

### 3. Struggles, demands and ecosocial strategy

#### 3.1. An ecosocialist emergency plan

3.1.1. An entirely different relationship of humankind to the environment, based on the "caring" of humans and the environment, is an urgent necessity. The development of science and technology creates objective conditions more favorable than ever, but this different relationship can only materialize in the context of a completely different relationship between humans, necessitating the total and complete eradication of capitalism. This eradication is indeed the sine qua non condition for a rational, efficient and careful management of the matter exchanges between humanity and the rest of nature.

3.1.2. The response to environmental destruction in general and the danger of climate change in particular is not support for green capitalism and the Paris agreement as a "lesser evil", but a global emergency policy that satisfies real human needs, that is, the needs determined not by the market, but by a democratic deliberation, allowing the populations to emerge little by little from the market alienation. Such a policy has as a precondition to break with the productivist logic of capital accumulation by the implementation of profound structural reforms aimed at eliminating poverty and radically reducing social inequality as well as the sphere of the commodity.

3.1.3. The key demands in this perspective are:

3.1.3.1.- the socialization of the energy sector: this is the only way out of fossils and nuclear power to rapidly make the transition to a renewable, decentralized and efficient system, according to ecological and social imperatives;

3.1.3.2.- the socialization of the credit sector: this is essential given the interweaving of the energy and financial sectors in heavy and long-term investments and in order to have the necessary financial resources for transition investments;

3.1.3.3.- food sovereignty and protection of biodiversity through land socialization, agrarian reform, and the transition to local ecological and local peasant agriculture, recognized as being of public interest, free of GMOs and pesticides, with reduced production / consumption of meat and respect for animal welfare: this is a decisive way to reduce emissions, increase absorption, protect biodiversity, clean up the environment and promote environmental awareness;

3.1.3.4.- socialization of water: this is absolutely necessary within the framework of a policy aiming at social equality and promotion of an ecological agriculture based on the peasants;

3.1.3.5.- the abolition of the patent system, in particular the immediate prohibition of patenting living organisms and energy conversion / storage technologies. Significant public refinancing of scientific research and the end of systems that submit research to industry

3.1.3.6.- the abolition of private ownership of forests and their public management in accordance with the needs of biodiversity, water resources management, carbon storage and their social function

3.1.3.7.- recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples

3.1.3.8.- the abolition of unnecessary or harmful productions (weapons, petrochemical, nuclear), planned obsolescence, with collective retraining of workers, under workers' control,

3.1.3.9.- the development of public enterprises aimed at job creation through the implementation of the ecological transition regardless of profit, under workers' and citizens' control (in particular in the fields of electricity generation, construction-insulation-renovation of buildings, mobility of people through the exit of the "all-car" system, recycling of waste and repairing of ecosystems)

3.1.3.10.- the collective radical reduction of working time without wage loss, with lower work rates and proportional hiring: together with the development of the public sector, it is the best way to reconcile production reduction, full employment and democratic transition;

3.1.3.11.- the extension of free goods (basic food products) and services (public transport, education, health care, etc.)

3.1.3.12.- the abolition of public debts (without compensation, except for small holders) and a redistributive tax reform to bring capital and wealth to bear;

3.1.3.13.- at least one per cent of the GDP of the rich countries for development aid. The absolute distinction between this aid and the fulfillment of Green Fund commitments (\$ 100 billion / year) to be made in the form of grants (no loans). Public management of the Green Fund, not by the World Bank but by the representatives of the countries of the South, under the control of communities and social movements;

3.1.3.14.- the taxation of international air and maritime transport;

3.1.3.15.- the extension of the workers right to organize and exert control in the workplace, in particular on occupational health, product sustainability, production efficiency, etc. Protection of whistle-blowers on these issues within companies;

3.1.3.16.- refugee status for victims of ecological / climatic disasters, freedom of movement and settlement and full respect of democratic rights for refugees in general;

3.1.3.17.- a long-term urban reform aimed at breaking land speculation, "disartifying" the city (urban agriculture) and freeing it from the car for public transport, fostering community gardening and soft mobility;

3.1.3.18.- a long term socio-economic policy favoring a rebalancing of urban and rural populations consistent with the objectives of ecological agriculture, food sovereignty and ecosystem care;

3.1.3.19.- a family planning policy based on sound social security systems, ensuring adequate life and pensions, including the right of women to voluntary abortion and to free contraception.

3.1.4. This program is not exhaustive: it is and will continue to be enriched continuously by concrete struggles. What is common is defined by the social process of its democratic construction, not by nature which would make certain things "common", while others would be doomed to private appropriation. The above demands do not therefore constitute a key door-to-door solution: they indicate the general way forward for an anti-capitalist, internationalist, ecosocialist and ecofeminist issue that will change all spheres of activity (production, reproduction, distribution, consumption) and will be accompanied by a profound change in cultural values. They are applicable separately, but an end to the crisis is possible only through their coordinated and planned application.

3.1.5. These measures form a coherent whole, incompatible with the normal functioning of the capitalist system. There is no other way to deal with the urgency of the situation. This coherent whole responds to the major contradiction of capitalism already highlighted by Marx and that is today more acute than ever: whereas the general productive force of society (science and technology) could radically reduce working time, render to labor its sense of conscious collective activity, producing a good life to which each one could contribute according to his abilities, the accumulation of value continues to depend on the theft of the working time of others, a miserable base whose Capitalism cannot do without, for it is its very essence. In this context, the strategic importance of the radical reduction of working time without loss of wages and the extension of the sphere of free provision as well as of the public sector under democratic control must be stressed.

## **3.2. Wage-labor, alienation and ecosocialism**

3.2.1. The exploited and the oppressed can alone lead the environmental struggle to the end because the abolition of the capitalist system corresponds to their class interests, but capital incorporates the worker by the purchase of his labor power. Chosification and destruction of the environment are therefore not an external consequence of the wage-labor relationship, but a constituent element of it - just as the chosification and destruction of the wage-earners themselves, as well as the invisibility of the work of reproduction, or the ruin of the small peasant. Under the "normal" circumstances of the capitalist mode of production, the daily existence of the proletarians depends on the functioning of the system which mutilates them directly and indirectly - by mutilating their environment. This contradiction makes it very difficult to mobilize the labor movement in the ecological struggle. The difficulty is increasing in the present period due to mass unemployment, the decline in class consciousness and the deterioration in the balance of forces with employers.

3.2.2. The majority leadership of the trade union movement is in favor of class collaboration with the project of "green capitalism": the "just transition" "with respect for business competitiveness" (ITUC Vancouver Resolution). They have the illusion that the capitalist transition, if concerted, will massively reduce unemployment by reviving growth through "green" production. Faced with this dominant trade union trend, certain sectors are inclined towards populism and protectionism, or even climate denial, in reaction to the fact that climate defense serves as a pretext for capitalist attacks, or in the illusion that they will be able to avoid the destruction of jobs in the fossil fuels sectors. Fostering a debate on ecosocialist alternatives and helping to uncover a left-wing left with capitalism and class collaboration in trade unions is therefore a task of prime strategic importance.

3.2.3. Left-wing sectors are taking part in environmental struggles – f.i. "Trade Unions for Energy Democracy" and the "Climate Jobs Campaigns". However, these sectors are generally in a minority and are not always clearly antiproductivist. Developing, coordinating and radicalizing them requires a lot of patience and tact. But it is possible because the consciousness of the gravity of ecological destruction of the planet by the race to profit also grows in large layers of the working class. It grows in a diffuse way, which leads too little to ecological positions assumed by sectors of the labor movement, but it materializes at other levels and can suddenly turn out in case of general mobilization. Apart from such mobilizations, the huge objective constraints of the transition - in particular the necessary global decrease in material production to stabilize the climate system - seem impossible to the mass, which contributes to fueling a feeling of helplessness, or retreat into individual lifestyle changes.

3.2.4. The defense of the health of workers is an important means by which the ecological struggle can be taken over by trade unionism as such. Indeed, the deterioration of the balance of power between capital and labor has resulted, in particular, in a deterioration in working conditions, which has led to a worsening of capitalist attacks on the health of workers, particularly the most precarious workers. The fight against the increase in occupational diseases thus constitutes a lever to encourage the employees' awareness of the fact that Capital destroys both the Earth and the laborer. This destruction of the laborer includes rising psycho-social risks, resulting not only from the forms of organization and control of workers, but also from the environmental damage that many workers are forced to realize on the order of capital. The defense of the health of workers is also a lever for the often difficult convergence of the demands of the workers of polluting companies, the surrounding populations - which also suffer from this pollution - and movements for the environment.

3.2.5. Plans aiming at job creation through a regulated ecological transition ("One Million Climate Jobs", etc.) is another way of driving the worker's movement into the struggle for the environment, linking this struggle to the fight for defense and the extension of a public sector under democratic control of the population. But it is not enough to show that transition can create jobs, it is necessary to do it respecting the ecological constraints and the principle of the differentiated responsibility of North and South countries in the warming. Workers in a company or sector who require their employment through conversion to green products must be supported unconditionally. However, comprehensive plans to create "climate jobs" on the scale of developed countries cannot circumvent the necessary global reduction in material output. It is therefore decisive that these plans incorporate the radical collective reduction of working time without wage loss, alongside the demands for the development of the public sector. The CRWT is indeed an antiproductivist claim par excellence. Marx had already noted this: it is the privileged means of "rationally managing the exchanges of matter with nature in the respect of human dignity", that is to say reconciling full employment and suppression of useless or harmful productions, and planned obsolescence.

### **3.3. Women struggles and ecosocialism**

3.3.1. Indigenous peoples, peasants and youth are at the forefront of environmental struggles, and women play a leading role in these three sectors. This situation is the product of their specific oppression, not their biological sex. Patriarchy imposes on women social functions directly linked to "caring" and place them at the forefront of environmental challenges. Because they produce 80% of food production in the countries of the South, women are directly confronted with the ravages of climate change and agribusiness. Because they take on most of the child-rearing and home maintenance tasks, women are directly confronted with the effects of environmental destruction and poisoning on health and education.

3.3.2. On the ideological level, women's movements remember the experiences of instrumentalization of women's bodies in the name of science (forced sterilization campaigns, etc.), which favors a critical view of pseudo-scientific mechanistic rationality as an instrument of domination and manipulation.

3.3.3. Women also have a special, valuable and irreplaceable contribution to the development of a global anti-capitalist consciousness which favors the integration of struggles. By fighting against the patriarchal appropriation of their bodies as well as their natural reproductive capacity, and against the exploitation of the free domestic work which they carry out to a large extent, women stimulate the understanding that capitalism relies not only on the appropriation of nature and the exploitation of the labor force by wage labor but also on the patriarchal invisibilization of the labor of care and reproduction of the labor force. These three pillars of capitalism have, in the last instance, a common denominator which is the appropriation of natural resources, of which human workforce is a part. Women's struggles (i) for the right to control their bodies, sexuality and reproductive capacities, (ii) against sexist discrimination in the wage labor market and in production in general, and (iii) for social recognition and the sharing of domestic work are thus an integral part of the ecosocialist struggle. They deepen it and widen its horizons.

#### **3.4. Agrarian question and ecosocialism**

3.4.1. Farmers and agricultural workers are the world's most heavily involved social sector in the fight for the environment in general and climate in particular. This vanguard role is attributable to the brutal aggression of capital which wants to eliminate the independent peasants to make agricultural workers or franchised workers - producing cheap goods at low cost for the market rather than quality food products for local populations - or unemployed, weighting on the wages. It is also the result of the organizational and awareness-raising work carried out by peasant unions such as Via Campesina.

3.4.2. Unlike salaried workers, small-scale farmers are not incorporated into capital. Although production for the market tends to impose productivist objectives and methods on them, they also retain the mentality of the craftsman who is anxious to do "fine work". Aggrieved by a powerful capitalist enemy, they mobilize to retain or reconquer the ownership of their means of production. But the very unequal balance of power in the face of agribusiness and large-scale distribution forces them to seek alliances with other social movements, especially with employees. They also understand the extra legitimacy they can get by explaining and assuming the ecological importance of their struggles. As for agricultural workers, especially illegal seasonal workers who are over-exploited, they mostly have little prospect of becoming peasants or of leaving the ultra-precarious margins of wage-earners. Anti-capitalist struggle is their only alternative.

3.4.3. The importance of the agrarian question should not be judged by the proportion of farmers in the labor force, but based on five objective facts:

3.4.3.1.- The challenges of human nutrition and the threats that mass distribution, agribusiness and industrial fishing pose to farmers, fishermen, communities, consumers and the environment, as well as to the emancipatory struggles in general (through dependence on world markets, which gives multinationals a terrible means of pressure on peoples). Changes in consumer behavior cannot drive the ecological transition, but their food choices can support reorientations at the production chain level that have a significant ecological impact. This also contributes to breaking the feeling of powerlessness in the face of the ecological crisis. At the same time, this issue has an acute class nature, as consumer choices are limited by the capitalist tendency to lower the value of the reproduction of the labor force and by wage policies that impoverish workers. So, large-scale, low-cost distribution plays a major role: it enforces a massive solvent demand for junk food and poor agribusiness products, including micro-credit. The agrarian modes of production are thus at the center of decisive stakes of human health (obesity, cardiac diseases, allergy...) and the protection of the environment, which reveal the destructive force of capital. The demand of "food sovereignty" makes it possible to unify consumers and producers around a fight and practices generating anti-capitalist consciousness.

3.4.3.2.- The important role of women in agricultural production and the impact of women's oppression on the productive deficit. Women make up 43% of the agricultural workforce in so-called "developing" countries. Patriarchal discrimination is reflected in the smaller size of their farms and livestock, the lower level of mechanization, a heavier workload for a lower yield (due to the weight of non-productive chores - water and timber), less access to training and credit, and, for employees, status that is more precarious than that of men. The emancipation of women farmers as women is one of the decisive conditions for addressing both the challenge of food and ecological agriculture. It is therefore an ecosocialist issue in itself.

3.4.3.3.- The agricultural-forestry sector as a whole (including upstream - production of inputs, machinery, etc. - and downstream - processing and distribution) is responsible for more than 40% of greenhouse gas emissions. Agribusiness is also a key agent for chemical poisoning of the biosphere, while industrial fishing and water

pollution by agribusiness are key determinants of the biodiversity loss in aquatic environments. At the same time, warming threatens land productivity and acidification due to warming threatens that of aquatic ecosystems.

3.4.3.4.- Biodiversity loss will not be stopped mainly by the creation of nature reserves but by the development of an ecological agriculture instead of agribusiness. Moreover, reducing greenhouse gas emissions to zero is no longer sufficient to curb climate change. In the coming decades carbon must be removed from the atmosphere. Peasant farming and rational forestry are the only means of achieving this removal efficiently and safely, without resorting either to geoengineering or to the generalization / appropriation / commodification of ecosystems. Thus, the protection of biodiversity and of the climate 1 °) reinforce the need for the ecosocialist alternative 2°) materially found the decisive place of the agro-ecological farming / food alternative in this overall alternative.

3.4.3.5.- The transition to environmentally friendly agriculture (and fisheries and forestry) is a major condition for building an ecosocialist society. This aspect is of the same importance as the democracy of producers and the use of 100% renewable. However, agroecology is more labor-intensive than industrial agriculture. The transition to sustainable forestry and the restoration / protection of ecosystems entail an increase in the share of the population invested in these activities. Yet the example of countries such as Venezuela, where nearly all the population is urbanized and depends almost exclusively on the world market for its food, shows that it is very difficult to reverse the trend. Avoiding this extreme point requires a long-term policy of upgrading agricultural trades, training workers and equipping rural areas with infrastructure and personal services.

### **3.5. Indigenous peoples, buen vivir and ecosocialism**

3.5.1. In North, Central and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania, indigenous peoples are also in the front line. Their struggle often combines with that of peasants and rural communities, but it is specific. Indigenous peoples produce their social existence from a direct relationship with the environment they have shaped and which constitutes their environment of life. As a result, these peoples are on the road to many powerful capitalist players who are eager for natural resources to plunder: oil, gas, mining, wood, pulp, meat multinationals, agribusiness, Pharmaceutical sector, not counting the carbon offsetting financiers disguised as ecological defenders of the forest (and environmental NGOs completely integrated with green capitalism and the imperialist system). All of these extractivist plunderers generally act with the complicity of national governments and local authorities, who invoke development goals and ecological needs to conceal their greed and neocolonial contempt for indigenous peoples. For their part, these peoples generally have no title or property to the resources of their environment. They have no other means but the struggle not to end up as wretched agricultural workers or as sub-proletarians in a shantytown. Through their struggle, the indigenous peoples protect and make known their cosmogony, which is a precious asset to the whole of humanity and an inspiration for ecosocialism. But it is not this cosmogony that explains their role as a vanguard: this role derives rather from the fact that these peoples are pushed their backs to the wall in their last entrenchments after centuries of spoliation and colonial humiliations. In this unequal struggle, they fully and rightly use the "ecological crisis" to find allies among other social movements and thus improve the balance of power in their favor.

### **3.6. Self-management, control and political outlet**

3.6.1. The profound changes in lifestyle and development prospects that ecological transition requires cannot be imposed from above, either authoritatively or technocratically. They are only feasible if the majority of the population acquires the conviction that they are indispensable and compatible with a significant improvement in their living conditions, hence desirable. It is a question of spreading popular education ("éducation permanente" in French is a specific concept, don't know the equivalent in ENGL) about the severity of environmental destruction and its causes. In the face of capitalist impotence, it is a question of stimulating democratic processes of active control, of taking charge of transition, of intervening in public decision-making, and even of joint appropriation of production and social reproduction, as well as the protection of endangered ecosystems. By their very nature, these processes combine with the struggles of oppressed nationalities for their social rights and democratic right to self-determination. It is a matter of sketching in practice the invention of emancipated relationships between human beings, and between humanity and the rest of nature, to show that "another world is possible". Through these practices, and through the social sectors most involved in struggles, it is a matter of weighing on the workers' movement to combat the influence of productivism within it.

3.6.2. The movement for the divestment of fossil fuels and the transition towns movement must be encouraged and actively supported. In general, the experiences of workers' control, citizen control, participatory management and even self-management, as well as women's struggles for social recognition and the sharing of domestic tasks, favor

an anti-capitalist consciousness and project including the ecosocialist dimension. Experiments in cooperative ecological agriculture, particularly in Europe but especially in Latin America, demonstrate this and have an influence also in the labor movement. Many self-management production experiments also involve licensed workers, excluded and precarious workers, even “sans papiers” migrants and asylum-seekers. These alternatives provide an immediate response to massive and permanent social exclusion, which degrades the lives and dignity of people. They have an important place in an ecosocialist strategy because they refuse fatalism, create solidarity, exceed the circles of environmental activists. It is, however, an illusion to believe that their generalization by contagion to society as a whole would make it possible to avoid the ecological catastrophe: structural socio-economic measures, in particular the socialization of credit and energy, are absolutely necessary. Transition initiatives must be based on the requirement for democratic transition planning that includes both meeting social needs and respecting ecological constraints. Without such an articulation, these initiatives may have an effect of depoliticization, or even constitute a siding.

3.6.3. The struggle against major fossil infrastructures is a key element in the general movement of interference, control and transition. Mass demonstrations, occupations of sites, mines, and civil disobedience campaigns make it possible to concretely oppose the "growth" and "extractivist" dynamics of capital. These fights have a key importance in defending the ecosystems and the human communities that live there / who have shaped them. They are of strategic importance in defending the climate because the current level of infrastructure constitutes a bottleneck in the development of fossil capital. They constitute a privileged means of laying bridges between the struggles of peasants, indigenous peoples, youth, women and, from there, to challenge the labor movement to join the struggle. The international networking of these resistances makes it possible to improve the balance of power, to dispel the accusations of NIMBY and to reinforce the legitimacy of the demands. In some cases, this can lead to partial victories, or even impose reforms which, while remaining within the capitalist framework, can serve as a basis for subsequent radicalization.

3.6.4. The necessary convergence of social and environmental struggles is not a gathering on a stable compromise between the environment and the social. It is a dynamic process of clarification, recomposition and radicalization. Such a process involves multiple conflicts between social sectors, particularly conflicts with sectors of the labor movement that engage in class collaboration with productivism. While demonstrating the necessary tactical sense and emphasizing the benefits of the ecological transition to the workers (especially in terms of jobs and health), it may be necessary to dare the conflict with the worker's movement under productivist influence. This conflict must then be conceived and used carefully, without provocation, to stimulate debate on alternatives, to find allies and to awaken among workers a sense of human responsibilities deeper and more fundamental than the sense of responsibility subsumed by capital. In this way, the ecosocialist struggle can contribute to uncovering within the unions a leftist break with capitalism and class collaboration.

3.6.5. To win the labor movement and other social movements in the struggle for an ecosocialist transition program is ultimately achievable only by the emergence of political alternatives with a majority vocation, the objective of which is to apply a comprehensive plan of structural anticapitalist reforms that satisfies both social needs and environmental constraints. Without the construction of such political alternatives, and without their articulation on social movements, this joint satisfaction will always be a chimera, so that the environmental will be sacrificed on the altar of the social, or the latter on the altar of the first. The creation of an ecosocialist government that breaks with capitalism through social mobilization is the cornerstone of an ecosocialist emergency program. But there is no possible ecosocialism in one country. The formation of such a government is, in its turn, only a transitory stage of a permanent process which aims at the overthrow of capitalism on the whole surface of the globe. So, this government bridges a revolutionary internationalist outcome to the systemic crisis of capitalism.

### **3.7. Science, technology, self-management and decentralization**

3.7.1 "The Commune is the political form finally found of the emancipation of labor," wrote Marx in his work on the Commune of Paris. In the 19th century, capitalism created an increasingly uniform and centralized energy system, whose technical and political control involved a large bureaucratic apparatus and a complex system of delegations of power. This system is obviously not the cause of the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR - which was the result of the Stalinist counter-revolution - but it has favored it to some extent. Conversely, the flexibility and modularity of renewable technologies are no guarantee for socialist democracy, but they open up new possibilities for anticapitalist structural reforms aimed at decentralized territorial development, organized around the democratic control by local communities of the renewable energy resources available on the site and its use. This is particularly the case for the use of solar potential (thermosolar power stations) in semi-desert regions, hydroelectric potential (micro-power plants as an alternative to mega-dams) in mountainous regions, wind and

marine potential in Islands and coastal regions, etc. But the realization of these possibilities depends on the class struggle. The confiscation of only part of the fortunes accumulated by the Arab petromonarchies would suffice to finance regional projects of alternative development of the Near and Middle East based on the solar energy and directed towards the satisfaction of the social needs at the local scale. Similarly, it is deplorable that the so-called "progressive" Latin American governments have not invested the revenues of fossil exploitation in social and ecological phasing out transition plans aimed at another type of decentralized development: democratic, more balanced urban-rural, community-based and 100% renewable.

3.7.2. Renewable energy technologies also modify the link between structural measures and control or self-management experiences at the territorial level, with new possibilities for energy autonomy opening up. The project of a democratic eco-social society based on a network of decentralized bodies of power thus regains topicality and credibility. This field of struggle is particularly important for the countries of the South, as part of an alternative development model to the imperialist model, also including food sovereignty.

### **3.8. Environmental destruction and the social role of scientists**

3.8.1. Capitalist responses are insufficient ecologically and socially unjust because they are biased by the assimilation of market rules, which are social rules, to unavoidable natural laws. This reality pushes some scientists to engage in public debate and struggle. Their commitment is against the background of the increasing fragmentation of research and its increasingly strong subordination to the needs of capital and its temporality. In this context, an opportunity arises to redefine "knowledge" and return it against capital. It is further enhanced by the rise in certain sectors of the ruling class of irrationality and the denial of objective facts, two reactionary traits embodied in particular by Donald Trump. Ecosocialists must help to ensure that this opportunity is seized with all hands. It is not a question of subjecting the social movement to the dictatorship of "science" or of experts, but rather of putting expertise at the service of the social movement and subjecting it to its criticism. This can greatly increase the credibility and legitimacy of anti-capitalist options. In particular, the experience of international cooperation of scientists is an important asset to develop internationalism.

### **3.9. Self-organization of the affected populations**

3.9.1. The means of warding off the catastrophe that is coming are terribly behind schedule. "Anthropogenic" ecological disasters are therefore likely to multiply, particularly due to extreme weather events (floods, cyclones, etc.). This creates situations of disorganization and chaos exploited by speculators and exploited for domination (political, economic, geostrategic). At the same time, these same situations may be conducive to initiatives aiming at building solidarity networks that are alternative to imperialist agencies, as well as self-organization of aid, reception of refugees and even reconstruction of social life in general. These initiatives then benefit from a great legitimacy because they become vital in these circumstances and are more efficient than international aid. The subjective factor is decisive for such opportunities to materialize. This perspective is an integral part of our ecosocialist strategy as a revolutionary strategy. More generally, the capitalist impotence persisting in the face of the development of the ecological crisis contributes to creating an objectively favorable situation, either to barbarism or to revolution.

### **3.10. Localization, decentralization and internationalism**

3.10.1. In the ecosocialist emergency plan, the requirements of localization of production and food sovereignty are part of a self-management and internationalist perspective that is radically opposed to both capitalist globalization and free trade on the one hand, and to capitalist protectionism and national sovereignty, on the other hand. In developed countries in particular, the greatest vigilance is required in the face of far right recovery attempts. The far right tries to shift ecological demands towards nationalist pseudo-responses that are always at the service of capital and bridge the racist, islamophobic and reactionary-traditionalist themes in general. The issues of localization of production and food sovereignty are among the most frequent areas of these attempts. It is therefore crucial to frame these requests carefully, to avoid any recovery ("récupération" in French is not equal to recovery, don't know the ENGL equivalent).

3.10.2. We oppose the relocation of companies to low-cost countries, and are in favor of localization of production in general, but do not support the demand for relocation in imperialist countries of companies that have moved towards low-cost countries. This idea would entail that workers in low-cost countries should lose their jobs so that those in the imperialist countries will regain their own. Instead of uniting the workers of different countries against their exploiters, this demand puts them in competition, and therefore disarms them in the face of the pressure of

employers for competitiveness on the markets. The location of production is part of an entirely different project, based on ecological and social needs, in particular the right to employment and income for all, close to their place of life. Similarly, food sovereignty, for us, is not a national sovereignty, but a sovereignty at the level of territories defined as geophysical entities, regardless of the borders of states. This food sovereignty is not part of the nationalistic tendency to close borders, but rather of an internationalist tendency to abolish them, in order to leave the field open to the networking of self-managed territories, their exchanges and centralization at the level of larger geographic regions. This networking is indispensable not only for economic and social reasons, but also for ecological reasons such as the need for integrated management at the level of river basins, for example.

3.10.3. In general, the various formulas of "Left-wing Protectionism" support the idea that competition from low-wage countries that do not protect the environment are the decisive cause of industrial losses in developed countries. Yet the main cause of these job losses is the increase in labor productivity in a context where the historical movement to reduce working hours is blocked by the deterioration of the balance of power. By adopting the obsolete vision of a global economy based on competition among countries, while the dominant role today is played by multinationals, "left-wing protectionists" divert attention from the capital-labor contradiction to an interclass front in defense of competitiveness. "Left-wing protectionism" pretends being internationalist, but it is silent on the destructive competition of low-cost agribusiness exports from developed countries to the South and other manifestations of imperialist domination. The danger of racist contamination from sovereignist positions is significant. Indeed, in the more developed countries, the defense of employment by safeguarding the competitiveness of firms against the competition of low-wage countries can easily transform in the defense of employment by combating illegal or foreign workers' competition, since the latter represent, so to speak, "a third world at home". It is precisely in this deadly trap that the extreme right wants to attract the labor movement and the environmental movement.

3.10.4. Faced with an ecosocialist government that would effectively begin to break with capitalism on base of the mobilization of the exploited and the oppressed, we would of course defend the right of this government to protect its policy by measures such as the monopoly of foreign trade, control of capital movements and so on. But this does not mean protecting capitalist companies from international competition. On the opposite, it is a matter of protecting the anti-capitalist policy while calling on the exploited and oppressed of other countries to join the fight for and spread it to other countries, in the internationalist perspective of the overthrow of world capitalism. Such a policy is at the very opposite of "protectionism", which always amounts to subordinating ecological and social demands to the needs of strengthening national capitalism on the world market, that is to say, ultimately, to free trade.

3.10.5. Ecosocialism can begin at the national level but can only be achieved at the world scale, for the rational and prudent management of the Earth System asks global democratic planning. The global scientific work realized by bodies like the IPCC, the IGBP and others shows this global democratic planning is possible. What scientists can do at their level could be done by democratically elected representatives of the social movements, too, and is partly done today by organizations like Via Campesina and other unions.