries of Latin America. Why it came about can be a long and a short story. Part of it was that when the Bandung process of Afro-Asian solidarity

TSCA/Busey/SD 080219 June 2025/Paul Stubbs

Faced with the nuclear threat and bipolarity of the Cold War, the non-aligned movement has since the 1960s put forward an alternative model based on decolonial solidarity and a fairer global trading system, but ultimately failed to materialise its most far-reaching economic proposals. Today, non-alignment narratives are revived by the BRICS and sometimes by EU ambitions, but a just multipolar world should prioritise environmental cooperation and have the Global South at its centre. An interview with sociologist Paul Stubbs.

Download the full document here!

THE U.S. RULING CLASS AND THE TRUMP REGIME —John Bellamy Foster

U.S. capitalism over the past century has had without question the most powerful, most class-conscious ruling class in the history of the world, straddling both the economy and the state, and projecting its hegemony both domestically and globally. Central to its rule is an ideological apparatus that insists that the immense economic power of the capitalist class does not translate into political governance, and that no matter how polarised U.S. society becomes in economic terms, its claims to democracy remain intact. According to the received ideology, the ultra-rich interests that rule the market do not rule the state—a separation crucial to the idea of liberal democracy. This reigning ideology, however, is

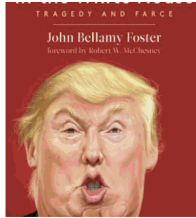
now breaking down in the face of the structural crisis of U.S. and world capitalism, and the decline of the liberal-democratic state itself, leading to deep splits in the ruling class, and a new right-wing, openly capitalist domination of the state.



The U.S. Ruling Class and the Trump Regime

John Bellamy Foster

U.S. capitalism over the past century has had without question the most powerful, most class-conscious ruling class in the history of the world, straddling both the economy and the state, and projecting its hegemony both domestically and globally. Central to its rule is an ideological apparatus that insists that the immense economic power of the capitalist class does not translate into political governance, and that no matter how polarised U.S. society becomes in economic terms, its claims to democracy remain intact. According to the received ideology, the ultra-rich interests that rule the market do not rule the state—a separation crucial to the idea of liberal democracy. This reigning ideology, however, is now breaking down in the face of the structural crisis of U.S. and world capitalism, and the decline of the liberal-democratic state itself, leading to deep splits in the ruling class, and a new right-wing, openly capitalist domination of the state.



from Monthly Review Press

In his farewell speech to the nation, days before Donald Trump triumphantly returned to the White House, President Joe Biden indicated that an “oligarchy” based in the high-tech sector and relying on “dark money” in politics was threatening U.S. democracy. Senator Bernie Sanders, meanwhile, warned of the effects of the concentration of wealth and power in a new “ruling class” hegemony and the abandonment of any traces of support for the working class in either of the major parties.¹

Trump’s ascendancy to the White House for the second time naturally does not mean that the capitalist oligarchy has suddenly become a commanding influence in U.S. politics, since this is in fact a long-standing reality. Nevertheless, the entire political milieu in recent years, particularly since the 2008 financial crisis, has been moving to the right, while the

¹ ¹ “Full Transcript of President Biden’s Farewell Address, New York Times, January 15, 2025; Bernie Sanders, “The US Has a Ruling Class—And Americans Must Stand Up to It,” Guardian, September 2, 2022.
TSCA/NSD (B0123) June 2025 J.B.Foster

In his farewell speech to the nation, days before Donald Trump triumphantly returned to the White House, President Joe Biden indicated that an “oligarchy” based in the high-tech sector and relying on “dark money” in politics was threatening U.S. democracy. Senator Bernie Sanders, meanwhile, warned of the effects of the concentration of wealth and power in a new “ruling class” hegemony and the abandonment of any traces of support for the working class in either of the major parties.

Trump’s ascendancy to the White House for the second time naturally does not mean that the capitalist oligarchy has suddenly become a commanding influence in U.S. politics, since this is in fact a long-standing reality. Nevertheless, the entire political milieu in recent years, particularly since the 2008 financial crisis, has been moving to the right, while the oligarchy is exercising more direct influence over the state. A sector of the U.S. capitalist class is now openly in control of the ideological-state apparatus in a neofascist administration in which the former neoliberal establishment is a junior partner. The object of this shift is a regressive restructuring of the United States in a permanent war posture, resulting from the decline of U.S. hegemony and the instability of U.S. capitalism, plus the need of a more concentrated capitalist class to secure more centralised control of the state.

Download the full document here!



INDUSTRY 4.0: GENE EDITING IS POLLUTION — Melanie Challenger



Industry 4.0: Gene Editing Is Pollution

Melanie Challenger

When new technologies are being developed, human imagination is often blindsighted by their revolutionary potential, leaving harms and dangers unpredicted or unnoticed until it is too late to rein them in. Now, industrial-scale biological engineering poses a similar problem. To make sure this technology stays within humane limits, we need to expand the moral circumference of what we see as pollution – i.e., to adopt an outlook that regards non-human organisms as possessing agency, dignity, and purpose.

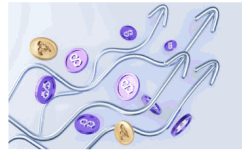


Image by LucilleHua on Unsplash

In 2016, Klaus Schwab announced that we had entered the Fourth Industrial Revolution. This is the era of the industrialisation of biology: the leveraging of technologies to modify biological materials to meet human goals. While the first two Industrial Revolutions exploited energy and materials and the Third exploited digital information, the current revolution is a direct manipulation of life-forms and life’s substances.

The signature invention of this new era is CRISPR, dubbed “genetic scissors.” CRISPR is a ground-breaking method of making precise changes to DNA for a wide range of possible uses, from disease reduction and elimination to the eradication of “pest” species and increases in the productivity of farmed animals. CRISPRs (the best-known system being CRISPR-Cas9) originate in RNA-based bacterial defence systems. Naturally occurring in species of bacteria, the Cas9 enzyme cuts the genomes of bacteriophages (viruses that will attack a bacterium), saving a record for defence against future infections. Scientists realised that this immunological strategy could be coopted to innovate a general tool for cutting DNA.

The optimism among those that seek to utilise these tools has been palpable for some time. As noted by the researchers at the Roslin Institute, creators of Dolly the Sheep, the world’s first cloned mammal: “Until recently, we have only been

TSCA/NSD (B0123) July 2025 M. Challenger

When new technologies are being developed, human imagination is often blindsighted by their revolutionary potential, leaving harms and dangers unpredicted or unnoticed until it is too late to rein them in. Now, industrial-scale biological engineering poses a similar problem. To make sure this technology stays within humane limits, we need to expand the moral circumference of what we see as pollution – i.e., to adopt an outlook that regards non-human organisms as possessing agency, dignity, and purpose.

Download the full document here!



THE TRUMP DOCTRINE AND THE NEW MAGA IMPERIALISM — John Bellamy Foster

The dramatic shift in U.S. imperialism under the Donald Trump presidency, both in his initial term of office and even more in the current one, has created enormous confusion and consternation within establishment centers of power. This sudden alteration in U.S. foreign policy is manifested in the abandonment of both the liberal international order constructed under U.S. hegemony after the Second World War and the long-term strategy of NATO enlargement and proxy war with Russia in Ukraine. Imposition of high tariffs and shifting military priorities have put the United States in conflict with even its long-term allies, while the New Cold War on China and the Global South is accelerating.

So extreme is the shift in U.S. power projection, and so great the confusion that this has generated, that even some figures long

associated with the left have fallen into the trap of seeing Trump as isolationist, anti-militarist, and anti-imperialist. Thus, disaffected leftist Christian Parenti has argued that Trump “isn’t an anti-imperialist in the left-wing sense. Rather, he is an instinctual America-First isolationist,” whose goal, “more than any recent president,” is “to dismantle America’s informal global empire,” and to promote a new “anti-militarist” foreign policy “opposing empire.”



The Trump Doctrine and the New MAGA Imperialism

John Bellamy Foster

The dramatic shift in U.S. imperialism under the Donald Trump presidency, both in his initial term of office and even more in the current one, has created enormous confusion and consternation within establishment centers of power. This sudden alteration in U.S. foreign policy is manifested in the abandonment of both the liberal international order constructed under U.S. hegemony after the Second World War and the long-term strategy of NATO enlargement and proxy war with Russia in Ukraine. Imposition of high tariffs and shifting military priorities have put the United States in conflict with even its long-term allies, while the New Cold War on China and the Global South is accelerating.



So extreme is the shift in U.S. power projection, and so great the confusion that this has generated, that even some figures long associated with the left have fallen into the trap of seeing Trump as isolationist, anti-militarist, and anti-imperialist. Thus, disaffected leftist Christian Parenti has argued that Trump “isn’t an anti-imperialist in the left-wing sense. Rather, he is an instinctual America-First isolationist,” whose goal, “more than any recent president,” is “to dismantle America’s informal global empire,” and to promote a new “anti-militarist” foreign policy “opposing empire.”

Yet, far from being anti-imperialist, the global shift in the external relations of the United States under Trump is due to a hypernationalist approach to world power, based in key sections of the ruling class, particularly high-tech monopolists,

¹ ¹ Christian Parenti, “Trump’s Real Crime Is Opposing Empire,” Compact, April 7, 2023.
TSCA/NSD (B0123) July 2025 J.B.Foster

Yet, far from being anti-imperialist, the global shift in the external relations of the United States under Trump is due to a hypernationalist approach to world power, based in key sections of the ruling class, particularly high-tech monopolists, as well as Trump’s largely lower-middle class followers. According to this neofascist and revanchist perspective, the United States is in decline as a hegemonic power and threatened by powerful enemies: Cultural Marxism and immigrant “invaders” from within, China and the Global South from without, while hindered by weak and dependent allies.

The radically new imperialist strategy represented by the Trump administration, particularly in its second coming, is based on the notion of “America First.” This constitutes a rejection of the traditional U.S. role as a hegemonic world power in favor of a hypernationalist America First imperium. A manifestation of this is the U.S. attack on international organisations over which it does not have complete dominance or where it supposedly carries disproportionate burdens, such as the United Nations or even the NATO alliance. Moreover, trade relations are treated not so much as mutually beneficial exchange processes (which in reality are primarily to the benefit of the wealthier nations), but rather as

transactional relations to be determined solely on the basis of national power.

The most likely result of such developments—if they are not stopped—is a New Age of Catastrophe, on a scale not unlike the 1930s, characterised by economic, ecological, and war-induced destruction.⁵ This will lead not to increased U.S. dominance but to its accelerated decline, as its dollar hegemony and the international institutions on which U.S. power has historically rested are further undermined. Within the Trump regime itself, Washington's attempts to project its power globally will only intensify the internal conflicts between monopoly-finance capital with its global economic interests and Trump's more narrowly nationalistic Make America Great Again (MAGA) movement on the ground. All attempts to keep such a reactionary regime together will require increased repression, while the future will depend on the scale of revolt that this repression engenders, both nationally and globally.

[Download the full document here!](#)

OVERLAY OF THE ABSOLUTE LAW OF ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION ON THE ABSOLUTE LAW OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION IN SOUTH AMERICA — A TRIGGER FOR CLIMATE COLLAPSE — Nubia Barrera Silva

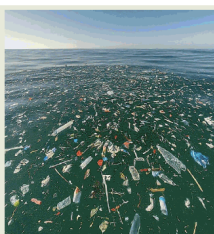


Overlay of the Absolute Law of Environmental Degradation on the Absolute Law of Capital Accumulation in South America — A Trigger for Climate Collapse

Nubia Barrera Silva

Abstract

Capitalism dependent on South America is reaching exponential levels, on the verge of surpassing everything previously known in magnitude, intensity and territorial expansion. It encompasses the Great Expropriation of land and territories belonging to Indigenous Peoples and agrarian communities. The externalisation of eco-environmental fractures directly intervenes in the superimposition of the absolute general law of environmental degradation on the general law of capitalist accumulation, with the consequent collapse of the climate. This is a historic event in the course of capitalism and unprecedented in the history of the Earth. The climate emergency presents an opportunity to create contexts for establishing eco-socialism, the only alternative for present and future survival.



Marine pollution: <https://capitalismcrisis.org/en/understanding-the-crisis> (Marine pollution, underdevelopment) — Christine Mousie, CC BY-SA 4.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/), via Wikimedia Commons

Introduction

In this paper, we focus on South America. The dispossession on a larger scale exceeds anything known since the beginning of historical dispossession. It is objectified in the superimposition of the absolute law of nature on the absolute law of capitalist accumulation. After five centuries of transatlantic colonisation, the centre-periphery dependency has

to Indigenous Peoples and agrarian communities. The externalisation of eco-environmental fractures directly intervenes in the superimposition of the absolute general law of environmental degradation on the general law of capitalist accumulation, with the consequent collapse of the climate. This is a historic event in the course of capitalism and unprecedented in the history of the Earth. The climate emergency presents an opportunity to create contexts for establishing eco-socialism, the only alternative for present and future survival.

[Download the full document here!](#)

TOWARDS A NEW DEVELOPMENT THEORY FOR THE GLOBAL SOUTH — Tricontinental



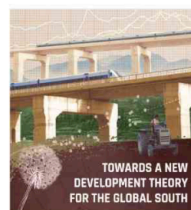
Towards a New Development Theory for the Global South

As progressive governments take office in the Global South, now more than ever there is a burning need for a new development theory that can fulfil the Promethean aspirations of the darker nations.

Tricontinental

Around the world, progressive governments have taken office, yet they do not have a clear strategy to rebuild their societies from the detritus of neoliberalism. These governments, in countries such as Honduras, Senegal, and Sri Lanka, articulate clear critiques of the International Monetary Fund's debt-austerity regime, but they often lack a concrete policy programme capable of decisively moving beyond it. Unable to develop a policy that fully breaks from neoliberalism, many of these progressive governments slip back into neoliberal immobility.

International institutions, such as the United Nations (UN), have also been unable to chart an alternative framework. One notable attempt dates to 2000, when the UN inaugurated a process of highlighting outcome-based goals for development with the establishment of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) focused on issues such as poverty and education.¹ The MDGs were succeeded by seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in



Director of ICA Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research January 2025

¹ World Health Organization, 'Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)', 19 February 2018, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/millennium-development-goals-mdgs>.

TRCA/ISSP/SD/0022/25 May 2025/10a/external

Around the world, progressive governments have taken office, yet they do not have a clear strategy to rebuild their societies from the detritus of neoliberalism. These governments, in countries such as Honduras, Senegal, and Sri Lanka, articulate clear critiques of the International Monetary Fund's debt-austerity regime, but they often lack a concrete policy programme capable of decisively moving beyond it. Unable to develop a policy that fully breaks from neoliberalism, many of these progressive governments slip back into neoliberal immobility.

Over the past fifty years, during the height of the Washington Consensus, most of the poorer nations slumped into cycles of debt and austerity, high rates of poverty, and deep despair. China, however, has been able to break through the 'development of under-development' since the 1949 revolution and

move from high levels of poverty to a society that has eradicated absolute poverty and emerged as a major economic power.⁴¹ What distinguishes China from other countries is that the balance of political power is not in the hands of the capitalist class (certainly not with MNCs) and that the Chinese government, ruled by the Communist Party of China, has developed a planning process that allocates resources both for growth and social betterment in a dialectical balance. Any robust and pragmatic Marxist development theory must engage with the breakthroughs made in China.

China's rapid economic growth and rising living standards since the 1949 revolution cannot be explained by conventional development theories. However, they can be explained by the high rate of NFI prioritised by the Communist Party of China. Consider, for instance, the massive investment and mobilisation of people required to build China's high-speed railway system – the largest in the world. This is in no way a novel idea. Though there are disagreements as to how investment can be mobilised in conditions of semi-feudalism and imperialist encirclement, the Marxist-Leninist tradition has always emphasised that large-scale industry is the material basis for socialism. In 1920, Vladimir Lenin pithily summarised communist development as 'Soviet power plus electrification for the whole country'.⁴⁵ Half a century later, the African revolutionary Amílcar Cabral taught us that the goal of national liberation is 'the freeing of the process of development of the national productive forces'.⁴⁶ Therefore, the formulation of a new development theory for the Global South is also a return to the source of our struggles for freedom from imperialism and neocolonialism. With it, we will chart the path for the Promethean aspirations of the darker nations.

[Download the full document here!](#)

QUANTIFYING NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CLIMATE BREAKDOWN: AN EQUALITY-BASED ATTRIBUTION APPROACH FOR CARBON DIOXIDE EMISSIONS IN EXCESS OF THE PLANETARY BOUNDARY — Jason Hickel

This analysis proposes a novel method for quantifying national responsibility for damages related to climate change by looking at national contributions to cumulative CO₂ emissions in excess of the planetary boundary of 350 ppm atmospheric CO₂ concentration. This approach is rooted in the principle of equal per capita access to atmospheric commons.

For this analysis, national fair shares of a safe global carbon budget consistent with the planetary boundary of 350 ppm were derived. These fair shares were then subtracted from

Jason Hickel

Summary

Background
This analysis proposes a novel method for quantifying national responsibility for damages related to climate change by looking at national contributions to cumulative CO₂ emissions in excess of the planetary boundary of 350 ppm atmospheric CO₂ concentration. This approach is rooted in the principle of equal per capita access to atmospheric commons.

Methods

For this analysis, national fair shares of a safe global carbon budget consistent with the planetary boundary of 350 ppm were derived. These fair shares were then subtracted from countries' actual historical emissions (territorial emissions from 1850 to 1969, and consumption-based emissions from 1970 to 2015) to determine the extent to which each country has overshoot or undershot its fair share. Through this approach, each country's share of responsibility for global emissions in excess of the planetary boundary was calculated.

Findings

As of 2015, the USA was responsible for 40% of excess global CO₂ emissions. The European Union (EU-28) was responsible for 29%. The G8 nations (the USA, EU-28, Russia, Japan, and Canada) were together responsible for 85%. Countries classified by the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change as [Annex I](#) nations (i.e. most industrialised countries) were responsible for 90% of excess emissions. The Global North was responsible for 92%. By contrast, most countries in the Global South were within their boundary fair shares, including India and China (although China will overshoot soon).

TSCA/Issues/SD (80234) June 2025 Jayon Hinkel

As of 2015, the USA was responsible for 40% of excess global CO₂ emissions. The European Union (EU-28) was responsible for 29%. The G8 nations (the USA, EU-28, Russia, Japan, and Canada) were together responsible for 85%. Countries classified by the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change as Annex I nations (ie, most industrialised countries) were responsible for 90% of excess emissions. The Global North was responsible for 92%. By contrast, most countries in the Global South were within their boundary fair shares, including India and China (although China will overshoot soon). These figures indicate that high-income countries have a greater degree of responsibility for climate damages than previous methods have implied. These results offer a just framework for attributing national responsibility for excess emissions, and a guide for determining national liability for damages related to climate change, consistent with the principles of planetary boundaries and equal access to atmospheric commons.

Download the full document here!

CULTURAL MARXISM AND MAGA
McCARTHYISM — *The Editors of Monthly
Review*

In 2024, Monthly Review Press published a translation of Domenico Losurdo's 2017 *Western Marxism: How It Was Born, How It*



The Jus Semper Global Alliance

In Pursuit of the People and Planet Paradigm

Sustainable Human Development

Summit 2023

COMUNITARIES ON ETHIC DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

Cultural Marxism and MAGA McCarthyism

The Editors of Monthly Review

In 2024, Monthly Review Press published a translation of Domènec Losauro's 2017 *Western Marxism: How It Was Born, How It Died, How It Can Be Reborn*, edited by Gabriel Rockhill. Many of the issues raised in Losauro's book were taken up by Rockhill and Monthly Review editor John Bellamy Foster in a dialogue in the March issue of *M* they pointed to the "four retreats" that have characterised Western Marxism as a theoretical tradition: the retreat from class, the retreat from anti-imperialism, the retreat from materialism/nature/science, and the retreat from reason. Closely related to this critique of Western Marxism is the critique of postmodernism, sometimes referred to as "French the materialism and its promotion of irrationalism—along

A radical change is underway, increasingly dominated by a neo-fascism. In the United States, this has generated a New McCarthyism targeting so-called "Cultural Marxism."

2025/1 1-263

Yet, such critical engagements, naturally occur in an overall historical context, and ours is shifting radically today, increasingly dominated by an ideology of neofascism. In the United States, this has generated a New McCarthyism targeting so-called "Cultural Marxism." As explained in "The MAGA Ideology and the Trump Regime" by Foster, the

TISGACCommentary/SD (C092) September 2015/Editorial M0

Yet, such critical engagements, naturally occur in an overall historical context, and ours is shifting radically today, increasingly dominated by an ideology of neofascism. In the United States, this has generated a New McCarthyism targeting so-called “Cultural Marxism.” As explained in “The MAGA Ideology and the Trump Regime” by Foster, the attack on Cultural Marxism is offered as the rationale behind the Trump administration’s reactionary policies. Anti-Cultural Marxist propaganda is thus used to justify the destruction of the “administrative state,” attacks on media, the dismantling of environmental measures, and the forcible elimination of academic freedom throughout the education system. Under these circumstances, the question naturally arises as to whether in questioning Western Marxism and postmodernism from a classical Marxist perspective, is MR somehow giving ammunition and support to the neofascist project now looming up in the West? Our answer is a definite No.

Download the full document here!



The Jus Semper Global Alliance

In Pursuit of the People and Planet Paradigm

Sustainable Human Development
June 2025

COMMENTARIES ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

The United Nations on Palestine

The Editors of Monthly Review

Israel's (or the Zionist entity's) ongoing extermination of the Palestinian population in Gaza and its uprooting of the population in the West Bank, with the backing of the United States and other Western governments, is the primary instance of genocide in the twenty-first century. It has destroyed any pretense of a commitment to universal human rights on the part of the West and has brought imperialism and settler colonialism in their most brutal forms right before the eyes of the entire world. An indication of the opposition to these developments in the world at large is revealed by the fifty-fifth Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories, and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories, adopted by the United Nations (with an introductory note by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan) and the UN Secretary-General's Committee (first established in 1968) is composed of representatives from Argentina, Bangladesh, India, United Nations from Malaysia, Senegal, and Sri Lanka. The Committee's mandate is to investigate and report on the situation of the Palestinian people and other Arabs of the occupied territories, and to recommend measures for their liberation and decolonization. The Committee's report is a landmark document in the history of the struggle for Palestinian self-determination and human rights.

The Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices, representing the highest level of United Nations investigation into the genocide in Palestine, was ignored by the Western governments, and information on it was essentially censored by the Western media. The final conclusions of the report, for that very reason, are well worth quoting at length:

69. The developments in this report lead the Special Committee to conclude that the policies and practices of Israel during the reporting period are consistent with the characteristics of genocide. The targeting of Palestinians as a group; the life-threatening conditions imposed on Palestinians in Gaza through warfare and restrictions on

TJSCA/Commentary/SD (C068) June 2025/Editors M&

Israel's (or the Zionist entity's) ongoing extermination of the Palestinian population in Gaza and its uprooting of the population in the West Bank, with the backing of the United States and other Western governments, is the primary instance of genocide in the twenty-first century. It has destroyed any pretence of a commitment to universal human rights on the part of the West and has brought imperialism and settler colonialism in their most brutal forms right before the eyes of the entire world. An indication of the opposition to these developments in the world at large is revealed by the fifty-fifth Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories presented to the United Nations (with an introductory note by UN Secretary-General António Guterres) on September 20, 2024. The Special Committee (first established in 1968) is composed of three members, consisting of the permanent representatives to the United Nations from Malaysia, Senegal, and Sri Lanka. Its reports are reviewed by the Special Political and Decolonisation Committee (Fourth Committee) of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices, representing the highest level of United Nations investigation into the genocide in Palestine, was ignored by the Western governments, and information on it was essentially censored by the Western media. The final conclusions of the report, for that very reason, are well worth quoting at length.

Download the full document here!

REDUCING HUMAN NUMBERS AND THE SIZE OF OUR ECONOMIES IS NECESSARY TO AVOID A MASS EXTINCTION AND SHARE EARTH JUSTLY WITH OTHER SPECIES — Philip Cafaro



Reducing human numbers and the size of our economies is necessary to avoid a mass extinction and share Earth justly with other species

Philip Cafaro

Abstract

Conservation biologists agree that humanity is on the verge of causing a mass extinction and that its primary driver is our immense and rapidly expanding global economy. We are replacing Earth's ten million wild species with more of ourselves, our domesticated species, our economic support systems, and our trash. In the process, we are creating a duller, tamer, and more dangerous world. The moral case for reducing excessive human impacts on the biosphere is strong on both anthropocentric and biocentric ethical grounds. The sine qua non for doing so is reducing human numbers and the size of our economies, while increasing the global acreage set aside in protected areas. We should take these steps as part of comprehensive efforts to create just and sustainable societies in which both humans and other species can flourish.



© https://i226f.com/pdfr/08_cafaro/, <https://www.123rf.com/stock-image/121887-free-image/>

This paper begins by summarizing evidence that humanity is on the brink of causing a mass extinction event, through rapidly and intentionally displacing other species with more of ourselves and our rapidly expanding economies. I argue that this is wrong and that we should instead decrease our numbers and the size of our economies and set aside much more of Earth's lands and seas for other species. I justify these policy proposals on the basis of humanity's moral

but require continuous financial and political support to overcome existing barriers.



Nature-Based Solutions for Conservation and Food Sovereignty in Indigenous Communities of Oaxaca

Marco Aurelio Acevedo Ortiz et al

Abstract

The increasing demand for food and the overexploitation of natural resources rapidly deplete the planet's ecosystems, highlighting the urgent need for sustainable alternatives. Nature-based solutions effectively promote agricultural sustainability and environmental conservation but require continuous financial and political support to overcome existing barriers. This research examines these solutions' effectiveness in Santa María Jacatepec, a biocultural region of indigenous peoples in the Papaloapan Basin, Oaxaca, Mexico. A mixed-methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative analyses uses National Institute of Statistics and Geography data to evaluate socioeconomic and environmental indicators. The results indicate that despite pressures to develop cattle ranching, communities have maintained rain-fed agriculture, especially the milpa system, ensuring food sovereignty and preserving agricultural biodiversity. Additionally, implementation of Voluntarily Conserved Areas has facilitated access to payments for environmental services, incentivizing ecosystem protection. However, financial and structural challenges persist, limiting the expansion of these solutions. Santa María Jacatepec exemplifies how Indigenous communities can apply nature-based solutions to strengthen agricultural sustainability and environmental conservation. Integrating traditional knowledge and strengthening conservation policies can enhance community resilience and ensure sustainable development amid increasing pressure on natural ecosystems.



Photo by Benjamin Dussan via iStockphoto

TSOAkeySD (2022) June 2025/acevedo-ortiz et al.

This research examines these solutions' effectiveness in Santa María Jacatepec, a biocultural region of Indigenous peoples in the Papaloapan Basin, Oaxaca, Mexico. A mixed-methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative analyses uses National Institute of Statistics and Geography data to evaluate socioeconomic and environmental indicators. The results indicate that despite pressures to develop cattle ranching, communities have maintained rain-fed agriculture, especially the milpa system, ensuring food sovereignty and preserving agricultural biodiversity. Additionally, implementation of Voluntarily Conserved Areas has facilitated access to payments for environmental services, incentivizing ecosystem protection.

However, financial and structural challenges persist, limiting the expansion of these solutions. Santa María Jacatepec exemplifies how Indigenous communities can apply nature-based solutions to strengthen agricultural sustainability and environmental conservation. Integrating traditional knowledge and strengthening conservation policies can enhance community resilience and ensure sustainable development amid increasing pressure on natural ecosystems.

Download the full document here!



NATURE-BASED SOLUTIONS FOR CONSERVATION AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY IN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES OF OAXACA — Marco Aurelio Acevedo Ortiz et al

The increasing demand for food and the overexploitation of natural resources rapidly deplete the planet's ecosystems, highlighting the urgent need for sustainable alternatives. Nature-based solutions effectively promote agricultural sustainability and environmental conservation

THE EARLY SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF TRICONTINENTAL (1967–1971): A SOVEREIGN SOCIAL METABOLISM FOR THE THIRD WORLD — Alberto García Molinero and Alejandro Pedregal



The Early Socio-ecological Dimensions of Tricontinental (1967–1971): A Sovereign Social Metabolism for the Third World

Alberto García Molinero and Alejandro Pedregal

Abstract

This article delves into the socio-ecological dimensions of OSPAAAL, the Cuban Third World solidarity institution, focusing particularly on the early years of its official organ: the magazine Tricontinental (1967–1971). Tricontinental's articles and graphic work, even if not always in an explicit manner, addressed environmental concerns in a revolutionary way, anticipating debates that would later unfold on international institutional platforms. These concerns were primarily discussed in the context of the Third World's quest for autonomous production, closely intertwined with the agrarian question and sovereign industrialisation. Key aspects such as land access, distribution, and resource management were pivotal. The publication's central emphasis on struggles for national liberation, especially within the guerrilla arena, played a crucial role in disseminating the anti-imperialist pursuit of a sovereign social metabolism across the Third World. Combining Cuban, Latin Americanist, and internationalist accents, Tricontinental also condemned the ecological impact of transnational corporations' predatory resource extraction in the Third World, while exploring alternative and cooperative models. This article unveils the latent socio-environmental dimensions of its critique, illustrating how ecological concerns subtly underpinned its anti-imperialist and internationalist discourse.



Introduction

Recent scholarship rooted in world-systems analysis and dependency theory has examined the ecological dimensions of imperialism, exploring the intersections, whether implicit or explicit, between movements for national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles in the Third World and their radical approaches to socio-ecological issues. The work of Max Ajl

TSOAkeySD (2022) April 2025/A. García Molinero - A. Pedregal

This article delves into the socio-ecological dimensions of OSPAAAL, the Cuban Third World solidarity institution, focusing particularly on the early years of its official organ: the magazine Tricontinental (1967–1971). Tricontinental's articles and graphic works, even if not always in an explicit manner, addressed environmental concerns in a revolutionary way, anticipating debates that would later unfold on international institutional platforms. These concerns were primarily discussed in the context of the Third World's quest for autonomous production, closely intertwined with the agrarian question and sovereign industrialisation. Key aspects such as land access, distribution, and resource management were pivotal. The publication's central emphasis on struggles for national liberation, especially within the guerrilla arena, played a crucial role in disseminating the anti-imperialist pursuit of a sovereign social metabolism across the Third World. Combining Cuban, Latin Americanist, and internationalist accents, Tricontinental also condemned the ecological impact of transnational corporations' predatory resource extraction in the Third World, while exploring alternative and cooperative models. This article unveils the latent socio-environmental dimensions of its critique, illustrating how ecological concerns subtly underpinned its anti-imperialist and internationalist discourse.

Download the full document here!



WHAT ADAPTATION REVEALS ABOUT GLOBAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE —

Seden Anlar



What Adaptation Reveals About Global Climate Governance

Seden Anlar

Over the past decades, adaptation has gone from a stigmatised concept to a central pillar of debates on fighting global warming. This journey shines a light on the broader political and socioeconomic challenges that often paralyse climate action, and reveals the need for stronger and more effective global discussion forums.

Forty years, that is how long we have been discussing the climate crisis. Four decades filled with undeniable scientific evidence, intense political debates, comprehensive policymaking, and passionate protests. As we have pondered and probed the best ways to tackle this global threat, our vocabulary around climate has expanded, introducing a multitude of ideas, words, and concepts. Among them, one word has gained significant prominence: *adaptation*. As the impacts of climate change have shifted from distant forecasts to present realities and the gaps in our responses have become more glaring, *adaptation* has moved from the margins of climate strategies to the forefront of mainstream global discourse.

This transition, however, did not happen overnight. While it is now celebrated as one of the latest trends in the climate policy arena, adaptation was not always recognised as a viable tool to address climate change. Initially sidelined and viewed as a secondary response, adaptation has undergone an existential transformation – one that has reshaped not only how it is defined but also its purpose and how it is implemented.

TJGCA/RevISED 08/10/25 June 2025/Seden Anlar



Photo by Justin Williams on Unsplash

Forty years; that is how long we have been discussing the climate crisis. Four decades filled with undeniable scientific evidence, intense political debates, comprehensive policymaking, and passionate protests. As we have pondered and probed the best ways to tackle this global threat, our vocabulary around climate has expanded, introducing a multitude of ideas, words, and concepts. Among them, one word has gained significant prominence: *adaptation*. As the impacts of climate change have shifted from distant forecasts to present realities and the gaps in our responses have become more glaring, *adaptation* has moved from the margins of climate strategies to the forefront of mainstream global discourse.

This transition, however, did not happen overnight. While it is now celebrated as one of the latest trends in the climate policy arena, adaptation was not always recognised as a viable tool to address climate change. Initially sidelined and viewed as a secondary response, adaptation has undergone an existential transformation – one that has reshaped not only how it is defined but also its purpose and how it is implemented.

Download the full document here!

“THE FIRST NECESSITY IS NOT TO LOSE ONE'S LIFE IN WORKING TO SATISFY UNLIMITED DESIRES” — Gaspar D'Allens

Aurélien Berlan (Paris, 1976), who divides his time between translation, part-time teaching, food production and political activism, likes to describe himself as a philosopher-gardener. The

Barcelona publishing house Virus has just published *Autonomía y subsistencia. Una teoría ecosocial y materialista de la libertad* (Autonomy and Subsistence: An Eco-Social and Materialist Theory of Freedom, translated into Spanish from *Terre et liberté*. La quête d'autonomie contre le fantasme de délivrance, published in 2021 by La Lenteur), a stimulating essay that criticises the philosophical foundations of our modernity.... An interview. territory that has to do with our way of being as daughters and women”.



“The first necessity is not to lose one's life in working to satisfy unlimited desires”

Gaspar D'Allens

Aurélien Berlan (Paris, 1976), who divides his time between translation, part-time teaching, food production and political activism, likes to describe himself as a philosopher-gardener. The Barcelona publishing house Virus has just published *Autonomía y subsistencia. Una teoría ecosocial y materialista de la libertad* (Autonomy and Subsistence: An Eco-Social and Materialist Theory of Freedom, translated into Spanish from *Terre et liberté*. La quête d'autonomie contre le fantasme de délivrance, published in 2021 by La Lenteur), a stimulating essay that criticises the philosophical foundations of our modernity.

In your book, you say that the modern concept of freedom is flawed and that it's leading us straight to disaster. What do you mean by that?

When we think about the modern concept of freedom, the first thing that comes to mind is its institutional and intellectual aspects: the aspiration for democracy, freedom of conscience, and the right to privacy... But behind this façade, modern freedom also has a material side that is often overlooked. However, this aspect is implicitly present in most theories and at the very heart of common sense. Today, freedom is associated with the idea of being liberated from the 'necessities' of everyday life, that is, from a certain number of tasks related to our subsistence.

From this point of view, being free means not being obliged to carry out a whole series of activities that are considered hard or tedious, such as producing food, obtaining heat, cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, caring for dependent people around us, and building and maintaining our own homes. We are only truly free when we free ourselves from this burden.

TJGCA/RevISED 08/10/25 September 2025/Gaspar D'Allens

Download the full document here!

MARXIST ECOLOGY IN CHINA: FROM MARX'S ECOLOGY TO SOCIALIST ECO-CIVILISATION THEORY – Chen Yiwen

In the face of pressing global environmental challenges, Marxist ecology has emerged as a foundational pillar of global left analysis. It represents a critical examination of the modern environmental crisis. The Chinese academic community has been engaging in Marxist ecology research since the 1980s, drawing on traditional studies on Marxism and on the history of socialist modernisation. This differs from the trajectory of Marxist ecology in the West, which has gone through different stages, from denying or supplementing Marx's ecology to rediscovering and developing it. Chinese scholars have highlighted the interpretation of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels's ecological perspectives from the outset. They have proactively referred to Western insights from eco-Marxism/ecosocialism, aiming to formulate a socialist ecological civilisation (eco-civilisation) theory with distinctive Chinese characteristics. This article discusses some of the diverse research paradigms and their course of development within Chinese Marxist ecology while also highlighting the accomplishments of and challenges facing

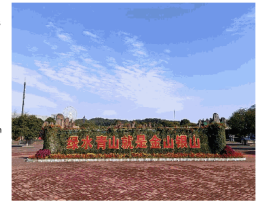
while also highlighting the accomplishments of and challenges facing Marxist ecology in China.



Marxist Ecology in China: From Marx's Ecology to Socialist Eco-Civilisation Theory

Chen Yiwen

In the face of pressing global environmental challenges, Marxist ecology has emerged as a foundational pillar of global left analysis. It represents a critical examination of the modern environmental crisis. The Chinese academic community has been engaging in Marxist ecology research since the 1980s, drawing on traditional studies on Marxism and on the history of socialist modernisation. This differs from the trajectory of Marxist ecology in the West, which has gone through different stages, from denying or supplementing Marx's ecology to rediscovering and developing it. Chinese scholars have highlighted the interpretation of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels's ecological perspectives from the outset. They have proactively referred to Western insights from eco-Marxism/ecosocialism, aiming to formulate a socialist ecological civilisation (eco-civilisation) theory with distinctive Chinese characteristics. This article discusses some of the diverse research paradigms and their course of development within Chinese Marxist ecology while also highlighting the accomplishments of and challenges facing Marxist ecology in China.



Clear waters and green mountains shgao, Chengdu, China by Liangjie2002 - Own work, CC-BY 3.0, IANS.

The Interpretation of Marx and Engels's Ecological Thought

The interpretation of Marx and Engels's ecological thought not only involves elucidating their ecological perspectives, but also applying their theories to analyse the contemporary historical context. Research on the ecological thought of

1 John Bellamy Foster and Paul Burkett, *Marx and the Earth: An Anti-Critique* (London: Brill, 2016), 1-11.

TJGCA/RevISED 08/10/25 September 2025/Chen Yiwen

Download the full document here!

"IF YOU DON'T COMMIT TO DEGROWTH, YOU WILL EXPERIENCE IMPOVERISHMENT. – Diego Delgado – Conversation with Antonio Turiel, Doctor of Theoretical Physics



"If you don't commit to degrowth, you will experience impoverishment."

Conversation with Antonio Turiel, Doctor of Theoretical Physics

Diego Delgado

The urgent need to adopt a degrowth model of production and consumption has nothing to do with ideology; it is a matter of pure logic. On a technical level, there is no viable alternative with the data in hand and based solely on what is tangible. This is the thesis of Antonio Turiel, PhD in Theoretical Physics and one of the leading experts on the ecological crisis in Spain, in his latest book, *El futuro de Europa (The Future of Europe, Destino, 2024)*.

In it, he offers a detailed explanation of all the planetary problems that we are exceeding – or have already exceeded – thanks to the deception of infinite growth. He does so to lay the foundations for a firm proposal that demands reducing our dependence on electricity, reindustrialising Europe, and committing to local production scales linked to the most pressing needs – and to degrowth, of course.

The Future of Europe is an eminently technical book which explicitly attempts to avoid ideology and distances itself from the anti-capitalist stance that generates so much rejection. Do you believe that technical discussion is the best way to overcome the model of infinite growth?

TJGCA/Commentary/SD 03/08/25 May 2025/Diego Delgado



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Personas_1214172_266_233.jpg Author: Jeroen Cornelis. This file is from Pixabay, where the creator has allowed it explicitly under the Pixabay Creative Commons 2.0 license. Pixabay ID: 1221673

The urgent need to adopt a degrowth model of production and consumption has nothing to do with ideology; it is a matter of pure logic. On a technical level, there is no viable alternative with the data in hand and based solely on what is tangible. This is the thesis of Antonio Turiel,

PhD in Theoretical Physics and one of the leading experts on the ecological crisis in Spain, in his latest book, *El futuro de Europa* (The Future of Europe, Destino, 2024).

In it, he offers a detailed explanation of all the planetary limits that we are exceeding—or have already exceeded—thanks to the deception of infinite growth. He does so to lay the foundations for a firm proposal that demands reducing our dependence on electricity, reindustrialising Europe, and committing to local production scales linked to the most pressing needs—and to degrowth, of course.

[Download the full document here!](#)

SOME PRELIMINARY THESES ON THE CONCEPT OF ECO-CIVILISATION — John Bellamy Foster



Some Preliminary Theses on the Concept of Eco-Civilisation

John Bellamy Foster

In the nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution in England, Newcastle was at the center of the coal industry. The idiom "taking coal to Newcastle" thus arose to indicate uselessly taking something to a place where it was already present in abundance. For a Western thinker to speak to an audience in China on ecological civilisation (or eco-civilisation) is like taking coal to Newcastle, since it is in China where the concept is most highly developed. Nevertheless, I will argue that the notion of eco-civilisation is intrinsically related to Marxism. This talk will therefore be directed at examining the concept of eco-civilisation from a broad ecological Marxist perspective. In this regard, I have ten preliminary theses on eco-civilisation.

- (1) The concept of ecological civilisation has Marxist origins and is inherently socialist. It first arose as a systematic outlook in the late 1970s and '80s in the Soviet Union, inspired by considerations of Karl Marx's ecological thought, and was immediately taken up by Chinese thinkers. It has virtually no presence to this day in the West, as it is radically removed from the notion of capitalist civilisation as well as Eurocentric views of modernity.¹
- (2) The fundamental philosophical outlook of eco-civilisation has deep roots in early civilisational notions of modernity, or of the active human relation to the organic-material world, as depicted by Marxist thinkers Joseph Needham and Samir Amin in their critiques of Eurocentrism. This organic-materialist philosophical outlook emerged in what is



Screen capture from "A glimpse into Nigala".

¹ See the discussion of this history in John Bellamy Foster, *The Dialectics of Ecology* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2023), 161–66.

TJSCACommentary303 ©2024 May 2023/John Bellamy Foster

In the nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution in England, Newcastle was at the center of the coal industry. The idiom "taking coal to Newcastle" thus arose to indicate uselessly taking something to a place where it was already present in abundance. For a Western thinker to speak to an audience in China on ecological civilisation (or eco-civilisation) is like taking coal to Newcastle, since it is in China where the concept is most highly developed. Nevertheless, I will argue that the notion of eco-civilisation is intrinsically related to Marxism. This talk will therefore be directed at examining the concept of eco-civilisation from a broad ecological Marxist perspective. In this regard, I have ten preliminary theses on eco-civilisation.

[Download the full document here!](#)

ENGELS FOR OUR TIMES: GENDER, SOCIAL REPRODUCTION, AND REVOLUTION?—Marnie Holborow



Engels for Our Times: Gender, Social Reproduction, and Revolution?

Marnie Holborow

It is surprising how often in Marxist accounts of women's oppression Frederick Engels is overlooked. He is dismissed for being deterministic, overly economic, even un-Marxist. Heather Brown's key work on Karl Marx and gender sees Engels as crudely mechanical compared to Marx.¹ A more recent assessment claims that Engels's writings on women represented "a momentous revision of Marx."² Lise Vogel, a landmark writer on Marx and gender, holds Engels responsible for later, mistaken capitalism-and-patriarchy dualistic explanations of women's oppression.³ For other Marxist social reproduction theorists, Engels simply does not figure into the conversation. In a 2017 collection on Social Reproduction Theory and based on Marxist political economy, Engels is not mentioned once in his own right, only as a joint author with Marx.⁴



Frederick Engels in 1864. <https://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Engels1864.jpg>, updated 2004-11-10 by w:c:commons:Author:Gregg DeGuire. Source:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Engels1864.jpg

Yet Engels, unlike Marx, devoted a whole book to the origins of women's oppression: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, which challenged the accepted view of the nuclear family as natural and universal. It remained the go-to text for many earlier socialist women, such as Eleanor Marx, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Alexandra Kollontai, as well as those of the generations who came later, such as Claudia Jones and Angela Davis. On the centenary of the publication of *The Origin of the Family*, feminists of different persuasions thought Engels important

¹ Heather A. Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2013), 174–75.
² Vincent Storchhake, "Frederick Engels: From the 'Woman Question' to 'Social Reproduction Theory' in Engels' 2020: Reading Frederick Engels in the 21st Century," *Frank Jacob* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2020), 235–70.
³ Lise Vogel, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2013), 136.
⁴ Bill Butcher, ed., *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Reconnecting Oppression* (London: Pluto, 2017).

TJSCAView303 ©2023 April 2023/4 Marnie Holborow

In It is surprising how often in Marxist accounts of women's oppression Frederick Engels is overlooked. He is dismissed for being deterministic, overly economic, even un-Marxist. Heather Brown's key work on Karl Marx and gender sees Engels as crudely mechanical compared to Marx. A more recent assessment claims that Engels's writings on women represented "a momentous revision of Marx." Lise Vogel, a landmark writer on Marx and gender, holds Engels responsible for later, mistaken capitalism-and-patriarchy dualistic explanations of women's oppression. For other Marxist social reproduction theorists, Engels simply does not figure into the conversation. In a 2017 collection on Social Reproduction Theory and based on Marxist political economy, Engels is not mentioned once in his own right, only as a joint author with Marx.

Yet Engels, unlike Marx, devoted a whole book to the origins of women's oppression: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, which challenged the accepted view of the nuclear family as natural and universal. It remained the go-to text for many earlier socialist women, such as Eleanor Marx, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Alexandra Kollontai, as well as those of the generations who came later, such as Claudia Jones and Angela Davis. On the centenary of the publication of *The Origin of the Family*, feminists of different persuasions thought Engels important enough to devote a volume to reassessing his legacy.⁵ If one includes also Engels's book on nineteenth-century working-class life in Manchester, described by Eric Hobsbawm as pathbreaking and which contained prescient insights into changing

gender roles, the case that Engels has little to offer regarding gender oppression simply does not stand up. As I will argue here, Engels's tools of analysis are vital to us understanding—and finding ways out of—gender oppression today.

[Download the full document here!](#)

CHINA IS OVERTAKING THE WEST IN ELECTRIC VEHICLES — Paul Wargan



China is overtaking the West in electric vehicles

The Western powers accuse the Asian giant of 'overcapacity' to blame it for its own industrial decline

Pawel Wargan

In May 2024, the White House announced a series of new tariffs on Chinese products, including a 100 per cent tax on imports of Chinese electric vehicles (EVs), which will come into effect at the end of this year. The European Union followed closely behind. In July, the Commission announced 17.4 to 37.6 per cent tariffs for Chinese electric vehicle manufacturers. In August, Canada announced tariffs of 100 per cent on Chinese EVs and 25 per cent on Chinese steel and aluminium.



Snapshot taken from a promotional video of Xiaomi's highly automated electric car factory. / Reuters (YouTube)

The White House insisted that the measures would 'protect US manufacturers from unfair Chinese trade practices' and ensure that 'the future of the car industry will be made in the United States by US workers'. The European Commission cited China's 'unfair subsidisation', and Canada warned of the threat of China's 'intentional state-directed overcapacity policy'. In this narrative, now choreographed and ritualised throughout the West, China's 'overcapacity' is to blame for the West's growing trade deficits and its persistent inability to reindustrialise.

China has responded firmly to these accusations. In May, at a meeting with French President Emmanuel Macron and European Commissioner Ursula von der Leyen, Chinese President Xi Jinping stated that there was no such thing as the 'problem of China's overcapacity' and emphasised China's contribution to the ecological transition. The Chinese Foreign Ministry said the 'overcapacity' argument was a 'pretext' for creating new restrictions on Chinese energy products.

TJSCACommentary303 ©2024 April 2023/Pawel Wargan

In May 2024, the White House announced a series of new tariffs on Chinese products, including a 100 per cent tax on imports of Chinese electric vehicles (EVs), which will come into effect at the end of this year. The European Union followed closely behind. In July, the Commission announced 17.4 to 37.6 per cent tariffs for Chinese electric vehicle manufacturers. In August, Canada announced tariffs of 100 per cent on Chinese EVs and 25 per cent on Chinese steel and aluminium.

The White House insisted that the measures would 'protect US manufacturers from unfair Chinese trade practices' and ensure that 'the future of the car industry will be made in the United States by US workers'. The European Commission cited China's 'unfair subsidisation', and Canada warned of the threat of China's 'intentional state-directed overcapacity policy'. In this narrative, now choreographed and ritualised throughout the West, China's 'overcapacity' is to blame for the West's growing trade deficits and its persistent inability to reindustrialise.

If the tariffs imposed by the United States, the EU and Canada are an admission of their monopolists' inability to compete with China—and a guarantee that state power is available to protect capitalist interests against an emerging socialist superpower—they are also a warning. The West is willing to sabotage the Chinese

economy and the global ecological transition rather than cooperate.

I wondered how the Chinese electric vehicle industry viewed the tariffs. 'We are not particularly worried about the tariffs,' Haidong said. 'If I am the only producer in the world, the tariffs mean that consumers in the United States will pay more.'

[Download the full document here!](#)

THE ROLE OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE CATASTROPHIC 2025 LOS ANGELES FIRES — Jeff Masters and Bob Henson —

Summer dry seasons are extending into winter, intensifying the impacts of Santa Ana winds



The role of climate change in the catastrophic 2025 Los Angeles fires

Summer dry seasons are extending into winter, intensifying the impacts of Santa Ana winds

Jeff Masters and Bob Henson

The New Year has rung in with one of the most horrific wildfire events in world history: an urban firestorm in the Los Angeles metro area that has killed at least five people and reduced thousands of homes to smoking rubble. Two major fires in excess of 10,000 acres – the Palisades fire in the western suburbs of Los Angeles, and the Eaton fire in the northern suburbs – were intensified by severe drought and driven by winds gusting up to 100 mph (161 km/hr) from a severe Santa Ana wind event.



Climate scientist Daniel Swain said on CNN that the Pacific Palisades fire alone may end up as the most expensive wildfire in history, and that he expected that collectively, the fires ravaging the region will be the costliest wildfire event in history. According to NOAA, the most expensive wildfire season on record (in 2024 USD, to account for inflation) was the \$30 billion 2018 season, mostly because of severe fires in California. This included the most destructive wildfire on record – the November Camp Fire, which devastated Paradise, California, killing 85 and destroying over 18,800 buildings. That fire cost \$20 billion (2024 USD), according to EM-DAT, making it the most expensive single fire in world history.

The role of climate change in the fires

The main way that climate change worsens wildfires is by drying out vegetation. Prolonged heat turns forests and grasslands into tinder, fuelling faster, more intense burns. In the case of this week's fires, vegetation growth in early

destructive wildfire on record – the November Camp Fire, which devastated Paradise, California, killing 85 and destroying over 18,800 buildings. That fire cost \$20 billion (2024 USD), according to EM-DAT, making it the most expensive single fire in world history.

In an email, climate scientist Daniel Swain offered these insights on the California climate change/wildfire connection:

California's fire season has already lengthened considerably in a warming climate. Critically, this has increased the overlap between "critically dry vegetation season" and "offshore wind season" (Oct-Jan). There is little evidence for climate change affecting Santa Ana winds themselves, but there is strong evidence that climate change has greatly increased the occurrence of extreme fire weather conditions in Southern California in autumn and early winter (Goss et al. 2020, Climate change is increasing the likelihood of extreme autumn wildfire conditions across California). Climate change has also increased the seasonal overlap of dry/windy conditions (Swain 2019), and there is evidence that further warming will increase wet-to-dry "hydroclimate whiplash" transitions (which result in abundant vegetation growth then subsequent drying; see my new paper, Hydroclimate volatility on a warming Earth). Additionally, the California "shoulder season" precipitation (autumn and spring) will likely decrease with warming, adding to the effects of warming temperatures and increasing evaporative demand (drying out of vegetation) essentially year-round.

[Download the full document here!](#)

A final thought



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

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

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

If you do not wish to continue receiving our newsletter, just e-mail us, writing in the subject line "unsubscribe" nosuscrip _ jussemper.org



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License](#). Each article may have a different CC license.

© 2025. The Jus Semper Global Alliance
Portal on the net: www.jussemper.org/