



MAGAZINE

AUGUST 2026

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Economy rethink

Fighting against
oppression

Not forgetting vision and
strategy

Tackling the climate
crisis



“Trump needs “Good Americans” just like Hitler needed “Good Germans.” We won’t be that, will we?”

- Michael Albert



AUGUST 2026

Working People Must Recognize the Reform Limitations of Our Economic Model by Bruce T. Bocardy	3
Is the US Ready for Radical Change? C. J. Polychroniou interviewed by Alexandra Boutri	6
Argentina: The Streets Put a Stop to Milei's Plundering by Julian Bokser	9
Brazil's Election: Lula, Bolsonaro, and the Battle for the Future by Medea Benjamin	11
India's Gen Z Flexed Its Power — and Won by Sonali Kolhatkar	13
"We Bring With Us European Civilization": Race, National Oppression and the Construction of a Settler-Colonial Myth Bill Fletcher Jr.	15
Trump Is The Anti-Christ, Our Resistance Is The Antidote — What Next? by Michael Albert	18
Germany's Constitutional Mandate to Fight Global Warming by Thomas Klikauer	22
Phasing Out Fossil Folly by Jeremy Brecher	25
Climate Overheating: A Story About Capitalism, Refugees, and the Working Class by Phil Wilson	28
Why Israel Needs to Continue Its Genocidal War on Gaza by Qassam Muaddi	32
Is It Just About AIPAC's Money, or Does the US-Israel Rot Run Far Deeper? by Ramzy Baroud	35
The Palestinian People Have the Right to Self-Determination Salah Hamouri interviewed by Devriş Çimen	37

Working People Must Recognize the Reform Limitations of Our Economic Model

Bruce T. Boccardy

Economic Exploitation

Last March, I wrote an essay providing evidence of the inherent exploitation and undemocratic constructs in our economic model burdening working people.

This essay compliments that work and will show a fundamental reason why our economic model is structurally limited by attempts to reform it.

History

Our economic model is plagued with a history of periodic recessions and depressions.

That history is recorded by the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). Recessions and depressions are clinically presented as normal components of the “business cycle.” The NBER does not report the chronic instability and destruction of communities and working people’s lives by the “business cycle.”

Many economists, psychologists and journalists have attempted to rationalize the chronic crisis in our economic model. These fanciful assertions are thoroughly inadequate. As Leo Huberman chronicled in *Man’s Worldly Goods*, some experts actually attributed the chronic crises to radiation from the sun or the path of the planet Venus.

Despite rapid advances in technology and financial instruments, chronic crises remain inherent in our economic model.

Competition is a significant component that contributes to these crises despite the stifling dominance by a few giant corporations in most industries. That structure contains one essential component which plagues all businesses.

It is the tendency of the profit rate to fall.

Profit Rate Basis

The tendency of the profit rate to fall is the basis of why our economic model cannot be meaningfully reformed.

The owner of a business must convert the expenditures that initiate and maintain the business into a profit. Profits are what remains after a business pays all of its costs.

Simply, the profit rate shows how many cents of profits are retained from every dollar earned. It is more important than aggregate profits because it measures efficiency of a company in comparison to other businesses.

A decline in the profit rate forces businesses to close doors and decimate the lives of its employees across states and communities.

The following is a simplified explanation of why profit rates tend to fall.

Business Basics

The process begins by establishing a business. The owner must allocate resources for primary expenditures (CapEx) to acquire space, plant, machinery, tools, hardware, software, technological advances, and raw materials. This includes legal registrations, licenses, permits, and financial services.

The business owner must then add another cost which are secondary expenditures. Secondary expenditures (OpEx) consist of wages or salaries paid to the employees who do the mental or physical work with

their labor power. This creates profits for the owner including extra profits. Extra profits are what remains for the owner once wages or salaries are paid to the employees.

It is imperative that the owner continually spend more resources in primary expenditures for the business. This is due to competition with other business owners.

Primary Expenditures Increase

For the owner, the cost of primary expenditures usually increases as costs for goods and services increase. These increases can be the result of monetary policy, growth of the economy (GDP), corporate price gouging, misplaced tariffs or a scarcity of certain goods.

Some products may even see a temporary drop in prices due to technological advances.

However, the supply of goods and services that comprise primary expenditures rises to the dismay of business owners.

Cost of living calculations also present data that strongly supports the assertion that primary expenditures for owners will never decrease in our economic model. Primary expenditures are required to increase the amount of the product or service created by the employees.

The owner might consider borrowing funds from a financial institution to pay for primary expenditures. This can be problematic because financial institutions may decline to lend the money or advance at a glacial pace to finalize a loan.

The reason why the owner must continually increase spending on primary expenditures is directly related to the profit rate.

Profit Rate

The profit rate is obtained by dividing the total primary and secondary expenditures by the extra profit. (Multiplying by 100 converts a decimal into a percentage).

Example: Suppose the employees created \$100 worth of total profit and are paid \$40 in wages. That means the extra profit is \$60.

Add the primary expenditures to the secondary expenditures and divide by the extra profit. In this example, the profit rate is 60%.

Now to show the tendency of the profit rate to fall, increase the primary expenditure to \$60. Suppose there was a sale on tools at Home Depot and the owner purchased \$10 worth of tools by transferring funds from the secondary expenditures to the primary expenditures.

The profit rate is now 55%. This is a significant drop despite the profit amount remaining the same. The owner increased the primary expenditures by transferring funds from the secondary expenditures.

The owner's increased spending on primary expenditures in the form of new tools or machines may maintain the extra profits. They may even increase the production of each employee. The product or service may then be sold as less expensive. This is wonderful for the owner, but the crisis remains driven by competition.

Temporary Remedy

Other business owners are captured in this business model. Competition from other businesses drives the accumulation of primary expenditures and a decrease of secondary expenditures. This decrease results in cuts to employees' wages, salaries, or job losses. A falling rate of profit means outside investment is less likely to occur signaling a crisis for the owner.

The owner must either increase primary expenditures to increase profit rates to compete with other businesses or increase secondary expenditures to allow employees to maintain themselves and their families.

The owner cannot do both. It is an inherent contradiction. The remedy for the owner is to freeze or offer insufficient wages or salaries in order to maintain extra profits for the business. Unless there is a militant union to fight with the employees, owners will deny the employees requests for fair compensation.

The tendency of a profit rate to fall leads to the eventual closing of the business or the business moving to a location without employee rights, union rights, or environmental regulations.

Real Remedy

Thus, our business model results in chronic exploitation, deprivation and immiseration that cannot be eliminated by reform. Working people's lives and their families are severely damaged, often forever.

The organization, production, and distribution of goods and services must be transformed into a democratic model.

One version of this model can be seen in the Mondragon Corporation in Spain. It is a highly successful, conglomerate created in 1956 by a Roman Catholic priest. It is based on democratic principles that are agreed on by the employees.

Economist Richard Wolff wrote that the important questions of what and how we produce are fundamental to the economy of any country. "Where" to produce as also a question within the organization of an economy. The employees who create the profits must have a voice in the production process. A democratic construct can vary according to the model selected but must begin at the ground level.

Transition to Democratic Economic Model

There are several methods that might serve as a guide to how such a transition may be realized in our economic model:

New companies may be based on the principles of worker cooperatives. Also, when a company fails, it must first offer the employees an option to purchase it. Lastly, owners who are retiring must offer the employees the first opportunity to purchase the business.

A transition to a democratic economic model must begin by political parties actually representing work-

ing peoples' interests. Many progressives assert that democratic socialists must win elections as the way to dominate governments at local, state and federal levels. They assert that democratic socialism may be realized by means of evolution, not necessarily revolution.

If constructive critics are able to dominate the government, that power could then result in a transition to a democratic socialist model with American characteristics. Since our history is replete with democratic goals and objectives; a transition would be less problematic. Political democracy demands economic democracy.

Implementing such a democratic model will be met with an avalanche of ruthless, corporate lies to frighten and deceive working people.

Progressives have historical lessons to learn from the failures of countries that attempted a form of socialism to replace the miserable economic conditions inherent and inevitable in our economic model. There are many forms of socialism that can be realized.

The former USSR is a Petrie dish of such failures. Government must work to organize economic production democratically from the ground up, not from the top down that doomed the Soviet model to largely failure.

The government under democratic socialist control will transition to a new economic model that will facilitate the positive development of various components of our culture. The voice of working people will make the economic decisions rather than a handful of spiritually vapid, wealthy oligarchs. These oligarchs ignore Christian, Jewish, Islam and Buddhism literature that advocate for various forms of democratic socialism.

Polls from the Wall Street Journal, CNN, Gallup and Fox News demonstrate that Americans are increasingly discontented with our economic model.

Working people can and must do better for themselves and their families. Recognizing the limits of economic reform is a beginning.

Is the US Ready for Radical Change?

C. J. Polychroniou interviewed by Alexandra Boutri

The US is the richest country in the world, yet an international outlier on many measures. Among industrialized nations, the US spends a lower percentage of its GDP on public social expenditure, has no universal healthcare system, union density is at an all-time low, and the average American's standard of living is in decline, as "nearly half of U.S. households can't make ends meet." Of course, delusional Trump continues to say that the US is the "hottest country in the world." Is the US, however, ready for radical change? After all, isn't there evidence that Americans are losing faith in capitalism and that socialism is gaining ground among voters? Political scientist, political economist, author, and journalist C. J. Polychroniou shares provocative thoughts on these issues in an interview with the French-Greek writer and journalist Alexandra Boutri. Polychroniou believes that radical change is difficult but still possible in today's United States, even though he realizes there is a strong anti-democratic tradition standing on the way and regards the Democratic Party itself as the graveyard of radical change undertakings.

Recent polls indicate that capitalism is in trouble in the US, as there is a growing loss of faith in the system, apparently even among Republicans, while socialism is gaining mainstream appeal. So, I want to start this interview by inquiring about your own impression regarding political and ideological trends in the United States. Indeed, is the country on the verge of radical change?

I am now old enough to take any talk of radical political change with a grain of salt. That being said, there is no doubt that the US version of capitalism has been an utter failure for the majority of Americans. In contrast to European or Asian versions of capitalism, capitalism in the US has always been structured around what we might call the Sopranos version of doing business, which is the Trump administration's way of actually running the whole country today. But Trump aside, what kind of civilized society denies its

citizens access to universal healthcare, tuition-free higher education, guaranteed long-term parental leave, four to six weeks of guaranteed paid vacation, and robust unemployment benefits? The US does!

The younger generations in the US seem to have awakened to the realization that the US economic system is brutal and thus detrimental to their wellbeing, even if they may not have an alternative socioeconomic system in mind that they would like to see instituted. They have indeed taken notice of the fact that the US is the only industrialized nation in the world without a universal healthcare system and that the standard of living has declined to the level of developing countries. Truth be told, even if North America remains the wealthiest on average, the quality of life in many European countries, which are, of course, still fully capitalistic, is superior to the US. There are stronger social safety nets and greater work-life balance in capitalist Europe than there are in capitalist United States of America.

Which countries are best on women's wellbeing? According to the latest Women, Peace and Security Index, European countries occupy all nine of the top positions while the US ranks 31st, below countries like Serbia and Malta. So, we do need to take into account different versions of capitalism. In that context, it is safe to say that many Americans have finally awakened to the realization that the US version of capitalism sucks! Anything more than that, however, is open to speculation. Socialism is gaining ground, but the challenges of building a unified socialist movement on a national scale and having a socialist political party that can contest power at the federal level are enormous in the United States of America.

Is the rise of socialism in the US the reason why Trump is reviving the boogeyman of communism?

Absolutely. However much of a shallow man Trump happens to be, he is nonetheless a mastermind poli-

tician who has the pulse of today's Republican voters. He is the greatest bullshitter of the modern age, but that's only because of his audience. He knows how to stir fear. He also knows that he can normalize cruelty because his fanatical and racist fanbase simply loves it. Have his policies worsened economic conditions in the country to the point that even some of his own followers are beginning to doubt him? He only has to raise the volume on culture wars and then becomes again, in the eyes of his own supporters, the nation's savior. Of course, such tactics have an expiration date even for the most popular authoritarian leaders. Look, for example, at what happened to Viktor Orbán in Hungary. After 16 years in power, even his own core supporters grew tired of his cronyism and corruption. I believe we will see something similar happen to Donald Trump and to the Republican Party, perhaps as soon as this coming November, in spite of how deeply the anti-democratic tradition has entrenched itself in all branches of government. In the end, only the pathetic leadership of the Democratic Party stands in the way of Trump's inevitable fall and disgrace.

Are you also saying that the Democrats have been responsible for Trump's rise to power?

Of course, and it was the Democrats, with their ability to destroy trust in government by siding themselves utterly and shamelessly with major corporate and financial interests, that rolled out the red carpet for Trump's arrival on the nation's political scene. The country had been moving further and further to the right since the early 1980s. In fact, the percentage of Americans identifying themselves as moderates had been declining since the Clinton years. Democrats still talk about Clinton's achievements, such as turning deficits into surpluses and making the economy more globalized, but his policies ushered in a new era of inequality while he transformed the welfare state by ending social policy. Essentially, the welfare state was dismantled under the Clinton presidency and was largely replaced in turn by volunteerism.

Neoliberalism (embraced by both parties in the US) and cultural relativism (a late obsession of liberals and segments of the left) have been at the core of the

political turn to the far right in the US. The main point, though, is that the Democrats failed to advance a meaningful alternative whenever they found themselves in power. The Obama administration also had the chance to make a meaningful impact on the future of the country but opted, instead, to align itself with the status quo on all major issues, both on the domestic and foreign front. The Biden administration did make some progress on economic policy, mainly thanks to pressures from the progressive wing of the party, but failed miserably on foreign policy. As to why Kamala Harris lost to Trump, that's an issue that will forever be debated.

In a recent campaign speech in Michigan, Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez said that the Trump administration is "hellbent on tearing down in four years what it took this country 250 years to build." What did she mean by that, and how likely is it that she will be the Democratic 2028 nominee?

Naturally, the country has made progress over the past 250 years. Don't you think it would have been unnatural if it hadn't done so? But how do we measure progress? Wars existed in the past, and it appears that war will never end. By the same token, we have taken major steps toward protecting individuals against discrimination on the basis of sex or gender, but economic inequality is greater today than it has ever been in the modern era, while women, people of color, and minorities continue to face economic disadvantages. In any case, it is beyond dispute that Trump is destroying whatever social and economic progress has been made so far. He is a wrecking ball, an unhinged sociopath, but one who is still being treated as America's savior by something like close to 40 percent of voters. That's simply mind boggling, but it says something noteworthy about the persistence of a particular component of American political culture—one that rests on possessive individualism, anti-intellectualism, and the paranoid style. Richard Hofstadter addressed some of those aspects of American political life long before the rise of Trumpism. But we need to add racism, as it also remains a profound component of American political culture.

I don't know if Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez will decide to run for president in 2028. I hope she does. Recent polls indicate that she is more popular with Democratic voters than the likes of Pete Buttigieg, Gavin Newsom, and Kamala Harris, none of whom offers hope for a brighter future, although any one of them would be an improvement over Trump. What I do know, though, is that if AOC decided to run for president in 2028, not only will she have at least half of the country react with extreme fear and paranoia attacks but that she will encounter massive opposition from the democratic establishment itself. In 2016, the Democratic National Committee derided the Bernie Sanders campaign. I expect something similar will happen to AOC. The current leadership of the Democratic Party is the graveyard of radical change in the US.

What would constitute radical change in today's United States?

That's a very important question, and I'm glad you raised it. Political, economic, and even sociocultural settings must be taken into account whenever we speak of demands for radical change. Take something like universal healthcare. Almost every country in Europe has universal coverage, and it can also be found in many countries around the world. But in the US there has always been staunch opposition to universal healthcare policies by powerful private entities like the health and insurance industries. If popular struggles succeeded in introducing a universal healthcare system in the US, well, that would definitely constitute radical change in terms of how the nation has decided to deal with the well-being of its citizens. No question about it. Radical change should not imply the transformation of a country's entire system of government. That would constitute a revolution. Even then, we would need to distinguish between a political revolution and a social revolution. For instance, the American Revolution was a political, not social revolution. It did not alter the fabric of society; it did not change wealth distribution and left the class system intact. On the other hand, the French Revolution that began in 1789 and the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia were truly social revolutions in that they transformed property relations and changed radically the class systems in both countries.

Today's left focuses too much on cultural issues without really challenging capitalism. Indeed, in the recent past, issues like multiculturalism and even certain variants of feminism have functioned like ideologies of capitalism. In addition, some segments of the left have a knack for spreading ideas that are either not well thought out or simply impractical. For instance, and I believe this also captures your own sentiments, I find talk about "degrowth" and "wealth tax" schemes that fail to address the dynamics of unfettered capital accumulation while making in addition ludicrous claims that their implementation would solve the climate crisis as rather wishy-washy responses to capitalist crises and thus by no means game-changing strategies. My question then is this: What sort of new ideas would qualify, in your view, as game changers for the contemporary capitalist environment in the United States?

I have already mentioned universal healthcare. In any case, it would be rather easy for anyone, I think, to simply suggest ideas to improve the state of the US economy and to create a better society but that would be meaningless if the ideas themselves weren't accompanied by concrete steps and specific policy proposals on how to erect alternative socioeconomic arrangements. But we need expertise for that to happen. That being said, a new project has been launched by the Political Economy Research Institute (PERI) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst called Game Changers: Economic Policies for a Working America. It's a project that was conceived and is being directed by Gerald Epstein, a world-leading progressive economist who also happens to be PERI's co-director. The issues addressed range from health and the environment to trade and finance. The policy briefs produced by different economists contain the sort of policy proposals that are desperately needed for rewriting the rules of the US economy in a manner that cater first and foremost to the needs and interests of American workers. I recommend everyone interested in progressive ideas on how to create a fairer, greener, and sustainable US economy to study some of the policy briefs that have been posted on PERI's website.

Argentina: The Streets Put a Stop to Milei's Plundering

Julian Bokser

Javier Milei's government recently suffered a double defeat. The first occurred in the streets, with massive protests against his plan to liberalize land purchases by foreigners. The second took place in the halls of the Argentine Congress, where he failed to secure enough votes to pass the bill as presented. Both defeats point to the same thing: a power project that is beginning to show the limits of its strength.

The bill that the ruling party sought to impose, under the name 'Law on the Inviolability of Private Property,' was neither an isolated initiative nor a simple regulatory adjustment. It was part of a broader series of attacks on national sovereignty: establishing mechanisms to accelerate the foreign ownership of land, facilitating external control over strategic resources, and clearing the way for Argentine territory, its common goods, and its decision-making authority over them to become increasingly subordinate to interests outside the country.

In the streets, thousands of people took to the streets to protest this advance. The government responded as it always does when the people organize: with tear gas and rubber bullets, leaving people injured and detained. The repression was not an isolated excess. It is a method. Every time austerity measures encounter resistance, the state reveals its most violent face in an attempt to discipline those it cannot convince.

Because that is what is beginning to crumble: hegemony, the ability to persuade. In the streets, one can feel the weariness in the face of economic austerity that punishes the popular majority while benefiting a handful of concentrated sectors. These austerity measures are neither a technical whim nor a deviation from a well-intentioned plan. They are the form that, in Argentina, a broader strategy of the inter-

national New Right takes to subjugate the peoples of the Global South: lowering wages, handing over natural resources, dismantling rights, and calling this plunder 'modernization.' Milei does not manage this strategy from an autonomous position; he carries it out as an unconditional ally of a hyper-imperialism that is currently in a phase of decline and, for that very reason, is all the more dangerous: it needs to seize what remains of the Global South to sustain an order that can no longer guarantee well-being, not even in its own centers.

In Congress, the other front, the government also failed to achieve its goals. Attempts to buy parliamentary support—to forge majorities through the offer of positions, promises, and pressure—fell short. It had to back down. First, on the core provisions of the misnamed 'Law on the Inviolability of Private Property.' Then with the reform of the Fire Management Act, resigning itself to a scaled-back version. Two setbacks that expose the fragility of a project once believed to be unbeatable.

The mobilization against foreign land ownership revealed something deeper than mere opposition to a specific law. It revealed a breaking point in the ruling class's ability to build consensus around a social order that benefits only itself. That consensus, which for months seemed solid, began to crack. It remains to be seen how the anger that became visible in the rain, surrounding Congress, will be channeled into organized action.

Vijay Prashad has been pointing out from the Tri-continental Institute that the current cycle of global capitalism offers no solutions within its own rules: the crisis is managed by shifting its costs to the Global South, while local bourgeoisies—now junior partners in that system—apply domestically the pre-



Protesters face heavy repression and criminalization of dissent. Argentina's new constitution restricts demonstration against the active expansion of extractivism. (Photo: Johana Arce)

scriptions that international finance capital designs abroad. Prashad insists that no austerity measure of this kind can be sustained without a parallel cultural battle, aimed at presenting as inevitable what is, in reality, a political choice serving specific interests. When that cultural battle begins to lose ground—as happened in Argentina—a rift opens that no amount of repression can fully close.

A glimpse of this was seen in the banner passed around repeatedly by thousands in the crowd—the same one the national team players unfurled after their victory over England in the last World Cup—bearing the slogan “The Malvinas are Argentine.” Since the Malvinas War in 1982, that match has been anything but just another game. The 1986 match, just a few years after the war, was unforgettable: it was the match of the ‘Hand of God’ and the greatest goal in history, both scored by Diego Maradona. Football carries the burden of the claim to the Malvinas

Islands, now a NATO base under British control and a platform for the plundering of oil and other common resources of the South Atlantic. That flag struck a chord with the Argentine people—the chord of a sovereignty never fully relinquished, not even when the ruling power insists on negotiating it away.

But no single chord, on its own, is enough to change the course of a country. The anger seen in the streets needs to be organized, channeled, and transformed into a concrete plan. Otherwise, it runs the risk of burning out in the very intensity of the moment, of dissipating into frustration as soon as the tide of mobilization recedes. The task at hand, then, is not merely to resist the next onslaught. It is to build the political force capable of sustaining over time what the streets demonstrated amid the storm: that there is a limit, that this limit must be defended, and that the homeland is not for sale.

Brazil's Election: Lula, Bolsonaro, and the Battle for the Future

Medea Benjamin

This week marks the beginning of Brazil's presidential campaign, with the two front-runners—current President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Senator Flávio Bolsonaro—officially launching their campaigns. After visiting Brazil and talking with politicians, activists, journalists, and ordinary citizens, I came away with the conviction that this is one of the most consequential presidential elections in Brazil's recent history. The outcome on October 4 will shape not only Brazil's future but also the political direction of Latin America.

President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, now 80 years old, is seeking a fourth presidential term. Brazil's Constitution allows presidents to serve only two consecutive terms, but they may run again after sitting out at least one term. That is how Lula returned to office in 2023 after governing from 2003 to 2010.

Following the four-year presidency of the far-right Jair Bolsonaro, Lula's supporters say he has rebuilt many of the institutions and policies weakened under Bolsonaro. His government has reduced hunger, expanded social programs, strengthened environmental protections for the Amazon, and pursued a more independent foreign policy rather than simply following Washington's dictates. Brazil has reasserted itself as an important voice in the Global South, advocating for a more multipolar world and strengthening ties with countries across Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Although Lula remains popular and has a good chance of winning the election, many Brazilians are frustrated by sluggish economic growth, persistent concerns about crime, and political fatigue

after years of bitter polarization. His more ardent critics say Lula is a corrupt left-wing politician who has remained in public life for too long.

Lula also has detractors on the left, who accuse him of being too centrist. They point to his inability to deliver many campaign promises, harsh austerity measures under his administration, policies that expand privatization, and his reluctance to reverse several of Bolsonaro-era regressive policies. They criticize him for moving too slowly on land reform and for accommodating powerful agribusiness and fossil fuel interests. Some also call on him to go much further in challenging U.S. influence in Latin America, including by sending oil to Cuba as it suffers under the cruel decades-long U.S. blockade.

Yet despite these criticisms, most of Brazil's progressive movements remain united behind Lula. Whatever their frustrations with his government, they see defeating the far right as the overriding priority. They also recognize that Brazil's far right is stronger, better organized, and more deeply rooted than it was a decade ago. They believe Lula's cautious approach reflects not only political pragmatism but also a desire to avoid provoking forces that have already demonstrated a willingness to challenge democratic institutions through violence.

That became clear when the right, led by President Jair Bolsonaro, refused to accept that Lula had won the 2022 elections. On January 8, 2023, Bolsonaro supporters stormed Brazil's Congress, Supreme Court, and presidential palace in an effort to overturn the election. The similarities with the January 6 insurrection by Trump supporters are striking.



But in Brazil, Bolsonaro was actually convicted for his role in the conspiracy. He is now serving a prison sentence under house arrest and is unable to run for president. So his movement is represented by his son, 45-year-old Senator Flávio Bolsonaro.

Flávio brings his own political baggage. His reputation was damaged by allegations that members of his legislative staff were required to kick back part of their taxpayer-funded salaries in a scheme to enrich him personally. His campaign has also been shaken by revelations that he sought millions of dollars from a jailed banker to finance a film celebrating his father's presidency in hopes of boosting his own presidential campaign. Even his own family has become a political liability. A bitter public dispute with his stepmother, former First Lady Michelle Bolsonaro, exposed deep divisions within the Bolsonaro movement and deprived him of one of the Brazilian right's most influential voices among women voters.

As Flávio struggles to broaden his support at home, he has sought help from abroad. Argentine President Javier Milei traveled to Brazil to campaign on his behalf. Donald Trump and members of his administration have openly support-

ed Flávio, aggravating U.S.-Brazil tensions that recently blew up when Lula's government refused visas to two U.S. State Department officials on grounds that they intended to interfere in Brazil's democratic process. The Trump administration responded by revoking the U.S. visa of Brazil's ambassador to Washington. The episode reflects growing concern about U.S. attempts to influence Brazil's election.

Perhaps the most astonishing example of foreign influence comes from Israel. Instead of announcing his presidential ambitions to the Brazilian people at home, Flávio first did so during a visit to Israel, where he accused Lula of antisemitism and pledged to move Brazil's embassy to Jerusalem. Benjamin Netanyahu later publicly endorsed him.

At a time when so many Latin American governments have shifted to the right—or even the far right—all eyes are on Brazil. It is Latin America's largest country, its largest economy, and one of the most influential voices in the Global South.

Polls show Lula with a narrow lead over Flávio. But if no candidate secures more than 50% of the vote in the October 4 first round, the election will go to a runoff between the top two contenders on October 25.

If Lula is reelected, Brazil is expected to continue pursuing an independent foreign policy, strengthening South-South cooperation, deepening its role in BRICS, and resisting efforts to pull Latin America back into Washington's geopolitical orbit. A Flávio Bolsonaro victory, by contrast, would likely bring Brazil into much closer alignment with the Trump administration and revive the nationalist, authoritarian politics associated with his father's presidency.

That is why so many Brazilians see this election as far more than a contest between two political rivals. For them, it is a choice between two fundamentally different visions of Brazil's future—and of its place in the world.

India's Gen Z Flexed Its Power — and Won

Sonali Kolhatkar

Young people across India recently made international headlines for mass protests over the recurring leaks of entrance exams that help students qualify for medical schools and highly coveted government jobs. The Gen Z protesters won a major victory within a matter of weeks when Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan on July 25, 2026, bowing to their demands.

The student movement was triggered by an inadvertent insult by India's Supreme Court Chief Justice Surya Kant, who, in May, referred to unemployed Indian youth as parasites and cockroaches. Kant's words caught the attention of a young Indian man in Boston, Massachusetts, named Abhijeet Dipke, who graduated from Boston University in 2025 with a master's in public relations.

Dipke posted a question on X: "What if all the cockroaches come together?" Deploying his PR skills, he built an Instagram account under the banner of the Cockroach Janta Party ("Janta" is Hindi for "the people") and within days began to attract a following of disaffected Indian youth, angry over the reported leak of questions from the National Eligibility-cum-Entrance Test (NEET).

Illicit access to questions from the NEET medical entrance exam is part of a lucrative underground trade in a system designed to pit an estimated 2 million students against one another for only 130,000 available positions. When news of the leaks spread, an estimated 21 students took their own lives in despair rather than retake the exams.

Ahilya Majithia, a reporter based in New Delhi, documented the nascent movement and explained that while it began as an online protest, it quickly spread to the physical world, spurred by a sense of mass injustice felt by students. "It's one of the most competitive exams in India," she said during an interview with me. "It's basically an exam to get into a medical college. So, it obviously requires a lot of preparation, and people study for years to just give this exam."

As anger grew, Dipke's CJP offered people an outlet for their frustrations, and the satirical party's online following ballooned into the tens of millions. "I think it did catch a lot of momentum because of social media, and that's how the Cockroach Janta Party was also conveying their messages: through X, through Instagram," said Majithia.

Soon, Dipke, who was living in the United States, to Delhi in early June. He arrived at the airport holding aloft a copy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's autobiography, a legendary Dalit leader whose writings were central to the anti-caste movement in India. "Coming from a Dalit family, Dr. Ambedkar obviously had a huge influence on my life," said Dipke in an interview with Frontline magazine.

Although Ambedkar was a left-wing socialist, Dipke's political sensibilities are not necessarily reflected in the movement he helped to spark, one that moved at a ferocious speed. "This protest [gave] the people the sense of power that we can fight the government to change certain things," said Majithia. However, she added, "I don't think this protest was ever to weaken a

government body or the BJP in particular; I think this was a very non-political issue.”

With Dipke and his fellow Gen Z activists leading marches, students spent weeks demonstrating and occupying public spaces to protest a system that increasingly squeezes young people out of stable careers despite spending years studying and incurring debt to qualify for exams. They gathered in Delhi’s storied “Jantar Mantar,” a large-scale 18th-century structure of giant sundials and other astronomical observing instruments symbolizing India’s ancient tradition of scientific inquiry.

The “cockroach” protests spread from India’s capital, Delhi, to other states, including Assam, Maharashtra, West Bengal, and Bihar, even as police brutalized protesters, as seen in widely shared online images and videos. Students were not only participating in protests but were also documenting their mistreatment at the hands of authorities with smartphones and social media.

Some of their key demands included that India’s education minister step down and that families of students who committed suicide receive financial restitution for their losses.

As far as Majithia knows, no member of Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has ever given into political pressure and resigned. “It’s never happened,” she said. Kangana Ranaut, an actress and member of parliament, told the press that “no one can pressure the government into who to sack and who to retain”—a shocking admission of how much disdain the ruling party has for basic tenets of democracy. However, soon after her comments, Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan resigned, and even the international press noted just how significant the Modi government’s acquiescence was.

Since the protests ended, the CJP has also insisted that all arrest warrants against student protesters be withdrawn and threatened a re-

sumption of actions over reports of government harassment of activists.

There have been so many failures of the education system, not just the NEET paper leak,” said Majithia. In the wake of Pradhan’s resignation, the next question is how the movement will navigate specific education and economic reforms.

Saurav Das, the CJP’s main spokesperson, who has a background in investigative journalism and is writing a book about the nation’s justice system, is in negotiations with the Modi government over the details of a longer-term education and examination five-point reform plan that includes more stringent standards for testing authorities, a contingency plan for reexamination, and better compensation for impacted students.

While the reform charter addresses the specific reasons why protesters are enraged with the government, the broader issue of economic justice for India’s youth remains in question. An in-depth 2026 report by Azim Premji University on economic prospects for India’s youth concludes that the country has the largest youth population of any other nation in the world and that “[t]he transition from education to employment remains a major challenge, particularly for graduates.”

Specifically, the report found that “while approximately 5 million graduates were added each year, only around 2.8 million found employment, and an even smaller share entered salaried employment.”

It remains to be seen whether the CJP and its explosive entry into India’s political landscape will be able to take on the bigger problem of Gen Z’s poor economic prospects. At only a few months old, the movement has at the very least offered young people an outlet for their frustrations and a platform to flex their power.

“We Bring With Us European Civilization”: Race, National Oppression and the Construction of a Settler-Colonial Myth

Bill Fletcher Jr.

In the spring semester of 1969, my ninth-grade social studies teacher, Mrs. Schwartz, tasked me with leading the “Arab” side of a debating team on what was then referenced as the “Arab/Israeli crisis.” Two years following the disastrous “preventive” war launched by Israel against Egypt, Jordan and Syria, my class was supposed to explore the underlying legitimacy—or lack thereof—of each side. Mrs. Schwarz, an excellent social studies teacher and a committed Zionist knew this would be a slam-dunk victory for the “Israeli side” of the debate.

Somehow, I did not realize that.

So, as the leader of the “Arab” side of the debate, I went about researching the conflict. I went to the office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in New York City—which had been recently bombed—in order to get material to help to bolster our case. When I knocked on the door to the office, it was slowly and cautiously opened. I explained my mission and was, subsequently, welcomed to enter. Every question one could imagine I asked and received very useful information in response. I was supplied with material on the conflict, thanked those in the office and returned home. I prepared my team.

My “Arab” team so decisively won the debate that Mrs. Schwarz personally intervened on the side of the “Israeli” team, at which point the class almost screamed out in unison that she could not do that. She laughed and conceded that, yes, the “Arab” team had won. That moment changed my life. My burgeoning social justice activism and internationalism received a jolt that I have never shaken and cast me onto a journey that has been



CONFRONTING ZIONISM

Decolonizing Palestine and Building the World Anew

**NOURA ERAKAT
JOHN REYNOLDS**

as fascinating as it has been tumultuous, leading me to, most recently reading—if not consuming—Noura Erakat and John Reynolds’ masterful work, *Confronting Zionism*.

Central to *Confronting Zionism* is a challenge to how Zionism and the Palestinian/Israeli conflict are both understood. The book is, in effect, about Zionism, racism, imperialism, and the struggle to

liberate the Palestinian people from what can only be thought of as total oppression. In that sense the struggle cannot be limited to one for civil rights or truly constitutional government because it must begin with a recognition that Israeli oppression combines apartheid and permanent occupation. In fact, one author quoted in the book described the oppression as “the dynamics of exclusionary constitutionalism,” a term that I thought was astoundingly accurate if not perversely amusing in describing what we are repeatedly informed as being the only democracy in the Middle East (Western Asia).

What helped my “team” win in 1969 was a very preliminary understanding of what Erakat and Reynolds so masterfully explore: the clear evidence that the creation of Israel was a colonial project imposing itself on a land that had a people. The Zionist project was not a project to promote immigration into Palestine but was, from the beginning, aimed at securing Palestine as not only a homeland for Jews but a land that would become an ethno-national state. This resulted in a strange set of politics on the part of the Zionists, politics well described in Molly Crabapple’s excellent work, *Here Where We Live Is Our Country*. That is, politics that frequently aligned the Zionists with European antisemites in order to hasten Jewish migration to Palestine.

Once one appreciates the settler-colonial ambitions of the project, a project which, after 1918 was a British/Zionist project, things begin to fall into place. An aspect of that is captured in the title of this review which is drawn from the words of Zionist leader and first Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, in heralding the Zionist project as “...bringing with us European civilization.” The words themselves are amazing in that they not only announce Zionism as a creature of Europe but also erase the reality, history, and culture of non-European Jews, an approach and action that would ultimately have dramatic effects on the emergence and character of the ethno-national state.

Also captured in Ben-Gurion’s words is something that even some pro-Palestinian activists were reluctant to discuss for years: race.

What struck me, in 1969, was the similarity of the Palestinian situation with that of Native Americans in the Western Hemisphere, as well as that of African Americans. While I did not grasp either the full history or theory behind such similarities, it resonated fully. Erakat and Reynolds go deeply into matters of race showing the historic similarities between the Palestinian situation with other populations that have been victimized by racist and national oppression. The early Zionists, in addition to seeing themselves as a “little Europe” within the Middle East, were racialized by Jews as well as Palestinians. The Zionist project set out to create a ‘new Jew,’ and did this through various methods including the repudiation of Yiddish as the language of the population, not to mention rendering unacceptable other languages of the Jewish Diaspora, e.g., Arabic.

The racialization of the Palestinians was fundamental and mirrored the process of colonization and racialization in what we now know as South Africa in the early 20th century. A “color bar,” for lack of a better term, was erected to define two different populations, the Jewish Zionists vs. the Palestinians (whether said Palestinians were Muslims, Christians OR Jews). The Zionist population was to be treated, whether in matters of employment or land control, as the only legitimate population within the Palestine Mandate (the term given for Palestine after it was taken from the Ottoman Empire by the British in 1918).

After providing a detailed look at the creation of the Zionist project, Erakat and Reynolds spent considerable time on what could, otherwise, have been a dry subject: international law. Instead, their analysis of both the hypocrisy and inadequacy of international law when it comes to addressing the oppression of the Palestinians is relevant not only to the Palestinian struggle, but struggles against other forms of occupation regimes, e.g., the Moroccan occupation of two-thirds of Western Sahara.

International law, much like the proclamations of the rights of nations to self-determination following World War One, never considered the experiences and realities of what we now know as the Global South. The framework was always European. In the aftermath of World War One, for instance, the Japanese sought the inclusion of a racial equality clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations, a step that was blocked, if not ridiculed, by the United States—under the notorious Woodrow Wilson—and other powers of the Global North.

The framework for international law, established after World War Two, was not so different. The laws created were largely the result of the victory of the Allies over Germany, Italy and Japan. In a very peculiar merger of guilt, antisemitism, and colonial arrogance, the Nazi effort to annihilate Jews was exceptionalized and given priority over a host of holocausts the world had witnessed since 1492, most, though certainly not all, having taken place in the global South. Interestingly dramatized in the recent film *Nuremberg*, almost immediately after World War Two an effort was made to render exceptional the Holocaust that could be attributed to something unique within Germany rather than understanding the Holocaust as in a direct line from 1492 and all that had been witnessed and experienced since then. Europe and the USA, rather than accept that actual history—and largely because they participated in perpetrating some smaller and larger holocausts and additionally because they did not want Jewish migration to their nation-states—focused on supporting the Zionist conquest of Palestine. Never recognizing or respecting the Arab rejection of the United Nations' plan to give most of Palestine to 33% of the population—Zionist Jews—the Zionists were permitted, and in some cases actively supported, in the militarized ethnic cleansing of Palestine, the Nakba.

Despite the fact that ethnic cleansing had taken place under the Nazis, as well as in Europe in the immediate aftermath of World War Two,

this phenomenon did not work its way into genocide law. Such an obvious omission is odd in its fundamentals, but it affected the manner in which the Palestinian demands for freedom were articulated by various forces, i.e., often by analogy. International law was, to a great extent, expanded to address the Jewish Holocaust and, much later, the system of apartheid (created in South Africa). In all too many cases, however, this would lead liberal and some progressive critics of Israeli oppression of the Palestinians to limit their analysis and critique to the lack of a full constitutional law system governing Jewish Israelis as well as Palestinians. What was missing was the reality of settler-colonialism and the manner in which the Palestinian people have never experienced any real de-colonization.

Erakat and Reynolds offer useful and provocative suggestions regarding how settler-colonialism can be challenged or eradicated going forward, suggestions that will be completely ignored until there is a major shift in the power balance between the Israeli government and its opponents (globally and locally). In that sense, *Confronting Zionism* reads like an excellent prequel, that is, laying the foundation for the refounding of a global strategy to confront the settler-colonial system of oppression and open the possibilities for an emancipatory reality that frees the Palestinian people from the boot on their necks and the ideological subjugation they have suffered. But also, an emancipatory reality that can ultimately free the Jewish Israelis from the terror and paranoia of being the perpetual slave masters of Western Asia. This latter challenge will necessitate a realization by Jewish Israelis that they are not the global victims, but rather instruments in a global system of colonialism, racism, and national oppression that takes us back to 1492. That realization will be, for many, frightening.

[Noura Erakat, John Reynolds. Confronting Zionism: Decolonizing Palestine and Building the World Anew (Chicago: Haymarket Press, 2026). Publishing date November 10, 2026. 343pps.]

Trump Is The Anti-Christ, Our Resistance Is The Antidote — What Next?

Michael Albert

Outside theology, the term “Antichrist” has a broader, more secular, and highly descriptive sense. It names a powerful, grossly malevolent person who persistently parades wealth and preens perverse tastes, who is bad to the bone, who is the polar opposite of “good.” A person like, say, Adolf Hitler as he fostered and rode the NAZI tide. Or nowadays, a person like Donald Trump, as he resurrects and rides a neo-NAZI tide.

You might reply: “Big deal. So what? Trump is a buffoon. He’s a moron. There have been and there are now others like him. Time is his antidote. Time passes and so will Trump. Meanwhile, I look the other way.”

Yes, time waits for no one, but meanwhile Trump covets being Fuhrer of the Fascist States of Trumplandia. Trump is an Anti-Christ on super steroids. He is locked and loaded. The longer Trump rules the more people he tramples. The longer he rules, the harder removing him and his ilk becomes. Time is too slow a solution.

“He is fucking odious, yes, sure, I get that. But he has so many resources. What can I do other than avoid his wrath?”

You can help stop him. Did you do No Kings?

“Sure I did, and I can rally once every few months, but what does that achieve? What more could I do that would help stop him?”

The big rallies get steadily more people to act and then ask what’s next. Well, next we can help grow the opposition to Trump and to his enablers. We can help deploy that opposition to diminish Trump’s capacity for doing harm. We can help remove Trump from history. We can go on to help

remove the underlying structures that produced and elevated Trump in the first place. To avoid Trump’s wrath leaves his wrath in place. It ignores those who can’t avoid his wrath.

“Okay, sure, that sounds nice, but I have to ask again, what can I personally do to help topple him?”

You can empower the opposition to Trump or to anyone like him. You can oppose his executive orders that remove obstacles to his fascist plans or that establish new tools to more aggressively pursue those plans. You can raise social costs for Trump and Co. until those costs are too high to endure.

“Come on, those are just vague words. I need personal clarity. What specifically can I, me, this person who is right here replying to you, do?”

Let’s say you are a teacher. Each day you stand before your students. They face on-rushing hell. You know it, but you ignore it. You say not even one word to them about it. You don’t want to upset them. You don’t want to upset their parents. You don’t want to upset Trump. Really? Is that the best you can muster? How about if instead of seeking cover, you teach.

I am sorry to be a bit brutal about this, but I can’t deny what I feel. Why not say to your students—not just if you teach social studies, or current events, or history much less ethics, but even if you teach literature, chemistry, or math—“students, the world outside our classroom matters. The world outside our classroom calls for attention. Here’s why.” And then you spell out the dangers, pain, and suffering that Trump’s agenda enforces. With that said, you continue, “Students, you, your families, your friends and all people matter. Here is why.” And then you



spell out the predictable impacts of what is happening now and what will happen later if Trump isn't stopped. And you say, "So students, our next course topic is to discuss the evil that is escalating out there, and to discuss what we can do about it."

That would be impressive. It would be exemplary. But how about if you also talk with your fellow teachers about how they can really teach, too. And how about if you tell your students to tell their friends and their families that they need to also get involved. And how about if you then join together with students and also with students' parents to fight to open your school in the evening so that the parents and others can get together to talk about what else to do and how to use the school as a base from which to work to stop Trump. "You must be kidding," you might reply. But no, step by step, I am not kidding. And if you saw these type acts prepared and undertaken in a movie, you'd admire the

teachers. You'd applaud them. So why not do what you would admire and applaud?

Or let's say you are a worker for Amazon, General Motors, or whatever. You truck and carry, hammer and clean each day without influence your dignity defiled. You work to earn enough for food and housing, daycare and medicine for yourself and your family. You may hate your days, but you need your job. Okay, how about if you talk with your workmates about the evil going on inside and outside your workplace to get a fair share and dignity? Not easy to do, but you do it anyway. You urge that to look away is to welcome steadily worse conditions not only for you but for your families and communities. You ask what people think. You listen, and finally, when plausible, you entreat. "We need to act. We are many. We are who this corporation depends on. We are who society depends on. Together we can raise demands. Together we can

withhold our work. Together we can reach out to the consumers of our products. We can reach out to the communities that our companies pollute. We can resist Trump and Trump's billionaire sidekicks and puppet masters too. Everything new looks impossible until after it gets done. We can do what looks impossible—but not if we don't try.

Or let's say you are a soldier or a police officer—or maybe you are a relative or a neighbor of one. How about if you discuss what would be admirable, helpful, ethical things for justice-keepers to do, and also what are ugly, harmful, unethical things that justice keepers are now too often commanded to do? Did you become an active duty enforcer of law to hurt people or to help people? To be just or to impose injustice? When Trump orders you to deport, to club, to intimidate, to shoot, how about if you just say no? You may reply, "I get it, but that is seriously hard. I'd be fired. I'd be jailed. Maybe worse." Yes, so how about if you first converse off duty about it with your fellow soldiers or police men and women? How about if you identify those who share your concerns and desires and you talk together and when ready you organize together to collectively resist? How about if you go to demonstrations against injustice and suffering not to crush dissent, but to register your own dissent? Does that sound impossible? Like you'd be attacked for it? Well, yes, and that's why you first ask around about it. You first make a case. You first develop a group. You first grow the group. Then the group makes careful plans. And then, when you are too many to dismiss and too righteous to deny, you go public. It may sound impossible, but it is what you can do to help stop Trump like he has never been stopped before.

Or suppose you personally know police or soldiers, national guard or ICE members, and you live near them or you socialize with them. Okay, how about if instead of avoiding the issues, you sincerely listen to them and talk with them? How about if you bring them well conceived literature? How about if you set up tables at their police stations or their military bases, and you patiently hear them and make your case with them day after day? Yes, it would be risky. But it has been done before. Watch-

ing a documentary about past war resistance, in the dark of a theatre, you might even cheer for those who did it. So why not cheer for yourself doing it?

Or let's say you are a college student and you are on a campus that is obeying Trumpian demands. You weren't asked your opinion. Your dean caved and then ordered you to follow your administration's cowardly, hypocritical plans. How about you then hold meetings and discussion sessions in dorms and even in classes too? How about you collectively discuss what is happening to your school, to the community around your school, to your state, your country, and the world?

How about you ask what you and your school are doing about what's going on. You ask what you should do about what's going on. You organize dorm to dorm and room to room until you have numbers sufficient to demand that Trumpian demands and Trump himself be rejected. Until you have numbers enough to demand that your school stop complying with oppressive policies, whether about distant war or ecology at home. You demand your school aids immigrants and not ICE. That your school aids dissenters and not perpetrators. That your school aids the resistance, not the Anti-Christ. And if it doesn't, you shut it down and then open it up to pursue new values. How about that? How about sustained resistance?

Or let's say you play football or basketball, college or pro. How about you think about and discuss with your fellow athletes how you and your sport conducts itself. What could be done to aid those who can't even afford your tickets? What could be done to make your neighbors better off? What could be done to disavow macho violence? You not only dribble on court or run and tackle on the field, but you also use your notoriety and your wealth to better society. You stand tall with banners saying "Dear Donald, you are not welcome here. Dear ICE, get out of our city, get out of our state. Leave now, or there will be no more games until you are gone." You take a little break from dribbling and tackling to rally and march?

Or let's say you are a health worker in a hospital or clinic. How about demanding free medical care for all? And how about doing no harm but also demanding that Trump stop doing harm? Or let's say you are a Republican Congressperson. Okay how about you grow a spine. You leave hypocrisy behind. Or let's say you are a mainstream Democratic Governor or Senator—how about you face facts? Mainstream institutions and practices birthed Trump. You need to think harder to truly serve the people, to provide power to the people. Or perhaps you write. How about you write less about murder and mayhem and even about all that is wrong in society, and more about what to do about it right now and over the longer term as well? Or maybe you are a mom or a dad, or a son or a daughter. You care about your children's or parent's future. How about you care enough to address the forces perverting that future? Or perhaps you are a Priest or a Rabbi. You care for your congregation's future. But how can that be, if you passively watch their world turned to shit? So you make your religious center a sanctuary for immigrants. You preach peace but also resistance.

I think you get the idea. We all need to think and think again about what to do, and then we need to do it. And I bet you can yourself think up many more ways in which you yourself in whatever your situation may be might lend your mind, lend your time, and lend your energies to help stop the rush toward fascism and, simultaneously, to replace the many ugly factors that have brought that rush to the fore. But if you resistance is new for you and you are still unclear about what you might best do, about what you can do given your means and given where you are at and all your responsibilities, that's okay too. In that case, the task is to raise questions, to read up a bit, to converse a lot, and to think on it all until you get clear enough to act. The key first step is not to look the other way.

Think for a just a minute about Germany in the 1930s. I am no historical expert, not even a little, but even I know that Hitler couldn't do what he did alone. And he couldn't do it with just Himmler, Goebbels, Bormann, Eichmann and

the rest of his henchmen. Not even with them and also with the ultra millionaires who sought to benefit from his rule and not even with help from the rank and file workers and youth who fell for his lies and manipulations and then doted on him and supported him. Hitler also needed and indeed Hitler absolutely had to have the disbelief, the passivity, the fear, and the surrender of what came to be called "Good Germans." That is, Hitler needed regular folks who didn't like what he was doing and who even hated what he was doing, to do nothing much to stop what he was doing. History never exactly repeats, but in that one respect, in a growing number of places around the world, it is the Thirties again.

In the U.S., for example, Trump needs more than the likes of Vance, Hegseth, RFK Jr., Rubio, and the rest of his gang of sycophantic toads. And he also needs more than his billionaire supplicants and puppet masters. And he needs more even than his rank and file worker and youth support, especially since that seems to be finally wavering and even unraveling. Trump additionally needs people who don't like and who even hate him and his policies to do nothing much to stop him. If they're scared to act, that's fine with him. If they just don't believe hell can happen here, that's also fine with him. Lazy or too busy is fine with him too. Whatever keeps people submissive, distracted, or aware but silent, is absolutely fine with him. Trump needs "Good Americans" just like Hitler needed "Good Germans." We won't be that, will we?

P.S. If you want to find a specific project or organization that does good things that you favor and which you can volunteer to help where you live and that has aims and inclinations that you share, and that needs help you can provide, you might want to check out allofus.org. It's an online tool that is designed to help you find your "action match." Not a date, a cause. You enter your locale and your interests, the site displays organizations and projects that fit your conditions that you can choose to contact and perhaps decide to help.

Germany's Constitutional Mandate to Fight Global Warming

Thomas Klikauer

For some time, Germany – legally and politically – is well on the way to become a sustainable state. Among other things, this is also a constitutional demand. The constitutional foundation for this was a change – called amendment – to article 20a of Germany's constitution.

The addition to Germany's constitution in 1994 established "environmental and animal protection as a fundamental state objective." Germans call this Staatsziel (the goal of the state). This is akin to something like the *raison d'être* or the very purpose of the existence of the German state. The addition states that Germany's state must be:

mindful of its responsibility toward future generations, the state shall protect the natural foundations of life and animals by legislation and, in accordance with law and justice, by executive and judicial action, all within the framework of the constitutional order.

On this, Germany's constitution and its relationship to global warming have two perspectives. For one, the question remains of the extent to which Germany's constitution issues explicit demands for sustainability. In other words, Germany's constitution can be seen as an engine for the transformation towards sustainability.

On the other hand, Germany's constitution itself proves grounds for a sustainable future of Germany. The first question on the constitutional research for sustainability takes up – by far – the largest space in contemporary Germany.

In the original version of Germany's constitution of the year 1949, the concept of sustainability is at no point explicitly mentioned. However, in individual state constitutions, sustainability can be found

explicitly:

- **Hessen:** For example, article 26c of the Hessian state constitution requires the state, municipalities and associations of municipalities to take into account the principle of sustainability in order to safeguard the interests of future generations.
- **Schleswig-Holstein:** Also, in the preamble to the constitution of the north German state of Schleswig-Holstein, the idea of sustainability has been incorporated by outlining: to seek to protect, through sustained the interests of present and future generations.

Beyond the fact that Germany's constitution links environmental demands to future generations, many state constitutions of Germany's 16 states also define duties of public authorities – and partly also those of individuals – to protect the natural foundations of life for future generations.

Despite all this, Germany still lags behind many constitutions of other countries as well as the law of the European Union. Back in Germany, there are scattered implications and starting points for aspects of sustainability in regard to three dimensions.

1. **Democracy:** Unmistakably the sustainability demand of article 20a of Germany's constitution and adjacent regulations. Less obviously is that sustainability is understood as being part of the principle of democracy and peace that are enshrined in Germany's constitution.
2. **Future:** The second perspective relates to the sustainability found in Germany's constitution as such. This demands a certain openness and resilience to future challenges and changes.



For example, this is about what precautions have been taken by the original “mothers and fathers” of Germany’s constitution for preservation and stability of the constitution and of Germany’s democracy.

3. **The System:** In the center are instruments for the defense of Germany’s democracy for the protection of what Germans call FDGO – the free democratic basic order. This is what became known as “the eternity clause” – article 79, Para. 3 of the constitution. It can never be changed.

Germany’s constitution issues a strong relationship between sustainability and Germany’s fundamental human rights. While sustainability is a universally valid concept, traditionally a place for environmental action is actually not a constitution. Despite this, Germany has taken this step. This links the protection of the environment to the protection of future generations. In other words, environmental damage impacting on people living in the future and impairing their fundamental human right is unacceptable in the general principle of equality.

Germany’s constitution calls this “the inter-generational responsibility” of the German state to protect the environment. Maintaining the sustainability of

fundamental human rights constitutionally means protecting behaviors that are sustainable. This means that the use of the “presents” demands a proactive, economical and environmentally friendly state that sustains sustainability. Germany’s fundamental human rights justify environmental protection as a function of the state.

For the German state, this links the beneficial relationship of fundamental rights to the sustainability offered by those rights with the UN’s Agenda 2030 and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which can be summarised into three groups:

1. **Individuals & Society:** Poverty eradication (goal 1), ending global hunger (2), promoting health (3), enhancing education (4), gender equality (5) and the environmental goal of clean water (6).
2. **Prosperity and Economy:** Transitioning towards sustainable energy (7), decent work (8), innovation and infrastructure (9), reducing inequality (10), sustainable communities (11), and responsible consumption (12).
3. **Planet and Partners:** Climate action (13), ocean conservation (14), biodiversity (15), peace and justice (16), and global partnerships (17).

Germany's environmental sustainability objective is significant, particularly regarding the right to life and physical integrity. It contains environmentally protective guarantees. This extends to environmental changes that are damaging to health or even life-endangering. For example, Germany's multi-year drought period, which led to significant crop losses and damage to agriculture and forestry, should be prevented in the future. Simultaneously, the increased risk of heavy rain, floods, and other extreme weather events also falls within this scope. In these situations, the fundamental rights of people can be adversely affected, and therefore the German state has a duty to establish preventative measures.

As for the environment, the jurisprudence of Germany's constitutional court (supreme court) shows that there is a basic legal protection obligation of the state in the area of environmental protection. In an early decision on nuclear law, the court clarified that there is a fundamental legal duty for the state to protect the environment. This also extends to provisions whose objective is to ensure that risks — even those projected into the future — are avoided.

Germany's constitutional court has, however, applied this duty to protect rather reluctantly. In spite of the court's substantial references to the UN sustainability agenda, one can state that securing the future of society is highly relevant. The court's climate decision of March 2021, in which Germany's constitutional court issued a somewhat "revolutionary" verdict regarding the German Klimaschutzgesetz (climate protection act), marked a real paradigm shift — at least that is the hope.

In other words, sustainability has become a key concept of modern constitutional law — it is indispensable.

However, a fundamental right to a healthy environment is rather foreign to Germany's constitution. Yet, with the establishment of protective rights, the constitutional court paved a promising way for constitutional law that is more strongly focused on sustainability. It still remains to be seen to what ex-

tent the newly developed environmental principles, in addition to climate protection, will gain long-term relevance in other areas of life. The issue of sustainability, as found in Germany's constitution, supports environmental rights. These are objective legal principles of German constitutional law.

Particularly clear is the concept of sustainability in article 20a of Germany's constitution. Yet, the implicit mention of sustainability in Germany's constitution is, at present, entirely insufficient. Consequently, it remains necessary to introduce mechanisms that place Germany's constitutional obligation to protect the environment on a more solid foundation, thereby moving Germany towards becoming a "sustainability state." The state would then ensure that future generations can enjoy an environmentally, economically, and socially sustainable life. For such a constitutional mandate for sustainability, environmentally protective action by the state must be a permanent responsibility without an expiration date.

Finally, it should be possible to introduce an addition to the preamble of Germany's constitution outlining the state's commitment to sustainability. The constitution's preamble has a very strong normative quality. In short, such a change would not be a purely symbolic gesture.

Despite the current shortcomings of Germany's constitution in sufficiently recognising pressing environmental issues, the constitutional requirements for sustainability are considerable. In short, Germany's constitution is now founded upon three basic ideas: sustainability, environmental stability, and the protection of future generations.

In the end, the environmental safeguarding amendment to Germany's constitution of 1994, together with Germany's Supreme Court decision of 2021, which strengthened it, has made it very clear to the German state that environmental protection, sustainability, and the fight against global warming are the *raison d'être*: the very purpose of the existence of the German state.

Phasing Out Fossil Folly

Jeremy Brecher

The previous commentaries have described how people in cities, states, and communities have been expanding fossil free energy production and reducing energy use through Greentech initiatives.

These are essential aspects of reducing climate-destroying greenhouse gas emissions, but in themselves they will not halt the destruction of the climate through the burning of fossil fuels. That requires halting new fossil fuel infrastructure and accelerating the closing of existing fossil fuel facilities. That is often referred to as a “phaseout” or “managed decline” of fossil fuels. It’s often summed up in the slogan, “Leave it in the ground!”

Greentech and fossil fuels can increase at the same time – indeed, they are doing so today. But the cheapening and improvement of Greentech can have a crucial impact on fossil fuel use. For every decision on future energy use, fossil fuels are worse and renewable energy is a better deal in almost every way (unless you are a fossil fuel company). But we must make the choice not only to create more fossil free energy, but to relentlessly reduce fossil fuel extraction and burning.

Many such actions are now being taken by local and state governments and grassroots activist groups to phase out fossil fuels. Although national and global action will be necessary to phase out fossil fuels completely, in their absence action from below is forming the tip of the climate protection spear.

However desirable a “big bang” shutdown of fossil fuel production and use might be, what is more likely is a persistent squeezing that reduces the value and profitability of fossil fuel investments. Each incremental squeeze on fossil fuel production and use tips the balance toward replacing them with Greentech. The remainder of this commentary will present just a few examples of how this is being done at the local and state level. (The next two commentaries describe

another important set of examples — the movement against data centers.)

Fossil fuel use can simply be banned on a compulsory timetable. The city of Los Angeles, for example, has committed to get all of its energy from fossil-free sources by 2035 – that is, to ban the use of fossil fuel energy. Shortly after Donald Trump was elected, the city halted use of all electricity produced by coal. Electricity was shut off from Utah’s largest coal-fired power plant to Los Angeles. The plant is being converted to hydrogen. Then it will supply power to Los Angeles that will initially be produced from a mix of natural gas and hydrogen. According to the city’s municipally owned utility, LA intends to transition to 100% green hydrogen made exclusively from water and renewable energy, ending its burning of fossil fuels.

One day Ken Klovski, a resident of Lima township in rural Michigan, noticed boreholes on the farm across the road from his home. Klovski checked county records and discovered the farm had a three-year option agreement with the utility Consumers Energy. Then he found a filing with a map showing a proposed 1.4-gigawatt power plant near the farm. A town official called a public meeting where representatives of Consumer Energy denied that they had optioned the land specifically for a power plant. Klovski accused them of lying. The Lima Township Board of Trustees passed a 12-month moratorium on new power-generating facilities. A resident of a nearby town organized Neighbors United Against Noxious Consumers Energy, or NUANCE. On the group’s Facebook page, he began a daily podcast “Dear Garrick,” expressing the concerns of the group’s 1,400 members directly to Consumers Energy CEO Garrick Rochow. Weeks later, the company issued a statement that, “We will release the option on the land back to the property owner and withdraw our application.”

When President Trump ordered old, highly polluting coal-fired power plants scheduled for retirement in Colorado to reopen or remain in operation, the legislature passed “Manage Emissions from Electric Generating Units” law to halt or circumvent the order. While the state did not have the authority to directly nullify the president’s order, it took multiple pathways to render it less effective. It requires more transparency on the costs incurred from running coal units past their retirement dates; directs the Public Utilities Commission to approve new resources to help the state reach its 2030 climate targets; and requires modern pollution controls for any coal plants operating after 2033. According to a Sierra Club analysis, the Trump Administration’s coal orders have already cost Americans over \$330 million, directly affecting ratepayers and the public health of surrounding communities. The Colorado legislation keeps the state aligned with its clean energy goals by curbing coal emissions and reinforces critical retirement dates of coal-fired plants, while also directing Colorado’s Air Quality Control Commission to set limits on pollutants like nitrous oxides and sulfur dioxide. Other states are also challenging Trump’s coal orders.

More than 1,500 institutions worldwide with over 14 trillion dollars in assets have divested from fossil fuels and others continue to join them. In May 2026 the Santa Clara CA County Board of Supervisors voted to divest its 10-billion-dollar investment pool from fossil fuel companies. The pool had already let \$30 million in Chevron and Exxon bonds expire. The resolution means the investment pool will not buy any new fossil fuel company bonds to replace them, and the fund will remain fossil free. The decision followed a joint letter from 21 community groups, including Silicon Valley Youth Climate Action, 350 Silicon Valley, and the Pacifica Climate Committee, urging divestment. Carlos Davidson of the Pacifica Climate Committee said, “Just like with divestment from tobacco and South Africa Apartheid, by divesting we bring attention to the fact that the power of the fossil fuel industry is the single biggest obstacle to government action on climate change.” Divestment from fossil fuels has become more attractive as better Greentech alternatives have become available and as

fossil fuel investments increasingly risk becoming stranded assets as a result.

State and local governments across the country have filed at least 40 lawsuits arguing that the fossil fuel industry should be held accountable for its role accelerating climate change. For example, Multnomah County, Oregon is suing Chevron and other fossil fuel companies for \$50 billion for damages resulting from a deadly 2021 heat dome that brought temperatures to 116 degrees and killed 69 people. “Our case seeks to hold the defendants responsible under Oregon law for their deceptions and misrepresentations and failures to warn about the dangers of their fossil fuel products,” said a lawyer for Multnomah County. The county is seeking \$50 million in actual damages, \$1.5 billion in future damages related to anticipated heat events, and at least \$50 billion for an abatement fund to “weatherproof” the county.

In 2024, the Sierra Club and several community and environmental groups sued the Louisiana Department of Energy and Natural Resources, challenging the Coastal Use Permit for a liquefied natural gas (LNG) export project to construct a massive methane gas liquefaction, storage, and export terminal on the Gulf of Mexico — in wetlands that provide critical flood prevention and other vital ecological functions to local communities and the environment. The project would generate greenhouse gas emissions equivalent to operating 14 new coal-fired power plants or 13 million new gasoline powered vehicles. A Louisiana state court terminated the coastal use permit, finding state officials violated the Louisiana Constitution by issuing the Coastal Use Permit without considering its disproportionate effect on the surrounding communities of color and low-income communities, as well as the climate change impacts and cumulative impacts with other export facilities already in the area.

In February 2025, the state of Michigan – fabled auto capital of America – filed a federal lawsuit accusing ExxonMobil, Chevron, BP, Shell, and the American Petroleum Institute of engaging in a decades-long conspiracy to block the development of clean energy and electric vehicles in order to ensure that their fos-



oil fuel products dominated the market. According to the complaints, acting as a “cartel,” the defendants robbed consumers of energy and transportation choices in “one of the most successful antitrust conspiracies in United States history.”

State legislation is taking multiple approaches to put the squeeze on fossil fuel production and use. For example, Vermont is the first state to pass a law to charge fossil fuel companies for at least some of the damage their emissions have caused. Vermont’s law, the Climate Superfund Act, is largely modeled on the national superfund law. It instructs the state treasurer and Vermont’s Agency of Natural Resources to calculate what fossil fuel emissions have cost the state. The agency then determines the amount of emissions attributable to each fossil fuel company. Each company must then pay into a recovery fund. New York has also passed climate superfund legislation requiring payments to begin in 2028; 11 other states are considering similar legislation. A slew of lawsuits is trying to block the Vermont and New York laws. In May the Trump administration sued both New York and Vermont over their superfund laws and other states over efforts to make polluters pay for harms from climate change. US Attorney General Pam

Bondi alleges the laws and other states’ planned legal challenges are “burdensome and ideologically motivated” and “threaten American energy independence and our country’s economic and national security.”

Other legislation to put the screws on utilities is legion; the environmental research group Climate XChange tracked 63 bills in 25 states that cover performance-based pay structures for utilities, limits on utility profits and executive pay, prohibitions on using customer rates for political activity, and expanded price transparency requirements. Hawaii’s SB1396 establishes a “green fee” for transient accommodations to fund response to climate change-related disasters and environmental improvement efforts. The green fee applies to hotels, short-term vacation rentals, timeshares, and similar accommodations and cruise ships.

Such state and local initiatives are far from enough to force the fossil fuel industry to transition to clean Greentech energy. But they contribute to the squeeze on the industry’s value and profits that is already resulting from Greentech competition. And they help lay the groundwork for a future transition from – and abolition of – fossil fuel extraction and use.

Climate Overheating: A Story About Capitalism, Refugees, and the Working Class

Phil Wilson

Climate overheating is a story, and human survival depends on how we tell that story. It is a story about the ruling class, about the exploited, working masses, about organization and revolution. It is a story about capitalism, about unspeakable suffering, about politics, media, wealth and power. It is a story that Marxists will understand about a speculative end – a matter of something destined to unfold, yet still beyond our capacity to imagine. It encompasses familiar themes of both a biblical apocalypse and the grand designs of history. I am only one story teller – a struggling, uncertain, inadequate one, perhaps – but the plot lies in front of me (as it does for anyone to scrutinize) with all of its compelling and epic subplots.

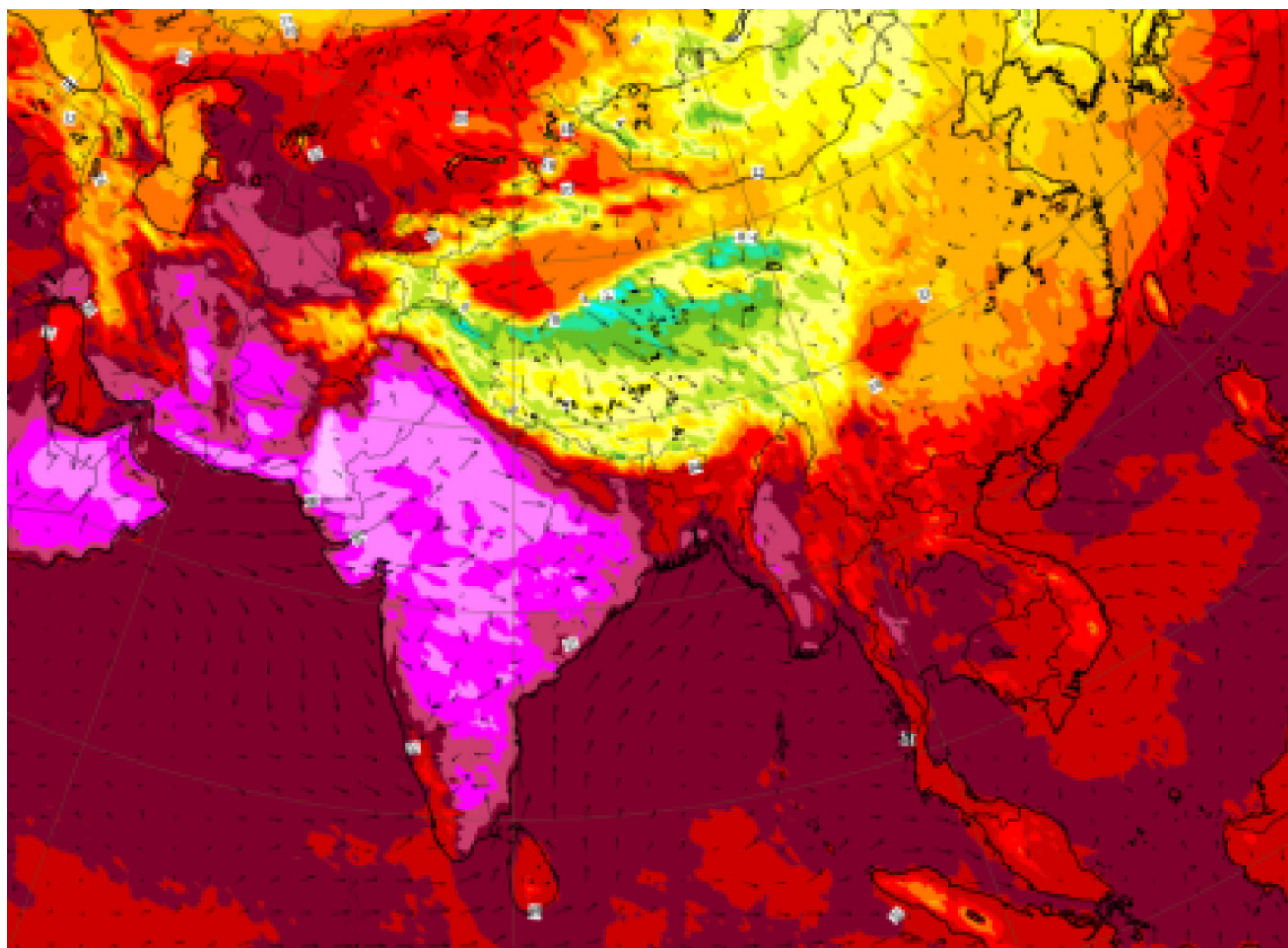
Climate overheating is not a fragmented narrative about local floods and wildfires. It exempts no one and meaningfully returns to global themes and international solutions. We make a grave mistake to make climate into a riddle about carbon capture, sea walls and renewable energy, even if technical means of mitigation have to be deployed. We can easily miss the forest for the trees. Climate is a tale about the means of production, profit, and the divided working class. The ending, unlike in classical Marxism, may be one of brutal failure and utter collapse. But the final act will revolve around the working class as we react with outrage or surrender.

Climate overheating is a story about criminals and victims, about failure and salvation, about beguiling mirages, about futile half measures, habitual compromises and the rageful insistence of nature.

We live in the age of excess – excess wealth, addiction, excess stuff straining walls, storage facilities, supply closets, attics, basements and landfills. Excess stuff creates a notable by-product – excess heat from overproduction. Climate overheating

initiates a terrible sequence of consequences. With rising sea levels and spreading deserts, the earth shrinks, creating refugees – twice victimized. Stateless people, orphaned by poverty and the violence of the writhing natural world, have been destined to become the centerpiece for reactionary political movements. But what happens when refugees become, not millions, or tens of millions, but billions? Climate overheating, refugees, fascism and war exist as inevitable features in an environmental/political feedback loop. The wealthiest nation builds walls to exclude the victims of climate. When walls fail, concentration camps follow. Excess people will be “treated accordingly” as genocide becomes capitalism’s shadow. Gaza should not be seen as an aberration, but as the template for an overheated world.

Let us add in AI. Our wondrous new passion for profit, fossil fuel generated knowledge available on a whim makes human brains redundant. AI knows that 50 times as many people died in the French Revolution as in the tame American Revolution that we fought on behalf of slave owners and land speculators. With a billion barrels of oil you can conjure up millions of bushels of random facts – you can burn your folder of cake recipes and let the data center measure your sugar and flour. Human thinkers – slow, contradictory, distracted by extraneous tasks involving philosophical and ethical questions that have become dead weight slowing the momentum of profit – once guided even the worst societies. AI, like smoldering climates, creates yet more unnecessary people. Capitalism does not waste space for redundant people. Private prisons and detention centers might be profitable means for the temporary storage of excess people, but for how long? In the US, we have mastered the act of concealment, as a matter of animal agriculture so that industrial levels of agony remain sequestered



from common awareness. We have practiced on animals – a trillion tortured, beaten, brutalized chicken and pig carcasses can invisibly be “processed.” Animal agriculture plays two key roles – it spews greenhouse gasses while desensitizing us all. Systemic violence has long provided the foundation for industrial supply chains, but now nature lashes back. Methane from cattle, CO₂ from degraded forests turned into grasslands pushes the boundaries of fate. There is no climate story that circumvents animal agriculture.

How could the pundits have missed something so obvious? As the rich become fewer and richer, and the rest lose everything – a swelling torrent of displaced people without a homeland, a bed, a blanket or a meal, the ocean of roiling refugees that capitalism has deemed to be waste products will have to be discarded. You have absorbed the staggering statistics – the top 12 global billionaires own

more wealth than the bottom four billion nobodies, the anonymous human filler, the suffering hordes vainly coaxing atrophied corn out of the parched remnants of the global south’s once-upon-a-time coveted fields.

Chiquita once dictated US policy in Latin America, long before El Salvador became a dumping ground for the USA’s most scapegoated and hardest working people. While our backs are turned, as we bow our heads silently in the direction of the cell phone deity, the banana withers and threatens to join dinosaurs, trilobites and saber-toothed tigers.

“Bananas are the world’s most consumed fruit – and the fourth most important food crop globally, after wheat, rice and maize. About 80% of bananas grown globally are for local consumption, and more than 400 million people rely on the fruit for 15% to 27% of their daily calories.”

Climate overheating works in an orderly and incremental manner. First bananas, then you.

“Bananas, especially the cavendish, are sensitive fruits. They require a temperature range between 15C and 35C (59F and 95F) to thrive, and just enough water – but not too much. They are sensitive to storms, which can cause a banana plant to shed leaves, making it much harder for the crop to photosynthesize.

While there are hundreds of banana varieties, the cavendish accounts for the vast majority of exports since it was chosen by the fruit conglomerates for its decent flavor, hardiness and high yield.

It’s this lack of genetic variation that makes bananas particularly vulnerable to the rapidly changing climate.”

So we have a world too hot for the most beloved tropical crop, and a huge population of vulnerable, hungry people who have value to capitalism only as a narrative target for political vituperation. The people burning alive in a post-banana, smoldering hell-scape want to violate our borders, we are told, and in the heat and the chemical pea soup of our remaining days, we are air conditioned, Comfortably Numb and eager to believe. In a world divided between too hot, and just unpleasantly warm, the cooler spots need to be cordoned off with concrete and razor wire.

In the boiling oceans of western civilization we are somehow running out of icebergs, but still richly in possession of sinking ships. In a system founded upon austerity, you can guarantee that the powerful shakers of civic priorities have not budgeted for life boats. Climate overheating is all about not enough. Climate overheating features mansions and tent cities, water for golf courses and dust for corn fields, air travel to tropical resorts and a funeral for the AMOC.

The AMOC, in the straight thinking and linear world of capitalist thought, will be destined to confuse us. We don’t do irony, paradox, or any man-

ner of counter-intuition, do we? The AMOC – an acronym for the Atlantic Meridional Overturning Circulation, the system of ocean streams that delivers equatorial warmth to the North Atlantic, has been slowing down as the ocean absorbs heat from our greenhouse gasses. A stagnant ocean will cause Europe to freeze. Huh? How do warming waters deliver an ice age? You ask.

“The AMOC is driven by the formation of deep water near Greenland: Cold, salty water sinks for the simple reason that cold water is more dense than warm water, and salty water is more dense than fresh. This sinking pulls surface waters toward northern Europe from the east coast of the Americas and further south, powering a massive global conveyor belt of water that extends all the way down to the southern tip of Africa. But as the north warms thanks to climate change, its waters become less dense and therefore less inclined to sink. The current slows. This pulls less salty water up from Africa, making the water in the north even less dense, and even less inclined to sink. The current slows more. Melting ice from Greenland freshens the waters further, exacerbating the problem. Eventually, this feedback loop shuts the current down.

Something similar has happened before: An AMOC shutdown played havoc with the planet 12,000 years ago, when the end of the last ice age dumped huge amounts of fresh water into the northern ocean. This plunged Europe back into ice-age-like conditions, with Greenland, for example, cooling by a stunning 18 degrees F (10 degrees C). “The effects are amongst the most drastic we have seen in the paleorecord,” says (climate scientist, Stefan) Rahmstorf. “We really don’t want this to happen.” “

No matter how much “we really don’t want this to happen,” it will happen, perhaps sooner rather than later if global capitalism fails to summon mass resistance. This revolutionary fervor will need to institute global cooperation and an international mandate to quickly abandon fossil fuel use in favor of slowed consumerism, redistribution of wealth

and coordinated production of renewable energy. Economists have imagined the details – Piketty, Chancel, Mohren, Moshrif and Odersky, regarding their own research, conclude:

“A global transformation that reconciles planetary habitability and high standards of wellbeing for all is possible – as long as three conditions are simultaneously met. Fast decarbonisation of energy systems is necessary. But we also need a major shift away from overconsumption towards “sufficiency”. This would involve a sharp reduction in labour hours and the use of raw materials, along with big changes in consumption patterns, food habits, land use and forest cover. Financing and politically sustaining decarbonisation and sufficiency will require a drastic reduction in inequality of income, wealth and power, between countries and within them. This reduction of global inequality is compatible with deep decarbonisation; indeed, it is a necessary condition for shared prosperity on a finite planet.”

Arguments for degrowth have been made by Jason Hickel, Kohei Saito and others, but these neo-Marxist conceptions have not found a vibrant voice outside of academia. The runaway train of suicidal fascism – the ultimate and final strategy of capitalism – is rushing headlong into the geological epic of banana extinction and increasingly static ocean currents. The task for a viable renaissance of progressive mobilization will be both massively difficult and essential – ordinary people have to become “literate about climate.” The basic narrative must be the foundation for political organization, particularly among poor and working people.

Climate overheating is a global issue that cannot be solved by nationalistic politics. Nationalists default to racist, anti-immigrant tropes, leading to war and genocidal solutions as a distraction from the true crimes of the past centuries – the unfettered rule of fossil fuel capitalists, animal agriculture and giant tech corporations (with its insatiable passion for fossil fuels). We now inhabit a five alarm fire being mediated by a global network of arsonists.

Out of our current predicament there are two (and only two) possible outcomes – a world of stagnant oceans, burnt banana plantations, death camps and survival bunkers, or a world of unprecedented international cooperation. This emerging world of second chances will be a mostly vegan world, a world of shared rather than private pleasures, a place full of parks, local agriculture, leisure time and democratic rule animated by citizens assemblies. Technology will be a public good – rationed and evenly distributed. A shrinking, hotter world, with coastal flooding and uninhabitable stretches of formerly cooler territory will require planned, humane movement of populations. Underpopulated countries like Canada, the US and Russia will have to share their good fortune with poor people driven from their homelands by capitalist behaviors of extraction, pollution and emissions. Survival is not about neoliberal nostalgia for an American ideology that never existed outside of fantasy. Survival will involve mass understanding of the emergency engulfing us. Rebecca Egan McCarthy, a climate journalist writing in *Grist*, suggests that a more protracted unfolding of the looming and catastrophic slowing of the AMOC:

“would still cause enormous upheaval, but would give the world more time to put mitigation efforts in place.”

Climate journalists seldom concern themselves with the nature of “mitigation efforts,” nor do they venture into the obvious implications of entrenched capitalism. Mitigation for climate involves an existential and vast requirement for global, political coordination. It is not a matter regarding the technical brilliance of a few geniuses, the externalized means by which an unforeseeable, inspired immaculate discovery rescues the passive sum of humanity from the physical laws of nature. This rescue will require an enormous network of ordinary people who fully understand the consequences of non-action. Our future will depend on mass comprehension of our shared climate predicament. The solution is not in the hands of scientists only – the bulk of the work (if it is to be done at all) will be accomplished by story tellers and those who avidly listen.

Why Israel Needs to Continue Its Genocidal War on Gaza

Qassam Muaddi

Despite Israel's alleged ceasefire, news emerging from the Gaza Strip is no different from what it was before the agreement. Not only is the process of de-escalation, relief, and reconstruction stuck, but it is reversed — as if Israel's genocidal war never stopped, but only lowered in intensity. Palestinians are killed by Israeli strikes in the Strip on a daily basis, while the closure of crossing points and the blockade of supplies continue to be a central part of the humanitarian crisis imposed on 2 million people in Gaza.

All of this raises the question: why is Israel's war on Gaza continuing? The answer lies in a combination of shifting regional dynamics and the place of Gaza within Israeli politics.

Israel's genocide in Gaza as a precondition

Since last Saturday, Israeli strikes have killed at least 61 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. On Tuesday, nine Palestinians were killed, including the entire al-Masri family, made up of both parents and their four children, in the Sabra neighborhood of southern Gaza City. The family was asleep when the strike occurred at dawn, collapsing the apartment building and trapping residents inside. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said in a statement that Israeli strikes have killed 57 Palestinians in the Strip in the past week alone.

These daily strikes target the same 128 square kilometers where all 2 million Palestinians in the Strip have been concentrated — less than one third of the Strip's surface. After the October 2025 ceasefire, Israel withdrew to the so-called "Yellow Line," an invisible border that cut Gaza roughly in half, but in the following months, the

Israeli army began progressively expanding the Yellow Line to bring more and more territory in Gaza under Israeli control, now encompassing close to 70% of the Strip.

Meanwhile, Israel's closure of crossing points and restricted entry of aid and vital goods to the strip continues to cause shortages of basic supplies. On Tuesday, the Palestinian Health Ministry in Gaza announced that the lives of cancer patients in Gaza were at risk due to the shortage of medicine and other medical supplies.

Meanwhile, Israeli forces are moving to create new realities on the ground, solidifying their control of both Gaza's territory and population. On Monday, Al Jazeera reported that Israeli forces installed iron gates on the al-Rashid road connecting the north and south of the Gaza Strip, restricting the movement of Palestinians between Gaza City, the central Gaza Strip, and Deir al-Balah. According to other media reports, Israeli forces also installed iron gates between the al-Mawasi area — where most displaced Palestinians are concentrated in tent encampments — and Rafah, which has been completely depopulated. This raises questions about other Israeli projects surrounding Rafah.

Israel and Trump's "Board of Peace" have announced at various points that they plan to build a "humanitarian city" on Rafah's ruins. Earlier Israeli permutations of the plan detailed how Palestinians would be "concentrated" in the area as a substitute for reconstruction, and would not be allowed to leave except for "voluntary migration."

"Israel hasn't been able to achieve its main goals in Gaza, but it hasn't given up on them either,"



Hani al-Masri, political analyst and director of the Palestinian Center for Strategic Studies, told Mondoweiss. “These goals are the complete occupation of Gaza and the displacement of its people, as part of a larger strategy to avoid Palestinian self-determination.”

For al-Masri, “all of Israel, and not only this Netanyahu government, is in a race against time to create facts on the ground which would be difficult to reverse or even discuss in an eventual political solution.” According to him, this explains the installation of iron gates across the Strip, and the further division of “an already divided territory.” Al-Masri added that since the war with Iran started, “the focus of the U.S. administration, and even the Board of Peace,

has moved away from Gaza, which gives Israel a favorable atmosphere to escalate its project in the Strip.”

Netanyahu’s necessity for war

Last week, the Times of Israel reported that the Israeli army declared Gaza’s surroundings a “closed military area,” ahead of announced marches organized by Israeli right-wing groups demanding the resettlement of Israelis in Gaza. According to the outlet, these settler groups are backed by the Likud party, led by Israel’s Prime Minister Netanyahu, who is expected to lose the capacity to form a government in the Knesset elections next October.

The continuation of Israel's war in Gaza, including the displacement of the population and the occupation of territory, is one of the most significant cards Netanyahu and his coalition hold in the upcoming election, given that the aim of ethnically cleansing the Strip is supported by 82% of Jewish Israelis, according to a May 2025 poll. The failure of the U.S.-Israeli war on Iran and the need to compensate for it with a local win also provides Netanyahu with a further incentive to escalate in Gaza.

Adel Shadid, former professor of political science at Hebron University and researcher on Israeli politics, points out that "Netanyahu and his Likud party need to maintain the atmosphere of war, to push away the eventual facing of internal accountability, both for the failure on October 7, and for the results of two and a half years of regional war."

"The strategy of the current Israeli government is clear, and it is above all concerned with the political survival of the Likud and its political line, as well as that of Netanyahu," Shadid emphasized, clarifying that "this doesn't mean that if another leadership is elected in October, things will go back to being as they were before, because no Israeli government will reverse what the current one has done."

However, Shadid expects that a different government could focus on repairing the damage done to Israel's economy, social resilience, and international standing after close to three years of war, believing that another government might at least de-escalate certain war fronts across the wider region. But Gaza, he notes, will remain a front of escalation regardless of who is in power in Israel.

The Gaza exception

On the regional front, Adel Shadid considers that the U.S. has suffered a significant setback in its forces. "The fact that U.S. military bases across the region are targets in a regional war with Iran, which doesn't seem to have an end without some

sort of understanding with Iran, indicates that the U.S. projection of force in the Middle East isn't the same as it used to be," he said.

"This increases Israel's need to advance whatever gains it can achieve in Palestine," Shadid explained. "That need presents itself above all in Gaza." According to Shadid, this "victory" is the displacement and definitive occupation of the Strip.

Shadid also notes that Israel's victory in Gaza is meant to represent a counter-balance to Iran's influence in the region. "It is possible that Israel, through advancing the erasure of Gaza, tries to eclipse any Iranian success in the region, but that is not necessarily a primary concern for Iran," he said.

"Gaza is not, at this moment, a main field of confrontation for the Iranians, which means that Iran seems to be ready to secure an agreement with the U.S. without including Gaza, as it did with Lebanon," Shadid added, stressing that, unlike Lebanon, Gaza has more strategic value for certain Arab countries like Egypt than for Iran, even though Arab countries aren't capable, at the moment, of stopping the Israeli offensive on the Strip.

The result is that Gaza remains one of Israel's only available arenas to continuously escalate without any significant international repercussions. And since any government that comes into power in Israel will have to face the same constraints on Israeli action, it will be pushed to claim a "victory image" by continuing the displacement of the people of Gaza, a wildly popular objective in Israel.

In other words, Israel's war on the Palestinian people in Gaza remains a political necessity for any Israeli government in power. And Netanyahu will seek to outdo his competitors by offering up Gaza to his supporters ahead of the Knesset elections.

Is It Just About AIPAC's Money, or Does the US-Israel Rot Run Far Deeper?

Ramzy Baroud

Two major stories regarding the United States and Israel in recent days represent profound watershed moments in the history of the relationship between both countries.

The first incident occurred on July 8 when US Congressman Ro Khanna (D-CA) and his delegation were detained by armed, illegal Israeli settlers in the occupied West Bank.

"These hoodlums come in with machine guns—an M4, an American-made machine gun—and they detain us," Khanna in a stunning statement. "They block off the road. And then they call the IDF, and the IDF is on their side, not on the side of the Americans."

Equally shocking to the congressman's direct encounter with the raw, lawless reality of the occupation was the response of US Ambassador to Israel, Mike Huckabee. Rather than defending an elected American lawmaker, Huckabee dismissed Khanna's harrowing experience as a mere "stunt."

This defiance of old taboos, however, is not confined to progressive factions. In an even more unprecedented development on July 15, US Vice President JD Vance used an appearance on The Joe Rogan Experience to deliver some of the sharpest criticism of Israel ever uttered by a sitting, top-tier US official.

Addressing a reported Israeli government-funded online influence campaign aimed at sabotaging the administration's diplomatic efforts, a furious Vance "certain elements within the Israeli government" of actively trying to derail peace negotiations and manipulate American public opinion. He went so far as to target the operators behind the foreign-backed campaign, telling them directly to "go to hell."

Yet, even as fierce criticism of Israel reaches the very apex of American politics, a profound, schizophrenic rupture divides Washington. While the American public, influential media personalities, and top-tier politicians are openly turning against Israel's unbri-dled violence, the traditional power structures continue to toe the line.

This is explicitly evident in Congress, where establishment politicians remain busy acting as defense contractors for Tel Aviv. Lawmakers are quietly pushing forward with Section 219 of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2027. Far from distancing the US from the ongoing regional bloodbath, this legislation aims to permanently integrate and synchronize the US and Israeli militaries under a joint "Defense Technology Cooperation Initiative."

This institutional blind spot is why the entire alliance is beginning to look utterly ridiculous.

Traditional foreign policy theory views Israel as an American 'vessel' or 'unsinkable aircraft carrier' in the Middle East, policing the region on behalf of Western hegemony. Whether that was ever true is highly debatable. Today, the ongoing genocide in Gaza, the relentless war on Iran, and the escalating aggressions against Lebanon and Syria have yielded zero strategic value to the American people. Instead, the United States has paid a massive financial and moral largesse to fund bloody regional wars that disrupt the global economy and make Washington a direct, complicit partner in the destruction of the Palestinian people.

Yet, the American administration continues to offer unquestioning support, with the exception of occasionally leaked, manufactured of 'tense' phone calls between Donald Trump and Benjamin Netanyahu.



Photo: Joyce N. Boghosian

No matter the physical, economic, or reputational damage inflicted on the US, Washington continues to march blindly toward the precipice.

To believe this subservience is a recent phenomenon is to misunderstand history. For many, the physical detention of Congressman Khanna by Israeli forces evokes the memory of Rachel Corrie—the 23-year-old American peace activist who was brutally crushed to death by an Israeli military bulldozer in Rafah on March 16, 2003, while peacefully shielding a Palestinian family home from demolition. In both cases, the message from Tel Aviv was clear: American status offers no protection.

Yet, this dependency runs deeper, rooted in the 1967 USS Liberty incident. During the Six-Day War, Israeli forces launched a relentless two-hour attack on an unarmed US intelligence ship, killing 34 American sailors and wounding 171. Instead of demanding accountability, the Johnson administration accepted Israel's excuse of a "mistake" and covered up the truth to protect its ally. This established a decades-long precedent: Washington would act as a political and military shield for Israeli actions, even at the cost of American lives.

It is often argued that Israel's stranglehold on American policy stems entirely from the financial power of its lobby in Washington, particularly the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Conventional wisdom holds that AIPAC's true dominance as the ultimate kingmaker began in 1981, when it waged a historic, ferocious battle to block President Ronald Reagan's proposed sale of AWACS early-warning surveillance aircraft to Saudi Arabia.

But the USS Liberty incident occurred long before the lobby wielded such immense power. The truth is that the US government has simply lost control of the very creature it has nurtured and shielded for decades. Blaming this dependency solely on campaign contributions no longer suffices; the rot is far deeper. It is driven by a deep-seated fear and trepidation among American politicians who have spent their entire careers learning that political survival requires absolute obedience to Tel Aviv.

This is precisely why JD Vance's recent remarks are so critical. It proves that the armor of absolute impunity is cracking, and the language of genuine, systemic criticism of Israel has officially been normalized in mainstream political discourse.

The Palestinian People Have the Right to Self-Determination

Salah Hamouri interviewed by Devriş Çimen

After the Israeli Parliament passed the law in 2018 referred to as a “breach of the duty of loyalty,” the Ministry of Interior was granted the authority to revoke a person’s residency rights if it determines that “the individual is not sufficiently loyal to the State of Israel.” As a result of this law, 41-year-old Jerusalem-born Salah Hamouri was expelled from Jerusalem and deported to France in December 2022. Hamouri, who obtained French citizenship through his mother, is known as a French-Palestinian. Prominent as a human rights defender, researcher, and lawyer, Hamouri spent more than 10 years in Israeli prisons as a political prisoner. Continuing his struggle and political activities in Paris after his exile, Hamouri answered our questions. With lawyer Salah Hamouri, we discussed the issue of the “breach of the duty of loyalty,” as well as the past and present political situation in Palestine, Israel’s attacks, Gaza, debates over a two-state solution, Palestinians in the diaspora, and international solidarity.

You are being denied access to the area where you were born and raised. What are the reasons for this decision? And is this an isolated case, or is it a systematic measure that also affects other Palestinians?

It is important to remember that Israel has pursued, for decades, policies aimed at reducing the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem. To achieve this, a series of laws and administrative measures have been put in place to alter the demographic composition of the city. One of the most significant was the Jerusalem Law of 1980, which declared Jerusalem “complete and united” as the capital of Israel and formalized the annexation of East Jerusalem.

Over the years, additional measures have further

strengthened this policy. In 2018, the Knesset adopted what is known as the “breach of allegiance” law, which grants the Israeli Ministry of the Interior the power to revoke the permanent residency status of Palestinians from East Jerusalem. Unlike Israeli citizens, most Palestinians in Jerusalem do not hold Israeli citizenship but only permanent residency status.

Under this law, the Ministry of the Interior can revoke a person’s residency on the grounds that they are deemed insufficiently loyal to the State of Israel. These decisions are often based on secret security files that are not disclosed to either the individual concerned or their lawyers, making it extremely difficult to challenge them.

It was under this law that I was expelled from Jerusalem and deported to France in December 2022 because I hold French nationality through my mother. My case is far from isolated. We were eight Palestinians from Jerusalem targeted under this “breach of allegiance” policy. And this is only one of many tools used to push Palestinians out of their city and weaken their presence in Jerusalem.

What is the current humanitarian and political situation in Palestine, and what are the main challenges facing the population today in the wake of the genocide in Gaza?

I think it is important to remember that the situation in Palestine is not a humanitarian issue, but a political one. Today, the political situation is as serious as it was at the time of the Nakba.

Whether in Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem, or the territories occupied in 1948, the central issue remains the same: the Zionist project has never

departed from its original ideological foundation, namely the idea of “a land without a people for a people without a land.” Within this ideology, the occupier uses every possible means to empty the land of its indigenous inhabitants.

For me, apartheid is a means. Colonization is a means. Deportation is a means. Genocide is a means. The occupier uses different colonial methods to pressure Palestinians into leaving their homeland.

The threat of expulsion and deportation does not concern Gaza alone. It also affects the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Palestinians living in the territories occupied in 1948.

In Gaza, it is important to remember that the genocide did not stop with the declaration of a ceasefire. There are still martyrs, and Palestinians continue to be killed. It is also important to recall that Israel recently announced its intention to control 70% of the Gaza Strip. Today, they are clearly expanding the “red line.” They are in the process of reasserting control over Gaza and reshaping it.

The famine continues. Targeted killings continue. The killing of journalists and the attack on Palestinian society as a whole continue. We can also see this through the statements of Smotrich and Ben-Gvir, who are now promoting what they call the “voluntary migration” of Palestinians.

Why has international solidarity—in the form of protests, campaigns, and large demonstrations—not prompted the UN—even though it designated November 29, 1978, as the “International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People”—and other international political bodies to take action to prevent the genocide in Gaza?

I think the role of the United Nations has weakened in recent years, largely because of the balance of power that exists within the institution itself. There is first and foremost a political issue, but also a financial one. We have to ask: who funds the United Nations? We have seen how Donald Trump used political pressure by withdrawing funding and at-

tempting to reshape the international order, including the UN itself.

It is also important to recall that on March 25, 2024, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza during Ramadan, without a U.S. veto. Yet even that resolution was not respected by Israel.

In my view, as long as the United States and the major powers do not use their leverage, do not impose sanctions, and do not isolate Israel, Israel will continue to feel free to pursue this ongoing genocide. As long as there are no sanctions and no price to pay for its actions, whether in Gaza or in the occupied territories, there is no real mechanism of pressure capable of stopping it.

Setting aside the much-discussed role of Hamas: Have values such as human rights, democracy, and international law been permanently undermined by Israel’s actions in this war?

First of all, it is important to remember that one cannot truly speak of democracy under occupation. Hamas won the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections and secured a majority in the Palestinian Parliament. Yet instead of respecting the choice made by the Palestinian people and giving this democratic process a chance, Western powers, led by the United States, imposed a total financial blockade in order to punish that outcome.

As a result, Palestinians have had a particular experience of democracy: when the results do not align with the expectations of the dominant colonial powers, their choice is not respected.

Furthermore, there have been no presidential or legislative elections since 2005-2006. Under these circumstances, what is the point of talking about democracy?

How credible is the debate over a two-state solution being promoted by countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, France, and many others, when Israel already exists and is interna-

tionally recognized, while the Palestinian people are struggling for their survival and statehood?

In my view, the two-state solution is not a politically just solution for Palestinians. Before even discussing this possibility, we must first ask whether it truly guarantees the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. The two-state solution does not address essential issues, particularly the right of return for Palestinian refugees.

Before talking about any political solution, we must first recognize the rights of Palestinians: the right to self-determination, the right of return, the right to resist, the right to live, and the right to freedom of movement.

For me, the priority is not to debate an abstract political formula, but to build a real balance of power, both inside and outside Palestine. Without that balance of power, it is impossible to seriously think about a political solution.

The Palestinian population is divided between the existing parties, Fatah and Hamas. Given the current chaotic political situation, is it possible for a comprehensive, secular, and viable democratic alternative to emerge?

The inter-Palestinian political situation has been quite complicated since the political division between Gaza and the West Bank in 2007. It is important to note that there are other political forces besides Fatah and Hamas. However, today, all Palestinian political parties have been weakened by the political situation in Palestine.

This weakness is also linked to the absence of a genuine political project in which people can place their trust. As a result, many Palestinians struggle to see a clear political direction.

For me, unless there is a real reconstruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), with the participation of all Palestinian political parties, we will remain politically lost, especially Palestinians living outside Palestine.

There are an estimated 14 million Palestinians worldwide. More than half of them live scattered throughout the diaspora outside the historic region of Palestine. What influence do they have on developments in Palestine? Is it possible for these Palestinians to return?

Historically, Palestinians in the diaspora played a very important and central political role, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s.

Unfortunately, the Oslo Accords profoundly transformed the Palestinian political, social, economic, and even ethical landscape. As a result, Palestinian refugees gradually lost the political position they once held and the influence they had over Palestinian strategic decision-making.

Today, the role of the younger generations is evolving. Since October 2023 in particular, Palestinians in the diaspora have been reclaiming their place in the struggle of the Palestinian people. This is visible in solidarity movements, where they often play a leading role.

They contribute both politically and to strengthening the solidarity movement, by seeking to build a Palestinian diaspora bloc that supports the resistance and also works toward a political solution.

What might solutions look like for societies whose right to self-determination—as in the case of the Palestinian and Kurdish peoples—is systematically denied?

For me, the question of self-determination is a fundamental right, a basic right of all peoples.

As long as this right is not respected and continues to be denied, the answer is resistance. When others refuse to recognize your right to self-determination, you have to impose it.

This right is not achieved by shouting or by politely asking your enemy for it. It is achieved through resistance.