Climate Chaos – Their Solution and Ours

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We draw close to the end of 2023 in a state of ever worsening environmental crisis. CO2 levels are now at record levels, reaching an all-time peak of 424 parts per million in May of this year.[1] We reached a global average temperature record on 3 July 2023. Antarctic sea ice was at its lowest point on record this year. On top of this, we are facing a number of potentially catastrophic tipping points that could cause runaway climate change and environmental breakdown. A Nature Communications study on the Gulf Stream estimates that a collapse could "occur around mid-century under the current scenario of future emissions. The Gulf stream, or Atlantic meridional overturning circulation (AMOC), is vital in regulating the climate system and its collapse would have "severe impacts on the climate in the North Atlantic region".[2] Another tipping point is the potential fallout from methane released as a result of melting permafrost in the rapidly reducing polar ice caps. There is potential for methane gas equivalent to 205 gigatons of carbon dioxide to be released, provoking a temperature rise of up to 0.5°C.[3]

The melting of the ice caps is not only dangerous because of the danger for sea level rises and temperature increases as a result of methane release. The ice caps also mitigate against global warming by reflecting the light of the sun into space and preventing it from being trapped in the atmosphere. This - the ability of surfaces to reflect light - is known as the albedo. Arctic ice has a cooling effect. It reflects 50-70 percent of the sun's light, whereas the ocean only reflects 6 percent. Should the ice caps melt, far more of the sun's heat would be trapped in the atmosphere, provoking further warming of the earth's oceans. This, in turn, could trigger the release of methane trapped in the seabed, resulting in further warming.

In 2021, scientists confirmed that for the first time, the Amazon rainforest has become a net carbon emitter, emitting more carbon dioxide than it is able to absorb. Deforestation was ramped up under Bolsonaro's reign as Brazilian president, with huge emissions caused by fires which were spread to clear land for beef and soy production.[4] The rate of deforestation has fallen significantly since Lula came to power, but simply reducing the rate at which the 'lungs of the planet' are cut down will not be enough.[5] Deforestation must be stopped altogether and the process of restoring the Amazon must begin - and fast.

And it's not just climate change that poses an existential risk to society as we know it. Scientists report that 6 out of 9 planetary boundaries that are necessary to maintain the Earth's stability and sustainability have already been crossed.[6] Along with climate change, these include biogeochemical flows (the nitrogen and phosphorus cycles), biosphere integrity (genetic diversity and planetary function), land system change, novel entities, and freshwater change. A seventh boundary, ocean acidification, is also in danger of being crossed.

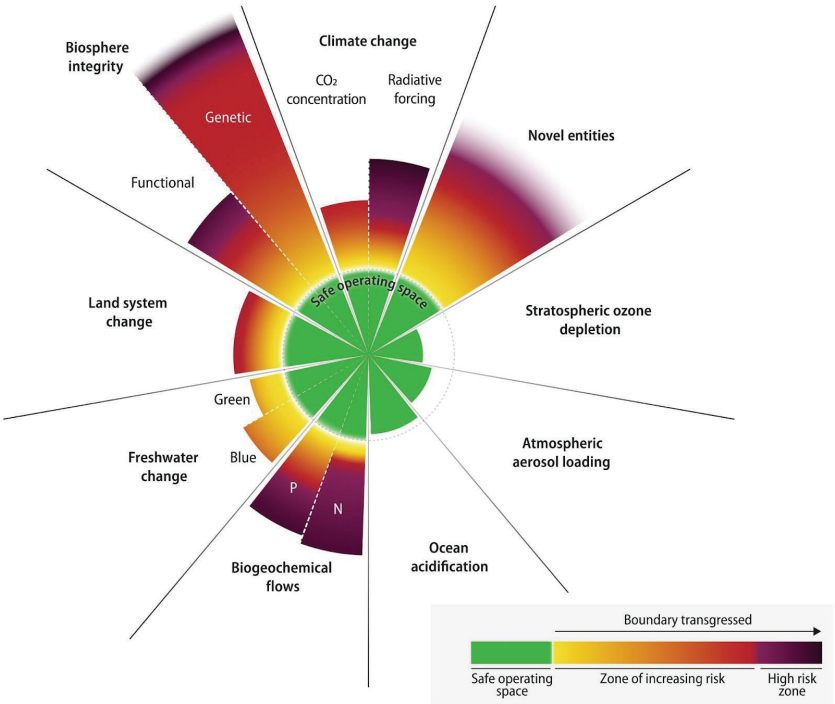

Figure 1 - Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. ***Science Advances*****, *9* (37), p.2458.**

The consequences of environmental breakdown are increasingly being felt around the globe. The worst of these are being inflicted on the poorest people in the Global South. In September 2023, devastating floods in Libya killed more than 4300 people and displaced thousands more. Scientists calculate that these were 50 times more likely because of climate change, with 50 percent more rain than the historical norm. The Horn of Africa is suffering a three year drought, the worst in 40 years. This has had catastrophic effects in Somalia, Ethiopia, and Kenya, with 23.4 million now acutely food insecure and 5.1 million children acutely malnourished.[7]

Although the Global North is much better equipped to deal with the fallout of environmental catastrophe, its effects are still being felt. In the United States, average annual heat-related deaths were up 95 percent in 2022 compared to 2010.[8] In Europe, scorching heat killed over 60,000 people the same summer.[9] At the time of writing, unprecedented floods in Cork have destroyed flood defence systems, flooding buildings like Midleton Community Hospital, where patients had to be evacuated.[10] The reality predicted by scientists for decades, that most of the world's population will be unable to escape from the effects of climate change, is increasingly being borne out. Everyone will be affected, although the poorest people - those who are least to blame for the crisis - will bear the brunt of the suffering if the current trajectory continues.

Ruling Class Strategy: From Theatre to Denialism

As the world burns, ruling classes everywhere are attempting to manage the situation so as to continue business as normal. The main strategy has been to engage in a kind of *climate theatre*, paying lip service to the crisis with grand speeches, greenwashing their image, and grandstanding over piecemeal policies that cannot possibly alter the course we are on.

This strategy is best summed up by a look at the COP summits - global meetings where the world's leaders and elites arrive by private jet to discuss how to tackle the crisis. These are increasingly saturated with fossil fuel lobbyists while climate activists are marginalised. Last year's COP27 summit was the biggest farce yet - sponsored by Coca Cola, it took place in the Sharm el-Sheikh holiday resort in Egypt, a country where thousands of people have been brutalised and locked up by the el-Sisi dictatorship for standing up for democracy and human rights.

If you thought it couldn't get any worse, you would be mistaken. COP28 is taking place in the United Arab Emirates. The

President-Designate of the summit is Sultan al Jaber, the CEO of Abu Dhabi National Oil Co., a company that has recently expanded its oil production from 4 million daily barrels to 5 million. The UAE has been campaigning to have its oil and gas recognised as clean energy, arguing that bogus, non-existent 'carbon capture and storage' technologies will be able to tackle its emissions.[11]

In Europe, similar greenwashing attempts have been on show. Last year, the war in Ukraine provided the excuse for the European Parliament to pass a vote endorsing gas and nuclear as 'green' energies, paving the way for cheap loans and state subsidies for new projects. The NATO/EU inter-imperialist conflict with Russia and the need to remove European reliance on Russian gas was cited as the reason for the move - a stark example of how capitalist competition on a global scale means the world's leaders are incapable of pulling the emergency brake. All the talk of a 'green transition' away from fossil fuels is just that - talk. Instead of an energy transition, there has been a global energy *expansion*. Nadhi Rahman explains that between 2009 and 2019, global energy demand rose by more than 20 percent. Approximately 75 percent of this demand was met by energy sources other than wind and solar.[12] Some countries are managing to reduce their emissions, but nowhere near fast enough. The global picture is one of increased fossil fuel production, including record demand for coal in 2023.[13]

Of course, this demand is not as a result of ordinary people increasing their consumption. Ireland is a prime example of how uneven the distribution in emissions is. Irish households actually reduced their electricity usage by 9 percent last year, yet overall electricity usage is skyrocketing. These reductions have come, not as a result of a badly needed, comprehensive, state-wide retrofitting programme, but because of a cost of living crisis that has seen energy prices soaring and many poor people being forced into making a choice between heating and eating. It makes a mockery of the carbon taxes being flaunted by the Green Party as a way of forcing people to reduce their consumption - they are already doing so as much as possible. But even if this were something to celebrate, these reductions pale in comparison to the energy now being gobbled up by data centres. The proliferation of these in Ireland is staggering. Average electricity usage by data centres accounts for about 2-3 percent of overall use in most European countries. In Ireland, the figure in 2022 was 18 percent, and even if no more data centres are built, this is expected to rise to 30 percent by 2030.[14]

On one hand the Irish government, like those in the rest of the developed world, makes grand pledges on emission reductions. On the other, it supports policies that ensure their own climate targets cannot be met, all-the-while imposing environmental taxes on ordinary people and promoting the idea that individual action is the best way to tackle the crisis – by reducing one's carbon footprint, for example. In December 2022 Ireland published a Climate Action Plan which pledged to reduce Irish emissions by 51 percent (from a baseline in 2018) by 2030.[15] Yet far from moving steadily to meet this target, GreenHouse Gas emissions rose 9.1 percent in the first quarter of 2023 compared to 2022, having risen by 5 percent between 2020 and 2021.[16] Announcing plans only to completely ignore them is likely to sow a combination of cynicism and despair, apathy and confusion, as scientists insist that transformative action must be taken immediately, while those with the power to organise this action make pledges they have no intention of keeping. We saw how the state acts when it is serious about solving a problem during Covid 19.

Covid had the potential to undermine the smooth running of the capitalist economy, forcing decision makers to spring into action. Although their strategy had many shortcomings, they did act by using the power of the state to coordinate society-wide activity. What they didn't do, was leave it up to the individual and hope for the best. The current targets set by the state all rely on nudging consumer behaviour rather than forcing the corporate polluters to reduce their emissions through legal sanctions. Faced with corporations that continue to drive emissions in their pursuit of profits and states that support them, it is understandable that many people take a jaundiced view of the climate crisis.

Taking individual steps like giving up a car, avoiding air travel or reducing meat consumption are morally useful actions, but the cost-benefit analysis means that they will never be a serious block on the industries affected. Corporate insiders know that while all of the costs fall on the individual, the benefits are minuscule and very difficult to observe; and so, faced with a lack of seriousness by those with power, most people get on with their lives wishing the state would act without putting the burden on working families, they fret about a future that seems predetermined, or they simply give up. The apathy that this creates helps the capitalist elites to maintain their business as normal agenda. Meanwhile, ordinary people are set up to fail leaving many feeling anxious or guilty, apathetic, or confused.

While the mainstream of western capitalism - represented by the likes of Joe Biden, Ursula Von der Leyen, Emmanuel Macron, Olaf Scholz, Mícheál Martin and so on - engages in greenwashing and climate theatre, there is also a growing hard right that is leaning heavily into outright climate change denial. In recent years, this has been best represented in government by the Trump presidency in the United States and Bolsonaro's presidency in Brazil. These have both been pushed back in the electoral arena for now, but the green austerity model of the neoliberal centre has increasingly created a space for their kind of politics to fester and grow.

Rather than accepting any need for emission reductions, the far right wants to double down on the burning of the planet. At the core of their politics is a deep racism coupled with a full-throated 'defence of fossil capital'.[17] The far right have updated conspiracy theories around 'Great Replacement' to include climate change, arguing that this is a hoax to facilitate the transfer of black and brown people into the West to replace the white population. Along with this, they have been somewhat successful in scaremongering among sections of small business owners, farmers, and workers to turn them against any kind of climate action. The 'green transition' is presented as an attack on their livelihoods, an attack fuelled by sinister motives and bogus science.

The introduction of the Nature Restoration Law by the EU is a recent example of the kind of mild reforms that the far right seize upon and exploit. In Ireland, meetings about the issue were disrupted by people spewing conspiracy theories that had nothing to do with the content of the law. In the Netherlands, the far right Farmer-Citizen Movement has promoted and benefited from widespread farmers' protests and gained almost 20 percent of the vote. Of course, this growing support for the far right and their agitation around climate denial is only possible because of the total lack of any viable course of action from the neoliberal section of the ruling class. When it comes to farmers, neoliberal governments materially support the major agri-corporations and pay lip service to the importance of small farmers. The likes of the Green Party in Ireland argue for the urgent need to transition to more sustainable agriculture, but do not provide any viable plan that would both challenge the major agri-corporations and protect small farmers. This leaves a wide open space for the far right to capitalise on - whatever about their climate scepticism, the fact remains that the mainstream of the ruling classes wants ordinary people to pay for any transition.

Wrapped up in all of this is the attitude towards those who will suffer most from the climate crisis - the Global South and the refugees who are being increasingly displaced by climate related disasters. When it comes to refugees, the neoliberals and the far right are often singing from the same hymn sheet. In the EU, for example, the far right openly calls for refugees to be repelled from Western borders and for those who have already arrived to be sent back. But it is the mainstream of the EU that has created the vast architecture that prevents refugees from coming.

The EU's border agency, *Frontex*, has been expanded massively since it was established in 2004. Its 2023 budget was €845 million. It currently boasts 2000 staff and there are plans to increase this to 10,000 by 2027.[18] *Lighthouse Reports* has exposed Frontex's complicity in illegal pushbacks performed by the Greek Coast Guard.[19] In the Southern Mediterranean, it collaborates with the Libyan Coast Guard to facilitate 'pullbacks', or the prevention of departure, resulting in thousands of refugees being brought back to Libya to face forced labour, imprisonment, torture, and murder.[20]

Another prong of the EU's strategy to 'manage migration' has been to outsource its cruelty to authoritarian regimes in Africa so that they can do its dirty work for it. The *EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa* is used to strengthen border and police forces who, in turn, prevent refugees from leaving for Europe. Often the funds provided end up strengthening militias like the *State Support Authority* in Libya and the *Rapid Support Forces* (RSF) in Sudan. These militias have gone on to commit crimes against refugees, including atrocities like the *Khartoum massacre* on 3 June 2019, where RSF forces and the armed forces of the Sudanese Transitional Military Council massacred over 100 protesters.[21]

These brutal policies are increasingly being backed up by racist rhetoric from EU leaders. President of the EU Commission, Ursula Von der Leyen, referred to Greece as 'Europe's shield' back in 2020 when Greek border guards brutally attacked migrants attempting to cross into Europe from Turkey. EU High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Josep Borrell, had this to say last year "Europe is a garden, but most of the rest of the world is a jungle. And the jungle could invade the garden".[22]

When it comes to refugees, the EU continues to implement Fortress Europe policies that far right parties might have been proud of 15 years ago. This has gone hand in hand with an increase in racist rhetoric that conjures up mental images of barbarians at the gate. This in

turn has created yet more space for more extreme far right forces to grow. As bad as mainstream Fortress Europe is, it can get worse under far right leadership. Giorgia Meloni has intensified anti-refugee policies in Italy since she came to power and cracked down on charities that attempt to rescue people in the Mediterranean. There is also the threat of fascist street forces, which create even more dangers for migrants outside of the usual state-driven repression.

The Climate Movement

Behind the different strategies of the neoliberals and the far right lies the same goal - the defence of capitalism. Wedded to a system that is based on profit, competition and the exploitation of humans and nature, they are incapable of finding any meaningful solutions. As we have seen, the climate theatre of the neoliberal centre has served to spread a feeling of profound despair among many people. We have moved beyond a period where capitalist ideology promoted its system as the best possible way of organising society, guaranteeing to improve people's lives and their standard of living. This is now largely dead in the water, replaced by the idea that 'there is no alternative'. The climate solutions of the ruling class, such as the carbon credit scam are always put forward with this ideology and framework in mind.[23] This creates even more frustration and despair - we have known for decades about the existential crisis facing humanity, but rather than doing anything to turn the ship around, things have become increasingly worse. Consistently seeing world leaders make grand promises to act as emissions continue to rise is a recipe for demoralisation – a demoralisation that is functional for capitalism as many people lose hope that the crisis can be tackled.

All of this has a negative effect on the climate movement too. The eruption of people power movements in 2019 with the climate strikes, the rise of groups like Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion, has not been sustained. There are objective reasons for this - a global pandemic which meant that organising in mass numbers became very difficult, followed by war in Ukraine and a cost of living crisis. This year, there has been an uptick in mobilisations around the climate crisis, which are nowhere near the scale of 2019, but could mark the beginning of a reawakening. It is in this context that we urgently need an examination of our strategy and tactics for building an environmental movement that can win.

While the focus of this article is on the climate movement in the Global North, it should also be noted that in the Global South, in Latin America in particular, there are some greener shoots. A major mass movement led by a coalition of

Indigenous peoples, young people and activists in Ecuador has just resulted in a historic vote to halt all current and future oil drilling in the Amazon rainforest.[24] In Panama, new mining projects have been brought to a halt after massive street protests.[25] The situation is in flux - existing projects are set to continue, but so, it seems, are the protests. Likewise in Peru, an attempt by the Government to unblock investment into mining projects has been met with fierce opposition from indigenous farmers. According to José de Echave, director of the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Peru,

"There has never been a peasant mobilisation of this magnitude in Peru, which has put a lot of pressure on mining companies."[26]

The situation in the Global North is quite different, although here again there are some positives. Recent action can be characterised as having two different types of campaign. On the one hand, there have been campaigns around specific issues. Among these have been strong campaigns against Shannon LNG, mining in the Sperrin's, the pollution caused by the Aughinish Alumina plant, and more recently, the pollution in Lough Neagh. Committed activists have had some significant success in building people powered movements around these issues. For example, Shannon LNG has been pushed back - for now. The Lough Neagh campaign is in its relative infancy but has already gathered serious momentum. All of these localised campaigns are extremely important and should be a priority for ecosocialists and environmentalists to try to build and broaden as much as possible. On the other hand, there is the more generalised activism seeking to highlight the climate crisis as a whole. This has been less successful in recent years. As mentioned above, there are objective factors at play here, but there are also subjective factors to do with the strategy and tactics of the movement.

In Ireland, for example, one of the key activist groups for building climate action has been Extinction Rebellion. Owen McCormack explained the attitude of many ecosocialists to Extinction Rebellion in a recent article.

> PBP members were among the most enthusiastic in getting involved and supporting the setting up of an Irish section of Extinction Rebellion (XR). That didn't entail subscribing to the flawed analysis of mass movements and their success as espoused by Hallam or others; it did, however, involve joining and supporting protests and actions; and actively engaging with those ideas from inside the movement.[27]

One of the main problems with Extinction Rebellion has been the idea of

it being 'beyond politics'. Although this stance was often contested, it made it more difficult to formulate a coherent strategy that could win large numbers of people to action. It meant that during the height of XR mobilisations across Rebellion Week, there were a wide range of tactics used - some of them more effective than others. On the one hand, a trade union march managed to create links between XR and trade unionists, put forward slogans and demands around a just transition, and get hundreds of people marching on the streets. On the other hand, a protest against fast fashion in Penney's was on the receiving end of a huge backlash as it was perceived - for good reason - as targeting working class and poor people who cannot afford to make 'better choices' when it comes to their consumption.

More recently, Just Stop Oil in Britain has been one of the groups taking action on climate. There is no doubting the principles, courage and commitment of the activists involved. They have repeatedly faced arrest and prosecution at the hands of an increasingly authoritarian British state. We should see groups like this as our allies, support them against state repression, and try to engage with them with a view to building a mass movement. However, this has to go along with an assessment of tactics and strategy, and in this regard, there are flaws in the approach of Just Stop Oil. A lot of the actions that have garnered attention have been slow marches in front of cars, often in small enough numbers. Rather than directly targeting the government or the major polluting corporations, they have often prevented or delayed people as they try to go to work. The effect of these tactics has been to create anger among working class people - some of these marches have even been attacked by workers who are trying to get to work.

Moreover, there doesn't appear to be an attempt to win working class people to any wider set of demands outside of 'stopping oil'. At a time when workers and poor people are in the midst of a massive cost of living crisis, this is more than missing a trick. It misses the opportunity to connect the climate crisis with the suffering of ordinary people and put forward proposals that could tackle both. Some of these issues arise out of a generalised problem in the environmental movement - the question of how and where change can come from. This is by no means an easy question. Decades into what often seems like an intractable crisis, it would be arrogant for anyone to say that they have the definitive answers. There are things we can say about the general orientation of the movement, however, including how a Marxist perspective might help to move things forward.

In general, the movement has largely moved on from calls for generalised action, with no real distinction between ordinary people and the powerful. What we now have among activist circles is an approach that seeks to put pressure on governments to take action. Through non-violent protest and direct action, appeals are made to the world's leaders to 'listen to the science' and take the necessary action.

The problem is that the world's leaders, tied as they are to the capitalist system, are simply not going to do what is necessary. At this point, they have proved they cannot and will not be the agents of change - we need to look elsewhere.

One response to this problem has come from Andreas Malm with his book, *How to Blow up a Pipeline*.[28] Malm makes a good critique of Extinction Rebellion's idea of maintaining non-violence as a principle, exposing the logic of 'Gandhian non-violence' as being against the violence of ordinary people, but quite comfortable with the violence of the state. However, there are also problems with the kind of economic sabotage he argues for as an alternative. This would be performed, not by mass movements, but by small groups of the most committed activists. The aim of this sabotage, according to Malm, is to make it impossible for the ruling class to continue with the capitalist model and to force them to look at alternatives. But as John Molyneux points out:

> Malm's argument explicitly points to a major problem with this strategy: would any number of dramatic actions, no matter how spectacular or militant, be enough to get the existing capitalist state to sever its ties to capital, ties that have been developed over centuries and are deeply embedded in all its structures? Would even blowing up ten pipelines or blocking fifty major bridges be enough to bring this about? I think the answer to these questions is clearly 'No'.[29]

Ultimately, the logic of Malm's strategy is similar to the logic of non-violent protest. In this case, instead of appealing to the capitalist class to do the right thing, the aim is to force them into reconsidering. Ultimately, it is the capitalist state that is expected to carry out the transition, albeit under duress. In this case, moreover, we can expect to see an extreme reaction - heavy repression and many activists being put in jail.

This has already happened for the non-violent protesters of Just Stop Oil, along with an ideological assault to demonise them. And if we are relying on a small number of committed activists to take these actions, it won't take very long to behead the movement. The question

follows: if neither of these approaches provides an adequate strategy, how can we chart a course out of the crisis?

The Working Class

Talk of the working class as the agent of change has been downplayed in some leftist and academic circles for some time.[30] On one hand, this is understandable. In the West, certainly, it has been decades since there was the serious possibility of a rupture in the capitalist system, driven by the power of workers. Various theorists argue that the nature of the capitalist system and its exploitation of workers has changed, or that we are now in a new period of "techno feudalism".[31]

I want to argue that although it has developed and looks very different to what it was when Marx first wrote about it, the capitalist system is still fundamentally divided between two competing classes - an exploiting class and an exploited class. Capitalism still runs on the exploitation of workers and nature, creating an ongoing struggle that will continue until capitalism ends. This can be seen most clearly in the fact that wealth inequality has grown exponentially over the past few decades as wages have remained stagnant, and the cost of living continues to rise. Productivity has increased significantly but this increase has not been reflected in wages. There has therefore been an increase in the rate of exploitation, which has allowed capitalism to continue to grow and function, even if it is not in such a healthy state anymore. At the same time, the global working class has grown massively and is now bigger than it has ever been. As John Molyneux wrote in 2018:

> When Marx wrote the *Manifesto* in 1848 [the working class] existed only in Northwestern Europe (and a little in America) and numbered about 20 million, now it numbers approximately 1.5 billion and exists in large masses on every continent and in almost every country in the world.[32]

Not only has the working class expanded across the world, but it has diversified from the largely white, male class of workers it was in Europe in the 1800s. There is a huge industrial working class now in countries like China, India, the United States and elsewhere. There has been a feminisation of the class with women joining the workforce in unprecedented numbers. Other professions which previously would have involved much more autonomy for the worker have become proletarianised - for example, teachers, junior doctors, and taxi drivers.

Does this mean that a working class revolution is inevitable? Absolutely not. But the objective situation remains that if workers get organised and fight back, they have the capacity to shut down the levers of capitalism, take over the economy, and run it themselves on the basis of restoring the balance between humanity and nature instead of profit.

Nobody could look at the workers movement now, after decades of neoliberal assault and compromise by trade union leaders and argue that this is just around the corner. But if we accept that the potential to change the world lies with workers as the main agent of change, this should affect our orientation. The demands of the climate movement ought to relate to the hardships workers and poor people are facing. Climate demands must also be cost of living demands.

For example, in Ireland there is a dire need for a retrofitting programme, done by the state, on the scale of what was done with electrification through the ESB. A state-owned company could retrofit our housing stock at cost, not for profit. This, in turn, would see people's energy bills fall, their health improve, and emissions decline. Free public transport - now a reality in many European cities - must be at the forefront of our demands. Rather than outsourcing renewable energy production to private companies, a state-owned renewable energy company needs to be set up to produce energy for people's needs, not for profit. Likewise, a four day working week without any loss of earnings would have a hugely positive impact on people's lives and would also result in a significant drop in emissions. We also need to move away from a corporate agricultural model that prioritises the profits of a small few, while small farmers are put under increasing pressure to produce more for diminishing incomes. The class divide in agriculture must be recognised here. When it comes to the major agri-corporations, these need to be challenged and broken up. On the other hand, small and medium farmers must be incentivised to transition away from beef and dairy to sustainable farming methods - this should result in an improvement, not a diminishing of, their living standards.

Along with these demands, we need a general *orientation* towards workers. Along with putting forward positive demands, climate activists should look to support workers in their struggles, whether these are about pay, pensions, or other working conditions. If this happens, climate activists will be on a much better footing down the line to argue for climate strikes in the real sense of the word - actual work stoppages and pickets being set up based around putting forward demands for climate action. Ecosocialists

should therefore argue within their trade unions to step up their action around the climate crisis. Capital has taken the lion's share of the value created over recent decades, but it is also the beneficiary of a business model that is destroying our environment. Action by trade unions must reflect the fact that working people are losing now and it must include solidarity with the poor and with those generations not yet born.

There is also a real need to build mass mobilisations on the street, along with direct action. But ecosocialists must argue in the movement for these to have clear demands and clear targets - governments and the major corporate polluters who are benefiting from the destruction of the planet.

At this point, a certain amount of environmental destruction is locked in. We will not be able to stop climate catastrophe, given that it is already more or less in full swing. However, the movements we build now will give us a chance to prevent the worst outcomes, and should we succeed in a rupture with capitalism, what we do now will define the manner in which a future, more humane, sustainable society can be built.

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