

IV ENCONTROS INTERNACIONAIS ECOSSOCIALISTAS

**ALERTA
VERMELHO!**

**ALERTA
VERDE!**



**Dar forma à
transformação
ecossocialista**

23-24-25 NOVEMBRO

**ESCOLA SECUNDÁRIA CAMÕES
PRAÇA JOSÉ FONTANA**

**SOBERANIA ALIMENTAR • JUSTIÇA CLIMÁTICA
ECOFEMINISMO • A FALÁCIA DO CAPITALISMO VERDE
O TRABALHO NA ERA DAS ALTERAÇÕES CLIMÁTICAS**

ENTRADA GRATUITA!

INSCRIÇÕES E MAIS INFORMAÇÕES EM ALTERECOSOC.ORG



Final Report

Introduction

During the 4th International Ecosocialist Encounters we used various ways of documenting the panels.

Before the meetings we [published](#) descriptions of the panels with short biographies of the speakers in three languages (Portuguese, English, Spanish) to help participants choose between various parallel panels.

At the beginning of the meetings, we interviewed the speakers about their contributions and prepared [short videos](#) to act as trailers for the panels.

During the panels we made sound recordings of the contributions in order to make [a podcast of the meetings](#).

At the same time reporters took notes and wrote short summaries of the panels.

The complete documentation for each panel can be accessed [here](#).

Dozens of people volunteered to produce a varied, succinct and accessible documentation of the meetings. It would be hard to list all these activists. Our thanks to everyone involved in this collective process.

On behalf of the editorial group,

Sinan Eden

This report was translated from the Portuguese original, by Keziah Gibbons and Dr. Brian Gibbons.

November 23rd (Friday)

21:00	Opening Session				
November 24th (Saturday)					
10:00	Agriculture, self-sufficiency and peasant struggles	Labor and Climate: Success stories of political convergence	Capitalism, Colonialism and Androcentrism		Workshops for the Future – children's workshops
12:00	Lunch				
14:00	Debating the food systems	Climate Jobs campaigns in the world	Activism: Strategic Creativity for Eco-Social Change	In the Frontlines of Climate Justice	
16:00		Development-as-usual? Challenges in the Global South	Ecofeminisms, Knowledge and Political Action	The Ongoing Bailout of Fossil Fuels	
18:00	Agroecology: practice and politics	Militarization of Climate and the Environment		Transition and Energy Sovereignty	
20:00	Dinner				

November 25th (Sunday)

10:00	Indigenous and Western approaches for regenerating ecosystems, societies and ourselves	Ecosocialism, which alternatives?	Art and Ecofeminist Intervention	Workshops for the Future – children's workshops
12:00	Lunch			
14:00	The gas trap: from the US to the EU	Where has Green Capitalism brought us?	Ecosocialist experiences in the world: a critical debate	
16:00	Closing Session			

Topic 1	Political Economy of Food and Food Sovereignty
Topic 2	Dismantling the fallacy of Green Capitalism
Topic 3	Labor in the Age of Climate Change
Topic 4	Climate Justice and Energy Democracy
Topic 5	Ecofeminisms

v6: 1 November 2018

Opening Contribution - João Camargo

Dear friends, comrades, the curious and the anxious, pessimists and optimists:

Welcome.

Thanks to everyone who has come from other countries, other regions, other continents, to take part in this fourth session of the International Ecosocialist Encounters.

What a long way we have come to get here today, since accepting the challenge made in Bilbao in 2016. We have gathered people and organisations, thought politically, thought logistically, discussed and debated many long hours in order to arrive at the event beginning here. We have sought to look at our world with its dizzying changes, to seek topics for debate, topics for intervention, and then find the appropriate people to come to think with us, to share their experiences with us, and their intelligence and reflections. And what a struggle it is to have to put people who are so knowledgeable and so clever in so many different areas into little boxes. To have to invite someone to speak on only one panel, when they could speak on five, on ten panels. These are good struggles because so many have accepted our invitation: we have more than 60 speakers from 20 countries and 5 continents. Who, apart from coming to discuss the present and the future with us, are also examples for us and bridges to the great amount we have to do in the coming decades. Thank you all for coming, especially to those who have come from so far: from Bolivia and Guatemala, from the United States and Nigeria, from Colombia and the Philippines,

from Brazil and South Africa.

Thanks to the dozens and dozens of people who have made it possible for these meetings to happen, volunteers, the Escola Secundária de Camões, the Bla and the people who will do the simultaneous translations, the national and international organisations who supported the meetings.

Code Red! Code Green! The social and political deterioration in which we are living today, with fascists and authoritarians on the rise in every region, relates directly to the economic collapse of 2008 and the capitalist response to it.

We are present at a massive transfer of capital and wealth in order to compensate for the losses that the economic and financial elites have had with the banking crisis. Smoke clouds of a new crisis can already be seen on the horizon. The collective mentality that constitutes capitalist thought is a mentality of omissions, of things forgotten, of exclusions. Forgetting individuals, forgetting peoples, forgetting History, forgetting knowledge, forgetting the environment and the place where we live.

To be able to produce on a massive scale, incessantly and increasingly, concentrating things and power, it is necessary to exclude the realities that clash directly with this mode of production: the first necessary exclusion is that of distribution. This is the basis of the conflict between Capital and Labour.

The second exclusion necessary to maintain the system of production is the exclusion of the environment. This is the basis of conflicts which are manifested in several ways: the loss of health of populations affected by environmental

degradation, especially the poorest and most vulnerable the loss of territories, of land and possible uses of resources, the irreversible loss of values that are unquantifiable in the light of capitalist valorisation: the loss of biodiversity, of abundance, of complexity and of long-term stability.

But the idea that these exclusions bring stability is part of a toolbox of capitalist hegemony: this exclusion only simulates stability. We know this because the history of the last 200 years is loaded with revolutions, revolts and reforms against the exclusion of distribution in the capitalist system. But the flexibility of the discourse enables the biggest defenders of capitalism to say that it is due to capitalism that democracy, welfare states, public services, “distribution”, are reached. It is a sign of the power of anti-capitalism, of socialism, that the capitalist system sees itself forced to assume its defeats as victories, as the “enhancement” of the system. The history of the conflicts between Capital and Labour produced democracies, ideas like social democracy, socialism and communism, welfare states, public health, public education, public transport, public services. It is a conflict that is always latent, that advances and retreats, as democracies, public services, states and ideas advance and retreat. At points of tension, of scarcity, of confrontation and contradiction, the ease of recourse to the contrary of all this reveals capitalism in its “pure” state: suspension, reversal or abolition of distribution and of democracy. Austerity, authoritarianism, fascism.

The conflict between Capital and Labour produced over the last two hundred years tools of emancipation and democracy which did not exist before, and we have to make the tools

resulting from the conflict between Capital and Environment advance in a much more elevated rhythm. This is why we are discussing ecosocialism.

The response that capitalism has to the sharpening conflicts between Capital and Labour, Capital and the Environment, is Donald Trump. And Vladimir Putin, and Jair Bolsonaro, and Roderigo Duterte, and Viktor Orban, and Matteo Salvini, and Tayyip Erdogan. Faced with the need for massive redistribution of knowledge, wealth, rights and stability, all the capitalist system has to offer is violence, chauvinism, machismo, ignorance and exclusion.

The last time that the average global temperature was close to that of the last decades was 125,000 years ago. The centre of Europe was like the African savannah, with hyenas, lions, leopards, elephants and rhinoceroses. There were, perhaps, 1 to 2 million human beings. Hunters, gatherers, fleeing from predators, the heat, the cold, in search of shelter. The 10 hottest years recorded were 2016, 2015, 2017, 2014, 2010, 2013, 2005, 2009, 1998 and 2012. Despite having 300 thousand years of existence, only in the last 12 thousand was agriculture possible, and with it the concentration of populations, and with that writing, planning, culture, civilisation. This coincides with a sudden stabilisation of the climate close to 14°C, the Holocene. The capitalist industrial system has unleashed over the past two hundred years concentrations of carbon dioxide and methane at levels without parallel in the last 800,000 years. Capitalism constructed a new climate, different to any that Humanity has ever experienced in its existence. But it has not just done this, of course. In its unstoppable frenzy, it has placed

every species on earth under the threat of extinction, including human beings themselves. It has degraded bodies of water, oceans, polluted atmospheres and land.

The record of the experiments of real socialism is not, unhappily, brilliant in this respect. It is not possible to look at History uncritically. We are making this critique. And we will make it of countries and territories that call for ecosocialism. Now is not the time for dissonance between discourse and practice. The environmental emergency, and especially the climatic emergency, gives us only a short time to achieve success. And success today is measured by saving the habitability of the planet. Despite the profound alteration that has occurred in the last decades, global capitalism has not slowed down. The emissions of greenhouse gases continue to grow. But geopolitics today is based on saving fossil-fuel industry, the lifeblood of global capitalism. And this is why petro-states have also begun a new type of external intervention, supporting conservatism and the pro-fossil fuel leadership. The aggressive and competitive nature of capitalism hinders agreements between states to guarantee transitions that would not be economic breakdowns. This happens between states, but also within states, with competition between sectors, between factories, and between people, to put the brakes on effectively on the transformation of energy, transport, agriculture, forestry and cities.

When the only objective is profit, the objective of making human civilisation viable always comes last. This is the face of barbarism, the accelerator of environmental collapse: to guarantee that profit continues unshakeably in control, in the

gravest moment of the history of human civilisation, sociopaths, deniers of climate crisis, convinced ignoramuses, “strong men” rise to power in order to impede what is necessary.

We are on the defensive. Resisting. And we have resisted well. All over the world movements have risen up against destructive projects, against new fossil-fuel exploration. We look and we feel pride, empathy, camaraderie, for the people that have stood in Standing Rock, North Dakota, against the construction of yet another oil pipeline. For the movements that in Germany are organising the Ende Gelände and gather thousands to invade and stop the obsolete coal mines. For the resistance in Nigeria to the crimes of Shell, of the ENI. For the movements in Italy who struggle to stop the construction of the trans-Adriatic pipeline, or that in France which stopped the airport of Notre Dame des Landes. In Portugal, the struggle against petroleum and gas has advanced a long way: of the 15 contracts existing in 2015, not a borehole has been completed yet, and the oil companies have announced their withdrawal from the concessions in the sea near the Alentejo. Only two of the 15 contracts remain truly in force. In Batalha and Pombal they announced their intention to drill in 2019. They will be stopped.

In the past weeks the movement Extinction Rebellion began a campaign of mass civil disobedience, blocking several points in London, leading to the detention of hundreds of people. More and more we will see new proposals to radicalise the political struggle, faced with the radical nature of the times in which we live. We have to have more and more political force

and a programme. Because we need to go beyond defence, beyond resistance, to counter-attack. We do not only need to stop new fossil based projects and sources of greenhouse emissions, we need to launch a new radical, social, popular project, an alternative to capitalism.

A plan for society, having for its basis not illusions of infinite economic growth and consumerism, but satisfying the needs of populations, the distribution of goods and services as the objective of the economy, knowledge as a tool for communities, dignity. A national and international commerce turned towards justice in distribution, towards the characteristics of territories and towards proximity. Quality food production, fair for those who produce and fair for those who consume. Millions of jobs, jobs for the climate, not just to create jobs and cut emissions, but to create a new world. To give shape to ecosocialist transformation. This is a plan to win, a plan to attack: faced with a politics of hate and absolute lies, of the perversion everything that allows wellbeing, equality, continuity, the future, we need a politics of hope. Faced with a new climate, which is already different to all those in which we have lived hitherto, we need to prepare populations and territories of the global North and South, for the new difficulties, but stopping the race to the precipice. To revolutionise the relations between women and men, throwing patriarchy and colonial, chauvinist, masculinist and homophobic domination into the dustbin of history, where it must keep company with capitalism.

Ecosocialism is one of the strongest horizons on the future that we have. If you want to call it something else, OK,

because the idea isn't an end, just as organisations aren't ends, but tools. The goal of all this – ideas, energy, ideology, organisations, power – is something which people have aspired to for a long time: emancipation, equality, liberty, the future. This is what we will dispute in the coming decades, what future we'll have as a species. And we, we are the alternative to barbarism.

Welcome to the 4th International Ecosocialist Encounters!

The video of the Opening Session, with the performance of the Achada Choir and the contributions of LaDonna Bravebull of Standing Rock, Nnimmo Bassey of the struggles against the oil companies in Nigeria, Daniel Angelim of Brazil, Elizabeth Peredo of Bolivia, Iñaki Barcena and Juan Tortosa of previous meetings of ecosocialist encounters, and João Camargo and Lanka Horstink of the 4th Encounters in Lisbon, can be found [here](#).'

Topic 1

The Political Economy of Food and Food Sovereignty

This topic will be handled in three different panels, focussing on various questions about the politics of food and farming. Each panel lasts two hours and will have four guests with different experiences in the politics of food and food sovereignty: practitioners/producers, activists, researchers and politicians/administrators. The guests will have 15 minutes to present their thoughts/proposals/practice thus leaving ample time (about 50% of the session) for remarks and discussion with the people taking part in the session.

Agriculture, self-sufficiency and peasant struggles

Debating the food systems

Agroecology: practice and politics

Agriculture, self-sufficiency and peasant struggles

Speakers:

- Paul Nicholson (Ehne Bizkaia)
- Giovanna Micarelli (Centre for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra)
- Victoria Medina (ACTUAR – Association for Cooperation and Development)

Moderator: Aurora Santos

Reporters: Aurora Santos, Cecília Fonseca, Lanka Horstink, Lúcia Fernandes, Sérgio Pedro

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/agricultura-auto-suficiencia-e-lutas-camponesas/>

Paul Nicholson

[Some global facts](#) to get our bearings: 35% of the population are peasants and 70% of the peasants are women; 70% of foodstuffs are produced by small peasants, on farms/holdings of less than 2 hectares; agroecological peasant agriculture occupies very little territory, while industrial agriculture occupies most of it (70%), producing only 75% of foodstuffs; industrial agriculture is one of the factors responsible for global

warming and climate change, besides creating hunger and social inequality; for its part, peasant agriculture feeds the world and “cools” the planet.

The crisis in the rural world is multidimensional: economic, political, social, environmental, cultural, and also one of food (it is estimated that 2,000 million people suffer from malnutrition or poor nutrition). Migration is a consequence of the crisis in the rural world; 80% of migration comes in fact from the rural world, corresponding to the expulsion of small peasants from their lands; rural exodus and the process of desertification of rural territories (in several parts of the world) are direct consequences of neoliberal politics, where financial capital and the corporations are deepening their offensive to monopolise food and concentrate land and commons in their hands.

Some causes of this crisis:

- 1) free-trade treaties: when food ceases to be a right and becomes a resource to be commercialised;
- 2) the politics of privatising common goods and the concentration of land;
- 3) imposition of neoliberal models of consumption and production: agro-chemical production, directed towards exports, which expels peasants from their lands, which destroys the environment and imposes globalised models of consumption, with a total loss of autonomy in the whole food-chain.

In the face of this crisis and neoliberal politics, and since the

mobilisation in the rural world in recent years, *La Via Campesina* (The Peasants' Way) has arisen, an international movement which combines different base organisations, involving 200 million people. Main victories: to establish the peasantry as a social class (and political subject), and the proposal of food sovereignty of the people (popular, not nationalist, sovereignty), with their right to be able to determine what to eat, how to produce, what relation we have with women peasants, etc. **Its main pillar is agroecology.**

Giovanna Micarelli

I work in a collective research effort in four indigenous regions in Amazonia, in Columbia, with the main aim of seeking to understand the experience of indigenous and Afro-Columbian communities, in order to promote food sovereignty paying particular attention to the significance acquired by common goods in these struggles (***La Via Campesina* recently recognised that protection of common goods is at the heart of struggles for food sovereignty**). This work has as its focus the analysis of common alimentary goods, such as water, seeds, and biodiverse lands, which are being privatised/despoiled/appropriated by neoliberal politics in Columbia (just as in many places in the world). The work's approach seeks to respond to certain limitations in the analysis of the common goods, which don't seem to take into account that the norms reflect particular worldviews, conceptual frameworks for the communities to make sense of and act in the world, constructions through practices of interrelationship, reports, values, feelings, etc.; it is intended to draw out these

cultural, onto-epistemological frameworks, asking ourselves about the meaning of common goods in other socio-cultural constructions. This involves being ready to question the dichotomies between nature and society, object and subject, body and mind, established by modern Western thought; dichotomies that structure so much of the understanding of the common goods as the definition of human rights.

Different examples of cultural practices in each of the communities show us how **food is part of the construction of a social and cultural identity**. The social dynamics of food production are a way for the communities to relate to the world, which is also associated with elements of the landscape. Human beings have to negotiate with the owners of resources [nature] and then return to nature, so that the acts of production, preparation and exchange of foodstuffs establish social relations, with nonhuman beings as well.

In these ontologies sovereignty means sharing responsibility (not control) for keeping this framework alive. Paying attention to these relational worlds allows the amplification of the possibilities of a counter-hegemonic transformation in the field of the right to food. Face with the model of food security, obviously inadequate for guaranteeing the right to food for everyone, food sovereignty offers a greater scope for involving alternative points of view in the discussion about the right to food, but only if it's permitted to broaden the significance of food as much as that of sovereignty.

Victoria Medina

Conceptualisation of the human right to food as a question of access to food. **Central role of woman for the realisation of the human right to food and consequently for food sovereignty, cutting across the whole food system, from production to consumption.** From the perspective of production more than 50% of food production in family agriculture, at a world level, comes from the hands of women: they are the ones who cultivate, till and harvest foodstuffs, something frequently invisible. In the sphere of the CPLP (Community of Portuguese Language Countries), this figure rises to 90% in some countries, where women are the principal producers.

From the perspective of consumption, rural and urban women have a fundamental role in the production and reproduction of the means of life, tasks generally associated with women by a socially-constructed discrimination.

Despite rural women being the most responsible for feeding the world, they are the most vulnerable to poverty and food insecurity. Women are subject to several forms of discrimination on the basis of gender and types of oppression generated by a system of market capitalism and a patriarchal society which create unequal and hierarchical power relations, and which are huge obstacles to the realisation of rural women's rights (and urban women's as well; it is possible to be a rural and an urban woman, as well as producer and consumer; it is necessary to factor this into the analysis). They do not have full access to economic and productive resources – access to land, water, traditional seeds, health services, education,

information... quite apart from suffering a systematic exclusion from the realms of governance and decision-making. Only 2% of women have property in land at the global level!

The central role of rural and urban women, from cultivation to the table, is obvious. However they suffer this structural paradigm, **women are also agents of a change of paradigm in order to overcome their own oppression.** The empowerment of women as agents of effective and sustainable socio-economic development is fundamental to the realisation of the human right to food and adequate nutrition, and to food sovereignty. This role is frequently made invisible, unremunerated (or, if remunerated, poorly remunerated), and this is an impediment to their economic autonomy (and even their existence). Capitalism does not value whatever is not produced on a large scale or does not create profit (the reproduction of life does not count as profit). For an effective social transformation it is necessary to think of agroecology, of family agriculture, of the realisation of the rights of rural women to reach popular autonomy in their food systems and their lands. **The revolution for a juster and more egalitarian society will be feminist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-LGBT-phobic, and the leading role will also come from the Global South.**

The *Rede das Margaridas da CPLP* (the CPLP Daisy Network) was created as an institution in 2017, in a process of struggle since 2012, from the Civil Society, through the MSC (Civil Society Mechanism), in the Council of Food and Nutritional Security in the CPLP, and also with the Peasants' Platform of the CPLP. It was recognised in the Declaration of

Brasilia as a political space for strengthening and giving visibility to the struggle of rural women and confirming the demands to include their rights at the centre of the communitarian agenda. Pursuing, moreover, the economic, social and political equality of women, going against socially constructed forms of discrimination, to guarantee women's inclusion in the realms of governance and decision-making.

We are counting on various international instruments, such as the 2030 agenda of the United Nations, the recent *Declaration of the Rights of Peasants and Other Rural Workers*, including legal landmarks at the national level; but despite the existence of these instruments, rural women see their rights being insistently violated. The political will is practically nil. **“Women continue to be the south of all norths, the south of the south itself”**.

Debating the food systems

Speakers:

- Eber Quiñonez Hernandez (Ecosol/CES, FEUC)
- Carmo Bica (President of the 3 Serras Cooperative)
- Rita Serra (Centre for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra)

Moderator: Sérgio Pedro

Reporters: Aurora Santos, Cecília Fonseca, Lanka Horstink, Lúcia Fernandes, Sérgio Pedro

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/debater-os-sistemas-alimentares/>

The transformations imposed by capitalism on the agro-food systems ignore, and end by eliminating, innumerable agro-food micro-systems at the territorial level. People's and communities' practices, obstacles and resilience and imagination in order to resist.

This debate has for its objective the making visible of various perspectives on contemporary food systems, namely their limitations, conditioning factors, geographical particularities and alternatives of a legislative and practical character.

Rita Serra

Rita Serra shows the concept of “zombie forests”, uniform and dependent, informed by intensive and unsustainable agri-forestry practices; forests which are trapped in a vicious cycle, from which in the present state of things they cannot escape. The zombie is a slave, the living dead, not able to achieve liberation in death, condemned to walk on this earth without reaching paradise, seeking to liberate itself. These forests are on lands which, due to the high level of forestry monoculture, make any natural forestry strategy of succession unviable.

The speaker puts in question the negative understanding of eucalyptus, mentioning that locally populations plant eucalyptus to get wood for heating, a practice which is later increased exponentially through the intensive planting of eucalyptus for the paper industry, with considerable harmful impacts. Nevertheless, the speaker notes that even in zombie forests woodland fruits appear, which are little considered in contemporary food systems.

Faced with this panorama, could wastelands be the solution?

Wastelands are, mostly, seized by private interests, namely the interests of the cellulose and mineral companies, a factor which makes a change of paradigm in the forestry sector difficult. These companies only look at the resources and benefit from the erosion of local communities, for lack of organisation in front of these powers.

The future lies in the promotion of sustainable forests with native species. Choosing seeds, acorns, etc., is a form of activism, but **without reform of territorial planning there**

will be no change.

Éber Quinoez

Éber Quinoez's contribution came next, who, in his assignment, analysed the relation between producers and consumers, putting into perspective in greater detail the panorama of agro-food short supply chains (SSCs).

According to the speaker, **urban-rural dialogue is possible in the SSCs**, since consumers should put in question their role in the SSCs. He also notes the possibility of co-opting concepts, as is the case of SSCs or organic farming.

In order for actors in the food systems to obviate this situation they have to dedicate energy and resources to the strengthening of a movement of control over agricultural inputs, keeping in view opposition to risky financial investments with impacts that are ever less measured and more dangerous. Moreover, this movement should bear in mind **the tendency for the reduction of biodiversity of food patterns, leading to a reduction of biodiversity in flora and fauna.**

Another factor which should be considered by all actors in the food systems is food waste, namely food waste in the distribution chains, something which is not considered.

On the co-opting of ideas, the speaker noted that **the co-opting of the idea of organic farming comes in the sense of a market-capitalist logic which ignores the logic of fair trade which underlies the founding principles of organic farming.**

In order to reconnect organic farming to fair trade it is necessary to rethink food starting with territory.

Carmo Bica

Tackling the public policies of food systems, the speaker noted the **necessity of a changing point in public policies**. A changing point which is becoming a more urgent case when we consider that a value equivalent to 10% of Portugal's GDP is allocated to health expenditure for the treatment of diseases resulting from poor dietary practices.

A changing point is also necessary faced with the **overexploitation of natural resources**.

This change of paradigm should be based on the Human Right to Adequate Food, defending the environment and biodiversity.

Despite the occurrence of higher levels of agricultural production, we are not succeeding in combatting inequalities of access to food and social inequalities and food insecurity. There is hunger, there are people who eat too much and people who eat poorly.

Which way do we want to go? Continue on the road of inequality? Or alter this capitalist model under which we live, which is based on the exhaustive exploitation of natural resources, harmful environmental impacts, and human resources.

To give an example, the intention to exploit lithium in Covas do Barroso, a food system where there is small-scale farming and where the prospecting of 542 hectares is predicted, with no

regard for impacts. This situation requires support and mobilisation.

Moreover, **the absence of control and accountability in the food systems leads to our not knowing what we are eating.**

If we are eating GMOs, or chemicals get on our plates, or not. This situation is also explained by the abandoning of land previously occupied by small- and medium-scale family farming, which guaranteed food sovereignty, fair trade, short supply chains, and 80% of world food production.

This abandoning of land generates decline, since half of the explorations are abandoned, a situation with its origins in an unjust common agricultural policy. A policy [the CAP] which, being under review at the moment, should be debated by citizens.

They should pose questions as important as: what type of food do I want to eat? What do I want to grow?

The political parties should enter into this debate. Agriculture is a different type of activity: it occupies territory, it produces food.

The speaker also noted the creation of a **basic law of the Human Right to Adequate Food** which would be debated in the Portuguese Parliament.

Agroecology: Practice and Politics

Speakers:

- Avelino Rego (producer from Vaca Maronesa)
- Jorge Gonçalves (Cooperativa Integral Minga)
- Nuno Belchior (Projeto 270)

Moderator: Cecília Fonseca (CIDAC)

Reporters: Aurora Santos, Cecília Fonseca, Lanka Horstink, Lúcia Fernandes Sérgio Pedro

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/agroecologia-pratica-e-politica/>

In the panel in which the political economy of food and food sovereignty is explored and debated, a space was opened up for the vast field that is **Agroecology**.

Agroecology is one more field of disputed meanings and practices, co-opted, as Rosset and Altieri, for example, demonstrate, not only by the big corporations, by “bio”, as, in its political sense, by intergovernmental organisations (FAO, etc.), and also by academia centred on the agronomic dimension of agroecology.

With strong roots in the struggle and social and political worldview of peasants and rural workers, in a Europe where,

apparently, these no longer exist, agroecology is being mentioned as one more possible alternative (after or in tandem with organic farming, permaculture, syntropic farming...) to the industrial-capitalist agrofood system.

There coexist, in this way, different perspectives on what “is” Agroecology, and many practices that, not calling themselves agroecological, could be so.

Agroecology, more than “being”, could have to do with a complex cycle of interactions (of matter/materials, of knowledge, of affects) between living beings as well as non-living ones; with a holistic and systematic perspective on life (food as the centre and flux of the economy, politics, culture, aesthetics...); the peasant base and land struggles; the political dimension, of the collective organisation of life, as well as the popular dimension of knowledge – these two generally faint areas of agroecology.

Thus the panel sought testimonies and concrete responses of co-construction with nature, of multiple forms of knowledge, present but also past (or interlinking present and past with the future). How are they constructed? How maintained? What elements are essential for an agroecological (political) practice?

Avelino Rego

Avelino spoke about the **Terra Maronesa** project, a citizenship initiative in the north of Portugal, in the Serras Alvão/Marão. The project intends to enhance the native

Maronese breed of cattle in its different aspects: historico-cultural, social/economic, environmental and tourist.

For Avelino the quality of life in the sierra is excellent and makes getting up to work in the morning a pleasure! There is, however, a strong preconception about being a cowherd, a farmer, to live on the land and work everyday. Education at home, that of the parents and grandparents, as much as society in general suggest that this is dirty work without a future.

The activity of (re)production of these cattle, with the care and respect he has for the animals, in an extensive way and with low productivity – by the standards of “industrial” production – does not guarantee an economically stable life. In order to prosper, it is necessary to add value in production: tourism and/or the value of the products.

It is also necessary to attract a community of young cowherds and farmers who have a taste for what they’re doing. The environmental question is relevant, and to produce meat with less environmental impact, as much in dioxide emissions as in water, is a preoccupation. The cows graze in the open air and help to fertilise the land for farming. The Maronese breed is a primitive and rustic mountain animal. Its official name relates to the toponymy of the Serra do Morão. The question of animal suffering in the abattoir is something to factor in in the future. Although Alvinho follows the whole way to the abattoir, beyond there he can do nothing more.

In front of questions over speciesism and violence to animals, the position is that the relationship between non-human and human animals is inherent in any ecosystem, the survival of the

one depends on that of the other and vice versa.

At the moment the project is just starting and Avelino's preoccupation is to manage to maintain it.

Jorge Gonçalves

Jorge told us about the experience and vision of an integral cooperative, Minga at Montemor-o-Novo, mainly in its farming aspect.

“Minga” means assisted, to decrease, and it was the name proposed by someone who took part in the cooperative's initial group.

At the present, Minga has four sections. Agriculture was one of the first components and even constituted the *raison d'être* of this initiative. The idea was to lessen the costs borne by the farmers to be able to commercialise their products (book-keeping, social security, etc.) and gain scale in distribution. The members can invoice the sale of products to clients through the cooperative, with access to organised book-keeping. Minga keeps a shop for local products in Montemor-o-Novo, as well as a stall in the municipal market, and supplies school canteens in the municipality's jurisdiction.

Jorge and the other people who founded the cooperative aren't from Montemor, but the shop is run by a local, which improves sales and social relations.

The theme of food autonomy was not introduced by Minga, it was already discussed in Montemor-o-Novo, under the scope of a partnership between the Montemor-o-Novo Citizenship

Network (RECAP) and the municipal council, around the idea of “zero km”.

Recently Minga conferred agroecological certification on REDCAP. The farmers who register with the cooperative have the support of agronomic engineers for this certification.

It is not the food market that has most potential, but rather the agro-forestry market.

They developed a brand of cosmetics and detergents, but unfortunately the raw materials come from outside. They are seeking, however, to find local solutions, to change agro-forestry production, to look for solutions for enhancing the value of products, in order that so much individual investment would not be necessary. These solutions are necessary from the realisation that the presses, milling, cheese-making, collective means of production are practically abandoned, because the rules for their maintenance are becoming more rigid all the time, although for Jorge these are not insuperable obstacles.

The big question is to think about territories, the way they have developed over the last 50 years, with urban concentration and the lack of networks of solidarity, and how we can change this state of things.

Nuno Belchior

Nuno centred his account on ways of making agroecological projects viable through public support. Nuno began **Projeto 270** in Costa da Caparica, Almada, and after 2015 moved to Pinhal Novo, in Seixal. Project 270/Quinta do Bell is a cultural

and environmental association without financial motives, based on organic farming production and permaculture. Nuno told how he has already experienced these aspects of farming. For him, food sovereignty and agroecology are central to the project, encouraging the active participation of the community for the resolution of problems.

Over the years he has sought and tried different partnerships, namely with municipal councils – for reutilising forestry waste, for example, for biomass; the creation of a seedbank in the municipal library, etc. These partnerships have always fallen short of expectations and are very unstable, dependent on people who are at the front of services and town councils.

With respect to finances, he made an application as a young farmer and organic producer under the remit of the Programme of Rural Development to start the project. The assessment and responses to the applications were very delayed, and the project was required to be completed in three years. An organic farming project that respects the land and its cycles cannot be completed in three years! At the end of this time, and when finally the land begins to give some productivity, on leased lands the productivity goes to the landowners and not to the one who works the land.

In a general way, he sees great constraints on farmers acceding to such funding. **Agriculture is a poor relation of the economy, especially non-industrial agriculture. And this is passed on by political power at different levels (ministerial, municipal, etc.).**

Topic 2

Dismantling the Fallacy of Green Capitalism

This panel will deal with the failed promises of green capitalism, the totalitarian and militaristic threats of an administration with no alternatives to environmental and climatic collapse, as well as the fundamental alternatives that ecosocialism has to offer as political and revolutionary tools for the peoples of the world.

Where has Green Capitalism got us?

The Militarisation of the Climate and Environment.

Ecosocialism: what alternatives?

Where has Green Capitalism got us?

Speakers:

- Manuel Garí Ramos (Viento Sur Foundation, Spain)
- Samuel Martin-Sosa (Ecologists in Action, Spain)
- Juanjo Alvarez

Moderator: Pedro Cardoso

Reporter: Pedro Prata

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/onde-e-que-nos-trouxe-o-capitalismo-verde/>

False solutions, new business areas and guaranteed profits: capitalism paints itself “green” to pursue its march towards profit and accumulation at the expense of the degradation of the environment.

Samuel Martin-Sosa

The green economy is the old system trying to reinvent itself, presenting itself as the solution to the problems it creates. The green economy continues to be extractivist and anthropocentric. While it works as a gigantic financial sphere, it is sustained by natural resources. The green economy, which

quantifies natural capital in financial values, recognises the constant losses of this capital on an astronomical scale. It is necessary to demystify the premise that what is held in common doesn't have is unjustifiable, since it has no market value, in the way the green economy conceptualises it. The capitalist economy does not recognise the reality of the exclusion it causes in the most vulnerable communities, which are in a great measure the closest to and most respectful of ecosystems.

The fallacy goes so far as to assert that it is possible to dissociate economic growth from the finite nature of resources. But the economy has limits, in the efficiency of processes and the finite nature of resources, just as there are physical laws of thermodynamics. Technology can never solve the finite nature of resources. There are technological limits in its development and we meet limits without a solution. What is the thought and discourse of capital faced with this? It comes down to the belief that something will be invented to solve the problems. The belief in a technological solution to guarantee the capitalist system. Climatic changes have sociological problems and power relations at the bottom, but until now the narrative of a technological miracle prevails. **This idea that a technological solution will permit growth without affecting resources leads to a paralysis of responsibility. This ignores the political dimension of technology, who controls, develops and applies technology, eliminating the subject and mystifying this solution.** The outcome of this was to arrive at the belief that limitations don't exist when we live them without solution.

Manuel Garí Ramos

The noun capitalism and the adjective green? This appears before the eruption of populists throughout the world. We have to pay attention to this connection. Could it be that there is an intention to maintain the mystification of capitalism? The more success capitalism has, the more the crisis intensifies. This is why **the choice of green is a desperate solution of last resort**. And in the end it's carrying on business as usual. To mercantalise nature and leave regulation to the market. This perpetuates the accumulation of advanced capitalism,

1st myth: what capitalism seeks is to try to convince us that it is the only rational way to manage nature.

2nd myth: dematerialisation of the economy, covering the damage with an acceptable cloak while the use of natural resources and extractivism intensifies, leaving sustainability behind.

3rd myth: growth is infinite because this is the solution to the problem and not its original cause. Inverting the logic of the resolution of the capitalist system's contradictions. Forgetting a fundamental problem of the world economy, the delocalisation of production and waste, covering up geographical asymmetries.

4th myth: that the prices of resources modify attitudes to them. It is not corroborated by ecological taxation, which does not modify behaviours.

5th myth: of the technological solution, which isn't worth the effort of repeating.

There is a real failure in the objectives of carbon and the saving of resources, which could be described as capitalism's right to destruction and pollution in its advance in the direction of its version of green.

Juanjo Alvarez

I'm presenting a more subjective observation on the problems of green capitalism, asking why solutions aren't presented faced with the elephant in the room?

The new populists are also against green capitalism. Why attack it? They intend in this way to carry on with business without limits. As the solutions aren't profitable and are useless to capitalism, they will not be adopted.

Knowing from the outset that it's over 40 years that this was already a problem, because socially there are necessary slow mechanisms of organisation and mobilisation, which allows the presentation and implementation of a solution, because there is not an alternative social mobilisation of the masses? We are heading in the direction of collapse. There are limitations of behaviour and holistic perception of the problems, which impede a response with the necessary urgency, without recourse to collapses political positions, recognising the incapability of modifying behaviours and changing societies anticipating conflicts. Faced with this, green capitalism comes to mobilise objectives in the medium term, reinforcing the difficulty and safeguarding for itself the material means and mechanisms of presenting and mercantilising solutions.

Demarcating between change of system vs. technological

solution vs. environmental catastrophe, it is the last which seems most possible. Green capitalism hides the catastrophe with the fantasy of a technological solution. This is an ideological macro-project of capturing the imagination. So it is necessary to organise for the conflict with the failure of traditional and green capitalism, which still holds power.

Green capitalism is going to confront questions of territory and landscape, which are dear to environmentalists and which allow an advantage since the social project is in ruins in these territories. If it isn't recuperated by the left it will be used by the right. The same will happen for identity and community: if this is not understood as a class formation, then it will be exploited by the right with a refusal of the other. **We have to think of conflicts as strategic struggles, in times of conflict there have to be strategic solutions which allow these collective subjects to have a reformative representation, or rather, a revolutionary one, so that in the conflict it is not the fascist solution that has the capacity to mobilise these communities.** That is the struggle from now on.

Militarisation of the Climate and the Environment

Speakers:

- Kolya Abramsky
- Juan Tortosa (Ecosocialist Solidarity Group, Switzerland)
- Javier Andaluz (Ecologists in Action, Spain)
- Yolanda Picazo (Iberian Antinuclear Movement, Spain)

Moderator: Hugo Mota (Climáximo, Portugal)

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/militarizacao-do-clima-e-do-ambiente/>

With the intensification of the environmental and climatic crises the drive towards the militarisation of whatever solutions is growing: from the intervention of armed forces for the control of populations to the use of environmental crises as a weapon, plans for “climate security” link armies, firms and political groups for an authoritarian future in which social justice will be extinguished. At the base level, the nuclear lobby is always present.

[report not available for this panel]

Ecosocialism, What Alternatives?

Speakers:

- Giacomo d'Alisa (Centre for Social Studies, Portugal)
- Bea Martxueta (LAB, Spain)
- Christine Poupin (NPA, France)
- José Luis Garcia (Institute of Social Sciences, Portugal)

Moderator: João Camargo (Climáximo, Portugal)

More information on this panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/ecossocialismo-que-alternativas/>

Where can ecosocialism take us? What social, economic, political plan can nourish a future of social and environmental justice? How to create a social revolution and a counter-hegemonic vision over growth, development and social justice.

[report not available for this panel]

Topic 3

Labor in the Age of Climate Change

We have less than a decade to launch a rapid and just energy transition. In order to win, we need the workers and the workers' organizations fighting for climate and social justice at the same time. And this requires better dialogue and stronger alliances between climate justice groups and workers' organizations. In "Labor in the Age of Climate Change", we will listen to concrete examples of alliances and convergence strategies as well as reflect upon how a just transition would look in the Global South and how to win it in the Global South. The speakers on these panels include trade unionists and activists of nine nationalities and five continents.

Labor and Climate: Success Stories of Political Convergence

Climate Jobs Throughout the World

***Development-as-usual?* Challenges in the Global South**

Labor and Climate: Success Stories of Political Convergence

Speakers:

- Stefania Barca (Center for Social Studies, Portugal)
- Sam Mason (Public and Commercial Services Rep, UK)
- Mikel Noval (Basque Workers' Solidarity)
- Asbjørn Wahl (Norwegian Union of General and Municipal Employees)

Moderator: Pedro Miguel Sousa (Climáximo, Portugal)

Reporter: Ana Rita Antunes

More information about this panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/05/trabalho-e-clima-historias-de-sucesso-de-convergencias-politicas/>

The first session on the Saturday morning brought together four representatives whose contributions were valuable, not only on a personal level, but because they were also able to give clarification to their listeners about their **difficulties and victories in the political convergence between workers and current climate demands.**

Stefania Barca started by identifying social metabolism as the flow of energy and material which is in a perpetual relational balancing act between the environment and society. This flow is socially regulated (consider questions such as “what” and “how” to produce) and all is deeply dependent on politics. Labor is the mediator of this flux, in the way in which workers manipulate, transform and produce this flow. **Labor has power and one of the many examples of this is the trade union United Farm Workers, which, in the 1960s, had a fundamental role in the agreement of legislation against DDT, these workers having a clear understanding of the risks of DDT use.** However, a Marxist ideological conflict exists, in the sense that production cannot stop. This production-line ideology, based on parameters such as GDP, relies on an underlying logic in which social wellbeing is not possible without economic growth. A paradigmatic example of this happened at the 2012 Earth Summit, in which most of the confederations signed the declaration, coming from a background of Green Capitalism. The obvious question which the speaker put to us was what type of future do we want? And the answer depends simply on who we are. ***At heart, who is the subject of this ecological revolution? Is it a class conflict: capital vs the rest of the world? The speaker pointed to various sectors of the labor force which could be a starting point from which Labor could end climate change.*** She identified the “blue collar” or industrial workers, those who work without income, production forces outside of the industrial, fishermen, public sanitation workers, agricultural producers, including urban producers, women, and immigrants as those workers who are most exploited. These could bring the

contrast, a higher metabolic value, through, for example, sustainable agriculture, which in its turn, contributes to cooling.

Mikel Noval in his perspective included a radical change, which needs to be social, feminist, and socialist. He recognised a systemic crisis between Capital and Life, and hence that a union between unionists and social organisations should have as a priority human rights and ecological balance. Treaties such as TTIP should be ended, we should demand international norms, agreed by and for the people, to control international consumption. In this respect, a change in the consumption and distribution of goods could go in two possible directions: one with capital in mind, or another with society in mind. He pointed to three representative examples of partnerships between unions and social movements, in which strike action was taken and the partnerships decided together to fight austerity and find common solutions, such as in the anti-fracking movement, the movement against high speed trains and the anti-incineration movement. In the anti-fracking movement, the process was open, that is, an open letter on social rights was written, to which international movements subscribed. In this letter there were two appeals: for food sovereignty and an investment in renewable energy. In terms of the high-speed trains, the joint fight has not yet stopped construction, but has been able to bring the discussion to light, and so change public opinion. The movement against incineration of public waste contends that, apart from incineration itself being a poor alternative, privatisation of such commerce will make toxic waste in communities a lucrative business. Through this lens can be seen the necessity for

regulation of waste disposal (Basque unionists are on the front line).

Sam Mason brought to the listeners the iconic fight of unionists in aviation since 2008, specifically at Heathrow airport, against the expansion of the airport through the addition of a third runway. Workers who are part of the movement work at the airport and support the expansion in terms of the creation of more jobs. This economic demand / growth dichotomy as a justification, is driven by corporate interests and not by real demand. The “No 3rd Runway” campaign encompasses a broad spectrum of supporters, who do not share the same interests, however are part of the global coalition “Stay Grounded”, which began in Vienna for the same reasons. Participating activists have an ecosocialist agenda and bring together thirteen steps to stop aviation expansion. There are more than 1200 airport expansion plans throughout the world, which will impact communities in the global south, land and subsistence production. The speaker vehemently affirmed that flying is for the rich. We cannot prohibit people from flying, but we have to find solutions for how to integrate this in an alternative society without greenhouse emissions, such as alternative transport systems, to return to investing in railways as a viable and efficient alternative, operating overnight and in places where there are no other modes of transport. She concluded by saying that aviation should be owned by the State. She affirmed that there is much to learn from the 1970s, when grassroots organisations, environmental and peace activists responded to

the climatic military crisis, automation, taking back control for the workers.

Asbjørn Wahl, speaking last, completed the session with an element supported by the basic perspective that there are many forms of political convergence, and the focus should not be just on the types of politics which are being developed, but the way in which the convergence between workers and environmentalists is organised. He noted that the crisis is by no means simply climatic, but is also economic, social, alimentary, and political, and is fundamentally rooted in the economic system. From the perspective of agreement between methods and politics between social groups and unions, many internal contradictions can be identified in the unions. He gave some examples of places where contradictions exist, such as the ending of fossil fuels, in the renewable energy industry and in the nuclear industry. He said that the greatest internal contradictions exist between the private and public sectors, as in the transport sector, in that in the case of public transport there is a notable consensus, but in aviation, there are disputes. He summarised the two existing contradictions between a narrow unionist position and a broad socio-unionist position, which influences the form in which people understand the notion of transition in unions in general. Notoriously, each organisation understands that a transition is necessary, but has a very distinct notion of this concept. Therefore, he asked, how can we arrive at a just transition? It will be the unionists who decide whether it is just or not. And so, he sees it as fundamental to admit that there is a political and ideological

crisis within union movements, it being they who will fight for and decide on people's working conditions. To end, he noted that consumerism is being used by capitalist society to achieve their goals, and articulated the necessity of stimulating self-esteem from infancy, as well as of democratising the economy to develop energy and political models.

The session was concluded with questions from the audience: Sam was asked what was the advantage of bringing airport workers into the unions, and she replied that it had been a decision taken by all unions, despite the airport workers not being happy with the decisions taken until now by the unions. These decisions are tied to not defending new jobs (which would not be covered by the unions), which would be precarious, poorly paid, and which would contribute to climate change. For this reason, the unions' focus is to defend working conditions. Stefania was asked how, taking into account that technology is replacing workers, this would change relations between workers. **She reported that the digitalisation of work is part of the ecosocialist movement, which finds opportunity in technology to reduce workloads, but advocated the existence of a key point, that technology should be controlled by the state and should not be used to produce more with less, because producing more is not necessary.**

Climate Jobs Throughout the World

Speakers:

- Andreas Ytterstad (Bridge to the Future, Norway)
- Sean Sweeney (Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, US)
- Ana Mourão (Climáximo, Portugal)

Moderator: Danilo Moreira (Call Centre Workers' Union, Portugal)

Reporter: Andreia Ferreira

More information about the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/05/empregos-para-o-clima-no-mundo/>

Andreas Ytterstad referenced Naomi Klein's book “This Changes Everything,” and pointed to **social movements as the factor that could stop climate change in time**. He noted that the theme of Climate Change already achieves surprisingly large mobilisations, giving as examples the 10,000 people present at marches in Helsinki; Greta Thunberg, the 15-year-old who went on strike from school during the Swedish electoral campaign; and the kids who go on strike once a week in Australia. The two greatest surprise consequences of global warming / climate change were the number and extent of forest

fires (quite apart from droughts and floods) and the mobilisation of populations.

The Climate Jobs campaign has the potential to mobilise thousands of people. The trade union movement is in the vanguard and allies of the movement include the Norwegian Union of Municipal and General Employees (300,000 members), other unions and associations and the Norwegian Church (which represents 3.8 million people). The campaign demanded, in a press release, 100,000 climate jobs. **This means that the climate is becoming part of the political agenda and has such potential that attempts have already been made to appropriate the term “climate jobs” and adulterate the term “green jobs”.** The first term refers to the jobs that we need to have in order to diminish greenhouse gas emission, that we need to create for a just energy transition and to replace jobs from the fossil fuel industries, whereas the second refers to those jobs which contribute towards profits, in parallel with “oil jobs” - so much so that the leader of the Labour Party in the UK (Jeremy Corbyn) called for a transition with hundreds of thousands of “green jobs”.

The Climate Jobs campaign has been in existence for six years and the most urgent necessities are mobilisation, continuous clarification of what “climate jobs” are (renewable energies, transport), climatic justice, preventing oil exploration in the Arctic and demanding climate jobs (100,000 in Norway).

Sean Sweeney mentioned that **despite the achievement of various victories worldwide in the fight against fossil fuels,**

fossil fuel exploration and the emission of greenhouse gases continues to rise. With this rise, there is also a rise in protest. **It is necessary to break the dependency on fossil fuels and to make difficult decisions.** We oppose many things, but nobody is against electricity. There is a scientific consensus that renewable energy is not enough to meet our current energetic needs. The reduction of energetic needs is necessary, but other possibilities exist, such as an increase in nuclear energy. The IPCC has stated that unprecedented changes are necessary to limit energetic needs in order to reach, in 2050, 2010 levels: 350 ppm CO₂-equivalent in the atmosphere. These changes must happen in the levels of growth, exploration and consumption. **Technology is needed to limit and capture CO₂ emissions in the atmosphere.** We demand that leaders put us on the road to low carbon emissions.

Socialism suggests that having the political will is useless because leaders don't know how to cut emissions, living as they are beneath the rule of capitalism and its norms. We cannot be accommodated by capitalism, because the protection of the climate is not compatible with capitalism. **The unions are allies in social movements, fundamental support for climate jobs and for a new energetic democracy, creating employment which promotes the reduction of CO₂.**

Sean argues for approaching the climate as a public good, seeing as emissions affect everyone, without borders, and reach, firstly and with the greatest speed, the poor. It is necessary to **reject the private sector and become free from the idea of profit.** In 2012 Costa Rica returned some of its energy to the public domain, with a programme promoting the

generation of energy by its own consumers. In South Africa social ownership of public services has been proposed. In the UK, Corbyn's Labour has adopted the defence of a “green jobs revolution” and the devolution of energy to public ownership as promises and an alternative to the model which failed with the Paris Agreement. Bernie Sanders has a 2035 project alongside unions and social movements, but the existence of a new American president mobilising against climate change is only a remote possibility. To summarise, Sean **argues the necessity of limiting the use of the planet as a playground by the rich.**

Ana Mourão emphasises that **it will not be the political leaders who will solve the problem and the markets can only impede a solution.** The Portuguese government has proposed a reduction in emissions of 10-20% by 2030, but the reduction needs to be by 60-70%. **It is us who must resolve this question, we must have a proactive and not a reactive attitude, reject the status quo** and do what needs to be done: convert electricity production to renewable sources, establish realistic alternatives in public transport, electrify the means of transport, insulate homes and buildings and heat them with renewable energy, reduce industrial consumption of energy, stop forest fires, produce food in a local and sustainable way. **We have a very ambitious goal and deadline, but we also have a plan: Climate Jobs. The vision of this campaign is to create a secure and stable national public service for the climate, which secures 100,000 new jobs and with the objective of decarbonising Portugal.** Of these jobs, around

1/3 will be dedicated to the conversion of electricity production to renewable sources (solar, eolic, wave and tidal); 1/5 in the public transport network to make this a viable alternative to the individual car; 1/6 in the insulation of buildings, to reduce heat loss and the use of energy in heating; the rest of the jobs will be in the production and management of food and forest, in training, requalification for new roles and reinsertion in various sectors. **Nobody should have to choose between having a safe climate and having employment.** To effect a global change we need everybody. In 2019 we will have this plan spoken about by more people and grow the movement.

The debate between the attendees and speakers touched on various interesting points for discussion, some more conceptual and some more objective:

- The incompatibility of the fight against climate change with capitalism.
- The necessity for growth and industrialisation in developing countries.
- How to make the transition without political parties, given that, for example in Portugal, 'socialist' parties no longer show an interest in socialism?
- Political representation of the working class and anticapitalist ideas in the more revolutionary parties – how far can it go in the political fight?
- How to arrive at the socialisation of energy as a common good?

- How to achieve the rejection of energy privatisation when regimes exist, as in Turkey, in which liberty and public employment are conditional on political affiliation?
- Conflict between the generation of employment and damage to the environment.
- Discussion on all of the alternative energies: the problem of nuclear energy, the impossibility of a nuclear democracy, the problem of waste – reflection on the contradictions.
- The role of organic protest in social change and disruption from the point of view of political powers.
- The coordination of a just energy transition depends on planning on a macro scale, incompatible with the private sector, methodologies (accounting for emission quotas) and the creation of employment, taking into account the knowledge of the private sector's motivation as profit.

Development-as-usual? Challenges in the Global South

Speakers:

- Josua Mata (SENTRO, Phillipines)
- Daniel Angelim (CSA-CSI, Brazil)
- Brian Ashley (One Million Climate Jobs Campaign, South Africa)

Moderator: Marie Fages (Climáximo, Portugal)

Reporter: Andreia Ferreira

More information about this panel:
<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/05/development-as-usual-desafios-do-sul-global/>

Josua Mata points to the **population in the Global South as those confronted with the greatest challenges: they are the first victims of Climate Change, have the greatest need of energy development, and have more job crises and government crises. It is no longer possible to continue with capitalism and a business-as-usual approach.** The Philippines are fighting a dictatorship. Duterte was a city council president for 20 years and during this time there were 1,400 deaths, including children, in the name of “keeping the peace”, and the most worrying thing is that in 2016 he won the elections with a huge popularity rating and 40% of the vote. How does such a dictator get elected? Through the

mobilisation of rage and hatred, and a “better the maniacal misogynist devil you know” mentality. Frustration, anxiety and fear on the part of the workers, following spectacular economic growth (the 2nd fastest growing economy), without any benefit from that growth (89% of the wealth retained by 200 families). In two and a half years in power, the Duterte regime is responsible for 20,000 detahs “in the name of peace” and in the “war on crime and drugs”.

Organisation is necessary in the fight against climate change, it is essential to realize change, but how is such organisation possible, how is it possible to maintain efforts to work with other environmentalist groups in an organised manner, with such limited democratic space in the Philippines, where the police and military are in possession of lists of names of “people and organisations of interest”? People have to revert to the safety mechanisms used at the times of the fight against the Marcos dictatorship to meet with other groups, unions and human rights organisations, other coalitions of social movements and environmentalist groups who are “fighting and fearing the same monster”. “If we give up and stop resisting he has won.” How to convince operatives and immigrants who voted for Duterte that he was never the solution? **The problem was never drugs or crime, it was poverty, and the reservation of development solely for the rich and not the poor. Development needs redefining.**

In the context of the Clean Air Act, Duterte said that he would replace half a million mini-bus drivers, who would lose their jobs, because mini-buses are responsible for much carbon emission. **How to proceed with a just transition?** Why

should workers sacrifice their jobs for other people's clean air? **We don't know what the solution is, but we must listen to the complaints and problems of those who suffer in the communities. The fight for the environment and mobilisation of the workers can only happen when related to everyday problems.**

Daniel Angelim began by recording the passing of 256 days since the assassination of Marielle Franco. He went on to explain the structure of the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas, with various union centres, stressing the diversity of the integrated organisations, some very progressive and some very conservative. He pointed to the difficulty of representing workers from so many countries, and who face very distinct political realities, which results in the weakening of workers' representation and a scenario in which the trade union movement is weak and scattered in the fight for power.

Latin America and the Global South's environmental fight has two great challenges:

1: Just Transition: the main proposal of the union movement. The inevitability of transition is assumed but not in progress. The big preoccupation is social justice. Avoiding workers having to suffer the consequences is the principal demand of the union movement, but **the Paris Agreement did not define the instruments of participation in the process, and the social and workers' movements do not have the strength to bring this transformation to pass.** Despite some members of the coalition being able to assert that

we are starting a just transition through social dialogue between governments, private sectors and unions and workers, in the context of Latin America and the Caribbean this is unrealistic. For example, in Brazil, the three factions are not able to sit at the table, there's a lack of political confidence in the private sector, and the government is not legitimate.

2. Right to Development: Countries in the process of development feel that it is “their turn” to profit from development. It is impossible to get into power whilst opposing petroleum exploration, soya fields, mineral extraction. Since 2008/2009, as a consequence of the global economic crisis, the scenario has begun to change in progressive Latin America which had previously won electoral victories. Coups in Honduras, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile and Colombia and the radicalisation of politics on the right indicate a reduction in the capacity for dialogue and this is an obstacle to setting an agenda. With Bolsonaro's election in Brazil, reversals in social and laboral policy are coming which have never before been lived, even under the dictatorship. **It is necessary to give political relevance to environmental themes** (which are currently considered of secondary importance). The position on nuclear energy, for example, can decide elections. Finally, **Daniel considered that moments of attack from the right help to deemphasise that which is divisory and prioritise that which is unitary: the solution is collective and collectively, the capacity to win exists.**

Brian Ashley referenced **the alliance between labor and popular movements which vanquished apartheid in South Africa and stated that we need a very strong alliance, but this alliance will not appear by laying the challenge at the door of the workers' movements.** The debate should raise serious questions to mobilise these movements and **it is necessary to establish a sense of urgency in social and economic transition.** 25 years after the end of apartheid, South Africa is the country with the greatest disequity in the world, with 10% of the population holding 90% of the riches, unemployment levels at 40%, and 55% of the population earning less than €60 a month. The social fabric is in a state of collapse. A woman is raped every 26 seconds. Every 8 hours a woman is murdered by her partner. The economic development model is extractive: it relies on the exploration of natural resources, in which priority is given to multinationals. The new president is a mining engineer who wants to extract petroleum from the south of Sudan, and benefits from the actions of Glencore. The congress which led social liberation has alliances with Goldman Sachs and Glencore, being also an important part of the alliance with the unions, which in South Africa are allied to extraction projects (mineral, coal and petroleum), being dependent on economic circumstances. The great disinvestment in the exploration industries meant the loss of 1.2 million jobs. **A break with this model is urgently needed, but most unions are trapped in the development paradigm, despite the moment of crisis without resolution of socio-economic problems. Therefore, it is necessary to take the fight out of the workplace through social movements.** Brian's expectation is that the vanguard of the

fight will centre around two points:

- access to land, collective defence of resources and territory against exploitation, agribusiness and tourism, which is a fight derived from class-based fights
- women, who take on all the reproductive work without social support services for children and the elderly. It is women's militancy which will oblige the unions to involve themselves in fight for just transition.

Q&A

- Workers' movements are much broader than just the unions.
- The transition agenda must come from the public sector, given that unions involved in the private sector support any promise of job creation.
- The communist dream is dead and the social-democratic dream is dying a death; nobody wants to return to colonialism, but dreams are dying and nobody believes.
- Our lives are not getting better, they are getting worse. The fight must be fought to rebuild a new world, with the people who we already have, with equality, and without bosses.

Topic 4

Climate Justice and Energy Democracy

We travel around the world to discuss some of the main front lines in the struggle against big fossil fuel projects, both in the planning and in the implementation phases. The struggle against climate chaos is also the struggle for social justice, headed by indigenous populations and peripheral communities. On the alternatives' side, we look at real and democratic cases in multiple levels: from country to town hall, from municipal company to cooperative.

The Bailout of Fossil Fuels

In the frontlines of climate justice

Transition and Energy Sovereignty

The Bailout of Fossil Fuels

Speakers:

- Alfons Peréz (Debt Observatory in Globalization, Spain)
- Daniel Tanuro
- Frida Kieninger (Food & Water Europe, Europe)

Moderator: Ana Rita Antunes (Zero, Portugal)

More information about the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/o-resgate-dos-combustiveis-fosseis/>

The urgency of a radical cut in greenhouse gases emissions on a global scale has been seen by oil companies as the biggest threat to their business model. After decades supporting negationism, oil, gas and coal companies are using all the tools available to survive, always aided by conniving governments. Unmasking these strategies is essential.

[summary not available for this panel]

In the Frontlines of Climate Justice

Speakers:

- LaDonna Bravebull Allard (Lakota, USA)
- Nicole Oliveira (350.org Europe)
- Nnimmo Bassey (Nigeria)

Moderator: Catarina Gomes (Linha Vermelha, Portugal)

Reporter: Ana Rita Antunes

More information about the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/nas-linhas-de-frente-da-justica-climatica/>

This session brought together dozens of people to hear the stories of three speakers who participated in battles for climate justice, and what this meant for their personal lives.

Moderator Catarina asked them to begin by introducing some of the principle battles in their countries of origin.

Nicole brought the expansion of the fossil fuel industry in the Amazon, in countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia. The anti-fracking campaign in Brazil and Argentina in 2013, in which legal actions were brought, along with a public consultation, together with an aggregation of the public and security training, made this an extensive campaign. Due to this, many states in Brazil have officially banned fracking.

La Donna started by affirming very viscerally and intensely, that at the beginning of her fight in the battle for Standing Rock, the first approach taken was to speak with the children and then with the elders, arguing vigorously that everyone should be involved, that nobody should be excluded and that everybody has their role in this. Contexts such as the USA and Brazil, in which governments are not amenable, are not excuses for citizens not to act. And this idea is reinforced by the existence of 200 camps in gas and petroleum extraction zones, as well as by the deinvestment of 64,000,000,000 dollars: banks, insurance (companies which had money involved in the Dakota Access Pipeline, or in other projects). Although those who control the media control the world, we have to take this control, because they implement a divide and conquer policy, which is a military strategy. La Donna notes that the extraction industries are now adopting military type strategies to deal with resistance.

Nnimmo told us that he is from Nigeria, a caricature of the cleanest country in the world, where the rivers are covered in oil, thanks to exploration by Shell and other companies, in which gas wells flare to make production flow. Direct foreign investment is scattered throughout Africa, with a great deal of growth, with politicians even advertising their countries to attract investment. He adds that each gas well is a crime scene.

Following this introduction, the moderator asks the speakers to share key lessons from their campaigns and mobilisations, successful or not.

Nicole stated that one of the lessons she learned was that in her experience, **it was left-wing governments that opened the**

door to the fossil industry, in this case, in Latin America, where poverty increased due to territorial conflicts and expropriation, from which this industry enjoyed 200,000,000,000 dollars in financial benefits in Brazil. She gave the example of president Mujica in Uruguay, who pretended to be poor, although he was a multimillionaire who made fracking legal in the country. Examples which immediately demonstrate that just because a government is on the left, that doesn't necessarily mean that they will adopt different measures. These parties are not benefitting the climate paradigm, creating a space in which more radical parties, with fascist ideals and politics, becomes more relevant in the political panorama.

La Donna, before answering this question, asked the audience how to measure success, and what it means. And answered that success is self-empowerment: “now they see me”. She commented that in this aspect of success, governments cannot be trusted, giving the example of President Obama, who opposed the Standing Rock movement and supported lawless corporations, despite all his campaign promises. One of the local impacts of the favoured industry was the explosive growth in drug trafficking, the price of food and of housing. She identifies our fault as being that we allow this to happen, that each person at this moment has blood on their hands.

Nnimmo contests that success is not always tangible. The simple fact of saying “no!” is already a huge success, because if a million people say it, possibilities already come into existence. He also defines success as suffering and imprisonment for civil disobedience, but recovering afterwards.

Saying “no” is an alternative, a capacity to fight against the industrial and political narratives. And above all, when contesting the narrative of the paradigm of industry and the political elite, saying what you feel is the best way, because nobody can contradict it. Other successes which he recalls were in 1996, when Oil Watch International began a campaign delaying extraction for 10 years. Currently, the World Bank has begun to talk about carbon budgeting and about the *Keep it in the Ground* movement. Nnimmo also counts as a success, mutual international solidarity and support between various campaigns, and legal prosecutions, especially in the countries where big petrol has its headquarters (UK, Italy, Holland).

Siezing this context, the moderator asked the speakers about their visions on international and regional cooperation in the fight against the gas, petrol, and coal industries. **La Donna** described the Standing Rock movement as a series of seeds sown across social networks, a lesson coming from the youngest. Cooperation is fundamental and natural, because we are all indigenous to the Earth.

Nicole observed that **in the Southern Hemisphere, populations are reaching the limits of resistance, affirming that it's fundamental and urgent that we Europeans become involved and take advantage of our individual civil liberties to demonstrate.** She gave a highly paradigmatic example of the importance of cooperation: 350.org has a role playing activity, called *The Village*, in which each group imagines the village of their dreams, with all the things they would like to see happen. After this first stage, one of the facilitators asks to see each group's result and tears the project

apart in front of the participants. The facilitator starts to warp and negatively explore the project. Following the betrayed confidence of the first group, the second group is already reluctant to accept the facilitator and following groups refuse. The moral of the story can be found in something which the speaker has already experienced, in which people only allow change (in this case, destruction) because they don't know what it will be. She notes that in this exercise the groups find it hard to accept the destruction of their fantasy village, asking them to imagine how populations suffer when they lose their way of life in the real world.

The session ended with some commentary on the part of the listeners, who were sympathetic to the speakers' battles. **Nicole** added that she is profoundly unhappy because of her experiences, that she is followed daily, she has seen her colleagues murdered, and is not sorry to make us feel uncomfortable, because her objective is to make everybody feel uncomfortable enough to act.

La Donna, despite her years of suffering in the Standing Rock movement, emphasised the importance of community, explaining that where she is from, funerals are not family, but community affairs, where everybody gets a chance to say goodbye. She ended with: **“individualism is the downfall of humanity”**.

Transition and Energy Sovereignty

Speakers:

- Iñaki Barcena
- Alba del Campo (Por Cadíz Sí Se Puede, Spain)
- Miguel Almeida
- Raphael Vale (Brazilian Renewable Energy and Sustainable Development Cooperative – COOBER, Brazil)

Moderator: Guilherme Luz

More information about this panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/transicao-e-soberania-energetica/>

From countries to municipalities, from cooperatives to public companies, the participatory and democratic energetic transition is the only guarantee of energetic sovereignty, popular power and radical of greenhouse gases emissions, ensuring accessible energy to populations worldwide.

[summary not available for this panel]

Topic 5

Ecofeminisms

With the creation of the term, the ecosocialist thought brought women into focus where they had long been. Ecofeminisms involve meanings, the search for explanations and paths for struggles, make history, unveil protagonists and weave alliances. The Eco is political, it is our concern.

Capitalism, Colonialism and Androcentrism

Ecofeminisms, Knowledge and Political Action

Ecofeminist Art and Intervention

Capitalism, Colonialism and Androcentrism

Speakers:

- Amaranta Herrero (researcher at GENØK - the National Center for Biosecurity and Gene Ecology in Tromsø, Norway)
- Federica Ravera (researcher at CREAM Centre for Ecological Research and Forestry Applications, Barcelona)
- Elizabeth Peredo (Social Psychologist, researcher, writer and activist from Bolivia)

Moderator: Gaia Giuliani

Reporters: Natanael Salvan, Teresa Silva

More information about this panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/capitalismo-colonialismo-androcentricismo/>

FEDERICA RAVERA proposes, from an ecofeminist viewpoint, a new epistemological paradigm in the study of climate change to call into question the neoliberal production of knowledge about the same, which takes place in Western countries by an elite of white middle-aged men, who have constructed a tech-positive, absolute and universal

discourse. This production of knowledge about climate change has **been completely depoliticised by the universalisation and homogenisation of responsibility and environmental impact**, as if all humans were implicated by the same process, deliberately ignoring which countries contribute the most to this problem and which suffer the most – the Anthropocene is, in truth, a Capitalocene (J.W. Moore). **On the other hand, the ecological debt is gendered**, the fruit of inequality of power between different subjects, and the domination of nature is also a domination over women and a sexual domination, that is, a Patriarchocene / Phallocene.

Feminist epistemologies claim the **need to include other types of knowledge, until now silenced by the scientific mainstream, knowledge belonging to indigenous populations, to women, or to other marginalised groups**, and the need to include on the climate change agenda the problem of reflexivity, or, the acknowledgement that all knowledge is situated and contextualised and that, while scientific, we still have to ask ourselves “whence am I creating this knowledge” and integrate a multitude of epistemologies, methods, disciplines, sensibilities and explorations, for example, through the body and the senses. The body allows us to reconnect with the earth and with territory, and it is only in this way that a multispecies ecojustice can develop (D. Haraway). For this reason, it is necessary to create a new community of beings, build refuges and symbioses, which D. Haraway calls the Chthulucene.

The ecofeminist gaze equally allows a **new ontological paradigm by refusing the unitarian categorisation of**

women, recognising that different types of discrimination exist, and recognising intersections of multiple identity axes, calling into question the common notions of vulnerability and impact as disconnected from an analysis of power relations and inequalities.

To finish, Federica, using C. Wichterich's concept that TAMA (there are many alternatives), **proposed thinking about real alternative to the neoliberal cooption of environmental issues** (green economy, green growth, sustainable development, gender politics in the World Bank), and **creating a more collective, more common, type of knowledge**. She offered three proposals: recentering the importance of everyday life, reconquering common goods, and democratising the care of hybrid spaces.

AMARANTA HERRERO explored the politics of care and **proposed an ecofeminist analysis in the field of biotechnology**, as we are in a society divided into two groups with different norms: the masculine, valued and placed in a superior position, and the feminine, devalued and placed in an inferior position, which should challenge this era and end patriarchal sexism. **It is important to include in feminism the battles of Black, Indian and rural women**, so that all can know that the patriarchy must be fought, expanding the battle into other areas, and starting with the premise that we are all interdependent beings and we are all ecodependent beings.

According to the speaker, we live in a capitalist patriarchal system and are **brought up to a culture which hinders the**

possibility of having a dignified life for all the planet, and where anthropocentrism and androcentrism converge. This system propogates extensive farming (monoculture), which is why it is necessary to take on climate change in order to combat the system. Meanwhile, to understand the system it is necessary to understand the duality of the differences between the 2 groups previously mentioned, in which one always takes supremacy over the other.

The logic of the capitalist patriarchy is demonstrated by, for example, such farming production as that in which the animal (female) is used as a slave whose sole purpose is procreation. In the patriarchy, the use of animals is also gendered, when males are killed young (chicks, calves, piglets), or else have a longer life with less suffering (open-pastured cattle), and females (hens, milk cows, and breeding sows) have a longer life, full of suffering.

Any ecofeminist policy must address these topics and know how to modify systems of dependency, with the most vulnerable as its concern.

ELIZABETH PEREDO BELTRÁN states that capitalist logic is a system of domination which does not respect the planet (a living being) a sees the necessity of enormous alterations to this system. Elizabeth cited the anarchist cooks in La Paz who, inspired by the fight of the Argentinan women who see patriarchy as a system of oppression, began a feminist movement which represents domestic workers across the planet. This movement achieved the construction of

workplaces in the country and since 2004 has achieved the implantation of ecofeminism in the domestic workers' union.

We need an anthropocene that is humanitarian and compassionate, being eternally dependent on the ecosystem, and a political humanity that fights the capitalist dictatorship (the speaker cited as an example Black Friday, happening that same weekend throughout the world), **that fights femicide, that fights the narrowing of the democratic space**, and the reformulation of social classes, considering migration (which happens due to climate change).

Elizabeth states **that today the world is full of idealised fascism**. An example of this is when politicians whom we see as dictators, oppressors of Human Rights, are put into power by vote, as were Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro. She highlights the need for **a breakdown of feminist concepts to reinforce the fight to construct ecofeminism**.

In the questions, the authors had the opportunity to discuss domestic violence, emotional, affective and physical; violence against LGBT persons; the politics of domestic care; the fights that we choose, the priorities and the causes. Themes such as liberal politics, where women occupy male spaces and so achieve revalorisation; the misalignment of capital with work; the politicisation of spaces; the perception of interdependence and ecodependence; valuable life purposes and women's autonomy were also discussed.

In the debate, the explained the difference between classic/essentialist ecofeminism and constructivist ecofeminism; they spoke of the importance of anti-speciesism

(animalist), agreeing that it is essential to find a way to unite animalism with feminism.

They concluded by reminding us that previously, a woman's place had been in the home, whereas nowadays their motto is “strolling quietly through the mountains”. This divergence shows how it is in everyone's interest to hear the different voices of feminism instead of arguing internal conflicts.

Ecofeminisms, Knowledge and Political Action

Speakers:

- Gea Piccardi (Center for Social Studies, Portugal)
- Irina Castro (Center for Social Studies, Portugal)

Moderator: Paula Sequeiros (Climáximo)

Reporter: Teresa Silva

More information about this panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/ecofeminismos-conhecimento-e-acao/>

GEA PICCARDI briefly presented the materialist and socialist **ecofeminist theories** (Carolyn Merchant, Mary Mellor, Maria Mies, Vandana Shiva, Ariel Salleh) and theories of how this feminist thought, by means of a critical reevaluation of andocentric Marxist theory, the focus of which is exclusively on production, **established a relationship between ecological exploitation and the exploitation of women and centred the discussion on the dialectic between production and reproduction, making this last the central category of her analysis.**

Materialist ecofeminism equally analyses how the sexual division of labour, at an internal level, has transformed into an

international division of labour at the moment of the expansion of capital, so that **slave and migrant labour are an indispensable condition for the development of the so-called First World** – there is no waged labour without reproductive labour and the maintenance of this production logic is only possible from the expansion of reproductive labour to other areas, in this case the exploitation of nature and of other peoples. **Genocide, biocide and ecocide always go hand-in-hand.** Neoliberalism is a new period of primitive accumulation of capital and of enclosure of the commons, which constitutes an attack on the reproduction of life and the body of women.

This ecofeminist analysis has received some criticism on the part of decolonial theorists (Chandra Mohanty, for example), due to the fact of the theory **essentialising and universalising the category of woman**, reproducing a heteronormative and colonial interpretation of gender, and thus excluding all of the other possible subjectivities; but **also for not having integrated an intersectional criticism** which establishes a connection between race, ethnicity, religion and the environment. This Eurocentric view, which could cause epistemic violence, doesn't understand the woman-environment connection which comes from subordinate fights, consequentially impeding the creation of cross-sectional alliances with diverse positions, which would allow the construction of shared feminist ecological practices, not only against capitalism and the patriarchy, but also against neocolonialism.

Indigenous decolonial thought and criticism must be absorbed by materialist ecofeminism in a way that

radicalises its own theories and questions its Eurocentric matrix. Decolonial proposals recover the subversion of knowledge and practices belonging to ancestral indigenous communities and only through the idea of communality (Cristina Vega, Raquel Gutierrez Aguillar, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Lorena Cabnal) can the women-nature relationship be understood and alternative, anticapitalist, antipatriarchal feminist ecologies and economies be constructed. Gender cannot be separated from the political relations of communality. **Communality, in which reproductive labour is socialised, and the common production of knowledge are two of the strategies for decolonising feminism proposed by indigenous feminists.**

To conclude, indigenous feminism offers yet another category which criticises materialist ecofeminism, which is the relation between the **“Body-Territory and the Earth Territory”** (Lorena Cabdal), both subject to the same patriarchal violence. This relationship is an essential element to any community political practice, given that humans and nature are the same interdependent body.

IRINA CASTRO brought us a **reflection on the capitalist production of knowledge and of science, through the study of dissident women in a scientific context**, above all in the branches of biology, epigenetics and theory of evolution (Rachel Carson, Lynn Margoulis, Joan Roughgarden and Helena Alvarez Buylla). Debates about science focus too much on the impacts of the same and rarely on its production in a capitalist system and, as such, **dissidence is the ideal space for**

us to understand the mechanisms of coercion of capital on the forms of production of knowledge.

Just like its own epistemological production, scientific dissidence has also always been focused on men and their work, so obliterating not only new knowledge constructed from a gendered perspective, but also a new history of knowledge.

Women dissidents in science are those who have criticised the capitalist production of knowledge, while male dissidence centres exclusively on conflicts between diverging academic knowledge. Dissident women promote the expansion of a cognitive justice and a **response-able science (response-ability)**, or, a science whose capacity of response acts upon the concrete problems of life and constructs new knowledge which is capable of dialogue with other epistemologies than just Western/white, modern and technological. **These women have been discredited, demonised and distanced by mainstream science.**

Female scientific dissidence promotes a model of the production of science which denounces the colonialism of the capitalist ethic, misogyny, and racism in the algorithm and the premeditated occlusion of other knowledges. **An anticapitalist science has to be a joint study of ethics, ontology, and epistemology, and the relationships which occur between human and non human beings in the construction of the world. It should also be constructed by community,** and finally put to one side the idea of the pure individual genius scientist. A socialist science has to be a symbiosis between ecological thought and anticapitalist feminist materialist criticism, putting an end to the myth of passive nature and of a

technology dissociated from political, social and material conditions.

The construction of an alternative anticapitalist science is not a Utopian project, and has already existed for several decades, it is not necessary to start from scratch – it is **already being practiced by dissident women**.

Questions:

- Why speak specifically of female dissidence?
- What does “good science” and “bad science” mean, and what is the true reach of the scientific method?
- What is the problem with genetically modified organisms?
- What is engaged science? Does it exist?
- What is the difference between women in science and feminist science?
- Feminism and the colonialist production of science and of knowledge (the necessity of counter-hegemonic theories);
- Connections between patriarchy and capitalism;
- Links between extraction and reproduction;
- What could feminist technologies be?
- How to teach ecofeminism and ecosocialism in schools?

Ecofeminist Art and Intervention

Speakers:

- Carla Cruz and Leonor Parda (independent artists and researchers, based in the north of Ecuador)
- Judite Canha Fernandes (writer, performer, wildcard of the Theatre of the Opressed, feminist and representative of Europe at the International Committee for the World March of women between 2010 and 2016)
- Teena Pugliese (filmmaker and digital activist currently living on the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota)

Moderator: Paula Sequeiros (Climáximo)

More information about this panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/arte-e-intervencao-ecofeminista/>

Power {ecofeminisms} arts and words. Creation and subversion. Say, perform, take the land...

Four artists present and discuss their approach to ecofeminism through art, in their research, in their creative processes and cultural intervention.

This being a dynamic and performative panel, we have no summary, but we did make a small video which replicates the dynamics of this session, which you can find [here](#).

Off-topic:

Ecosocialist Hotspots

Artivism. Strategic Creatvity for Ecosocial Change

Western and Indigenous Approaches for Regenerating Ecosystems, Society and Humanity

The Gas Trap: from the USA to the EU.

Ecosocialist Experience in the World: A Debate

Artivism: Strategic Creativity for Ecosocial Change

Workshop host:

- Kevin Buckland

Reporter: Marie Fages

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/criatividade-estrategica-para-mudanca-ecossocial/>

This participatory and dynamic workshop will examine some of the most creative and effective interventions of our time. We are going to concentrate on how actions have been used successfully to create lasting changes, rework narratives and open up space for new ideas. We'll also see a range of available tactics, with the aim of inspiring everyone who takes part with many new ideas of ways of making a change.

Since this is an interactive and dynamic workshop there isn't a summary of it, but we've made a small video, which reproduces the dynamics of this session. You can find it [here](#).

Indigenous and Western Approaches to the Regeneration of Ecosystems, Society and Humanity

Speakers:

- LaDonna Bravebull Allard (Lakota, USA)
- Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán
- Marina Nobre
- Martin Winiecki (Tamera, Portugal)

Reporter: Catarina Gomes (Linha Vermelha, Portugal)

More information on the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/abordagens-indigenas-e-ocidentais-para-a-regeneracao-de-ecossistemas-sociedade-e-ser-humano/>

We know that mere “sustainability” will not be enough to confront climate change, the collapse of ecosystems and the extinction of species appropriately. While it is necessary to demystify the illusion of “green growth” and “sustainable development”, this session will focus on the potential for building a regenerative society – a change of system, of using nature in cooperation with it. Exploring regenerative philosophies and practices as much in ancient indigenous traditions as in modern western approaches, the speakers will

share their experience in the restoration of hydrological cycles, ecosystems and communities, and in building movements for effective social changes.

A two-hour session which approached the challenges which our societies face with dominant and conventional systems like capitalism, as well as those we might face, for example, through regeneration (for example, of ecosystems).

The logic of capitalism is the perpetuation of economic growth in an exponential way. Since 1968 our local economy has grown by about 34 times, within a global system that is murdering the planet (extractivism, destruction of forests, exploitation of people, etc.).

Many claim that it is possible to have sustainable, green growth; **nevertheless we are now in a phase in which we effectively have to choose between capitalism and life.** Capitalism is exploitation and growth, life is the creation of conditions which generate more life, and the regeneration, or rather, cooperation with life and creation of systems in which the different forms of life can live on this planet.

LaDonna Bravebull Allard spoke in this session about how Standing Rock is reacting to this situation, and focused on religion, trauma and prayer. Being a Native American, she doesn't have traumas with religion as people in other cultures do. In Standing Rock, music, prayer and ceremony are activities for empowerment and not trauma. They create gatherings of people, centre them, and the prayers go to nature. LaDonna insists that finding a point of healing, of regeneration, is crucial for our survival. She also argues that this is against

capitalism, which individualizes societies, removing people's responsibilities and destroying communities.

Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán spoke about the rights of Mother Earth and about ethics. The world is facing a Dantesque challenge because life is being destroyed. **All the pillars of our life are taught by capitalism, whose main objective is to remove life from all the elements of nature. One of the most important reflexions for us, as ecosocialists, is the creation of a culture and a vision for day-to-day life without this penetration by capitalism.** Elizabeth spoke about her experience in Bolivia and Latin America, with the war for water. In 2000, a moment when neoliberalism was very strong, a wave of privatizations began in the region. Everything was privatized, but when it came to the turn of water people woke up, because water is life. Capitalism tells us that water is a commodity, but water is life.

Capitalism makes us forget our spirituality, our roots and ancestral ways. Monotheism is one of the main pillars of capitalism. Why is it that people don't create countries based on their roots and not on capitalism? For example, in Bolivia they made a new constitution, and put the vision of reciprocity with Mother Earth in it. In Equador they have a charter with land rights, and in Bolivia again they have a charter with water rights.

Marina Nobre argued that Planet Earth should be called Planet Water, and that we cannot restore water without forests. Instead of entering into never-ending arguments about the problems, we ought to be concentrating on planting trees and talking about solutions.

The Gas Trap: from the USA to the EU

Speakers:

- Frida Kieninger (Food & Water Europe, Europe)
- Alfons Pérez (Observatório da Dívida na Globalização, Spain)
- João Camargo (Climáximo, Portugal)
- Kevin Buckland (Gastivists, Europe)

Moderator: Helena da Silva (Climáximo)

More information about the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/a-armadilha-do-gas-dos-eua-a-ue/>

The presentation of natural gas as a “transitional fuel” is the fallacy used by the petrol industry and petrol-states to guarantee their survival in the coming decades. For this reason they have counted on the support of governments like those of Russia, America and the European Union. The gas trap is going to take us on a disastrous course; how are we going to stop it?

[a report is not available for this panel]

Ecosocialist Experiences in the World: a critical debate

Speakers:

- Elizabeth Peredo
- Matthias Schindler
- Öner Öztürk

Moderator: Sinan Eden (Climáximo)

Reporter: Andreia Ferreira

More information about the panel:

<http://www.climaximo.pt/2018/12/09/experiencias-ecossocialistas-no-mundo-um-debate-critico/>

Radical anti-capitalist responses to the ecological crisis are on the rise throughout the world through popular movements. We already have some cases in which such responses have had significant victories in the political struggle. Despite the limitations due to imperialism and global-market mechanisms, there are many lessons which we can draw from such experiences. On this panel, we will have a critical look at experiences in Bolivia, Nicaragua and Kurdistan.

Sporadic attempts at revolution (1848, 1871 in Paris, 1917) in which we built what was previously unimagined. The whole of anti-capitalist history teaches that we have to approach

capitalism in other ways: *self-management*, *horizontal management*. The environmental crisis is a threat to civilization as a whole.

Elizabeth Peredo

There don't exist ecosocialist experiences, despite attempts made throughout the last century and in dissidence with the socialism of the USSR, etc.

Basic principles of ecosocialism:

1. Philosophy: militancy in the search for reconciliation with and respect for Nature.
2. Internationalism.
3. Ecofeminism – integrate the problematic of gender oppressions.

Bolivia was an example of the progressive era of Latin America, with a number of anti-neoliberal rebellions before the year 2000, and is presently an example of the end of progressivism and return to investment in the struggle, since women have seen this end more rapidly. The left has not had clarity in various points in which it formed alliances, and it is very important to reflect on what is permissible in the political culture of militancy to maintain alliances and agreements. It's necessary to think in terms of energetic democracy or in relation to land and nature. The Bolivian state narrative has a masculine, one-person leadership in a patriarchal configuration, and it sees in nature extractivist capitalist value (to extract goods and energy from nature – fracking). Argentina has a

great deal of fracking, competing with petrol.

The “Right to Development” is synonymous with extractivism and was what the Bolivian government did with the extraction of gas, petrol, minerals and land for soya cultivation. 65% of the budget for energy and less than 2% for the prevention of patriarchy and violence against women. They were absent from the relation with the development of nature and women.

The state grew sevenfold, the colonial and bourgeois state, a perverse dynamic between government/ministers and the unions. The left allowed this mishmash because it thought that it would be a guarantee, but in reality what extractivism achieves is the regeneration of capitalism.

Matthias Schindler

Nicaragua has nothing to do with ecosocialism. Since April there have been protests to defend a reserve, against the social reforms of the Ortega-Murillo regime, resulting in 400 dead, thousands exiled in Costa Rica, more than 500 political prisoners (tortured and violated) and people who have disappeared. There has been no trial of any paramilitary. Retaliation against whoever shows solidarity or helps the demonstrators.

The politics of the repressive regime continues on the lines of extractivism (gold, palm oil, meat and coffee) and follows neoliberal orientations (examples are the now abandoned project of an interoceanic canal or the Rancho Grande mining project). In the past, there was some economic growth and

improvement in the conditions of the poorest; however, Ortega has turned himself into a multimillionaire and centralized powers (political, judicial, police and army) in himself, having recourse to the manipulation of elections, violation of the Constitution, repression of opposition parties and movements, and the dismissal of deputies. How is it that a revolutionary becomes a dictator?

It is necessary to rethink the 1979 Sandinista Revolution, to retrieve its positive aspects and not repeat its errors. The Sandinista Revolution erected a regime with political pluralism, with numerous political parties, democratic elections, union organisations, religious freedom, but an authoritarian and to vertical power structure. The importance of democratic methods: a government that represses and tortures is not one of the left. The liberation of humanity cannot be reached by means of dictatorships of education, but only through the conscious mobilization of the oppressed masses. Socialism will be democratic or it won't be anything at all.

Öner Öztürk

Kurdistan was one of the states of the Ottoman Empire and today is divided into four parts on the borders of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Attempts to assimilate the Kurds resulted in a rise in political consciousness and resistance. The Marxist PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party) was created in 1978. In the 90s Turkish repression and torture created popular support for the PKK and triggered a mass Kurdish movement. The movement has resisted for 40 years, abandoned the independence struggle

and adopted the struggle for rights and freedom through democratic autonomy. Inspired by the feminist movement, it created autonomous spaces for women, and produced its own literature and cinema.

Three types of opposition to globalized capitalism: 1) to reject and demolish the system (the Kurds don't have the power to do this and can't wait for the fall of capitalism); 2) a reformist approach (normally, transforming the opposition in the system instead of improving the system); 3) building an alternative life despite the system's impositions, even using its gaps as opportunities. History doesn't advance in a linear fashion. Ecosystems can't endure a globally industrialised society, and we cannot wait for an industrial working class to save the world. In the Kurdish movement the main contradiction is patriarchy. When man learnt to oppress and exploit women, he went on to instrumentalise other men, the earth and animals in favour of his needs, and he began to see himself as an entity superior to nature. A relationship based on force can only be maintained by increasing exploitation, since economic processes are necessary to strengthen and reproduce the power structure. Neither patriarchy nor identity are secondary problems to be resolved only after the revolution. The building of an alternative society is only possible through a collective struggle whose agents are women and all oppressed individuals.

Peace is only possible through a recognition and defence of rights and harmony, not only between humans, but between all species, and even with non-living beings. This is not a utopia; there are many examples, rural and urban, of self-sufficient

communities, which we see as cracks in the capitalist edifice, which can be multiplied and connected to others, demolishing the wall – there will remain only democratically confederated communities in a solidarity network and in harmony with the ecosystems. How can a political movement transform societies into agents who are equal, self-determined and organized horizontally? An example is the MEM (Mesopotamian Ecology Movement), which links up with unions, NGOs and professional associations to take part in assemblies, which are also open to individual participation. Neighbourhood assemblies were created (the main body of the movement), organized by linking with other groups in civil society, and which send delegates to district assemblies, forming the MEM as a whole. Once formed, all the assemblies assume autonomy, there is no central organization or connection with a political movement, no hierarchy or leadership, and decisions are made by consensus. Commissions and assemblies have co-representatives, and to be a co-spokesperson does not mean having more power or authority, only more responsibility. The first congress of the MEM took place in April 2016. Since then, it has organized many activities in Kurdistan and Turkey.

Debate with public participation

-Paper on climate in Bolivian extractivism (coal and mines). Integration with climate and Russia starting with the Morales government: significant indebtedness and direct invitations to Chinese firms for infrastructure works, such as dams (various scandals).

-Extractivist activities intensify patriarchy; how is it that associations integrate distinct cultures and identities? Minority populations, above all black women. Relation between extractivism and the victims of violence, above all in Andean zones (UNICEF study), tradition of the management structure for water and agriculture. Mineral cooperatives with very little environmental regulation; they can even divert watercourses for mineral exploitation. Extractivism destroys the social fabric.

-Depth of self-critique. The blame didn't belong to Hitler's but to those people who thought that a Hitler was necessary. Levels of consciousness in society: what political forms, demands, strategic steps? Evangelist Christian groups who reinforce state authoritarianism and conservative values, specifically about women's rights over their bodies (abortion, etc.). Government alliances with very noxious conservative sectors. The model of the progressive cycle magnifies the conservative and consumerist middle class. The process of deproletarianisation – a social base deeply penetrated by fascistic and gender ideologies. The biggest problem in Latin America.

-The Indo-oceanic canal represents an investment of 15 billion dollars. China very much present in Nicaragua. This mishmash is not created by low consciousness, but is the product of a low democratic culture (there has not been a congress in 10 years of Sandinista rule), but there has been corruption, proliferation of laws, violation of the constitution and concentration of powers in Ortega, who gave sops to the people to maintain himself in power.

-What about the paper on indigenous movements in Bolivia and ecosocialist and anti-capitalist movements in Nicaragua? In Nicaragua the whole population is divided into those who are against and those who are for (those who get or hope to get something in exchange, like fishing licences) Ortega's regime. It is hard to be openly oppositional, even for Sandinistas who aren't Ortega supporters. The government calls itself progressive because it has had a lot of success in wind-power energy, for example.

-How is the idea of anti-patriarchalism put in practice in the MEM? The Kurdish concept of this is multicultural, multilingual and feminist. Companies that support Kurdistan. Decentralisation is one of the most important topics for the Kurdish movement. Stateless country formed with leadership of women. Constant struggle against power. Women's assemblies in which the decisions taken are binding for the whole movement. There are also youth assemblies, ecological ones, etc. the women's assemblies were already formed when the ecological assemblies were, since they sent two delegates. A minimally hierarchical structure, in which of the two spokespersons one at least has to be a woman, although both could be women. They are not trying to create a state but, yes, a society without a state. The Kurdish movement isn't just for Kurds.