

The Updated Ecosocialist Manifesto

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THE PARTY OF THE LEFT
EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS



Parti de
Gauche

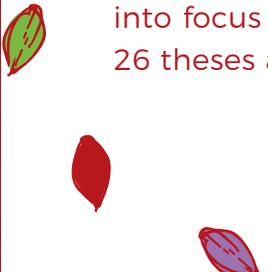


Foreword

The current manifesto from the National Ecosocialism Conferences follows in continuation with the ideas and program propounded by the International Ecosocialism Manifesto, published in 2002, as well as the Belem Ecosocialist Declaration of 2009. Subject to broad discussions and amended during the 2012 National Ecosocialism Conferences and again in 2020-2021, it aims to pave the way to a new political project.

It has since been translated to English, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German, Greek, Dutch, Russian, Swedish, Polish, Arabic, Korean, and Turkish. It has been presented in these countries during international events and has been the subject of local conferences in France. Concrete applications of theoretical concepts were possible thanks to thematic days on subjects such as the sea, agriculture, forestry, and industry. Finally, this manifesto inspired the platform L'Avenir En Commun (Our Common Future), represented during the 2017 French presidential election by the movement La France Insoumise (Unsubmissive France) which received almost 20% of the nation's votes. In a world without clear markers, it is a shared guide written for individuals or organizations who see themselves as ecosocialists. Ecosocialists believe in a global project thought to answer climate and social justice issues in a context of democratic decay.

Each of these theses presents a standpoint which shifts into focus as the world evolves. This new manifesto gathers 26 theses and will continue to grow.



I. What is Ecosocialism ?	P.9
1. A Radical and Material Alternative	P.10
2. The General Interest Shaping a New Paradigm	P.10
3. Feminism as a Starting Point	P.11
4. Building a New Relationship to Nature	P.12
5. A New Left	P.13
6. A Renewal of Socialism and Collectivism	P.14
II. Escaping Ecological Dead-ends	P.16
7. Green Capitalism's Lie and Environmentalism's risks	P.17
8. Social-Democracy's Failure	P.18
9. Ideology and Culture: an Essential Struggle	P.18
III. How to Address Contemporary Challenges	P.20
10. Water - An Essential Common Good for Life and the General Interest	P.21
11. Digital Space - Democratic and Ecological Issues	P.22
12. The Power of Banking and Debt as its Weapon	P.23
IV. Establishing a New Political Economy to Respect Humanity and our Ecosystem	P.25
13. Reaffirming People's Needs in the Economy	P.26
14. Breaking from Traditional Mindsets	P.26
15. Changing the Means of Production	P.27
16. Using the Green Rule as a Political Compass	P.28
17. Thinking and Building the Ecosocialist Alternative	P.29
V. Beginning the Ecosocialist Revolution	P.31
18. Struggles Should Converge	P.32
19. Popular Sovereignty, From the Commune to the State	P.33
20. Creative Resistance	P.34
21. A New Society : Mutual Aid, Self-Management and Sharing Common Goods	P.35
22. Initiating Ecological Planning	P.36
23. The Necessity of a Constituent Assembly to Ensure Equality and Create a Social Republic	P.37
24. Breaking Through the Deadlock of European Treaties	P.38
25. An Internationalist and Universalist Vision for Struggle	P.39
26. Waging a Citizens' Revolution for Ecosocialism	P.41

Editorial

Ecosocialism As A Necessary Contemporary Alternative

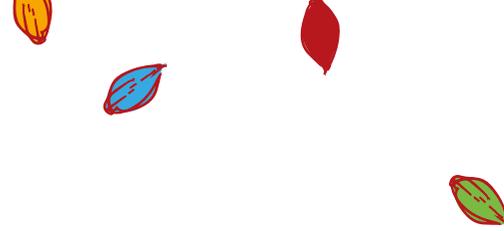
In a context where years of climate change denial suddenly gave way to dystopia, we have to look at the situation with responsibility and clarity. Social inequalities are worsening, global fascism is rising, the climate is changing, biodiversity is eroding, global health crises are emerging: these are all warnings. Scientists are pushing for a rapid reorganization of the way we produce and a reevaluation of our needs. This requires that we change our philosophical outlook and our relationship with nature. Due to the inaction of past governments on the planet which were ignorant, irresponsible, or servile towards profit-driven lobbies, we have already lost 50 precious years since these risks were known. We know that the capitalist world will do anything to continue following its own interest and will not change by its own accord.



Today, the crisis is not only social, democratic, or environmental - there is a systemic and paradigmatic crisis in our thermo-industrial era, known today as the Capitalocene. It is a crisis of capitalist exchange and exploitation. It created a dynamic where organized predation upon nature and workers come together. Our civilization is vulnerable to a chain reaction of effects caused by globalization, global finance, algorithmic control of societal norms, and the loss of manual skills and knowledge. The odds of a worldwide systemic collapse are unknown but we already know that we are surpassing important thresholds and natural limits. Of 10 global limits identified by a group of researchers in 2009, four have already been surpassed. Disasters continue to target the most vulnerable. With wildfires, droughts, floods, diminished harvests, health issues, and increased risks of conflicts, it is apparent that ecosystem health is a challenge for social justice, health, and peace. Human life on earth is at stake. Ecosocialism is a systemic analysis that states that ecology is not compatible with capitalism which necessitates productivism and global finance. Ecosocialism holistically analyses the social, environmental, economic, and democratic impacts of our current system. This analysis' radicalism, which consists in observing the roots of our problems, allows us to avoid support for green capitalism or neoliberal visions of ecology. These two concepts allow a narrow course of action, addressing only the consequences of capitalism without addressing the causes of its problems to overturn it.

To engage on these issues, we need to change the economic system, the organization of production, and social forces to be successful. The general interest is intertwined with the question of saving our ecosystem. We cannot hide a necessary clash of interests : we need to engage in a show of force against the global financial system and with those who believe in the interest of the few, rather than the vast majority. The construction of this balance of power presumes a project, a new utopian vision : a horizon for society which acts as an attainable goal but also as a motivation.

Ecosocialism is a stationary lighthouse in a world in full turmoil. Our political responsibility doesn't dwell on believing this or that hypothesis, declaring ourselves to be optimists or pessimists, but in observing facts, testifying to the truth, and acting with clear-headedness. It also implies showing who is accountable for systemic crises without making mistakes (the oligarchy and not the working class). We also have to illustrate environmental inequalities, debunk the "green" shams, rethink how human beings fit in our ecosystem, and build the beacon of a desirable future by assessing the dead-ends of the past. Ecosocialism is about reorienting the economy to meet people's needs, establishing a maximum authorized income, implementing the "green rule," relocalizing production, discussing the myth of growth, reducing our energy consumption, developing food sovereignty, reinventing our relationship with nature and other species. We must not forget the ideological and cultural battle, social struggles, resistance to oppression, or international solidarity. Ecosocialism draws the shape of a more harmonious, fairer world which could sustain the current shocks of our time. This Ecoso-



cialist Manifesto translates these ideas into the form of a political manifesto consisting of 26 theses. It is a guide of common interest to save every tenth of a degree of the changing climate we can, save every scrap of endangered nature we can save, and absorb the social and biophysical damage already in progress. It is a precious tool to help us think and prepare for the world we wish to see tomorrow. It is today that we will build tomorrow. We must sow the seeds of the future now.

Whatever happens, every party advocating for ecosocialism will have built the foundations of a new vision, a new imaginary order, unfamiliar collective stories, and a renewed social organisation and cosmogony to plant seeds bearing societal transformation.

The National Executive Secretary of the Party of the Left



I - What is Ecosocialism ?

I. What is Ecosocialism ?

1. A Radical and Material Alternative. Ecosocialism is the answer to the dead-ends of our current modes of production, exchange, and consumption which exhaust human beings and all living things. It demands new thought and radical political action since it examines root causes of issues. Natural and human resource predation engendered by capitalism are the causes of material degradation. It is not humanity, as a whole, who degrade the earth, but social and productive relationships in a historically capitalistic framework. Our planet is entering into a new geological era called the capitalocene. Capitalism uses trade as a way to make profit from commodities. Capitalism is responsible for the rise of social inequalities and a conservative vision of globalization, destroying our liberties. Globalization engenders social and environmental competition, relocating pollution and degrading the ecosystem. Inherently productivist, capitalism exhausts natural resources and aggravates climate change. Consumerism is its corollary. It makes material accumulation a law, using the magic of advertising to create insatiable needs. Who are this system's culprits? Financial oligarchs, governments submitted to multinational lobbies without any democratic control, ideologies promoting free and undistorted markets, green capitalism, and free trade. In the face of all these opponents, ecosocialism is the alternative to end this crisis and promote humanity's general interest by sharing wealth, preserving the climate, the ecosystem, and its biodiversity.

2. The General Interest Shaping a New Paradigm. Human beings are part the ecosystems in which they live. Ecosystems and human life cannot be dissociated from one another. There is only one biosphere, one global ecosystem suitable for human life. We are all alike in our

dependence on our ecosystem. This truth imposes itself on us, no matter our social class. There is a general interest linked to every living species : preserving the ecosystem makes human life possible. It is necessary to radically rethink our relationship with living things - flora as well as fauna. Collective, free deliberation prevents the rule of the many rule by the few, and questions revealed truths that seek to impose themselves on society. An ecological paradigm must include democracy, social equality, secularism, and feminism. These are essential conditions to have a free debate between citizens without any intrusion of oligarchist, dogmatist, or patriarchal forces. Finally, to determine the general interest, each and every one of us is called not only to decide what is good for ourselves but to consider what benefits everyone. This establishes the universality of human rights, the duties of citizenship, and the foundations of the Republic. The general interest is the link that unites political ecology and universal social Republic. It is this global political theory that we name ecosocialism. It is a universalist, socialist humanism with material applications.

3. Feminism as a Starting Point. Feminist struggle denounces both patriarchal domination and oppression. It demands women's emancipation. Women represent more than half of humanity. Feminism is a social struggle for the general interest. Women must have the same rights as men, the first one being the right to the dignity of their bodies. Women are victims of sexist and sexual violence in every layer of society. Women constantly fight against structural sexism. Patriarchy imposes masculine domination on our society as a whole. It manifests itself through ideological representations, depicting women as weak and men as cultured and rational. This breeds in economic and social structures. Capitalist development historically brought about a decrease of jobs occupied by women and strengthened the patriarchal system. All unpaid tasks associated

with care (nurturing children, taking care of the elderly, tasks linked with food or hygiene) that are situated in the domestic sphere have been assigned to women. Wage inequalities between women and men still exist in spite of laws attempting to remedy this issue. They are inextricably linked to working time and career development inequalities which are consequences of an unfair division of the tasks associated with the reproduction of the workforce. Feminist struggles are a part of class struggle, but they are not completely reducible to it. By advocating the end of patriarchy, they support the idea of a revolution of production relationships but also of social and sexed work division. They nurture ideas like working time reduction or the development of the commons. These struggles acquire an ecosocialist dimension. Everywhere in the world, ecological struggles to protect resources and defend the environment against its privatization are led by women. They are spearheading the resistance against neoliberalism's attacks on the sphere of "reproduction" (from social security to natural resources, public services, and networks), creating new potential revolutionary leverage. Considering women's fights from an internationalist point of view is fundamental: the new experiences from Syrian and Kurdish women in Rojava, but also in India, Spain, and Argentina are strong symbols of women's role in revolutions. That is why, in an ecosocialist perspective and in the framework of a citizens' revolution, feminism is both an objective and a starting point.

4. Building a New Relationship to Nature. The Covid pandemic has shown us to what extent species build their environments and how environments shape species. We cannot distinguish the "social" in opposition to the "natural." Social organization exercises pressures which may diffuse new viruses. The environment and society co-produce each other. The notion of the "fabric of life" allows us to distance ourselves from the imagined concept of nature

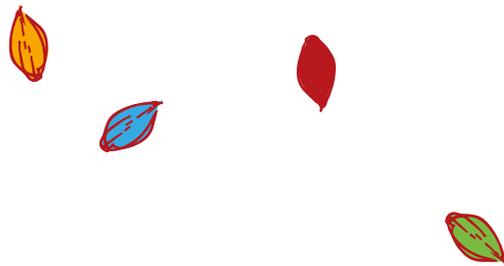
as fixed and apart from society, which is the basis for the predatory ideology of capitalism. Capitalism sees the extra-human world as a commodity, free to exploit at a very low cost. Animal abuse and overconsumption, licensing living things and the knowledge of indigenous peoples is part of their free trade ideology. The concept of "compensation" facilitates the trade of biodiversity. Technical choices in agriculture are the same as in industry. The central role of these relationships emerged from modern science. The very concept of an ecosystem places the human species in the fabric of life. Scientific ecology and environmental history show changing conditions of nature. Ethology questions preconceived notions about human nature. We are the only entities to have shared skills and knowledge. Microbiotes proper to human beings make every one of us a living world of our own in perpetual symbiosis. Conscience of animal rights has grown in previous decades, allowing a global awareness and a pivot against all forms of domination established by capitalism. The Earth has entered the capitalocene thanks to capitalism. Ecosocialism aims at weaving relationships between humanity and living things in a different manner, recognizing non-marketable values, which are non-degrading and un-tradable, to preserve biodiversity to make place for animal welfare using different techniques aimed at cohabitation and cooperation.

5. A New Left. Ecosocialism is a new political project aiming at synthesizing anticapitalist ecology and a form of socialism without the pitfalls of productivist logic. It allows us to reunite the different trends of the Left in a new political paradigm. We need a societal project to replace capitalism. It shapes a horizon in the fight for an emancipated society of true progress where the destruction of the environment, the overuse of living things, and exploitation of human beings would cease. Our ecosocialist project takes into account the needs of humans and the limits of our planet. Our project

changes production's social utility, our relationship with nature, our ways of consuming, our real needs, and the final ends of our products and the way we produce them.

6. A Renewal of Socialism and Collectivism.

Socialism has always aimed at the emancipation of human beings. It stipulated the sharing of wealth, acting in favor of society, democratizing power, and educating every woman and man completely. While this is still our strategy, it is time to formulate a new vision for ecological collectivism for the production, exchange, and allocation of goods and resources to be shared in common. We know now that we cannot achieve emancipation with never-ending growth. Our ecosystem doesn't allow such growth and the belief in infinite growth is an instrument of productivist and consumerist alienation. Faced with this situation, we have to define another model for progress, breaking away from capitalism, its methods of production, property relations, and its credo of GDP growth. We have to rethink not only the system of production and exchange but also the content of production and the consumption modes. This strategy consequently involves our social and political organisation as a whole. We have to change our way of thinking about human progress by taking into account our relationships with the fabric of life. We suggest another vision for an emancipatory strategy which concerns humanity's future. This new paradigm and the actions it inspires are called ecosocialism. It must find its place in the class struggle. The methods of ecosocialism are both concrete and radical - ecological planification and a citizens' revolution.



ÉCOCOLLECTIVISME

II - Escaping Ecological Dead-ends

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7. Green Capitalism's Lie and Environmentalism's risks. Our ecology is a socialist one, extending itself in continuity with the Left's historical fights. We reject a certain vision of ecology proposed by some who think that ecology could work well with neoliberalism. We denounce "green capitalism," which creates a new political space for those looking to maximize profits, feed the imperialist conquest, and achieve "short-term" objectives under the guise of discourse about sustainable development or "green growth." We reject ecologist discourse which only makes people feel guilty, as if everyone had an equal responsibility for the current ecological crisis. The carbon footprint of the rich is the most important, but everyone pays the price while environmental inequalities are increasing on a daily basis. We also reject the speech that sees the "end of the world" and "end of the week" as separate issues. We must highlight productivity's responsibility in the exploitation, production, and consumption brought about by contemporary capitalism in a context of unequal development. We reject an upper class vision of ecology, which breaks away from the working-class. It is devoid of any criticism of the global economy, lacking in social concern, and environmentally inefficient. Our ecology tackles environmental questions by linking them with a criticism of our economic system and amplifying social struggles to involve citizens. Because the logic of profit stands on the enslavement of human beings combined with the predation of natural resources, it is impossible to address one without the other. Our ecology is a people's ecology: it will be made with, by, and for collective action from citizens. Popular Ecology cannot exist without democracy and democracy cannot exist without social equality.



8. The Failure of Social-Democracy. We reject the social-democratic belief that GDP must grow and global material consumption must increase in order to share wealth. For so long, this contradiction persisted. It tried to maintain finance's power and supposed that shared wealth needed to be derived from the "fruits of growth." This would not address currently accumulated growth. We know that wealth exists and we don't have to wait to enact policies in favor of its redistribution. What is at stake here is the capital predation which translates into wealth monopolization. Furthermore, this credo presumes an infinite expansion model which is suicide for humanity and civilization. GDP is an indicator which reflects all production and consumption of goods and services. It doesn't reflect the qualitative aspects of such consumption and production or its impacts on a society's well being. Social-democracy failed. It failed because it followed capitalism's logic and found itself prisoner to what it sought to critique. This failure has provoked considerable damage to a possible alternative to the capitalistic system. Every human being should be able to access fundamental goods; we need a revival of work for the benefit of the general interest. Nevertheless, planning a recovery which blindly pursues economic growth is not an answer to existing social inequalities. Such planning is not suitable for the preservation of our world because it would exacerbate climate change and biodiversity loss. We cannot wait for a growth-led recovery nor austerity cuts: we don't believe in either.

9. Ideology and Culture: an Essential Struggle. Ecosocialism aims to lead an ideological and cultural fight through public schools, the reappropriation of art and culture, popular education, enhancing the value of cultural production, and safeguarding popular knowledge. Our project aims to decolonize the mind from consumerism. We are convinced of our capacity to think, act, and be moved. Contact with the arts, science, and deep thought will allow one to become

an enlightened, demanding, creative, and open-minded citizen. That is why we defend the principle of the "cultural exception" which aims at preserving art and culture from the seizure of an unregulated market. We denounce the development of a gentle consumer, submissive to so-called experts and imperatives of productivism which make us crave harmful and useless products made on the other side of the planet in shameful working conditions and under poor labor laws (if they even exist). We fight the weapons of productivism: advertising, which is full of sexism and commodification of bodies, fashion, media, and aggressive credit banks, which brainwash us in an attempt to submit us to always buy more and waste what we buy. This ideological battle is also a linguistic battle. We refuse the politics of the oxymoron and liberal newspeak: wages become costs, social contributions become charges, French policemen who used to be called "guardians of the peace" are now called "the forces of order," CCTV becomes "videoprotection," and nuclear energy becomes a "non-carbonated" and "clean" energy. Popular education, if accompanied by strong public policies, is not only the people's education. It represents a mutual co-education for skills and the socialization of knowledge. Moreover, we must envision and share alternative cultural signifiers and imagery to break away from a neoliberal narrative. More than the words, images, and alternative narratives that we bear, we must strongly support workers in the culture industry.

III - How to Address Contemporary Challenges

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10. Water - An Essential Common Good for Life and the General Interest. Water is the source of life on Earth. It is indispensable to living beings. The access to this source of life is unequal when we talk about potable water and its consumption. The quantity of drinking water diminishes as the quantity of people, and the water they demand, increases. The quantity of drinking water without treatment decreases. Areas subject to hydric risk are growing. This global phenomenon will spread with climate change despite the fact that water is essential for human development and the ecosystem preservation. Nowadays, the quality of our water decreases and our water pipes leak, wasting our precious resources and increasing urbanization leading to impermeability. It is urgent to act to stop multinationals and the greed of shareholders who want to turn water into a lucrative commodity. Water is a central political issue. We have to manage water in a sustainable manner through the use of public property such as lakes or dams and exercise collective management according to just usage rights (usufruct). This collective management, administered by state representatives, elected officials, workers, and citizens requires multi-layered management, especially in local communities. Each citizen must be guaranteed free quantities of water for their daily needs. No species can be deprived of water. It is our responsibility to learn how to consume water in another way and waste has to be punished. The consequences of this policy will be subjected to a national regulation. To go further, our Republic must be ecological to establish the "green rule" and protect water as a common good. Earth is, to this day, the only planet in our solar system to shelter life. That's why we must refuse the processes of commodification which would make our sole habitat unlivable.

11. Digital Space - Democratic and Ecological Issues.

With more than 34 billion digital devices and 4 billion users, the digital world has deeply modified our ways to produce, consume, and make decisions. It has also affected our relationship with time and distance. It disrupts our interpersonal relationships. Most of the decisions regarding the digital field are taken out of a democratic framework. Hegemonic actors organize everything on their own to create “surveillance capitalism.” The main actors of the digital industry, the GAFAM, thrive by creating services based on personal data harvesting and predictive algorithms. They are now considered autocratic censors, violating our freedom of speech. There are numerous incidences of public embarrassments regarding the collecting and use of data. The Snowden and Cambridge Analytica cases show that “surveillance capitalism” is a genuine threat.

Digital technology is also an environmental threat that accounts for 4% of greenhouse gases (GHG) and experiences industry growth of 10% per year, which is more than civil aviation. It is accompanied by social repercussions: child labor in China, uberization of work, and the exploitation of click-workers. Digital technology has also excluded 14 million French people affected by electronic illiteracy (lack of basic computer skills and inability to use the Internet). The controlling arm of artificial intelligence and the multinationals that produce them grows on a base of the immeasurable masses of personal data that individuals often provide unwittingly. The development of digital technology is part of the logic of unbridled productivity on which capitalism is based. It exacerbates social isolation, poor working conditions, and the harmful psychological effects on teleworkers. Public control of data around the notion of “the commons” and the transparency of algorithms are major democratic issues of our time. The deployment of digital technology creates relations of do-

mination and exploitation between countries and within our societies. As an alternative, ecosocialism orients itself towards digital democracy and promotes technologies as vectors of emancipation and not alienation. It guarantees individual and collective freedoms and sovereignty. Ecosocialism aims at rethinking the role of the state in the face of the dividing line between digital and non-digital public services. Ecosocialism advocates and promotes the creation of other free and open, decentralized, socially and environmentally sustainable models.

12. The Power of Banking and Debt as its Weapon.

For four decades, the financialization of the economy, understood as the liberalization and the acceleration of capital mobility at the global level, has strengthened the power of shareholders in their illegitimate appropriation of wealth. Its predatory demand for ever higher financial returns has become the whip that pushes companies in the conduct of their business. Globalization, with its layoffs, outsourcing, and environmental damage, however, is not enough to ensure the survival of the profit machine. Since the 2008 crisis, the monetary creation by central banks, massive debt, speculation, and the opacity of the markets created a huge financial bubble. The pandemic has enhanced this phenomenon. Financial capitalism has lost all contact with the reality of real production. The financialization of capitalism is a characteristic feature of the end of long cycles of accumulation. The exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism opens up possibilities for us to overthrow it. A majority of the world’s population will experience regular shortages of drinking water and stock market investors already want to turn water into a financial product. Bringing finance into line and breaking with the logic of financialization of the economy and the commons are imperative. The control of capital movements and the taxation of transactions are essential. The management of

companies must be definancialized through the taxation of financial income, the abolition of stock options, and a ruthless fight against tax havens. In a completely absurd logic, private banks lend to States and European treaties prohibit the European Central Bank from buying or even guaranteeing public debt. This public debt is not as big as the oligarchy proclaims. Debt is an ideological weapon used by the ruling classes to blame the people and reduce public spending. Private banks have taken over services previously in the general interest: deposits, savings, and monetary creation. Alternative financing avenues exist to address financial issues such as the transformation of debt securities into perpetual debt, debt monetization, overdrafting by the central bank, or tax reforms to reign in crisis profiteers. Illegitimate debts and their interests must be erased. A public banking hub in the service of the general interest will be created by the socialization of banks, allowing the financing of public services and the real economy. We must escape the logic of private market financing.

IV. Establishing a New Political Economy to Respect Humanity and our Ecosystem

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13. Reaffirming People's Needs in the Economy. Ecosocialism seeks to put the economy and the productive system at the service of human needs. This is opposed to the «supply policy» defended by the liberals. We reject this productivist logic which consists in producing anything and everything under any conditions in order to sell on markets through advertising. If the objective of the consumer economy is to increase its profits, it should be no surprise that the system sells us products made to break down and become obsolete. How can we endure the growing waste of our civilization any longer? We can't ignore the fact that many are exported to southern countries to the detriment of the health of local populations and their environment? On the contrary, our collective decisions must be guided by the desire to regain control over the conditions of production and consumption, through social struggles and political decisions. These choices will be guided by a collective deliberation defining "authentic" needs, their social utility, their use value and the means to be implemented to meet real needs while taking into account the necessary sobriety in the use of resources. This is the meaning of ecological planning. It reverses capitalist logic by starting from our needs, the duty to preserve the global ecosystem, and the right of all to live in a healthy environment. It puts the production system in line with these imperatives.

14. Breaking from Traditional Mindsets. Ecosocialism challenges the dictatorship of particular interests and private ownership of the means of production. It questions our relationship to work. We advocate the socialization of the

means of production and alternative proposals for an economy based on solidarity, self-management, and cooperation. We oppose the continued attacks on social protection systems and labor laws and new forms of exploitation and precariousness of the "self-employed" through digital platforms. We advocate the extension of social rights and forms of socialization. We defend fiscal sovereignty and nationalization as a tool of public policy to guarantee the general interest, especially in banking and credit services. The Human Development Index, de-globalization and social and ecological protectionism, unconditional endowment of autonomy, socialized salaries, and maximum authorized income are all proposals we plan to implement to carve out an alternative path and avoid the trap of supporting the system. We must also go further to drastically reduce working time: we must «work less and work better so that all can work.» We must envision full employment as an objective while questioning the purposes of work. There is no point in working more than the time needed to produce what we need. The time freed up in this way could usefully be allocated to activities considered today as «unproductive» which are so essential to good living. Ecosocialism favors use-value over market value and rejects the commodification of living things, the reduction of living things to "ecosystem services," as well as the notion of "compensation" for damage done to ecosystems.

15. Changing the Means of Production. Ecosocialism's deep review of our production system is based on what we call the "4 Rs": relocalizing of activity, ecological reindustrialisation, reconversion of industrial facilities, and the redistribution of labor. Many unmet needs exist: in a relocated industry, in services to people, in agroecology, in peasant agriculture in the service of food sovereignty and the health of all, in research and "green" sectors aimed at reducing our dependence on exhaustible resources (eco-construction, energy efficiency, thermal renovation, re-

newable energies, etc.), and in the essential repair, reuse, and recycling of consumption circuits towards the goal of “zero waste.» Arguments favoring employment are used too often against the imperative of environmental protection. This is an absurdity: today we see the enormous economic and social cost of liberal laissez-faire policies. Relocalizing and an ecological transition, which is based on low energy use technologies, would make it possible to conserve, transform, and create many jobs, local and long-term, with a great diversity of qualifications in all countries. Eradicating unemployment and increasing the proportion of workers with access to employment is our goal. We must also question the increasing amount of work in our society. Individual working time must be defined by the ratio between the quantity of socially necessary labor and the quantity of available assets. To allow the relocation of our productive and industrial system closer to where people actually live, we need a strategy for ecological and social planning and a tool to achieve this- social protectionism.

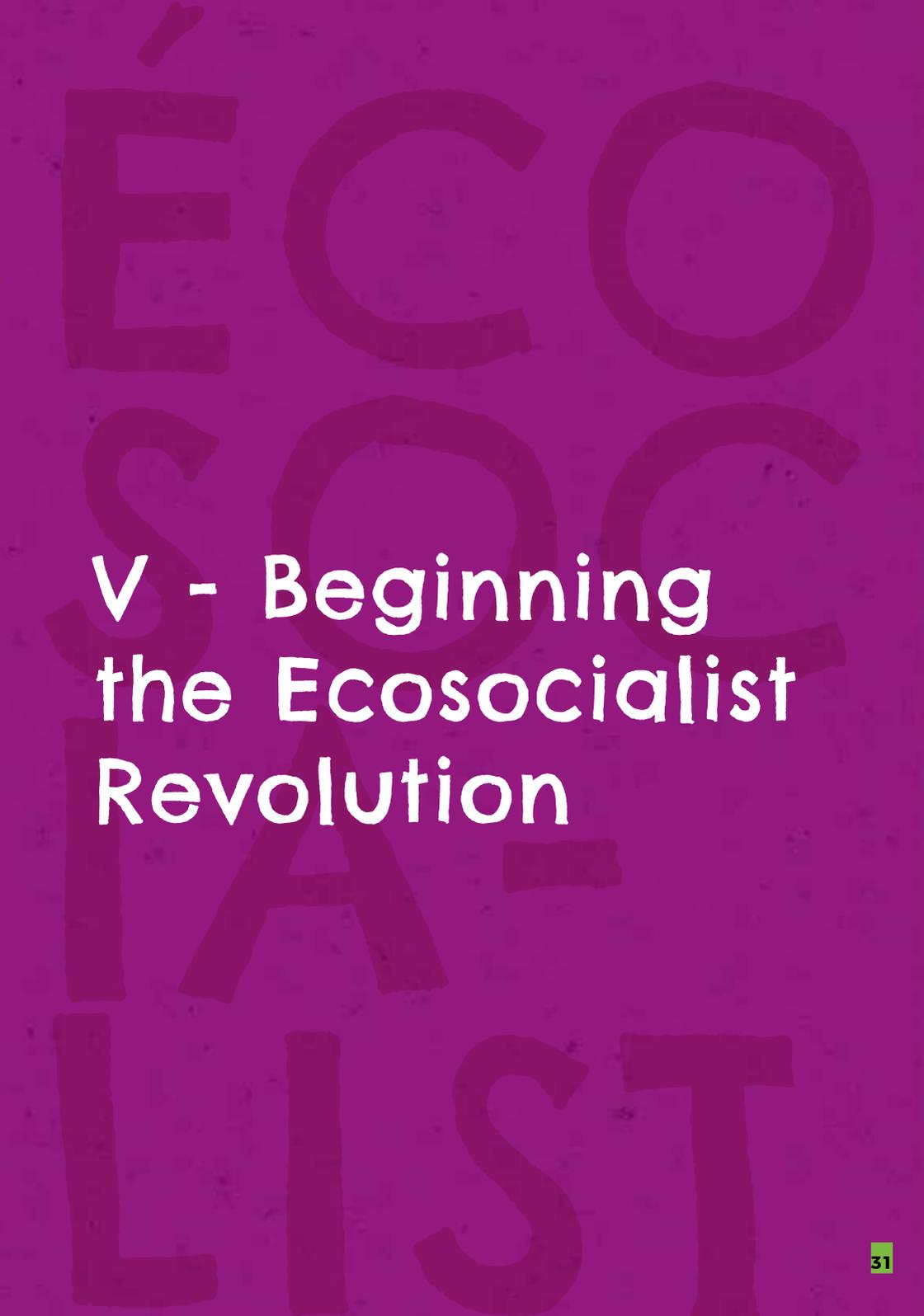
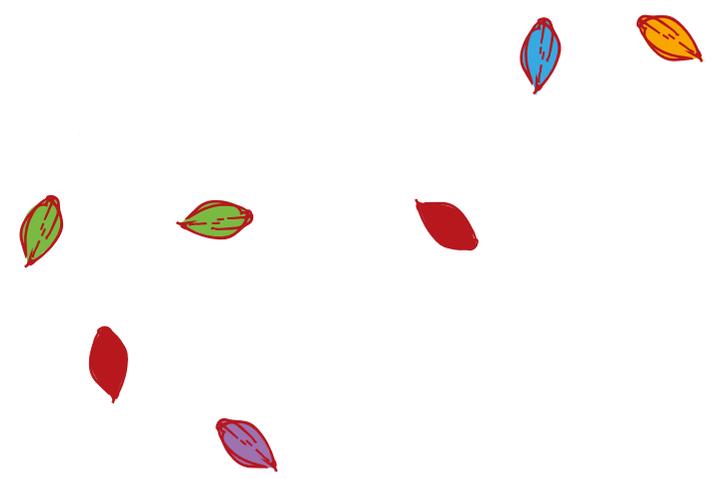
16. Using the Green Rule as a Political Compass. The “Green Rule» is our central indicator for steering the economy. It replaces the «golden rule» of austerity and «structural adjustment» policies imposed by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Commission, and the European Central Bank. It aims to apply responsibilities to humanity and the fabric of life by eliminating ecological debt. The “Green Rule” requires a reduction in the consumption of certain materials and a reboot of certain activities with systematic consideration for their ecological footprint. In the face of the negative effects of greenhouse gas emissions, ecosystem contamination, consumption of non-renewable resources, destruction of environments, and the loss of biodiversity, it is necessary to postpone the “Earth Overshoot Day” each year. This is the date at which we globally extract the total volume of renewable resources equal

to what the planet is able to regenerate. Our goal is to push it back to December 31 to neutralize our ecological footprint. This implies a drastic reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and a moratorium on nuclear power which produces radioactive waste that no one knows how to manage. Nuclear power involves unacceptable risks for human beings as well as for the biosphere. Artificialization of environments and soil sterilization must also be addressed.

17. Thinking and Building the Ecosocialist Alternative. The environmental crisis is caused by the infinite demands of capitalism: exponential growth, competition, and profit maximization transform humans and nature into commodities. With a record concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, an ecosocialist alternative and transition are imperative and unavoidable. «Decarbonizing” the planet means putting an end to infinite demands for growth by replacing fossil sources with renewable sources and reducing energy consumption by around 25% in the next thirty years (2050). The ecosocialist transition is not a technical solution but a change in society towards a political economy of work aimed at putting an end to global warming and the destruction of ecosystems caused by greenhouse gases. An ecosocialist transition requires a break with capitalism - implying the collective takeover of the means of production. This rupture will necessitate the transformation and creation of new political, economic, and social institutions. To accomplish this, the forces of transformation must become hegemonic, capable of thinking and driving change until ecosocialism is achieved. The transition will be based on three “commodities”: work (Article 1 of the ILO Declaration), nature, and money. These will be placed outside the market as part of the “commons”. Democratic planning, a system alternative to markets, will determine the allocation of available resources and will be based on the economy of needs. It will also be tiered to respect local, regional, and national concerns. The transition



will then take place with the switch to 100% renewable energy and a refitting of industry and agriculture. Food sovereignty and self-sufficiency are necessary and must respect the balance of ecosystems. This requires moving away from agricultural productivism towards peasant agriculture, which is respectful of soils and biodiversity. It is based on the free association of producers and the promotion of local supply chains. Against the claims of multinational companies in the food and chemicals industry, the land must belong to those who work it. The citizens' revolution will need to socialize common goods, namely water, land, the sea, air quality, education, culture, and health. Banks, means of trade, transport, and mass distribution will also have to be part of communal property. It is up to the public authorities to use these new levers to plan the ecological transition because the market will not do it !



V - Beginning the Ecosocialist Revolution

V. Beginning the Ecosocialist Revolution

18. Struggles Should Converge. Our objective of civilizational rupture requires that political action be carried out by as many people as possible. We must bring people together and take action, rather than be satisfied that we are already convinced, or worse, pit ourselves against each other. We stand alongside the workers, people excluded from the system, and all those who resist and promote alternative social and environmental projects. The ecological and social transition will not happen without them. It is even less achievable if it is against them. It is important to win victories and create ripple effects to inspire a dynamic of popular involvement capable of delivering triumph to the citizens' revolution. Our adversaries in this project for a radical transition of society are certainly not researchers, industrial workers, or farmers, who, on the contrary, are often in the best positions, through their skills and qualifications, to implement the ecological transition. Our adversaries are the banks, the multinationals, and the shareholders who determine production and consumption according to their private interests and not the general interest. Echoing the Yellow Vests, we proclaim: «end of the world, end of the month, same fight.» The ecosocialist rupture can only be done with all those who stand up against social injustice and spatial relegation, the causes of which are found in the same system which exploits humans and depletes the planet. Likewise, demonstrations and strikes for the climate, the struggles against large useless infrastructure projects, civil disobedience movements, and the blockages of Amazon warehouses attest to a growing challenge to the logic of productivism. The strike is a political tool of combat but also of conquest for power and new rights, which allows for the reappropriation of time for purposes of reflection.

The broad feminist movement #MeToo has put the issue of violence and patriarchal predation on women's bodies back on the agenda. Anti-racist struggles fight for equality. We recognize the dignity of all regardless of sexual orientation and promote access to procreation and adoption in a non-market process. Breaking with predatory capitalism requires a common struggle with those who rise up against all forms of domination and exploitation. Ecosocialism is incompatible with all forms of exclusion, inequalities based on criterias of disability, differences in skin color, religion, or origin. Races do not exist. There is only one human species whose differences contribute to the richness of its diversity.

19. Popular Sovereignty, From the Commune to the State. "Power to the people" is our motto. Popular participation cannot be reduced to electoral campaigns or to "participatory democracy." The reappropriation of time for political reflection is necessary for citizens, allowing the emergence of new ideas. It is also a factor in the fight against abstentionism. We must overhaul the entire political system to build a truly deliberative space where all citizens have the opportunity to shape informed opinions and participate in decisions in permanent contact with elected officials. Citizens need independent media and a strong, emancipatory, popular education system. At the same time, the institutional tools must allow popular initiatives, expression, and control (referendum based on popular initiatives, revocability of elected officials, clarification on mandate duties, transparency, and access to deliberative assemblies). These demands were also present in the Yellow Vest movement. In France, the Sixth Republic, built by a constituent assembly, is a necessity. Our political project requires redistribution, cooperation, and solidarity between the different territories of the Republic, in opposition to competition. Municipalist and Communist political experiments illustrate themselves on the global stage in Chiapas, Rojava, Venezuela, India, and Spain. We

reaffirm our attachment to the municipality as the historic revolutionary base and basic cell of the Republic. Supra-municipal organizations (inter-municipal, metropolitan areas) which confiscate democracy and concentrate public decision-making and ordering of priorities must be abolished. The principle of freedom of association for municipalities in a mutual agreement is our objective. The local level is crucial in the construction of democracy, yet strangled by austerity policies. Under the guise of «regional attractiveness,» capitalist “decentralization” is used to put communities in competition with each other. It works to recreate local baronships that want to emancipate themselves from national legislation. Ecosocialism is based on a republican project based on the firm principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity. This struggle for the general interest involves popular sovereignty as a decision-making principle at different political levels. We want the people to take power and reclaim the commons, from the bottom up.

20. Creative Resistance. The ecosocialist revolution associates itself with all social and environmental struggles and alongside all those who resist. It encourages and develops local initiatives for an ecological and social transition as well as their coordination at regional and national levels through planning and policy. Citizens involved in these projects are involved in the development of democratic experiments and concrete alternatives: local supply chains, defense of peasant agriculture, support for food production and actions against soil artificialization, collectives of cities in transition, takeover of businesses by workers, local exchange systems, citizen savings and alternative currencies, collective housing and carpooling... They are active in nonviolent civil disobedience, ZAD occupations (*zone à défendre*, areas to be defended), anti-advertising campaigns or the requisitioning of empty housing. Elected representatives for the ecosocialist project engage in a coherent approach between their speeches and

their actions. They bring the left to life by concretely acting to return common goods, free public services, and agricultural land in cities back to public management, or even by instituting prohibitions on advertising.

21. A New Society : Mutual Aid, Self-Management and Sharing Common Goods. The commons must be shared equally. All must be able to access water, energy, breathable air, mobility, education, health, culture, and a peaceful community ... all of these are central to the ecosocialist project. Nowadays, their management is less and less assured by the public authorities. Neo-liberal capitalism is rapidly commodifying the commons for the benefit of shareholders and the oligarchy. At the same time, communities of actors, often in the form of cooperatives and self-managed collectives, can take charge of these common goods. The takeovers of companies in cooperatives, like Fralib, demonstrate that a victory against multinationals such as Unilever is possible. Companies will use all their might to attempt to prevent the control of the market by cooperatives. Cooperatives prove that economic activity can be carried out independently of shareholders' profits and systematically promote common services. Solidarity initiatives are developing, in particular in lower-income neighborhoods, to promote a horizontal approach of sharing that avoids the often patronizing spirit of charity. It is in this same spirit that food cooperatives and local authorities act for the benefit of citizens and not for Capital. While these concrete alternatives do not enable the upending of capitalism by themselves alone, they do have a role to play as they harness the spirit of popular education and emancipation to build an ecosocialist society. After the failure of centralized bureaucratic socialism and the breakdown of public services by successive social democratic governments, the overhaul of public services is a priority. Let's reinvent common public services. Their transformation should allow the

common participation of users, employees, and local authorities in operating decisions and the definition of real needs, both locally and nationally. A new national system of regulation and guidance needs to be put in place to guarantee the equality of territories and the self-management of structures at all levels. All economic activity will no longer maintain profit as its objective. Well-being will be the objective of the Commons. The purpose of all production will take into consideration the general, social and ecological interest.

22. Initiating Ecological Planning. Ecological planning requires accounting for the long term and seizing public control on behalf of citizens, workers, and users. Our problems are not caused by industry, agriculture, research, or technology per se, but by our lack of choice and citizen control over them. A citizens' revolution is necessary to regain public control. Such is the mixed nature of the revolutionary utopia and the technicality to which we aspire. Technological choices stem from social relations of production. Low carbon technologies are more easily appropriated by the masses. They help to promote and maintain popular sovereignty in technological choices. Ecological planification makes it possible to organize the bifurcation towards another mode of development, by questioning our needs, reorienting production, services, trade, and consumption by virtue of their social and ecological utility. The research sector must reorganize itself around the general interest and real needs, inventing new forms of participation through, for example, citizens' conventions. The public school, through a professional, technological, and general curriculum, must raise and enhance knowledge and qualifications at all ages in order to succeed in this rupture. The logic of mass events must also be revisited. The rise of mass tourism, cruise lines, or even the Olympic Games, which is currently a celebration of sponsors more than it is the celebration of sports,

must be reevaluated. The intersection of production, distribution, and consumption in the «logistics» sector (transport of goods, Amazon deliveries, Deliveroo, etc.) which are leading to uberization and precariousness call for increased vigilance. «Popular participation conferences» must be organized to redefine criteria of social and environmental utility at different levels, from European policies to local actions. Ecological planning requires continuous control by employees in the management of companies to extend the growing convergence of social and environmental struggles.

23. The Necessity of a Constituent Assembly to Ensure Equality and Create a Social Republic. We affirm calls for a high level of shared values in public schools. How else can we make individual and collective emancipation possible if we don't inspire consent to adhere to a social contract shared by all? The ecosocialist project reaffirms the role of the State, the community and public services which are essential for planning the ecological rupture, building an emancipatory society, reconnecting with the living, and guaranteeing equal access to fundamental rights for all, everywhere. These institutions must be re-founded by a constituent assembly. It must completely renew institutions and put in place the democratic means that will make it possible for permanent involvement of citizens and popular sovereignty in all areas. It is up to the people to collectively rewrite the rules of the republic. As for revolutionaries, our task is colossal. We support the establishment of a «management» of the territory against urban sprawl, the concentration of populations in megalopolises, and competition between territories. We campaign for a new urbanism that brings together elements essential to "good living" (public health and educational services, housing, professional activity, culture and leisure, biodiversity, peasant agriculture). We reject the commodification of living organisms and GMOs, as well as the financialization of goods of the com-



mons such as water, energy, and knowledge, and public services. These must be the subject of public management to rethink our link between the State, guarantor of republican equality, local communities, and citizens, unions, associations, and users of public resources. The commune is the revolutionary base cell, understood not as a territory to be administered, but as the community formed to decide on the administration of common goods. Municipalism, communalism, federations of communes, communal sovereignty, and local self-organization are pillars of the process of the citizens' revolution. Our constitutional project is open to ecological, social, and democratic values and rights. It gives substance to principles of republicanism.

24. Breaking Through the Deadlock of European Treaties. In a comprehensive analysis, we denounce the agreements promoted by the World Trade Organization and free trade and economic partnership agreements which contribute to the depletion of natural resources, the exploitation of the peoples of the global South, and to resource dumping in so-called developed countries. New rules for international trade are essential to limit imports of products that do not comply with production conditions compatible with the protection of ecosystems and with respect for fundamental social and democratic rights. Likewise, the relocalization of many agricultural and industrial activities constitutes one of the fundamental elements of the ecological transition. For these reasons, states and regional groups must protect their markets with protectionism based on the principle of solidarity. It is necessary to sanction and prosecute multinational companies which subcontract, fail to respect fundamental social rights, destroy the environment, and escape their fiscal obligations by residing in tax havens. International cooperation mechanisms must be strengthened, particularly within the framework of the United Nations, for the defense of global common goods, for the preserva-

tion of ecosystems, to fight against climate change, for accessible healthcare, against pandemics, and for food security. These objectives should serve as a framework for international agreements. The "Havana Charter" remains an important reference in international affairs. It is a basis for cooperation between peoples, and must be updated. As the first economic trade zone in the world, the European Union's policies affect the whole planet. Its liberal policies are ensured by its current treaties and austerity plans. Established under the leadership of economic and financial lobbies, the European Union allowed and exacerbated the disappearance of public services, the expansion of the commercial domain, and of free trade. This generates waste due to mercantile competition, and destruction of public services, and the subjugation of common goods to the benefit of private interests. Neoliberal austerity in Europe makes it impossible to control and orient the content of production and trade towards objectives of human progress. In these current conditions, we assume that an ecosocialist policy on our continent will involve disobedience to the dictates of neoliberal Europe. This requires building the power of citizens against the power of finance and anti-democratic institutions of the European Union. Alternatives to the current European Union are possible. Either we can renegotiate all EU treaties in "plan A" (democratic, social, and financial conditions for changing treaties) or we can rupture with the EU to form an alternative transnational grouping to achieve our aims as a "plan B."

25. An Internationalist and Universalist Vision for Struggle. There is only one ecosystem compatible with human life but there are different ways to destroy it. We must analyse the consequences of our actions. Decisions made in one place on the planet have repercussions everywhere else. The conquest of the world by capitalism, born in Europe, was exported abroad through imperialism and colonization. The ecosocialist project implies the re-

cognition of the responsibility of historical policies by so-called northern countries, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank on so-called southern countries. Ecosocialism is universalist and humanist. It welcomes exiles and respects the dignity and decency of each human being. It gives new meaning to the concept of hospitality. New forms of colonialism work to promote productivism and the current international division of labor. Competition is favored instead of cooperation. It results in productivism and leads to negative effects on the global climate, biodiversity loss, the plundering of natural resources, the seizing of arable land, consumptive tourism which subjugates people and destroys biodiversity, and upholds austerity imposed by international institutions. Ecosocialism promotes the recognition of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the creation of an International Tribunal for Environmental Crimes. Ecosocialism requires us to contribute to alternatives integrating in the same dynamic peoples' access to well-being and respect for the fabric of life. The logic of "solidarity protectionism" allows for the relocation of the economy everywhere, in the South as well as in the North, with the aim of strengthening the sovereignty of peoples and their cooperation. For this, we support and inspire alternatives abroad: citizen revolutions and insurgencies in many countries in the Maghreb, the Middle East, Sudan or Guinea, movement of landless peasants, democratic experiences in Rojava, experiments and demands of constituent assemblies in Iceland, Venezuela, and Chile, the Yasuní-ITT initiative to leave oil underground in Ecuador... The knowledge, experience, and methods acquired in these situations must converge. The ecosocialist project must be able to be articulated by a world forum which seeks a citizens' revolution within our lifetimes. Ecosocialism converges with internationalism: it is on this scale that we must think, act, and coordinate.

26. Waging a Citizens' Revolution for Ecosocialism. Given the enormity of our objectives, critiquing the capitalist productivist model cannot simply result from electoral gains and decisions from above. Ecosocialism implies a radical improvement of institutions including proportionality, parity, and the non-accumulation of electoral mandates allowing people to be effectively represented at all times. The people must control the purposes and organization of production. It is a question of bringing the oligarchy in line and ensuring, in all circumstances, popular sovereignty through real democracy. This requires political and citizen alliances which combine their action with popular movements in all areas of life and society. This is the meaning of the phrase «popular federation.» This reappropriation of political and citizens' initiatives by each woman and man, with the aim of articulating the general interest, is what we call the citizens' revolution. It is a revolution because it sets out to change property relations, institutions, and the hierarchy of legal, social, and environmental norms that organize society and the economy. It must happen by and for citizens because we want to redistribute power to everyone rather than for the interests of a particular social category. For the good of all human being we must organize ourselves into institutions and submit to the rule of universal suffrage and political pluralism. We refuse to let despair and anger turn us towards hate. We are not an enlightened avant-garde. We do not advocate for a green dictatorship or an ethnicist regime. We defend the democratic path of the citizens' revolution. People are not the problem, they are the solution. The worst scenario in our current unprecedented crisis of capitalism would be for humanity to fail to change its course. Ecosocialism can be the alternative to our current crisis. May ecosocialism bloom !



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Quiero que la gran mayoría, la única mayoría, todos, puedan hablar, leer, escuchar, florecer. No entendí nunca la lucha sino para que ésta termine. No entendí nunca el juntos, el rigor, sino para que el rigor no exista. He tomado un camino porque creo que ese camino nos lleva a todos a esa amabilidad duradera. Lucho por esa bondad ubicua, extensa, inexhaustible.

Pablo Neruda, *Obras completas*, Círculo de Lectores & Galaxia Gutenberg, Barcelona, 1999 - 2002, Tomo V

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