

# JUS SEMPER NEWSLETTER

*In Pursuit of the People and Planet Paradigm*

## Our Latest Publications on Pursuing the New Paradigm of People and Planet

HIGHLIGHTS

JUS SEMPER Newsletter – Winter-Spring 2026

**Geocratia, the Paradigm that Pursues the Well-being of People and the Planet, Not the Market — (Álvaro J. de Regil)** — Organising to save ourselves by saving the planet is the most important thing we will ever undertake in our lives; it is our last chance to have a future. **Page 2**


**Geocratia proposes to establish a social contract with our planet —A conversation with his ideologue (Laura G. Vales)** —How would you summarise this paradigm for a citizenry that already perceives that the current system is in crisis, but does not know where to look? **Page 2**

**Degrowth and flourishing, or stay the same and perish along the way (Álvaro J. de Regil)** — If we truly desire a dignified and thriving future for generations to come, we have no choice but to degrow by decisively eliminating our consumerist culture. **Page 3**

**Marx and Communal Society (John Bellamy Foster)** — Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future. **Page 3**

**Venezuela's Communal Project (Ángel Prado and Cira Pascual Marquina)** — Venezuela is committed to transforming the state, building a new society, constructing true democracy, and preserving national independence. We are also committed to building socialism... and the people are driving this forward! **Page 4**

**Planetary Health Check 2025 (Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research)** — Seven out of 9 Planetary Boundaries have been breached, with all of those seven showing trends of increasing pressure suggesting further deterioration and destabilisation of planetary health in the near future. **Page 4**



**Geocratia, the Paradigm that Pursues the Well-being of People and the Planet, Not the Market**

Organising to save ourselves by saving the planet is the most important thing we will ever undertake in our lives; it is our last chance to have a future.

Álvaro J. de Regil

**Introduction**

For the past century, humanity's pursuit of progress has been tied to the growth of the economy, the expansion of the market, and the accumulation of wealth. This paradigm, often referred to as 'geocratia', has led to unprecedented technological and economic advances, but it has also resulted in environmental degradation, social inequality, and a crisis of meaning. This newsletter explores the concept of geocratia, its implications for the future, and the challenges of transitioning to a more sustainable and equitable paradigm.



**Geocratia proposes to establish a social contract with our planet**

A conversation with his ideologue

Álvaro de Regil Castilla and Laura G. Vales

**Introduction**

Over the past few years, the concept of geocratia has gained significant traction. It is a paradigm that seeks to establish a social contract between humanity and the planet, prioritizing the well-being of both over the pursuit of economic growth. This newsletter explores the ideas of geocratia's ideologue, Álvaro de Regil, and how this paradigm could be implemented in the real world.



**Degrowth and flourishing, or stay the same and perish along the way**

If we truly desire a dignified and thriving future for generations to come, we have no choice but to degrow by decisively eliminating our consumerist culture.

Álvaro J. de Regil

**Prologue**

Since the late 19th century, the dominant paradigm of development has been based on the growth of the economy and the accumulation of wealth. This paradigm has led to unprecedented technological and economic advances, but it has also resulted in environmental degradation, social inequality, and a crisis of meaning. This newsletter explores the concept of degrowth, its implications for the future, and the challenges of transitioning to a more sustainable and equitable paradigm.



**Marx and Communal Society**

Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future.

John Bellamy Foster

**Introduction**

Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future. This newsletter explores the ideas of Marx and how they can be applied to the development of a more equitable and sustainable society.




**Venezuela's Communal Project**

Venezuela is committed to transforming the state, building a new society, constructing true democracy, and preserving national independence. We are also committed to building socialism... and the people are driving this forward!

Ángel Prado and Cira Pascual Marquina

**Introduction**

Venezuela is committed to transforming the state, building a new society, constructing true democracy, and preserving national independence. We are also committed to building socialism... and the people are driving this forward! This newsletter explores the concept of the communal project and its implications for the future of Venezuela.



**Planetary Health Check 2025**

A Scientific Assessment of the State of the Planet - Executive Summary

Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research

**Introduction**

The Planetary Health Check 2025 is a scientific assessment of the state of the planet, focusing on the nine planetary boundaries. It shows that seven out of the nine boundaries have been breached, with all of those seven showing trends of increasing pressure. This newsletter provides a summary of the key findings and recommendations of the report.

**Charting a Communal-Ecological Path: Beyond the Growth Fetish (Brian M. Napoletano ) P. 4**

**Capitalist reforms and extreme poverty in China: unprecedented progress or income deflation? (Dylan Sullivan et al.) P. 4**

**The Dialectical Ecologist: Richard Levens and the Science and Praxis of the Human-Nature Metabolism (Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster) P. 5**

**Immanuel Ness: "Neoliberal capitalism in its current form cannot survive without migration" (Nemanja Lukić) P. 5**

**China's "Triple Revolution Theory" and Marxist Analysis (Cheng Enfu and Yang Jun) P. 5**

**Climate resilience through ecocultural stewardship (Don L. Hankins ) P. 6**

**Eco-Marxism and Prometheus Unbound (John Bellamy Foster) P. 6**

**Socialist Communes and Anti-Imperialism: The Marxist Approach (Chris Gilbert) P. 6**

**Woke Ideology Triggers Cultural and Political Battles and Fragments Rural Agrarian and Feminist Movements (Nubia Barrera Silva) P. 7**

**Introducing Anarchy and Degrowth: Towards rebellious, prefigurative, and insurrectionary degrowth ecologies (Alexander Dunlap and Josephine Becker) P. 7**

**Systemic Strategies for a Complex Transition (Marga Mediavilla) P. 8**

**Subverting green growth propaganda: Degrowth, autonomous struggle, and media (Elena Salmansperger and Elina Turbina) P. 8**

**The Grammar of Resistance: Rethinking Palestine Beyond Pity and Fear (Abduljawad Omar and Pasquale Liguori) P. 8**

**Chinese-Style Modernisation: Revolution and the Worker-Peasant Alliance (Lu Xinyu) P. 8**

**The authoritarian tendencies of 21st-century capitalism (Irene León) P. 9**

**The Case for Sufficiency (María Dios – Yamina Saheb ) P. 9**

**Degrowth and Liberty: Being Free With Less? (Florent Marcellesi) P. 9**

**Energy transitions and degrowth: an interview with Manuel Casal Lodeiro (Manuel Casal Lodeiro et al.) P. 10**

**From Anti-Francoism to Fridays for Future: Environmentalism in Spain Through the Generations (Bernardo Álvarez et al.) P. 10**

*The integrated guide to imperialism in Venezuela* (Alejandro Pedregal) P. 10

*Land, Cooperation, and Socialism* (C. Gilbert, C. Pascual Marquina, João Pedro Stedile) P. 10

*The Guardians of the Amazon: Yuturi Warmi's Fight Against Gold Mining* (Marie Evens) P. 11

*The End of the Megamachine: The History of a Civilisation on the Brink of Collapse* (Fabián Scheidler) P. 11

*Beyond Growth* (Lourdes Lucía – Alberto Fraguas) P. 11

*Ecological Transformation, Agriculture, and the Survival of Humanity* (João Pedro Stedile) P. 12

*Neoliberalism and Neofascism* (Robert W. McChesney) P. 12

*“The history of capitalism is a history of recurring genocides”* (Adriá Rodríguez) P. 12

*From Nord Stream to Iran: the geopolitics of an empire in decline* (Irene Calvé / Antonio Turiel / Juan Bordera) P. 13

*Globalisation, the introverted left, and the far right that has just discovered the world* (Marga Mediavilla) P. 13

*Samir Amin on the Theory of Multipolarity* (The Editors of Monthly Review) P. 13

*Work Less Not Smarter* (Natalie Bennett) P. 14

*A Special Issue on Communes in Socialist Construction* (Chris Gilbert and Cira Pascual Marquina) P. 14

*The age of electricity is already upon us, but demand for fossil fuels will continue to grow until 2050* (Andrés Actis) P. 14

*A Final Thought* ..... P. 15

**GEOCRATIA, THE PARADIGM THAT PURSUES THE WELL-BEING OF PEOPLE AND THE PLANET, NOT THE MARKET —**

**Álvaro J. de Regil** — *Organising to save ourselves by saving the planet is the most important thing we will ever undertake in our lives; it is our last chance to have a future.*



**Geocratia, the Paradigm that Pursues the Well-being of People and the Planet, Not the Market**

Organising to save ourselves by saving the planet is the most important thing we will ever undertake in our lives; it is our last chance to have a future

Álvaro J. de Regil

Introduction

From the moment I became aware of the planetary crisis, back in 2010, I began reflecting and imagining how we humans could live in harmony with nature. I was alarmed that, given the path we are currently on, it seems impossible for our species to remain within the planetary boundaries necessary for the reproduction and sustainability of life and health on our home, planet Earth. After much research and interaction with a community increasingly concerned about the planetary crisis, in 2020, I published a proposal to imagine and suggest how to abandon the current paradigm. It is about moving towards a vision that guarantees a dignified, pleasant and sustainable life for future generations by caring for Gaia, our planet's biosphere, to maintain the conditions necessary for the flourishing and conservation of all forms of life. Geocratia is a practical concept whose dialectic directly contrasts with the current market-driven paradigm; therefore, it must be concluded that it is anti-capitalist by nature. Four years later, after observing how those in absolute control of the reins of power insist on maintaining the same trajectory that ensures a high existential risk to humans and non-humans, I am reviewing and deepening the geocratic proposal. This is reinforced by commentary from colleagues and by new research published by a variety of authors, confirming that humanity's current trajectory is leading us straight to our final cliff. The first part situates us in the context in which we find ourselves, from a political, ecological, economic, and consumer perspective. The second part presents the proposal to transition to Geocratia in its symbiosis with the Gaia hypothesis, its structure and the practical way to implement it. It concludes by suggesting how to take the first step at the community level, raising awareness and forming citizen cells, the most basic and organic form of transitioning to Geocratia.



conservation of all forms of life. Geocratia is a practical concept whose dialectic directly contrasts with the current market-driven paradigm; therefore, it must be concluded that it is anti-capitalist by nature. Five years later, after observing how those in absolute control of the reins of power insist on maintaining the same trajectory that ensures a high existential risk to humans and non-humans, I am reviewing and deepening the geocratic proposal. This is reinforced by commentary from colleagues and by new research published by a variety of authors, confirming that humanity's current trajectory is leading us straight to our final cliff. The first part situates us in the context in which we find ourselves, from a political, ecological, economic, and consumer perspective. The second part presents the proposal to transition to Geocratia in its symbiosis with the Gaia hypothesis, its structure and the practical way to implement it. It concludes by suggesting how to take the first step at the community level, raising awareness and forming citizen cells, the most basic and organic form of transitioning to Geocratia.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**GEOCRATIA PROPOSES TO ESTABLISH A SOCIAL CONTRACT WITH OUR PLANET**

— **Laura G. Vales** — *A conversation with his ideologue.*

On the occasion of the publication of his latest essay (2026), Geocratia, the paradigm that goes for the welfare of people and the planet and not the market, we wanted to talk to the Mexican author to explore his original political proposal.

Álvaro de Regil Castilla is the executive director of the Jus Semper Global Alliance. His work has centred on promoting the need to build the imaginary of a new paradigm for the well-being of people and planet in a truly democratic environment, free from capitalism. As part of this transformative concept, he works in the fields of labour rights, business and human rights, degrowth/steady-state economics, basic income, and the drastic reduction of humanity's

environmental footprint as the only way to achieve the sustainability of life on our home planet, Earth.

**Starting concepts**

Laura G. Vales: Five years have passed since you wrote the first version of Geocratia, a proposal that now has a much more forged structure. How would you summarise this paradigm for a citizenry that already perceives that the current system is in crisis, but does not know where to look?



**'Geocratia proposes to establish a social contract with our planet'**

A conversation with his ideologue

Álvaro de Regil Castilla and Laura G. Vales

On the occasion of the publication of his latest essay (2026), Geocratia, the paradigm that goes for the welfare of people and the planet and not the market, we wanted to talk to the Mexican author to explore his original political proposal.

**Introductory biography**  
 Álvaro de Regil Castilla is the executive director of the Jus Semper Global Alliance. This organization has been promoting living wages as the basis of any sustainable and democratic society since 2013. He launched the Living Wage North and South (LWANS) initiative, an international benchmark to measuring unequal exchange through labour arbitrations in global supply chains generated by corporate globalisation. He is also a founding member of the International Living Wage Observatory (IOWO) at La Salle University in Mexico City.

Since 2015, his work has centred on promoting the need to build the imaginary of a new paradigm for the well-being of people and planet in a truly democratic environment, free from capitalism. He part of this transformative concept, he works in the fields of labour rights, business and human rights, degrowth/steady-state economics, basic income, and the drastic reduction of humanity's environmental footprint as the only way to achieve the sustainability of life on our home planet, Earth.

Álvaro is also a contributor to the vision and transformative process of the *Great Transition Initiative* of the Milken Institute in Boston, Massachusetts, and a consultant on the underlying causes of immigration with several community organisations in California and with California Lutheran University.



[Download the full document here!](#)

**DEGROWTH AND FLOURISHING, OR STAY THE SAME AND PERISH ALONG THE WAY – Álvaro J. de Regil —** *If we truly desire a dignified and thriving future for generations to come, we have no choice but to degrow by decisively eliminating our consumerist culture.*



**Degrowth and flourishing, or stay the same and perish along the way**

*If we truly desire a dignified and thriving future for generations to come, we have no choice but to degrow by decisively eliminating our consumerist culture.*

Álvaro J. de Regil

Prologue

**S**o far this century, in a sector already fully aware of the planetary crisis, ordinary citizens have been called upon with increasing frequency to reduce their consumption urgently. We call for cutting fossil fuel consumption, abandoning them and replacing them with renewable energies, eliminating our consumerist habits, caring for nature, our entire planet, Gaia. However, we have not managed to transcend the citizen's imaginary to become aware that either we cut our consumption or we will face an enormous existential risk. This is because capital has systematically prevented this, alienating us from our essence. This not only alienates us in our work and social relationships, from our sense of identity with the community to which we belong and with nature, of which our species is a part, but also prevents us from talking about the impact of the capitalist system on our planet, our home. Indeed, capitalism alienates us from our essence, harassing societies daily with its Promethean discourse that everything can be achieved through technology, that happiness lies in having—not in being—and that we must therefore strive to possess and consume.



by Bob Schmitt on Unsplash

©2024 Jus Semper Global Alliance. All Rights Reserved.

So far this century, in a sector already fully aware of the planetary crisis, ordinary citizens have been called upon with increasing frequency to reduce their consumption urgently. We call for cutting fossil fuel consumption, abandoning them and replacing them with renewable energies, eliminating our consumerist habits, caring for nature, our entire planet, Gaia. However, we have not managed to transcend the citizen's imaginary to become aware that either we cut our consumption or we will face an enormous existential risk. This is because capital has systematically prevented this, alienating us from our essence. This not only alienates us in our work and social relationships, from our sense of identity with the community to which we belong and with nature, of which our species is a part, but also prevents us from talking about the impact of the capitalist system on our planet, our home. Indeed, capitalism alienates us from our essence, harassing societies daily with its Promethean discourse that everything can be achieved through technology, that happiness lies in having—not in being—and that we must therefore strive to possess and consume.

This essay is based on the geocratic paradigm I have been developing since 2020, which proposes reorganising ourselves to take care of our planet. To take care of us, it is necessary to put the planet's needs before our own. The latest version of Geocratia can be found here.

This essay focuses on demonstrating that it is perfectly possible to reverse the dystopian trajectory we are on, and that this is done by applying market logic through the exercise of our power of consumption. First, it is argued that it is clearly possible to greatly reduce our planet's response to the crisis the capitalocene has brought it into, after having enjoyed the equilibrium it maintained throughout the Holocene. This is achieved by changing our way of life, through a cultural shift, by decreasing our consumption of resources to styles that allow us to fully enjoy life while taking care of the planet, staying within the planetary boundaries necessary for its stability, and living much better by consuming less of everything. In Geocratia, degrowth is a consequence of cultural change and not a model or an end in itself. The end is to save ourselves by saving our planet by replacing capitalism. Second, there is a clear way to convince the majority needed to materialise such a change, by replacing the dystopian trajectory we are unconsciously following through the subterfuge of the culture of consumerism. This happens by following market logic, adopting a new culture of sustainable consumption aimed at satisfying our real and universal needs, and discarding everything the market instills in us about what we must consume, even if it is absolutely unnecessary and harmful to people and the planet. Indeed, market logic is the only one that significantly influences government decision-making, because by adopting the new geocratic consumer culture, the blow to the system is direct, forcing governments to change the bulk of their economic, social and environmental policies for the benefit of people and planet and to the detriment of capital. Moreover, regardless of the pace at which governments replace their policies, people and the planet will benefit from the fall in consumption. Finally, applying market logic, it also opens the door to organising ourselves in rural and urban geocratic communities under different forms of social organisation (nation, province, municipality, city, community, village...), beyond the increasingly obsolete concept of the nation-state.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**MARX AND COMMUNAL SOCIETY — John Bellamy Foster —** *Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future.*

Ultimately communism is the only thing that is important about [Karl] Marx's thought," Hungarian British political theorist R. N. Berki observed in 1983. Although this was an exaggeration, it is undeniable that Marx's broad conception of communal society/communism formed the basis of his entire critique of class

society and his vision of a viable future for humanity. Yet, there have been few attempts to engage systematically with the development of this aspect of Marx's thought as it emerged over the course of his life, due to the complexity of his approach to the question of communal production in history and the philosophical, anthropological, and political-economic challenges that this presented, extending to our own day. Still, Marx's approach to communal society is of genuine significance not only in understanding his thought as a whole, but also in helping guide humanity past the iron cage of capitalist society. In addition to presenting a philosophical anthropology of communism, he delved into the history and ethnology of actual communal social formations. This led to concrete investigations into communal production and exchange. All of this played into his conception of the communism of the future as a society of associated producers.

In our time, communal production and exchange, and elements of a communal state, have been developed, with varying degrees of success, in a number of socialist societies following revolutions, notably in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Venezuela, and elsewhere around the world. Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is thus an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future.



**Marx and Communal Society**

John Bellamy Foster

**U**ltimately communism is the only thing that is important about [Karl] Marx's thought," Hungarian British political theorist R. N. Berki observed in 1983. Although this was an exaggeration, it is undeniable that Marx's broad conception of communal society/communism formed the basis of his entire critique of class society and his vision of a viable future for humanity. Yet, there have been few attempts to engage systematically with the development of this aspect of Marx's thought as it emerged over the course of his life, due to the complexity of his approach to the question of communal production in history and the philosophical, anthropological, and political-economic challenges that this presented, extending to our own day. Still, Marx's approach to communal society is of genuine significance not only in understanding his thought as a whole, but also in helping guide humanity past the iron cage of capitalist society. In addition to presenting a philosophical anthropology of communism, he delved into the history and ethnology of actual communal social formations. This led to concrete investigations into communal production and exchange. All of this played into his conception of the communism of the future as a society of associated producers.



Karl Marx at the editorial office of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, by Heinrich Heine, 1848. Source: Wikimedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl\\_Marx\\_at\\_the\\_editorial\\_office\\_of\\_the\\_Neue\\_Rheinische\\_Zeitung\\_by\\_Heinrich\\_Heine\\_1848.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_Marx_at_the_editorial_office_of_the_Neue_Rheinische_Zeitung_by_Heinrich_Heine_1848.jpg)

In our time, communal production and exchange, and elements of a communal state, have been developed, with varying degrees of success, in a number of socialist societies following revolutions, notably in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Venezuela, and elsewhere around the world. Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is thus an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future.

©2024 Jus Semper Global Alliance. All Rights Reserved.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**VENEZUELA'S COMMUNAL PROJECT — Ángel Prado and Cira Pascual Marquina —** *Marx's understanding of the history, philosophy, anthropology, and political economy of communal/collective society is an important source of insight and vision, not only with respect to the past, but also the present and future.*



**PLANETARY HEALTH CHECK 2025 — Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research —** *Seven out of 9 Planetary Boundaries have been breached, with all of those seven showing trends of increasing pressure suggesting further deterioration and destabilisation of planetary health in the near future.*



however, it is first necessary to address the issue of growth/degrowth as it is frequently conceived—and indeed misconceived—within various strands of Marxism in the face of the current planetary crisis. Only then can we orient a genuinely communal-ecological path, geared not to growth or degrowth, but to sustainable human development.



**Venezuela's Communal Project**

Ángel Prado and Cira Pascual Marquina

Ángel Prado is a founder of the El Maízal Commune in central-western Venezuela and a key leader of the *Comunidad* Union, an organisation that brings together some eighty communes. Since June 2024, Prado has been Minister of Communes. In that position, he combines tireless work to promote communal organisation nationwide with active participation in state affairs. In this interview, the command-minister first looks at how Venezuela's communes are structured and how they relate to the state. Prado also reflects on the challenges that communes face today, the importance of unity in Chavismo, and the plans to incorporate the communes in a reform of the Venezuelan constitution. Throughout, Prado underscores the commune both as a practical solution to the immediate needs of the community and as part of a strategic project of national liberation and socialist construction.



— C.P.M.

Cira Pascual Marquina: Let's start with the most basic question: What is a Venezuelan commune?

Ángel Prado: First, I want to say how grateful I am for your readers' interest in understanding the political transformation taking place in Venezuela and also how the commune—according to the roadmap laid out by Comandante [Hugo] Chávez—serves as a path to building socialism.

A commune is a grassroots organisation within a specific territory, where self-government is established with a political structure that legislates, administers resources, and manages its own means of production.

TSCA#052-00114: March 2024A: Prado - C. Pascual M.

**Planetary Health Check 2025**

*A Scientific Assessment of the State of the Planet - Executive Summary*

Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research



TSCA#052-00114: March 2024A: Potsdam Institute

**Charting a Communal-Ecological Path: Beyond the Growth Fetish**

Brian M. Napolitano

The concept of generalised autogestion, particularly as developed in the work of Henri Lefebvre, offers an important vantage point from which to critically examine a potential communal-ecological path to socialism inspired in large part by István Mészáros's work on the communal system. To properly situate the ecological aspect of the communal system, however, it is first necessary to address the issue of growth/degrowth as it is frequently conceived—and indeed misconceived—within various strands of Marxism in the face of the current planetary crisis. Only then can we orient a genuinely communal-ecological path, geared not to growth or degrowth, but to sustainable human development.



Monthly Review

Kobeil Salto's two recent books claiming that Karl Marx, in the decade following the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, underwent an "epistemological break" leading him to advocate degrowth communism, together with Matthew Huber and Leigh Phillips's polemical responses claiming that Marx's ideas align with social-democratic variants of ecological modernisation, attempt to rally Marx to opposing poles in a contentious debate over the problem of growth.<sup>1</sup> As a movement against the ecological destruction wrought by capital, ecosocialism is directly relevant to this debate, but the appeals to Marx by the aforementioned authors have apparently created the impression that ecosocialism itself is subject to this polarisation. Thus, in his notes for a talk on ecosocialism at Marxism 2025 in Dublin, Stille Holgersen opens by declaring that "the current polarisation within [sic] ecosocialism between eco-modernism and degrowth is a problem," and then contends that Marxism has "always" sided with eco-modernism, with ecological Marxism—as a "subdiscipline"

<sup>1</sup> See Kobeil Salto, *Marx in the Anthropocene* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2023); Kobeil Salto, *Slow Down* (London: Atria Publishing House, 2024); Brian M. Napolitano, "This Call Aims at Degrowth Communism," *Jus Semper*, January 2023; Matt Huber and Leigh Phillips, "Kobeil Salto's 'Start From Scratch' Degrowth Communism," *Jacobin*, March 9, 2024.

TSCA#052-00255: March 2024B: Napolitano

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.

[Download the full document here!](#)

The Planetary Health Check (PHC) report provides an assessment of the state of our planet. It is based on the Planetary Boundaries (PBs) – the nine processes that are known to regulate the stability, resilience (ability to absorb disruptions) and life-support functions of our planet. Each of these processes, such as Climate Change or Ocean Acidification, is currently quantified by one or two control variables. The 2025 PHC report concludes that seven out of nine Planetary Boundaries have been breached, with all of those seven showing trends of increasing pressure – suggesting further deterioration and destabilisation of planetary health in the near future.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**CHARTING A COMMUNAL-ECOLOGICAL PATH: BEYOND THE GROWTH FETISH — Brian M. Napolitano**

The concept of generalised autogestion, particularly as developed in the work of Henri Lefebvre, offers an important vantage point from which to critically examine a potential communal-ecological path to socialism inspired in large part by István Mészáros's work on the communal system. To properly situate the ecological aspect of the communal system,

[Download the full document here!](#)

**CAPITALIST REFORMS AND EXTREME POVERTY IN CHINA: UNPRECEDENTED PROGRESS OR INCOME DEFLATION? — Dylan Sullivan, Michail Moatsos & Jason Hickel**

Driven It is widely believed that China's socialist economy had relatively high rates of extreme poverty while the capitalist reforms of the 1980s and 1990s delivered rapid progress. This narrative relies on World Bank estimates of the share of people living on less than \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP), which show a sharp decline from 88 per cent in 1981 to zero by 2018. However, the World Bank's poverty line has been critiqued for ignoring variations in the actual cost of meeting basic needs. In this paper we review data published by the OECD on the share of people unable to afford a subsistence basket. These estimates indicate that from 1981 to 1990, when most of China's socialist provisioning systems were still in place, the country's extreme poverty rate was on average only 5.6 per cent, substantially lower than in capitalist economies of comparable size and income at the time: 51 per cent in India, 36.5 per cent in Indonesia, and 29.5 per cent in Brazil. China's comparatively strong performance is corroborated by data on other social indicators. Moreover, extreme poverty in

China increased during the capitalist reforms of the 1990s, reaching a peak of 68 per cent, as privatisation inflated the prices of essential goods and thus deflated the incomes of the working classes. These results indicate that socialist provisioning policies can be effective at preventing extreme poverty, while market reforms may threaten people's ability to meet basic needs.

dialectics of nature and society drawn from such thinkers as Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, J. D. Bernal, J. B. S. Haldane, Joseph Needham, Christopher Caudwell, Marcel Prenant, Ivan Ivanovich Schmalhausen, and C. H. Waddington. As he cogently observed, "perhaps the first investigation of a complex object as a system was the masterwork of Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*," which explored both the economic and ecological bases of capitalism as a system.<sup>4</sup> Marx's materialist dialectics extended to not only the political-economic critique of capitalism and the argument for socialism on that basis, but also contributed to a dialectical naturalism that encompassed the ecological connections/contradictions of humanity and the earth, necessitating social change.

Despite its prominent place in everyday political and social life, few studies attempt to investigate and understand this phenomenon. One exception is Professor Immanuel Ness of the Department of Political Science at the City University of New York, who has just published the results of his research on migration, in which he explores the links between the socio-economic needs of rich countries and the problems of survival in poor countries.

We had the opportunity to speak with Professor Ness about the conclusions of his work, *Migration as Economic Imperialism: How International Labour Mobility Undermines Economic Development in Poor Countries* (2023, Cambridge, UK: Polity), to try to understand the role that migration plays in our society and how it impacts us.



**Capitalist reforms and extreme poverty in China: unprecedented progress or income deflation?**

Dylan Sullivan, Michail Moatsos & Jason Hickel

Abstract

It is widely believed that China's socialist economy had relatively high rates of extreme poverty while the capitalist reforms of the 1980s and 1990s delivered rapid progress. This narrative relies on World Bank estimates of the share of people living on less than \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP), which show a sharp decline from 88 per cent in 1981 to zero by 2018. However, the World Bank's poverty line has been criticised for ignoring variations in the actual cost of meeting basic needs. In this paper we review data published by the OECD on the share of people unable to afford a subsistence basket. These estimates indicate that from 1981 to 1990, when most of China's socialist provisioning systems were still in place, the country's extreme poverty rate was on average only 5.6 per cent, substantially lower than in capitalist economies of comparable size and income at the time: 51 per cent in India, 36.3 per cent in Indonesia, and 29.5 per cent in Brazil. China's comparatively strong performance is corroborated by data on other social indicators. Moreover, extreme poverty in China increased during the capitalist reforms of the 1990s, reaching a peak of 68 per cent, as privatisation inflated the prices of essential goods and thus deflated the incomes of the working classes. These results indicate that socialist provisioning policies can be effective at preventing extreme poverty, while market reforms may threaten people's ability to meet basic needs.



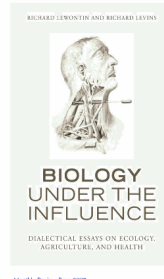
Photo by Xujin on Unsplash

**The Dialectical Ecologist: Richard LeVins and the Science and Praxis of the Human-Nature Metabolism**

*If reason is a natural characteristic of human beings, is it not of nature? —Yrjö Haila and Richard LeVins\**

Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster

Richard LeVins, as noted agroecologist and mathematical ecologist John Vandermeer has observed, "was and remains 'legendary' in ecology." Within ecological science itself, LeVins's contributions are vast and paradigm shifting. One critical innovation, to which he devoted much of his life work, was the development of a method called "loop analysis, a mathematical technique that uses some basic qualitative understanding of the dynamics of differential equations to formulate... how variables effectively act to loop back on themselves as predator that overacts a prey, for example, creates a negative loop on itself by reducing its own key resources!" Through this research, "LeVins showed how loop analysis could be applied in all sorts of ecological situations, effectively creating a new mode of analysis of ecological systems."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, LeVins's contributions to science and critical thought far transcended his forays into mathematical ecology, as he engaged ecology in its widest dimensions including population ecology, ecological systems analysis, evolutionary processes, the philosophy and history of science, agroecology, ecodevelopment, socioecological planning, environmental



Marxist Review Press, 2022

<sup>1</sup> Yrjö Haila and Richard LeVins, *Humanity and Nature* (London: Pluto, 1992), 11.  
<sup>2</sup> John Vandermeer, "Objects of Intellectual Interest Have Real Life Impacts: The Ecology (and More) of Richard LeVins," *Terrace, Aesthetics, Marxism's Clark, and Other 11 Tales*, eds. W. J. G. O'Brien, Massachusetts: The Pumping Station, 2018, 1-7.

TSCAEssaySD-020246 November 2023D, Sullivan et al

[Download the full document here!](#)

**THE DIALECTICAL ECOLOGIST: RICHARD LEVINS AND THE SCIENCE AND PRAXIS OF THE HUMAN-NATURE METABOLISM — Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster — *If reason is a natural characteristic of human beings, is it not of nature?* —Yrjö Haila and Richard LeVins.**

Richard LeVins, as noted agroecologist and mathematical ecologist John Vandermeer has observed, "was and remains 'legendary' in ecology." Within ecological science itself, LeVins's contributions are vast and paradigm shifting. At the same time, LeVins's contributions to science and critical thought far transcended his forays into mathematical ecology, as he engaged ecology in its widest dimensions including population ecology, ecological systems analysis, evolutionary processes, the philosophy and history of science, agroecology, ecodevelopment, socioecological planning, environmental history, public health, Marxian ecological theory, and ecosocialism—all of which for him, taken together, constituted the truth as the whole. At the root of all of LeVins's thinking, from the days of his youth to his work as a mature ecological scientist, was a conception of the

**Immanuel Ness: "Neoliberal capitalism in its current form cannot survive without migration"**

*Immanuel Ness, author of the book 'Migration as Economic Imperialism', explores the phenomenon of migration around the world as another element of capitalist imperialism*

Nemanja Lukić

Whether it is another story about the tragedy of a capsized boat or another day of riots in France, the protagonists are always the same: immigrants. In the first case, they are victims, and in the second, they are unwanted members of society. But what they share is the dehumanisation they suffer both in the media and in the opinion of a section of the public, a sentiment that is increasingly being used for political and electoral purposes. The goal: to hide real problems and change something so that nothing changes.



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Refugees\_waiting\_for\_help\_in\_Haiti.jpg, CC BY, via Wikimedia Commons

Despite its prominent place in everyday political and social life, few studies attempt to investigate and understand this phenomenon. One exception is Professor Immanuel Ness of the Department of Political Science at the City University of New York, who has just published the results of his research on migration, in which he explores the links between the socio-economic needs of rich countries and the problems of survival in poor countries.

We had the opportunity to speak with Professor Ness about the conclusions of his work, *Migration as Economic Imperialism: How International Labour Mobility Undermines Economic Development in Poor Countries* (2023, Cambridge, UK: Polity), to try to understand the role that migration plays in our society and how it impacts us.

TSCAEssaySD-020246 November 2023Nemanja Lukić

[Download the full document here!](#)

**IMMANUEL NESS: "NEOLIBERAL CAPITALISM IN ITS CURRENT FORM CANNOT SURVIVE WITHOUT MIGRATION" — Nemanja Lukić — *Immanuel Ness, author of the book 'Migration as Economic Imperialism', explores the phenomenon of migration around the world as another element of capitalist imperialism.***

Whether it is another story about the tragedy of a capsized boat or another day of riots in France, the protagonists are always the same: immigrants. In the first case, they are victims, and in the second, they are unwanted members of society. But what they share is the dehumanisation they suffer both in the media and in the opinion of a section of the public, a sentiment that is increasingly being used for political and electoral purposes. The goal: to hide real problems and change something so that nothing changes.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**CHINA'S "TRIPLE REVOLUTION THEORY" AND MARXIST ANALYSIS — Cheng Enfu and Yang Jun**

In what is known as the New Era, beginning in 2012 with the rise of Xi Jinping as chairman of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and president of the People's Republic of China (PRC), there has been a steady advance of the Sincisation of Marxist theory and of the concept of socialism with Chinese characteristics, spreading to all aspects of society and adopted as a governing principle for China as a whole. This transformation is not, however, seen as a sharp break with the past, but as a further progression of the Chinese Revolution, as symbolised by its three paramount leaders over its history, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Xi Jinping,

symbolising the periods of the Revolutionary Seizure of Power, Revolutionary Reform (or Reform Revolution), and the New Era, now seen as representing the period of Transitional Revolution aimed at completing the revolution. The call to “carry the revolution to its completion,” which was first introduced by Mao, was taken up again by Xi in 2016, and in the last several years has been a persistent theme in his speeches, and in the longer-range strategies the CPC has been promoting. It thus represents a new phase in the Chinese Revolution, which recently celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary.



### China's "Triple Revolution Theory" and Marxist Analysis

Cheng Enfu and Yang Jun

In what is known as the New Era, beginning in 2012 with the rise of Xi Jinping as chairman of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and president of the People's Republic of China (PRC), there has been a steady advance of the Sinicisation of Marxist theory and of the concept of socialism with Chinese characteristics, spreading to all aspects of society and adopted as a governing principle for China as a whole. This transformation is not, however, seen as a sharp break with the past, but as a further progression of the Chinese Revolution, as symbolised by its three paramount leaders over its history, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Xi Jinping, symbolising the periods of the Revolutionary Seizure of Power, Revolutionary Reform (or Reform Revolution), and the New Era, now seen as representing the period of Transitional Revolution aimed at completing the revolution. The call to “carry the revolution to its completion,” which was first introduced by Mao, was taken up again by Xi in 2016, and in the last several years has been a persistent theme in his speeches, and in the longer-range strategies the CPC has been promoting. It thus represents a new phase in the Chinese Revolution, which recently celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary.



These shifts in the historical progression of the Chinese Revolution have led to various attempts to theorize the three stages of the revolution. Here Cheng Enfu and Yang Jun provide what they call “Triple Revolution Theory.” Their article is a product of the Sinicisation of Marxism and is primarily written for a Chinese audience and for Marxists worldwide who have been following the progress of the Chinese Revolution. Since their argument is both logical and historical in character, while also depicting various alternative points of view, it should be readily understandable to patient and attentive readers. Nevertheless, we encourage MR readers who find the journey labourious to leap to the end, namely the conclusion in part IV, since this addresses what “carrying the revolution to completion” really means in the view of

TSCA/EmpSD 02040/December 2023C, Idu Y. Jan

These shifts in the historical progression of the Chinese Revolution have led to various attempts to theorize the three stages of the revolution. Here Cheng Enfu and Yang Jun provide what they call “Triple Revolution Theory.” Their article is a product of the Sinicisation of Marxism and is primarily written for a Chinese audience and for Marxists worldwide who have been following the progress of the Chinese Revolution. Since their argument is both logical and historical in character, while also depicting various alternative points of view, it should be readily understandable to patient and attentive readers. Nevertheless, we encourage MR readers who find the journey labourious to leap to the end, namely the conclusion in part IV, since this addresses what “carrying the revolution to completion” really means in the view of these authors. Having done so, it will be possible to examine their whole argument from beginning to end, with new and deeper insights into the evolution of Chinese Marxist thought in the present as history.

—The Editors

Download the full document here!



### CLIMATE RESILIENCE THROUGH ECOCULTURAL STEWARDSHIP— Don L. Hankins



### Climate resilience through ecocultural stewardship

Don L. Hankins

Abstract

The climate crisis has exacerbated many ecological and cultural problems including wildfire and drought vulnerability, biodiversity declines, and social justice and equity. While there are many concepts of social and ecological resilience, the exemplar practices of Indigenous stewardship are recognised in having sustained Indigenous peoples and their countries for millennia and past climate change events. California has been at the crossroads of many of these issues, and the historic and current contributions of Indigenous peoples to addressing these provide an excellent study of ecocultural stewardship and leadership by Indigenous peoples to achieve climate resilience.



Photo by Kamroni Nkanda on Unsplash

Consequences of the climate crisis are evident in the effects of devastating wildfires, severe droughts, extensive floods, rising seas, and biodiversity decline among other issues, but they are largely not new problems, and the knowledge to live with and through such change is imperative to social and ecological resilience. It is clear that immediate action is necessary to curb and reverse anthropogenic drivers of warming and avoid dire consequences for the planet and its inhabitants. Globally, Indigenous peoples' contributions to climate resilience and biodiversity conservation have gained momentum (1–6). From a community perspective, climate resilience and biodiversity conservation represent a narrowed scope of benefits derived from integrated ecological relationships encompassing much broader and holistic

TSCA/EmpSD 01046/January 2026Don L. Hankins

The climate crisis has exacerbated many ecological and cultural problems including wildfire and drought vulnerability, biodiversity declines, and social justice and equity. While there are many concepts of social and ecological resilience, the exemplar practices of Indigenous stewardship are recognised in having sustained Indigenous peoples and their countries for millennia and past climate change events. California has been at the crossroads of many of these issues, and the historic and current contributions of Indigenous peoples to addressing these provide an excellent study of ecocultural stewardship and leadership by Indigenous peoples to achieve climate resilience.

Download the full document here!



### ECO-MARXISM AND PROMETHEUS UNBOUND — John Bellamy Foster

In the West, ecological modernisation as a model for addressing environmental problems has long been the subject of critique by ecosocialists and by radical ecologists in general. In contrast, in China, ecological modernisation as a way of redressing environmental problems has the strong backing of ecological Marxists. The primary reason for these differing approaches should be obvious. In the West, the notion of ecological modernisation, while unobjectionable in itself as part of a comprehensive process of environmental change, has come to stand

ideologically for the restrictive model of capitalist ecological modernisation. Here it is suggested that environmental problems can be addressed by technological means alone within the established social relations of capitalism in a purely reformist context. Distinct from this, socialist ecological modernisation, as envisioned in China and in a few other postrevolutionary states, is substantively different. It requires a break with the social relations of capital accumulation, facilitating changes in the human relation to nature that are of a revolutionary character, aimed at the creation of an ecological civilisation geared to sustainable human development.



### Eco-Marxism and Prometheus Unbound

John Bellamy Foster

In the West, ecological modernisation as a model for addressing environmental problems has long been the subject of critique by ecosocialists and by radical ecologists in general. In contrast, in China, ecological modernisation as a way of redressing environmental problems has the strong backing of ecological Marxists. The primary reason for these differing approaches should be obvious. In the West, the notion of ecological modernisation, while unobjectionable in itself as part of a comprehensive process of environmental change, has come to stand ideologically for the restrictive model of capitalist ecological modernisation. Here it is suggested that environmental problems can be addressed by technological means alone within the established social relations of capitalism in a purely reformist context. Distinct from this, socialist ecological modernisation, as envisioned in China and in a few other postrevolutionary states, is substantively different. It requires a break with the social relations of capital accumulation, facilitating changes in the human relation to nature that are of a revolutionary character, aimed at the creation of an ecological civilisation geared to sustainable human development.



A parallel problem arises with respect to the notion of “Prometheism,” an ambiguous term ostensibly based on the ancient Greek myth in which Prometheus, a Titan, gave fire to humanity. In the contemporary capitalist view, the Promethean myth has been transformed in such a way that it is seen as standing for technology and power, even for

TSCA/EmpSD 02047/January 2026J.B. Foster

Download the full document here!



### SOCIALIST COMMUNISM AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM: THE MARXIST APPROACH — Chris Gilbert — “The direct antithesis to the empire was the Commune.” —Karl Marx, The Civil War in France

Worldwide, but especially in Latin America, there is currently much interest in communes just as there are, even more importantly, actual projects of communal construction. Some of the most compelling examples of the latter are the efforts to build communal socialism or “socialismo comunitario” (communitary socialism) that have emerged in Venezuela and Bolivia respectively. In Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez proposed in 2009 that Venezuelan socialism—a project initiated three years earlier—would be built based on communes as its “basic cells” of democratic self-government and collective production. In Bolivia, the process of change that began in 2006 and has roots in both the country's

Indigenous resistance and its workers' struggles also proposed a variant of communitary socialism. Connected to the concept of *buen vivir*, Bolivia's socialism was to be built relying on Indigenous communes, or *ayllus*, as one of its main "levers." A parallel can be found in Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement (MST), which struggles for agrarian reform by occupying land and subsequently establishing communal living and production arrangements called *acampamentos* and *assentamentos*. Although a social movement, MST has long defended the goal of building a sovereign nation in the face of imperialism, and since 1990 has included socialism as one of its strategic aims. These are, in my opinion, some of the most promising examples.



### Socialist Communes and Anti-Imperialism: The Marxist Approach

*"The direct antithesis to the empire was the Commune."  
—Karl Marx, The Civil War in France*

Chris Gilbert

Israel's genocidal war on Gaza, which has gone hand in hand with ruthless assaults on the West Bank, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen, and Syria, all of it enthusiastically backed and bankrolled by the United States, has served as a wake-up call to people around the world about the devastating effects of imperialism. Carried out with the complicity of all the Western governments, the genocide should also open our eyes to the larger, U.S.-led imperialist system. That system, even when not waging outright war against countries of the Global South, places most under a sort of generalised siege, sometimes through sanctions (for example, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, China, and Iran) or hemming them in with military bases (as in the cases of China, North Korea, and Venezuela, among others), to say nothing of imperialism's systematic drain of value and material resources from such countries, which has devastating social and environmental effects.



Given this context, in which imperialism versus oppressed nations and peoples clearly represents the principal contradiction, one could well wonder about the importance of a socialist commune. Why discuss communes at all? What do communes have to do with the urgent struggle against imperialism, which is evidently the central struggle today? Even more troublingly, one could point out how the imperialist-Zionist project has itself deployed communes, the *kibbutzim*, to colonise Palestinian territory, arming them with militias to extirpate and exterminate Palestinians in its settler-colonialist project. A few of these *kibbutz*-communes were targets—understandable targets, given the right of a

### WOKE IDEOLOGY TRIGGERS CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BATTLES AND FRAGMENTS RURAL AGRARIAN AND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS — Nubia Barrera Silva



### Woke Ideology Triggers Cultural and Political Battles and Fragments Rural Agrarian and Feminist Movements

Nubia Barrera Silva

Abstract

From prehistory—the first ethnic period—to Western civilisation, family forms have determined the natural evolution of systems of consanguinity and affinity in kinship relations. Engels validates them in the second economic and sexual contradiction reproduced in the home through property, female sexual exclusivity, domestic work, and child-rearing. In contrast, the so-called 2030 agenda of the Collective West arbitrarily imposed gender dysphoria, which we have evidenced through data and empirical accounts, as well as the dangerous neoliberal framework introduced into education, culture, and human relations.



Experimental gender medicine has distorted biological sex at birth with a subjective view of gender identity, with severe impacts on the physical and emotional health of children, adolescents, and people exposed to public opinion. Intersectionality, another facet of woke culture: divide and conquer, expands into multiple forms of discrimination within rural organisations, urban feminist collectives, and other international social movements, with a notable detrimental effect on the rural economy in times of climate collapse.

Introduction

Woke ideology is vague, but this does not make it any less harmful in terms of perceptions of sex and gender, or its impact on the struggles for rights and demands by social organisations and feminism. Karina Mariani rightly points out that *woke ideology has transformed our societies, pitting the population against each other in an unprecedented cultural*

TSGA/Issue/SD/0201/February 2026/Nubia Barrera Silva

### INTRODUCING ANARCHY AND DEGROWTH: TOWARDS REBELLIOUS, PREFIGURATIVE, AND INSURRECTIONARY DEGROWTH ECOLOGIES — Alexander Dunlap and Josephine Becker

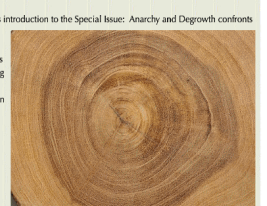


### Editorial: Introducing Anarchy and Degrowth: Towards rebellious, prefigurative, and insurrectionary degrowth ecologies

Alexander Dunlap and Josephine Becker

Abstract

Where is the anarchy in degrowth? This introduction to the Special Issue: Anarchy and Degrowth confronts the persistent absence or marginalisation of anarchism within the degrowth discourse. While degrowth positions itself as a transformative 'movement,' opposing capitalist modernity and ecological exploitation, it is increasingly dominated by an institutionalised, policy-oriented, and statist framework. In contrast, anarchist traditions offer anti-authoritarian, action oriented, and community-rooted, or prefigurative, approaches to social and ecological transformation. This introduction critiques degrowth's limited engagement with anarchism, its appropriation without attribution, and its continued neglect of autonomous and anarchist theory and practice (e.g., praxis). The introduction is framed by two concerns raised by Ted Trainer (2024): (1) Degrowth underestimates the harms done to the planet, and (2) fails to discuss the tactics, strategies, and pathways to remedy these planetary harms. Confirming these concerns, we revisit anarchist histories and political fault lines to sharpen degrowth's political intelligence and projectuality. In response to these concerns, we then advocate for integrating an ecosystem of tactics into degrowth. This leads to presenting the seven articles of the Special Issue that are organised into three sections: Discussions and Interventions, Struggles Converge, and Organise to Resist. The introduction further warns of degrowth



Where is the anarchy in degrowth? This introduction to the Special Issue: Anarchy and Degrowth confronts the persistent absence or marginalisation of anarchism within the degrowth discourse. While degrowth positions itself as a transformative 'movement,' opposing capitalist modernity and ecological exploitation, it is increasingly dominated by an institutionalised, policy-oriented, and statist framework. In contrast, anarchist traditions offer anti-authoritarian, action oriented, and community-rooted, or prefigurative, approaches to social and ecological transformation. This introduction critiques degrowth's limited engagement with anarchism, its appropriation without attribution, and its continued neglect of autonomous and anarchist theory and practice (e.g., praxis). The introduction is framed by two concerns raised by Ted Trainer (2024): (1) Degrowth underestimates the harms done to the planet, and (2) fails to discuss the tactics, strategies, and pathways to remedy these planetary harms. Confirming these concerns, we revisit anarchist histories and political fault lines to sharpen degrowth's political intelligence and projectuality. In response to these concerns, we then advocate for integrating an ecosystem of tactics into degrowth. This leads to presenting the seven articles of the Special Issue that are organised into three sections: Discussions and Interventions, Struggles Converge, and Organise to Resist. The introduction further warns of degrowth

TSGA/Issue/SD/0201/February 2026/Alex Dunlap & Josephine Becker

From prehistory—the first ethnic period—to Western civilisation, family forms have determined the natural evolution of systems of consanguinity and affinity in kinship relations. Engels validates them in the second economic and sexual contradiction reproduced in the home through property, female sexual exclusivity, domestic work, and child-rearing. In contrast, the so-called 2030 agenda of the Collective West arbitrarily imposed gender dysphoria, which we have evidenced through data and empirical accounts, as well as the dangerous neoliberal framework introduced into education, culture, and human relations.

Experimental gender medicine has distorted biological sex at birth with a subjective view of gender identity, with severe impacts on the physical and emotional health of children, adolescents, and people exposed to public opinion. Intersectionality, another facet of woke culture: divide and conquer, expands into multiple forms of discrimination within rural organisations, urban feminist collectives, and other international social movements, with a notable detrimental effect on the rural economy in times of climate collapse.

[Download the full document here!](#)



In what follows, with the goal of determining when and where a socialist commune qualifies as anti-imperialist, I will look at Karl Marx's own reflections on the commune, which took on greater centrality in his vision of social change in his last years, taking them to be a kind of model for what it is to be a socialist, anti-imperialist commune. My aim will be to show how these reflections by Marx, despite being most fully developed in his last period (1870–1883), are nevertheless connected to his whole theoretical apparatus and project. That project involves a revolutionary intervention in the state, followed by a transformation of the whole economy and society, and it is by its very nature opposed to imperialism. Thus, if communes are assumed in the way defended by Marx, they will be part of an unfolding anticapitalist and anti-imperialist strategy.

[Download the full document here!](#)



embodied, prefigurative, and antagonistic forms of struggle. This introduction concludes by discussing how degrowth can move forward and suggests research agendas to advance ideas of anarchy and degrowth.

[Download the full document here!](#)

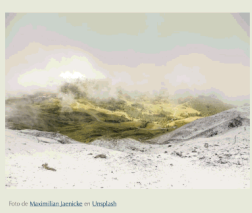


**SYSTEMIC STRATEGIES FOR A COMPLEX TRANSITION— Marga Mediavilla**



**Systemic Strategies for a Complex Transition**  
Marga Mediavilla

**T**his post summarises my talk on 11 July 2025 at the Summer Course of the University of Cadiz, Remedies for a Planet in Crisis. The talk was entitled Strategies for another possible energy model for other possible worlds. It came after those of Antonio Turiel, Alicia Valero, Ferran Puig, Antonio Aretxabala and José Luis Yeltes, who had already clearly defined the problems of energy, material and ecosystemic limits. This presentation aimed to identify solutions, and I used system dynamics tools to do so.



**System Dynamics**  
Systems dynamics is a fantastic tool that should be studied in all universities, because our culture has a huge deficit of systems thinking. Society has become very complex, but our minds still work with simple, linear reasoning. A implies B, non-A implies non-B. This is the systemic way of thinking. This is the way of thinking of logic, which originated in Greek culture and is the basis of mathematics, but we have outgrown it to cope with an increasingly complex world.

As in Figure 1, political and academic debates are full of people trying to prove that A is the cause of B. In contrast, others try to counter by saying that this is a lie because the cause of B is C, but in reality, B is caused by A and by C; the first people are right, and the second are right. And often there are many more causes and effects involved, which often overlap, creating closed loops in which a variable ends up being both its own cause and effect. This

TBCAknowSD 02026 March 2026/Marga Mediavilla

This post summarises my talk on 11 July 2025 at the Summer Course of the University of Cadiz, Remedies for a Planet in Crisis. The talk was entitled Strategies for another possible energy model for other possible worlds. It came after those of Antonio Turiel, Alicia Valero, Ferran Puig, Antonio Aretxabala and José Luis Yeltes, who had already clearly defined the problems of energy, material and ecosystemic limits. This presentation aimed to identify solutions, and I used system dynamics tools to do so.

[Download the full document here!](#)



**SUBVERTING GREEN GROWTH PROPAGANDA: DEGROWTH, AUTONOMOUS STRUGGLE, AND MEDIA — Elena Salmansperger and Elina Turbina**

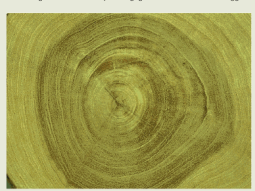
AKC Collective (2023) has recently invited degrowth scholarship to engage with autonomous struggles in less abstract ways, specifically pointing at its tendency to “certify” rather than learn with and from them. Echoing this invitation, we suggest that an (eco)anarchist approach to corporate media may help to

understand the creation and resilience of green growth narratives. We demonstrate this in the case of anti-mining struggles around Lützerath, Germany, where we explore the role of integrative propaganda (Ellul, 1965/1973) in managing this socio-ecological conflict. Building on ethnographic research, we identify and illustrate dominant narratives on a corporate-state agreement known as the “RWE-deal,” Lützerath’s symbolism, and left extremism; all of which omit, distort, and distract from the dissent emerging from Lützerath. We then analyse these dominant narratives as (un)intentionally manipulated by exploring news production at Rheinische Post Media Group through Herman and Chomsky’s (1988/2002) Propaganda Model. Building on a discussion around dominant narratives as a form of psychological warfare, we draw out how dominant narratives are intertwined and rely on centring the lifestyle and culture of Lützerath’s inhabitants to secure green growth narratives. We then elaborate on how cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting can help scholars in engagements with autonomous struggle.



**Subverting green growth propaganda: Degrowth, autonomous struggle, and media**  
Elena Salmansperger and Elina Turbina

**Abstract**  
AKC Collective (2023) has recently invited degrowth scholarship to engage with autonomous struggles in less abstract ways, specifically pointing at its tendency to “certify” rather than learn with and from them. Echoing this invitation, we suggest that an (eco)anarchist approach to corporate media may help to understand the creation and resilience of green growth narratives. We demonstrate this in the case of anti-mining struggles around Lützerath, Germany, where we explore the role of integrative propaganda (Ellul, 1965/1973) in managing this socio-ecological conflict. Building on ethnographic research, we identify and illustrate dominant narratives on a corporate-state agreement known as the “RWE-deal,” Lützerath’s symbolism, and left extremism; all of which omit, distort, and distract from the dissent emerging from Lützerath. We then analyse these dominant narratives as (un)intentionally manipulated by exploring news production at Rheinische Post Media Group through Herman and Chomsky’s (1988/2002) Propaganda Model. Building on a discussion around dominant narratives as a form of psychological warfare, we draw out how dominant narratives are intertwined and rely on centring the lifestyle and culture of Lützerath’s inhabitants to secure green growth narratives. We then elaborate on how cherishing the practice of re-inhabiting can help scholars in engagements with autonomous struggle.



TBCAknowSD 02027 March 2026/ Salmansperger - E. Turbina

[Download the full document here!](#)



**THE GRAMMAR OF RESISTANCE: RETHINKING PALESTINE BEYOND PITY AND FEAR — Abdaljawad Omar and Pasquale Liguori — The critical role of fantasy in degrowth’s environmental politics and prefigurative ethics.**

It has become increasingly difficult to speak of Palestine without falling into one of the two dominant registers of Western discourse: on one side, a humanitarianism that evokes compassion but leaves structures of domination untouched; on the other, a strategic realism that calculates but cannot imagine. In both cases, Palestinian resistance is hollowed out—reduced to emotional pathology or excluded from the realm of political rationality. When it is not pitied, it is criminalised. And more and more often, this criminalisation bears the familiar marks of Islamophobia: resistance is framed as terrorism, survival as threat, and thought as potential radicalisation.

untouched; on the other, a strategic realism that calculates but cannot imagine. In both cases, Palestinian resistance is hollowed out—reduced to emotional pathology or excluded from the realm of political rationality. When it is not pitied, it is criminalised. And more and more often, this criminalisation bears the familiar marks of Islamophobia: resistance is framed as terrorism, survival as threat, and thought as potential radicalisation.

Yet, as pro-Gaza demonstrations multiply across Europe—often marked by a belated, conditional, and at times self-exculpating awakening of conscience—there remains a lesson no intermittent outrage can obscure: Palestinian resistance preceded this moment, persists through it, and will endure beyond it not as a desperate reaction, but as a proposition for the world. It is a resistance that thinks, creates, and envisions futures. It seeks no approval from above but calls upon every political conscience unwilling to surrender to the imperial order.



**The Grammar of Resistance: Rethinking Palestine Beyond Pity and Fear**  
Abdaljawad Omar and Pasquale Liguori

**I**t has become increasingly difficult to speak of Palestine without falling into one of the two dominant registers of Western discourse: on one side, a humanitarianism that evokes compassion but leaves structures of domination untouched; on the other, a strategic realism that calculates but cannot imagine. In both cases, Palestinian resistance is hollowed out—reduced to emotional pathology or excluded from the realm of political rationality. When it is not pitied, it is criminalised. And more and more often, this criminalisation bears the familiar marks of Islamophobia: resistance is framed as terrorism, survival as threat, and thought as potential radicalisation.

Yet, as pro-Gaza demonstrations multiply across Europe—often marked by a belated, conditional, and at times self-exculpating awakening of conscience—there remains a lesson no intermittent outrage can obscure: Palestinian resistance preceded this moment, persists through it, and will endure beyond it not as a desperate reaction, but as a proposition for the world. It is a resistance that thinks, creates, and envisions futures. It seeks no approval from above but calls upon every political conscience unwilling to surrender to the imperial order.

Abdaljawad Omar, Palestinian intellectual and theorist also known as Abdouf Hamzat, speaks from within this resistance. His voice leads itself neither to moral pacification nor to the aestheticisation of mourning. Through his theoretical work, Palestine returns to what decades of discourse have sought to neutralise: a central node in the global political imagination.



TBCAknowSD 02028 March 2026/ Omar - P. Liguori

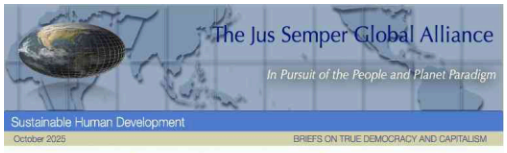
[Download the full document here!](#)



**CHINESE-STYLE MODERNISATION: REVOLUTION AND THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE— Lu Xinyu**

In Western ideology, China is no longer perceived as a socialist country, although traces of its revolutionary legacy remain. According to this perspective, the objective of modernisation in China has replaced that of revolution, which has in turn played an important role in stabilising the global capitalist system. In other words, China’s integration into global capitalism has helped to solidify the process of capitalist globalisation. Consequently, modernisation and

revolution, as well as globalisation and revolution, are presented as dichotomies, similar to that of democracy versus authoritarianism, freedom versus autocracy, and state versus society. These dichotomies can be viewed as the extension of Cold War ideology into the politics of the 1990s, subtly embedded within the theories of “globalisation” and “modernity.” Today, the world remains confined by dichotomous thinking, which is the foundation for the intellectual and ideological continuity in the so-called “New Cold War,” to a large extent also serving as the boundary between the GlobalSouth and Global North. This thinking, however, does a disservice to understanding China’s path of development toward socialist modernisation and national sovereignty since the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was formed in 1949.



## The authoritarian tendencies of 21st-century capitalism

*A major economic, political, cultural and geopolitical battle is being waged in the context of capitalism’s quest for repositioning and its authoritarian intentions to reorganise the global geo-economic order*

Irene León

The quest for self-determination is a constant theme in Iberian America and the Caribbean. At different times and in various contexts, proposals for sovereignty emerge and become the backbone of challenging projects for change, sometimes localised and sometimes systemic, such as those that have shaped the region’s destiny so far this century. At the same time, there are recurring bouts of authoritarianism which, with different nuances, are also a constant feature, serving to maintain the prevailing conditions of subjugation.



Photo by Massimo Sestini on Unsplash

But there are times when authoritarianism comes to the fore, especially when it comes to disciplining the peoples to promote systems related to the implementation of a specific mode of accumulation. This has been the case in recent decades, when the imposition of neoliberalism came hand in hand with dictatorships and fierce shock operations. Subsequently, to achieve neoliberal globalisation, repressive and military interventions were combined with communication strategies to win hearts and minds, seeking to convince people that there is nothing better than being at the bottom of the global supply chain, with all the exclusions that this entails, but with a mobile phone connected to the capitalist market.

TJGA#WSD 98104 October 2025Irene León

are also a constant feature, serving to maintain the prevailing conditions of subjugation.

But there are times when authoritarianism comes to the fore, especially when it comes to disciplining the peoples to promote systems related to the implementation of a specific mode of accumulation. This has been the case in recent decades, when the imposition of neoliberalism came hand in hand with dictatorships and fierce shock operations. Subsequently, to achieve neoliberal globalisation, repressive and military interventions were combined with communication strategies to win hearts and minds, seeking to convince people that there is nothing better than being at the bottom of the global supply chain, with all the exclusions that this entails, but with a mobile phone connected to the capitalist market.

## Chinese-Style Modernisation: Revolution and the Worker-Peasant Alliance

Lu Xinyu

In Western ideology, China is no longer perceived as a socialist country, although traces of its revolutionary legacy remain. According to this perspective, the objective of modernisation in China has replaced that of revolution, which has in turn played an important role in stabilising the global capitalist system. In other words, China’s integration into global capitalism has helped to solidify the process of capitalist globalisation. Consequently, modernisation and revolution, as well as globalisation and revolution, are presented as dichotomies, similar to that of democracy versus authoritarianism, freedom versus autocracy, and state versus society. These dichotomies can be viewed as the extension of Cold War ideology into the politics of the 1990s, subtly embedded within the theories of “globalisation” and “modernity.” Today, the world remains confined by dichotomous thinking, which is the foundation for the intellectual and ideological continuity in the so-called “New Cold War,” to a large extent also serving as the boundary between the Global South and Global North. This thinking, however, does a disservice to understanding China’s path of development toward socialist modernisation and national sovereignty since the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was formed in 1949.



By Gary Sells from YouTube, China - The Communist Revolution Gets CTV, USA

Looking back at the twentieth century, the weakness of the Soviet agricultural model is one of the chief causes of the structural crisis experienced by Soviet socialism. Conversely, the agribusiness system that developed in the United States played a crucial role in allowing it to triumph in the Cold War. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the United States gradually attained global hegemony. One of the means it utilised in consolidating this hegemony was the

TJGA#WSD 60241 October 2025Lu Xinyu

Download the full document here!

**THE AUTHORITARIAN TENDENCIES OF 21ST-CENTURY CAPITALISM — Irene León** — *A major economic, political, cultural and geopolitical battle is being waged in the context of capitalism’s quest for repositioning and its authoritarian intentions to reorganise the global geo-economic order .*

The quest for self-determination is a constant theme in Iberian America and the Caribbean. At different times and in various contexts, proposals for sovereignty emerge and become the backbone of challenging projects for change, sometimes localised and sometimes systemic, such as those that have shaped the region’s destiny so far this century. At the same time, there are recurring bouts of authoritarianism which, with different nuances,

*Change (IPCC), climate strategies need to include “transformational adaptation”. What does this mean?...*



## The Case for Sufficiency

María Dios – Yamina Saheb

Moving away from extractivism and overconsumption would drive positive transformation in Europe while addressing global injustice. This could be achieved by implementing sufficiency policies, which aim to reduce demand for energy, materials, land, and water while delivering wellbeing for all within planetary boundaries. An interview with Yamina Saheb, a lead author of the IPCC report on climate change mitigation.



Photo by Muhammad Ebu Bashir on Unsplash

María Dios: The first European Climate Risk Assessment, published this year by the European Environment Agency, shows that Europe is unprepared for growing climate risks. For the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), climate strategies need to include “transformational adaptation”. What does this mean?

Yamina Saheb: Transformation is not enough, because it means staying in the same system. What we need is a metamorphosis, which is about radical system change. Moreover, adaptation is not separate from mitigation, and we should have climate policies that consider both at the same time. The split between the two categories is misleading and wrong, because if we don’t drastically reduce emissions, the temperature will go up and we will no longer be able to adapt.

TJGA#WSD 89107 October 2025M. Dios-Y. Saheb

Download the full document here!

## DEGROWTH AND LIBERTY: BEING FREE WITH LESS? — Florent Marcellesi



## Degrowth and Liberty: Being Free With Less?

Florent Marcellesi

By exposing the link between the growth imperative and today’s socio-ecological crises, post-growth thinking has made its way out of activist circles and into political institutions. But what makes the current system so difficult to challenge is its positive association with freedom in people’s minds. Moreover, denialist and reactionary movements have spared no effort to hijack freedom. To gain cultural and political hegemony to transform society, post-growth needs its own compelling vision and narrative of freedom.



Photo by Ki on Unsplash

In May 2023, the largest, most cross-cutting, and best attended post-growth conference ever organised took place in the European Parliament. It was undoubtedly a great success and a major milestone for theoretical and practical reflection on how to build, within the planetary boundaries, prosperity and wellbeing in Europe beyond economic growth. Yet there was no discussion on a concept that has been central to the cultural and political battles of this decade: freedom.

Denialist and reactionary currents have spared no effort to make freedom their own. They present themselves as the true champions of liberty against “woke” and progressive movements. In an Orwellian inversion of the aggressor-victim, insider-marginalised dynamic, freedom has almost become their exclusive patrimony. Through a revived neologuesque,

<sup>1</sup> In mainstream economics, GDP growth is understood as a measure of welfare and the ultimate goal of modern economies. To go deeper into this issue, see e.g. Jean Galbraith, Florent Marcellesi & Boris Bernaque (2012), *Justice et croissance: What lies on an economic solidarity yosemite*. Barcelona: El Viego Paper.

<sup>2</sup> Incest as a victim of women, whites of blacks, heterosexuals of LGBTQIA people, and so on.

TJGA#WSD 88106 October 2025Florent Marcellesi

By exposing the link between the growth imperative and today’s socio-ecological crises, post-growth thinking has made its way out of activist circles and into political institutions. But what makes the current system so difficult to challenge is its positive association with freedom in people’s minds. Moreover, denialist



If the struggle succeeds, the acampamento will transition into an assentamento (settlement), now recognised and legalised by the state, and therefore more stable. Like acampamentos, assentamentos are collective projects, even if the families in them maintain individual parcels. In an assentamento, the land cannot be bought or sold. It technically belongs to the state but is managed by the collective or by what could be called the commune. Assentamentos are also self-governed, administer much of their own justice, and self-manage their educational processes. In short, both acampamentos and assentamentos express a high degree of communal control over their production and day-to-day life.

Beyond the struggle for land, the MST works to confront broader capitalist dynamics by embracing agroecology, cooperative production, and political education. All these are elements of what the movement calls a “people’s agrarian reform.” The idea of the “people’s agrarian reform” is that, in a world where financial capital and multinational corporations dominate agriculture, it is not enough to secure land for the landless. One must also develop an alternative model of production and life, embodying socialist and ecological principles.

In this interview, João Pedro Stedile, a key spokesperson and founder of the MST, discusses the movement’s emphasis on collective struggle and solidarity, the challenges of organising cooperative production, and the evolution of the MST’s goals in response to the changing capitalist economy. He also examines the MST’s strategy of building alliances between the rural and urban working class and its engagement with international struggles, particularly with the communal movement in Venezuela. At a time when capitalism is deepening both inequalities and ecological destruction, the MST’s experiences and proposals offer valuable insights into the building of a socialist future

—C. G. & C. P. M.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**THE GUARDIANS OF THE AMAZON: YUTURI WARMI’S FIGHT AGAINST GOLD MINING – Marie Evens**

In Ecuador, the Amazon rainforest is plagued by an intensifying gold rush undertaken both by illegal small-scale miners and foreign companies. These illegal activities impose significant environmental, social, and economic costs on local communities, which are already facing a high level of poverty. But there is a ray of hope: Yuturi Warmi, a group led by Indigenous women in the Serena community, has organised communal resistance to extractivism while paving the way for alternative living strategies.



Sustainable Human Development  
March 2026  
BRIEFS ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

**The Guardians of the Amazon: Yuturi Warmi’s Fight Against Gold Mining**

Marie Evens

In Ecuador, the Amazon rainforest is plagued by an intensifying gold rush undertaken both by illegal small-scale miners and foreign companies. These illegal activities impose significant environmental, social, and economic costs on local communities, which are already facing a high level of poverty. But there is a ray of hope: Yuturi Warmi, a group led by Indigenous women in the Serena community, has organised communal resistance to extractivism while paving the way for alternative living strategies.



Photo by Bahuk Wilsoo on Unsplash

It is late September 2023 in Tena, Ecuador. 20 Amazonian Indigenous women are gathered in the city to protest against gold mining in their ancestral lands. However, across from them stands a much larger group, touting the economic benefits of extraction and holding signs that read “Si a la minería” (“Yes to mining”). The situation escalates when pro-mining demonstrators start insulting and issuing death threats at the women while breaking their placards. A fight between the two camps is barely averted.

The 20 women all come from the Kichwa community of Serena. To protect their ancestral territory from the advances of the mining sector, they have formed Yuturi Warmi, the first women-led Indigenous guard of the Napo province in the Ecuadorian Amazon. They aim to preserve the integrity of the rainforest and the wellbeing of its inhabitants, but as the episode in Tena shows, they often lack external support in tense situations, including from environmental organisations.

Yuturi Warmi’s work entails considerable peril: Latin America has been designated as the most dangerous place to be a climate activist. Death threats and murder are common strategies used to deter endeavours against destructive and polluting activities. Indigenous peoples are especially vulnerable to this violence because they often firmly oppose unsustainable resource extraction taking place on their territories.

TSGACCommentarySD 001313 March 2026Marie Evens

[Download the full document here!](#)

**THE END OF THE MEGAMACHINE: THE HISTORY OF A CIVILISATION ON THE BRINK OF COLLAPSE — Fabián Scheidler**  
— Excerpt from the book’s preface.



Sustainable Human Development  
October 2025  
COMMENTARIES ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

**The End of the Megamachine: The History of a Civilisation on the Brink of Collapse**

Excerpt from the books preface

Fabián Scheidler

On January 25, 2017, a few days after Donald Trump took office as President of the United States, two significant events coincided. Amidst the frenzied cheers of traders and shareholders, the Dow Jones index reached the 20,000-point threshold for the first time in history. On the same day, the hands of the so-called “doomsday clock” moved to two and a half minutes to midnight. It was the closest they had been since 1953, when the first hydrogen bombs were detonated. The clock reflects the assessments of leading scientists of the imminent dangers of nuclear war, environmental destruction and high-risk technologies. Since 2025, there are only 89 seconds left. The ecstasy of shareholders and the proximity of midnight for humanity: it is difficult to express more clearly that our current economic system is on a course of imminent collision with the Earth and its inhabitants. The jubilation of the stock market is our downfall.



Image by Fabian von Poschky

We are currently witnessing how an entire planet, which took four billion years to evolve, is being destroyed by a global economic machine that produces enormous quantities of goods and, at the same time, enormous quantities of waste, exorbitant wealth for a few, and massive impoverishment, senseless idleness, and permanent overwork. If an alien were to visit us, they would obviously think this system is crazy. And yet, it is not without a certain rationality. The hard core of this rationality consists of the endless multiplication of columns of numbers in the accounts of a relatively small group

TSGACCommentarySD 03916 October 2025Fabián Scheidler

On January 25, 2017, a few days after Donald Trump took office as President of the United States, two significant events coincided. Amidst the frenzied cheers of traders and shareholders, the Dow Jones index reached the 20,000-point threshold for the first time in history. On the same day, the hands of the so-called “doomsday clock” moved to two and a half minutes to

midnight. It was the closest they had been since 1953, when the first hydrogen bombs were detonated. The clock reflects the assessments of leading scientists of the imminent dangers of nuclear war, environmental destruction and high-risk technologies.

We are currently witnessing how an entire planet, which took four billion years to evolve, is being destroyed by a global economic machine that produces enormous quantities of goods and, at the same time, enormous quantities of waste, exorbitant wealth for a few, and massive impoverishment, senseless idleness, and permanent overwork. If an alien were to visit us, they would obviously think this system is crazy. And yet, it is not without a certain rationality. The hard core of this rationality consists of the endless multiplication of columns of numbers in the accounts of a relatively small group of people: today, 26 men own as much as the poorest half of the world’s population. Absurdly increasing the fortunes of a small and powerful caste of super-rich individuals seems to be the only goal left for the global Megamachine. The Earth is being devastated by such ever-growing figures of wealth.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**BEYOND GROWTH — Lourdes Lucía – Alberto Fraguas – Attac, Ecologistas en Acción, Marea Blanca, Rebelión Científica, Economistas Frente a la Crisis, and 16 other organisations join forces to seek alternatives to the developmentalist economic model.**



Sustainable Human Development  
October 2025  
COMMENTARIES ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

**Beyond Growth**

Attac, Ecologistas en Acción, Marea Blanca, Rebelión Científica, Economistas Frente a la Crisis, and 16 other organisations join forces to seek alternatives to the developmentalist economic model

Lourdes Lucía – Alberto Fraguas

Society does not exist. There are individual men and women, and there are families.” These words, spoken by Margaret Thatcher in 1987, perfectly reflect the philosophy behind the policies generated by the so-called Washington Consensus (1989), imposed by Reagan and Thatcher after the great global crisis of the 1970s.

This philosophy and the measures implemented placed the market above all else and institutionalised liberalisation, privatisation, deregulation, tax reduction or elimination, and the absence of control over capital markets. The state disappeared to give prominence to private companies.

As a result, inequality reached unprecedented levels, the arms industry continued to grow, and social protection budgets were drastically reduced.

Bringing this up makes a lot of sense when we talk about how the planet has had enough, has said enough is enough to the destruction of nature and the environment caused by these policies and human beings.

This was precisely what was discussed at the presentation of the “Beyond Growth” platform, held at the Ateneo de Madrid on 2 December. A pioneering initiative that brings together different organisations with a common idea: we need to go further to do more than we are currently doing in terms of sustainability. We must explore new eco-social models that

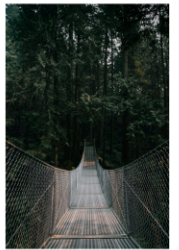


Photo by Tricia Da Foz on Unsplash

TSGACCommentarySD 03916 October 2025, Lucía - A. Fraguas

Society does not exist. There are individual men and women, and there are families.” These words, spoken by Margaret Thatcher in 1987, perfectly reflect the philosophy behind the policies generated by the so-called Washington

Consensus (1989), imposed by Reagan and Thatcher after the great global crisis of the 1970s.

This philosophy and the measures implemented placed the market above all else and institutionalised liberalisation, privatisation, deregulation, tax reduction or elimination, and the absence of control over capital markets. The state disappeared to give prominence to private companies. As a result, inequality reached unprecedented levels, the arms industry continued to grow, and social protection budgets were drastically reduced.

Bringing this up makes a lot of sense when we talk about how the planet has had enough, has said enough is enough to the destruction of nature and the environment caused by these policies and human beings.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION, AGRICULTURE, AND THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANITY — João Pedro Stédile —**



**Ecological Transformation, Agriculture, and the Survival of Humanity**

João Pedro Stédile

The three articles in this issue of the international edition of *Wenhua Zongheng* (文化纵横) offer complementary views on issues that are fundamental to the survival of humanity: food production, agroecology, environmental restoration, and renewable energies. Committed to the causes of their people and of all humanity, the Chinese authors present readers with concrete experiences from the reality of their country.



Photo by Sandra Micalet on Unsplash

Unfortunately, in the West, Chinese intellectual perspectives and debates on contemporary global realities are utterly ignored, even within leftist circles. By sharing the perspectives of our Chinese comrades, translated into different languages, I believe that this journal provides an invaluable service.

The global left is indebted to those who are seriously engaging in these crucial debates. Too few intellectuals are concerned with delving into such reflections. Generally, leftist parties remain trapped in slogans, clichés, and dogmas, as Mao Zedong had warned. Meanwhile, the debate within universities – and most of society – is limited to diagnoses of problems, while avoiding a number of pressing issues and failing to analyse the capitalist movement towards exploiting natural resources for extraordinary profits. Such reckless processes lead to environmental crimes and climate change.

As early as the nineteenth century, Karl Marx observed how industrial capitalism could affect the environment. Rosa Luxemburg deepened this analysis, examining capital's interest in privately appropriating natural resources as part of its primitive accumulation. Later, Vladimir Lenin and Nikolai Bukharin argued that the imperialist phase of capitalism

TSCACommentary/SD IC096/ November 2023/JP Stédile

The three articles in this issue of the international edition of *Wenhua Zongheng* (文化纵横) offer complementary views on issues that are fundamental to the survival of humanity: food production, agroecology, environmental restoration, and renewable energies. Committed to the causes of their people and of all humanity, the Chinese authors present readers with concrete experiences from the reality of their country.

Unfortunately, in the West, Chinese intellectual perspectives and debates on contemporary global realities are utterly ignored, even within leftist circles. By sharing the perspectives of our Chinese comrades, translated into different

languages, I believe that this journal provides an invaluable service.

The global left is indebted to those who are seriously engaging in these crucial debates. Too few intellectuals are concerned with delving into such reflections. Generally, leftist parties remain trapped in slogans, clichés, and dogmas, as Mao Zedong had warned. Meanwhile, the debate within universities and most of society is limited to diagnoses of problems, while avoiding a number of pressing issues and failing to analyse the capitalist movement towards exploiting natural resources for extraordinary profits. Such reckless processes lead to environmental crimes and climate change.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**NEOLIBERALISM AND NEOFASCISM — Robert W. McChesney**



**Neoliberalism and Neofascism**

Robert W. McChesney

When neoliberalism emerged as the dominant political movement in the United States and much of the world by the 1980s, it was careful to distinguish its embrace of so-called free markets and hostility toward trade unions and the welfare state, not to mention socialism, as having nothing to do with fascism or the xenophobia that invariably accompanies fascism. Neoliberals were for a puny and enfeebled government that would not interfere with individuals as they went about their lives however they best saw fit. Government was liberal, the polar opposite of fascist.



Photo by Shash Bhatia and guffin on Unsplash

The recent emergence of neofascist movements in Europe, and now Donald Trump's 2017 ascension to the U.S. presidency, courtesy of the Electoral

College, has forced a serious reconsideration of fascism and its relationship to capitalism and to democracy.... In the 1950s, Paul Sweezy characterised fascism as the antonym of liberal democracy. And now, with economic stagnation prevalent and seemingly permanent for capitalism worldwide, crises of poverty, inequality, and grotesque political corruption are increasingly the order of the day. Liberal democracy is failing, as social problems are spiralling out of control. Zombie fascism is on the march again.... The notion that neoliberalism, or "libertarianism," as its boosters prefer to call it, is the polar opposite of fascism is entirely bogus.... In fact, libertarians, or "free market conservatives," see their most important mission as protecting and extending the class domination of the wealthy few by any means necessary.... The neoliberal/libertarian crowd has been obsessed with eliminating those

TSCACommentary/SD IC095/ November 2023/RW McChesney

When neoliberalism emerged as the dominant political movement in the United States and much of the world by the 1980s, it was careful to distinguish its embrace of so-called free markets and hostility toward trade unions and the welfare state, not to mention socialism, as having nothing to do with fascism or the xenophobia that invariably accompanies fascism. Neoliberals were for a puny and enfeebled government that would not interfere with individuals as they went about their lives however they best saw fit. Government was liberal, the polar opposite of fascist.

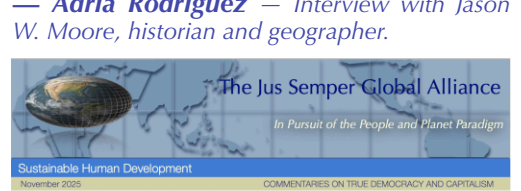
The recent emergence of neofascist movements in Europe, and now Donald Trump's 2017 ascension to the U.S. presidency, courtesy of the Electoral College, has forced a serious reconsideration of fascism and its relationship to capitalism and to democracy.... In the 1950s, Paul Sweezy characterised fascism as the antonym of liberal democracy. And now, with

economic stagnation prevalent and seemingly permanent for capitalism worldwide, crises of poverty, inequality, and grotesque political corruption are increasingly the order of the day. Liberal democracy is failing, as social problems are spiralling out of control. Zombie fascism is on the march again.... The notion that neoliberalism, or "libertarianism," as its boosters prefer to call it, is the polar opposite of fascism is entirely bogus.... In fact, libertarians, or "free market conservatives," see their most important mission as protecting and extending the class domination of the wealthy few by any means necessary.... The neoliberal/libertarian crowd has been obsessed with eliminating those institutions that make effective political participation in a democracy possible, what is termed the "democratic infrastructure"....

The neoliberal assault on the "democratic infrastructure" of the United States has been proceeding for a good four decades now and has been significantly completed. It means that the United States is now a formal constitutional republic, but very far from being even a marginally democratic society. And this means that the civil liberties Americans have taken for granted stand on a much flimsier foundation....

[Download the full document here!](#)

**"THE HISTORY OF CAPITALISM IS A HISTORY OF RECURRING GENOCIDES" — Adriá Rodríguez — Interview with Jason W. Moore, historian and geographer.**



**"The history of capitalism is a history of recurring genocides"**

Interview with Jason W. Moore, historian and geographer

Adriá Rodríguez

Talking to Jason W. Moore (Oregon, 1971) means talking about the Capitalocene, a concept he proposed to 'ridicule the authoritarian thinking that dates back to Malthus in the late 18th century,' where overpopulation was the source of inequality. For the historian, geographer and professor of sociology, climate change is the responsibility of the capitalist class and the 150 transnational corporations responsible for more than 70% of global carbon and greenhouse gas emissions since 1850. The climate crisis, he concludes, is a labour issue, a class war.



In this interview, Moore also develops the idea of "cheap nature" and "attempts from above to devalue human life". He also analyses the genocide in Gaza – "unique, but not exceptional" – and provides key tools for organising anti-systemic movements that can respond to capitalism in crisis.

I would like to begin by asking you about the concept you have developed of "cheap nature". How is this concept relevant today in addressing the ecological crisis?

TSCACommentary/SD IC097/ November 2023/Adriá Rodríguez

Talking to Jason W. Moore (Oregon, 1971) means talking about the Capitalocene, a concept he proposed to 'ridicule the authoritarian thinking that dates back to Malthus in the late 18th century,' where overpopulation was the source of inequality. For the historian, geographer and professor of sociology, climate change is the responsibility

of the capitalist class and the 150 transnational corporations responsible for more than 70% of global carbon and greenhouse gas emissions since 1850. The climate crisis, he concludes, is a labour issue, a class war.

In this interview, Moore also develops the idea of “cheap nature” and “attempts from above to devalue human life”. He also analyses the genocide in Gaza—“unique, but not exceptional”— and provides key tools for organising anti-systemic movements that can respond to capitalism in crisis.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**FROM NORD STREAM TO IRAN: THE GEOPOLITICS OF AN EMPIRE IN DECLINE — Irene Calvé / Antonio Turiel / Juan Bordera — Suicidal Logic — US fracking can only survive if the price of oil rises significantly. And that depends, to a large extent, on the decisions made by Tehran.**



**From Nord Stream to Iran: the geopolitics of an empire in decline**

*Suicidal Logic — US fracking can only survive if the price of oil rises significantly. And that depends, to a large extent, on the decisions made by Tehran*

Irene Calvé / Antonio Turiel / Juan Bordera

Oil is running out, and with it, the fiction of an empire sustained by energy revenues is also running out. Specifically, fracking — the technique that allowed the United States to become a net exporter of hydrocarbons — is beginning its decline. Washington knows this and is willing to do whatever it takes to stretch that energy supremacy for a few more years. That is why the attack on Iran is not a slip-up, but a strategic move: they need oil prices to rise so that fracking becomes profitable again, even if that means setting the Middle East on fire, because it is not about winning, but about not sinking just yet.



Photo by Muhammad Zuhair Sulaiman on Unsplash

Since reaching peak conventional production in 1972, the US has been dependent on oil imports. However, everything changed with the rise of fracking: an aggressive technology that enabled the exploitation of unconventional deposits, extracting scattered drops from porous rocks by blasting them with pure pressure (hence the term “fracking”). Thanks to this technology, the US went from being a massive importer of hydrocarbons to becoming the world’s largest producer of oil and natural gas (surpassing Saudi Arabia and Russia) and the world’s largest exporter of natural gas and petrol. It is true that it managed to meet its natural gas needs more than adequately (the US continues to be a very coal-dependent country, so it does not use as much gas for electricity production). However, it never stopped buying oil, although

TISGACommentarySD ©2008, November 2025, Calvé / A. Turiel / J. Bordera

Oil is running out, and with it, the fiction of an empire sustained by energy revenues is also running out. Specifically, fracking — the technique that allowed the United States to become a net exporter of hydrocarbons— is beginning its decline.

Washington knows this and is willing to do whatever it takes to stretch that energy supremacy for a few more years. That is why the attack on Iran is not a slip-up, but a strategic move: they need oil prices to rise so that fracking becomes profitable again, even if that means setting the Middle East on fire, because it is not about winning, but about not sinking just yet.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**GLOBALISATION, THE INTROVERTED LEFT, AND THE FAR RIGHT THAT HAS JUST DISCOVERED THE WORLD — Marga Mediavilla**



**Globalisation, the introverted left, and the far right that has just discovered the world**

Marga Mediavilla

Neoliberal globalisation is mortally wounded, as evidenced by the protectionist policies of the Trump administration. In its day, globalisation had the virtue of replacing the Cold War with trade wars: the conflict between countries was transformed into economic competition between large companies within a framework of “free” trade. This economic war has been less bloody than traditional wars. Yet, it has also had its casualties: due to structural adjustments, due to “necessary” guerrilla warfare to extract resources, due to malnutrition...



Photo by Jutta Sassen-Jents on Unsplash

The anti-globalisation movement emerged at that time to denounce the fact that large companies and international banks were becoming a de facto power above states. Transnational corporations were able to circumvent taxes and legislation by moving between countries, which undermined democracy and made it impossible to enforce laws that protected the environment or labour rights.

Anti-globalisation, later renamed alter-globalisation, proposed the union of social organisations around the world under the umbrella of solidarity that was not charity but realism: in a world without borders, struggles had to be global. It proposed that the inhabitants of the North give up some of their consumer comforts for two reasons. The first was environmental: protecting nature requires a more sober lifestyle. The second was well-understood selfishness: the exploitation of cheap labour in the South benefited consumers in the North, but would end up rebounding on them like a boomerang because it would be impossible to maintain better working conditions in some countries than in others.

TISGACommentarySD ©2009, November 2025/Marga Mediavilla

Neoliberal globalisation is mortally wounded, as evidenced by the protectionist policies of the Trump administration. In its day, globalisation had the virtue of replacing the Cold War with trade wars: the conflict between countries was transformed into economic competition between large companies within a framework of “free” trade. This economic war has been less bloody than traditional wars. Yet, it has also had its casualties: due to structural adjustments, due to “necessary” guerrilla warfare to extract resources, due to malnutrition...

The successes of alterglobalisation were meagre: it failed to convince the masses of the need for solidarity-based consumption. Trade unions and left-wing parties were unwilling to fight for measures that would make international trade conditional on the acceptance of social and environmental standards (anti-dumping measures) and, as was predictable, the precarious conditions in the South rebounded like a boomerang and we found ourselves with the “Chinisation” of labour in our own backyard.

Years later, the slogans of alterglobalisation were swallowed up by capitalism and turned into consumer goods. Food sovereignty and agroecology ended up becoming the gourmet “eco” of the big supermarkets. Multiculturalism, respect for difference, environmentalism and feminism ended up becoming slogans of the establishment (especially when there was something to sell, such as electric cars, fashion or cosmetic surgery). Neoliberalism dressed itself up in greenwashing, pinkwashing, and all

the colours of the rainbow, previously emptied of all economic and political content.

It is urgent that the most committed left returns to the arena of political confrontation and offers a coherent vision on the big issues. It is urgent to recover that niche of political thought that was left empty when alter-globalisation weakened. Even if we feel powerless in the face of global problems and do not even know how to “act locally”, we should not lose sight of “thinking globally”, because never before in human history have we had so many global problems as we do now.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**SAMIR AMIN ON THE THEORY OF MULTIPOLARITY — The Editors of Monthly Review**



**Samir Amin on the Theory of Multipolarity**

The Editors of Monthly Review

It is almost universally recognised today that we are living in a multipolar world, symbolised by the continuing decline of U.S. hegemony; the economic stagnation of the imperial triad of the United States, Europe, and Japan; and the rise of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). But the historical and theoretical significance of this is in dispute. The foremost theorist of multipolarity was Samir Amin, through his concept of “delinking,” which he developed throughout his career. For Amin, the struggle against imperialism required a delinking from the law of value on the world level centred in Washington, London, Paris, Berlin, and Tokyo, and its replacement by a more “polycentric” or “multipolar” world order, in which nations in the periphery of the system could reorient their economies toward their own nation-based value systems, thereby meeting their own internal developmental needs. This would then allow them to move away from the current “disarticulated” development under imperialism toward a more “autocentric,” or self-directed, development (Samir Amin, *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World* (London: Zed Books, 1998), 42-47; Samir Amin, *Choséocent Capitalism* (London: Zed Books, 2003), 131; Samir Amin, *The Implosion of Contemporary Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013), 143).



Photo of Samir Amin from Samir Amin, *Only People Make Their Own History* (Monthly Review Press, 2019). Courtesy of the editor of Monthly Review.

Amin’s notion of delinking has often been misconstrued as an argument for economic autarky, something he strongly rejected. Rather, delinking is conceived in his analysis as a relational category directed at a complex and changing historical reality. It does not mean withdrawal from the world economy, which he said would be like moving “to the moon,” but rather finding a way to sever connections with the main mechanisms of imperial dominance. This takes on

TISGACommentarySD ©2010, December 2025/Editors MR

It is almost universally recognised today that we are living in a multipolar world, symbolised by the continuing decline of U.S. hegemony; the economic stagnation of the imperial triad of the United States, Europe, and Japan; and the rise of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). But the historical and theoretical significance of this is in dispute. The foremost theorist of multipolarity was Samir Amin, through his concept of “delinking,” which he developed throughout his career. For Amin, the struggle against imperialism required a delinking from the law of value on the world level centred in Washington, London, Paris, Berlin, and Tokyo, and its replacement by a more “polycentric” or “multipolar” world order, in which nations in the periphery of the system could reorient their economies toward their own nation-based value systems, thereby meeting their own internal developmental needs. This would then allow them to move

away from the current "disarticulated" development under imperialism toward a more "autocentric," or self-directed, development

Amin's notion of delinking has often been misconstrued as an argument for economic autarky, something he strongly rejected. Rather, delinking is conceived in his analysis as a relational category directed at a complex and changing historical reality. It does not mean withdrawal from the world economy, which he said would be like moving "to the moon," but rather finding a way to sever connections with the main mechanisms of imperial dominance. This takes on complementary meanings at different levels. At the level of the nation, particularly in the periphery of the capitalist world-system, it stands for the "unavoidable" struggle to subordinate "outside relations to the logic of internal development," requiring a break with the imperialist system, and, for its full development, a revolutionary movement toward socialism. At the regional level, it means building on elements of shared geography, history, culture, and trade in order to form "regional unions." At the worldwide level, it signifies the creation of a new set of rules and institutions to guide the world economy and to replace those of imperial hegemony.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**WORK LESS NOT SMARTER – Natalie Bennett**



**Work Less Not Smarter**

Natalie Bennett

The case for progressive policies such as working time reduction and universal basic income is often narrowly built on their potential for increased productivity. Yet maximising output is not what people and the planet need. How do we shift the narrative?

The four-day working week as standard with no loss of pay (and without longer hours each day) is an idea that is both gaining popularity and being implemented around Europe and beyond. Trials are discovering (unsurprisingly) that the four-day week delivers greater health and wellbeing of employees, better ability to meet care responsibilities, enjoy a social life and participate in community activities, and higher employee retention rates. These findings were confirmed by the world's largest four-day working week trial to date, held in the UK in 2022.



Photo by Raahad Saad on Unsplash

The pausing of the long-term redistribution of time away from the slogging, endless labour of the 19th century towards John Maynard Keynes' vision of a 15-hour working week for a 21-hour week, put forward more than a decade ago by the New Economics Foundation) was a measure of the failure of late 20th-century politics and economics: it delivered profits for the few at massive cost to people and planet. Indeed, the end of the 20th-century "Great Equalisation" of wealth in the era of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan was also accompanied by a massive increase in the amount of household time spent in paid work. This was largely due to the drawing of many women into paid employment. Today, the two-income family is essential for basic quality of life in many parts of the world.

**A SPECIAL ISSUE ON COMMUNES IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION — Chris Gilbert and Cira Pascual Marquina**



**A Special Issue on Communes in Socialist Construction**

Chris Gilbert and Cira Pascual Marquina

Shortly before dying, Hugo Chávez delivered his famous "Golpe de Timón" speech in a nationally televised meeting with his ministerial cabinet. That discourse repeatedly mentioned the issue of communes and their role in socialist construction. Over the course of several hours, Chávez insisted that commune-building should be promoted by all his cabinet members, and he specifically said to future president Nicolás Maduro that he entrusted the communal project to him "like his own life". In the time since Chávez's death, the Venezuelan communal project has had an uneven trajectory. At first, commune-building seemed to fall by the wayside in the struggle to survive intensified imperialist attacks on the country. Later, it reemerged as a project driven mainly by the most committed bases of Chavismo. In the last couple of years, however, the government itself has returned explicitly to the communal project with renewed support and enthusiasm, effectively joining hands with Venezuela's communist bases once again in a way that seems especially propitious for socialist construction.



This special issue of Monthly Review on the theme of Communes in Socialist Construction was inspired by the Venezuelan communal movement, which has advanced a strategy of socialist construction that, we believe, deserves consideration as a contribution to the universal body of socialist thought. In order to engage with the many questions raised by that proposal, we have brought together a range of contributions. Some examine the Venezuelan initiative and kindred ones, while others delve into the theoretical (mainly Marxist) foundations of the project of building socialism via the commune. Given that our inspiration for taking on this theme comes from the Venezuelan communal movement, it is worth briefly examining the history of this project and how it emerged out of the Bolivarian revolutionary process.

<sup>1</sup> of Hugo Chávez, English translation: "Golpe de Timón" (October 20, 2012), from Jamie Weiss, MR Online, April 1, 2015, [mronline.org](http://mronline.org).  
<sup>2</sup> TSCA/Commentary/SD (2010) January 2024C, Gilbert, C. Pascual M.

This special issue of Monthly Review on the theme of Communes in Socialist Construction was inspired by the Venezuelan communal movement, which has advanced a strategy of socialist construction that, we believe, deserves consideration as a contribution to the universal body of socialist thought. In order to engage with the many questions raised by that proposal, we have brought together a range of contributions. Some examine the Venezuelan initiative and kindred ones, while others delve into the theoretical (mainly Marxist) foundations of the project of building socialism via the commune. Given that our inspiration for taking on this theme comes from the Venezuelan communal movement, it is worth briefly examining the history of this project and how it emerged out of the Bolivarian revolutionary process.

[Download the full document here!](#)

**THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY IS ALREADY UPON US, BUT DEMAND FOR FOSSIL FUELS WILL CONTINUE TO GROW UNTIL 2050 — Andrés Actis — The International Energy Agency (IEA) confirms that advances in electrification point to a decline in the use of polluting fuels. However, under current policies, demand for oil and gas will continue to rise over the next 25 years.**



**The age of electricity is already upon us, but demand for fossil fuels will continue to grow until 2050**

The International Energy Agency (IEA) confirms that advances in electrification point to a decline in the use of polluting fuels. However, under current policies, demand for oil and gas will continue to rise over the next 25 years.

Andrés Actis

In the midst of COP 30, the International Energy Agency (IEA) published its annual World Energy Outlook report on Wednesday, which analyses and projects global trends in energy supply and demand. The document confirms that the planet has definitively entered the 'age of electricity', an indispensable foundation for decarbonisation. However, there are many warning signs. Firstly, it highlights that with current policies, demand for oil and coal will continue to grow until 2050. Secondly, the report points out that the vulnerability of critical mineral supply chains is increasing. Thirdly, it criticises the lack of investment in making electricity systems secure. Furthermore, it highlights the threat to energy security posed by global geopolitical tensions. Finally, it concludes that governments' ambition to mitigate the worst effects of climate change is weakening.



David E. Sabido/Alamy.com/Contrasto en las costas de la Sierra de la Demanda, Burgos.

The 2025 edition of the WEO covers three main scenarios: the Current Policies Scenario (CPS), the Stated Policies Scenario (STEPS) and the Net Zero Emissions by 2050 Scenario (NZE). Each scenario paints a different picture of the future of energy, allowing analysis of the implications of different policy, investment, and technology choices for energy security, affordability, and emissions.

TSCA/Commentary/SD (2010) February 2024Andrés Actis

In the midst of COP 30, the International Energy Agency (IEA) published its annual World Energy Outlook report on Wednesday, which analyses and projects global trends in energy supply and demand. The document confirms that the planet has definitively entered the 'age of electricity', an indispensable foundation for decarbonisation. However, there are many warning signs. Firstly, it highlights that with current policies, demand for oil and coal will continue to grow until 2050. Secondly, the report points out that the vulnerability of critical mineral supply chains is increasing. Thirdly, it criticises the lack of investment in making electricity systems secure. Furthermore, it highlights the threat to energy security posed by global geopolitical tensions. Finally, it concludes that governments' ambition to mitigate the worst effects of climate change is weakening.

The 2025 edition of the WEO covers three main scenarios: the Current Policies Scenario (CPS), the Stated Policies Scenario (STEPS) and the Net Zero Emissions by 2050 Scenario (NZE). Each scenario paints a different picture of the future of energy, allowing analysis of the implications of different policy, investment, and technology choices for energy security, affordability, and emissions.

[Download the full document here!](#)

[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](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

© 2026. Jus Semper Newsletter (ISSN: 3071-396X) is published by The Jus Semper Global Alliance Moorpark, California Portal on the net: [www.jussemper.org/](http://www.jussemper.org/)

