

FRACTURES

INTERNATIONALIST TEACH-IN SUMMARIES

30 APRIL-18 JUNE 2025



What will the new world order look like?

Summary of FRACTURES session 1, 30 April

Our first conversation was with:

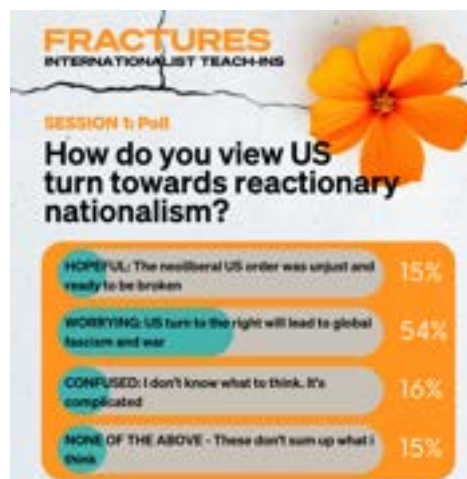
- **Achin Vanaik**, Retired Professor of International Relations, University of Delhi,
- **Aziz Rana**, author of the *Two faces of American freedom*
- **Ho-Fung Hung**, author of *Clash of Empires: From 'Chimerica' to the 'New Cold War'*
- **Luciana Ghiotto**, Trade and Investment researcher and activist at TNI

Content below

- Poll of audience
- Summary of speakers' main interventions
- Key points in discussion and Q&A
- Top facts and quotes
- A few comments from the chat
- Recommended reading

How are you feeling about this moment?

We did a poll of attendees and the mood was mixed but mainly anxious:



Who spoke on what – a few initial key points by our speakers

- **Aziz Rana** provided a **historical perspective on U.S. imperialism**, tracing its influence on international politics. US imperialism is shaped by its beginnings as a settler colonial empire which expropriated indigenous land and brutally exploited slaves. The Cold War forced US elites to reconceive empire through a rhetoric of liberal norms and international institutions, but this always contained contradictions with the U.S. exercising “international police power” when convenient, including regime-change. **Right-wing American politics**, exemplified by Trump, marks both a profound break and a continuity with past imperialism. It **rejects the mid-20th-century vision of a “rules-based order” and reverts to a more openly aggressive settler-colonial hegemony**, prioritizing hard power over soft influence and discarding legal norms domestically and internationally. This shift entails dismantling racial liberalism, regulatory constraints on capitalism, and civil liberties, and openly asserts an ethno-nationalist vision.

 - **Ho-Fung Hung** argued that **what underlies US empire** (compared to the British) is a commitment to **free flow of capital rather than free trade**. This underlies the competition between US and China which is not due to ideological conflicts but economic interests, as American corporations confront growing competition from Chinese counterparts. While initially US corporations and elites were happy with “Chimerica” —where China served as a manufacturing hub exploiting cheap, poorly organized labor, benefiting American capital by lowering costs- over time, Chinese companies developed their own technological and industrial capacities, becoming competitors and igniting conflict with U.S. capital interests.

 - **Achin Vanaik** noted that **reactionary nationalism is a global** (not just US) **phenomenon, deeply linked to neoliberal economic policies** and their devastating effects on democratic rights, inequality, and the rise of oligarchic capital worldwide, in particular since the 2008 financial crisis. He pointed out that while middle powers like India, Turkey, and South Africa try to assert regional dominance, none can genuinely rival major imperial powers like the U.S., Russia, or China and most remain elite-level alignments often favouring imperial or oligarchic interests rather than the broader interests of their populations. He warned of the **dangers of assuming Global South countries as partners** in a progressive movement given the poor record of challenging US imperial power (eg curtailing the power of the US dollar) and the record of many of elites’ complicity with Israel’s genocide in Gaza (eg South Africa still providing coal to Israel even while supporting the ICJ case)

 - **Luciana Ghitto** said that from a perspective of organising on trade, the ongoing **centrality of corporate and imperial power internationally remains the most important continuity**. Protectionism for example is not a new phenomenon but has been practiced by the U.S. for over 150 years, to maintain imperial and capitalist dominance, while imposing free trade on everyone else. Despite all the US rhetoric, global trade and investment architecture, like the WTO, free trade agreements (FTAs), and especially mechanisms such as Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS), embed corporate power internationally and continue to be imposed on the Global South. But it is also true that this process also impacted the working class in the US as capital and jobs moved offshore which has provided space for Trump’s anti-globalisation critique, yet his coalition is still constrained by the very corporate interests that built global capitalism.
-

Some other key points from the conversation and Q&A

Limitations of Multipolarity: BRICS and G20 represent emerging locus of power, but many nations are sub-imperial actors aligned with global powers. They have not yet formed a coherent bloc and have not yet posed a significant challenge to imperial powers nor adequately defended weaker Global South nations. However Hung noted that Global South countries do now have more manoeuvring room economically and politically to leverage U.S.-China tensions to their advantage

Finding new language and critique on trade: Luciana challenged simplistic binaries where tariffs or protectionism are demonized outright, emphasizing that not all protectionist policies are regressive. Hung and Luciana argued for trade measures that address climate change or labour standards. Aziz sees an opening on trade struggles for a transnational class-based response that unites workers' interests beyond nationalist scapegoating, fighting corporate power while addressing global labour solidarity.

Fractures of hope: Aziz noted that right-wing reactionary forces, though powerful, do not represent a majority of the population in the US at least (they manipulate undemocratic systems), and their xenophobic agenda lacks sustainable positive alternatives. There is a critical role for left-wing and internationalist movements as a potential pathway out of the current political crisis. Luciana, while acknowledging the darkness and complexity of the current moment, says the crisis is an opening for reassessment and mobilization. By understanding the structural dynamics and addressing the lived realities of those left behind by neoliberal globalisation, progressive movements can engage and expand their base, fostering struggles that may lead to systemic change.

Strategies: Achin argued for the importance of building *progressive nationalism*—movements that are left-leaning, oriented toward social justice, and rooted in popular politics – coupled with progressive internationalism, aspiring toward coordinated global efforts on climate change and social justice. Aziz encouraged rebuilding organized, intermediate institutions—unions, professional associations, community groups—that form the cultural and organisational foundation for left politics and progressive change in the U.S. and globally. Luciana argued for trade justice movements to move beyond traditional trade issues to encompass financial markets, currency power (notably the U.S. dollar's dominance), and the broader capitalist framework underlying trade relations in order to confront entrenched corporate power and the appeal of the right.

Some facts



25 years ago, approximately 70% of global currency reserves were held in U.S. dollars; currently, this share has dropped to 60%. The euro holds the second-largest share, while China's currency ranks sixth, with about 2.3%, a figure comparable to Canada's currency reserves—even though Canada's economy is only one-eighth the size of China's. China is far from challenging US financial power.



Over 200 free trade agreements exist worldwide, accompanied by numerous bilateral investment treaties employing ISDS (Investor-State Dispute Settlement) mechanisms that protect corporate power globally.



UAE and Egypt are both in BRICS but on opposing sides of the Sudanese civil war, exemplifying the limited political cohesion within BRICS.



The US is not the only power to rename its nearby seas: The Philippines has renamed the South China Sea the West Philippine Sea.

Some comments in the chat:

Ben S: 'There is a credible argument that explains Chinese economic reform in the 80s as integrating capitalist market-driven development within a broader socialist framework, attested to by huge increases in life expectancy, education, quality of life etc.'

Terry H: 'Globalisation was always an uneven and contradictory project'

Ted S: It is not a good idea to reify 'corporations'. They are a legal structure created in the first instance to insulate an emerging and ascendant capitalist class from a variety of liabilities.

Baz: Any folks working on justice and prison issues abroad, please let me know!
IncarcerationNationsNetwork.org

Recommendation: Leo Panitch's *The Making of Global Capitalism*: https://www.versobooks.com/en-ca/products/2267-the-making-of-global-capitalism?srsId=AfmBOoqOmgAh6b5Gty-67sQ0En9uewE_tkdd4c-TX0QMJZSgWh5x5Do1

Further reading and listening

Aziz's analysis:

- [Dismantling of US constitutional order \(NLR\)](#)
- [Conversation on Trump's war by Executive Order \(LRB\)](#)
- [Conversation on Third worldism \(The Dig\)](#)
- And his recent book, *The Constitutional Bind: How Americans Came to Idolize a Document That Fails Them* (2024)

Ho-Fung on x: <https://x.com/hofunghung> and recent pieces by him:

- [How China is reacting to Trump's trade war \(Jacobin\)](#)
- [China's long economic slowdown \(Dissent\)](#)
- [Interview on the Clash of Empires](#)
- [Repressing Labor, Empowering China \(Phenomenal World\)](#)

Achin suggested the following pieces:

- [Patrick Bond on how BRICS need critiques not quasi-cults \(CATDM\)](#)
- [Perry Anderson on Regime change in the West \(LRB, subscription\)](#)
- [Laurent Delcourt: BRICS - a critical perspective \(CETRI\)](#)
- [Eric Toussaint on BRICS and new Development Bank \(CATDM\)](#)

Luciana has written for TNI on Trump's tariffs:

<https://www.tni.org/en/article/trumps-favorite-word-tariffs>

TNI's most recent State of Power report, **Geopolitics of Capitalism**, was all about geopolitics and deeply relevant to today's discussion. For essays and infographics on China and the US, the role of mid-level powers such as the UAE, why Europe has stayed so close to US hegemony, the impact of geopolitics on the green transition, and discussion of social movement strategies:

<https://www.tni.org/en/publication/geopolitics-of-capitalism>



Geopolitics of Capitalism

<https://www.tni.org/en/publication/geopolitics-of-capitalism>

And some parting quotes:



Aziz Rana

'If the centre's project is collapsing, the right has no alternative to offer besides xenophobia and scapegoating. So really it's only the forces both domestically and transnationally of an internationalist left that provide a pathway out of this thicket.'



Luciana Ghiotto

'Crisis has always been the moment when we can reassess what's going on and from there try to grab the people that are left behind in all these crises... There's only collective action that is possible otherwise there's nothing to do.'

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Is the 'liberal' post-WWII international order dying?

Summary of FRACTURES session 2, 7 May

Our second conversation was with:

- **Co-moderator: Meena Jagannath** from the Global Network of Movement Lawyers
- **Aslı Ü. Bâli**, Professor of International Law at Yale Law School
- **Shahd Hammouri**, Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights/University of Kent
- **Jomo Kwame Sundaram**, former assistant secretary-general at UN-DESA.

Content below

- Polls of audience
- Analysis of multilateral order
- Thoughts on strategy
- Recommended reading
- Some parting quotes

How do you view the post WWII international order?

We did a couple of polls to test the temperature of the room. There is of course no single answer to these polls - and many in the chat said they would tick more than one - but they give a sense of the sentiment. 54% of those in the first poll called the 'WWII international order a colonial-dominated structure that entrenched the power of the Global North'

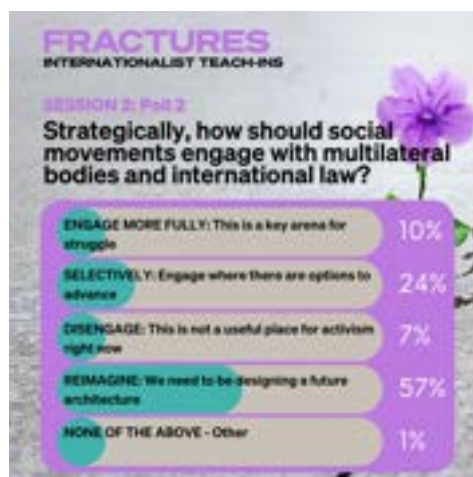


Analysis on post WWII institutions and norms

- **Asli Bali** argued it was important to recognise that the design of **post-WWII order** with its asymmetries and built-in exceptions was a reflection of the global power structures of that time and the winners of the war. It was **designed to permit colonial interventions, support structural racism and protect US hegemony**. It's most obviously reflected today in the UN security council veto and the way it enables genocide in Palestine. The rhetoric of humanitarian intervention used by US and allies in the 1990s sometimes clouds this view for liberals, but it never acted contrary to imperialist interests. What's new today though is that the US has lost its capacity to command consent without coercion. In addition the rise of other powers economically could be an opportunity for the Global South to assert demands to redistribute global power in ways that could be less war-prone (although this is not guaranteed- see the emerging India-Pakistan conflict).
- **Jomo KS** argued that while the UN-led multilateral order reflected these inherent power imbalances, it also allowed for more representation of the global South, **and was an important site of interstate contention compared to the old colonial pre-WW2 colonial order**. It's not for nothing that the West pushed for the WTO to be outside the UN system reduce the scope of multilateralism and the UN's role. Even institutions like the IMF and World Bank were initially conceived as part of Roosevelt's post-war post-colonial order, and had more progressive possibilities initially, which have been deliberately eroded as they gradually became tools for the West, especially the US, to exercise domination. Social movements and resistance have also had an impact, as we saw in Seattle in 1999 where they supported Global South countries to resist corporate agendas.
- **Shahd Hammouri** said that **international humanitarian lawyer is premised on non-domination and non-exploitation** but its failure at this time with the genocide in Gaza shows how it failed because it **denies colonial history and colonised people**. It has allowed the language of humanitarianism, while perpetuating exploitation, even the livestreaming of a genocide.

Thoughts on strategy going forwards

We did another poll which gave a sense of how the audience leaned in terms of strategy: Re-imagine!!



Who spoke on what – a few initial key points by our speakers

- **Asli:** True decolonization requires redistribution of power beyond what the international system as presently constituted is likely to yield. Decolonisation in the mid-20th century ended up integrating injustices of the European state system – such as logics of racialized inclusion and exclusion, sovereignty without any reparation or redistribution for the massive transfers of wealth out of the Global South to the Global North. A true decolonization would need to begin from different premises — contesting the sovereign right to exclude; allocation of individual rights and responsibilities premised on belonging to a nation-state and participating in a state-based order. **Still we can only begin from where we are** and Asli agrees with Jomo that the **existing multilateral institutions are sites not only of domination but also struggle** and some Global South victories eg Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and the UN General Assembly's various declarations from denouncing SA apartheid to Gaza. ICJ and the performance of the SA delegation crystallises the possibility of resisting from within while preserving the option of dismantling/deconstructing/reconstructing/reimagining from without.

- **Jomo:** Need to have a variegated strategy towards multilateral institutions. For example, despite the limitations of the WHO, we must oppose Trump's and RFK Jr's effort to destroy it. Global South unity is important, but can also be regressive, for example in the Middle East where the UAE and Saudi Arabia bought an alliance of 40 countries to destroy Yemen, now the only remaining national bastion of resistance to Israel. With the WTO undermined by the US since Obama, the Trump tariffs are a reminder that the earlier agreed GATT system may be worth reviving instead of sticking to the WTO provisions which are more clearly biased to corporate interests, e.g., TRIPS. We need more flexible trade commitments recognising the varied circumstances and developmental needs of developing countries. Trump's simultaneous attacks on the rest of the world gives us a new **opportunity to build new alliances** as no one takes the current world order as guaranteed any more. This may, at times, mean allying with some countries on particular issues although we may not be aligned on other issues. Divide and rule should not just be an imperialist strategy, but can be deployed for resistance too. It also requires us to go beyond criticizing multilateral institutions and processes to better **articulating alternatives** of what we want instead. We must also be mindful of the likelihood of its realization before destroying elements of the status quo when the likely alternatives may well be worse.

- **Shahd:** Palestine has become the litmus test for humanity. As lawyer has been deeply frustrating knocking on every possible door to stop an unfolding genocide and dealing with international bureaucracy that just wants you to wait in line. **But we have to use the legal system, even with its veneer of justice, to call out the inconsistencies, to draw on its language, to build alliances.** Hague Group is one such platform that has been difficult as it involves a whole world of diplomacy and compromise that is often inimical to justice, but focus now is on building country partners so it becomes a bloc of alternative power that can challenge entrenched power of Israel in alliance with the West.

Further reading and listening

Asli's analysis and links:

- <https://betterorderproject.org/> and a [podcast interview](#) by Asli
- [ICJ Israel case explainer with Asli](#) (The Nation)
- [Beyond the Nation-State in the Middle East](#) (Boston Review)

- The Humanitarian paradox: why it requires [military] restraint (Quincy Institute)

Jomo has a great free op-ed service you can sign up to at: <https://jomodevplus.substack.com>

and you can also access old articles at <https://www.ipsnews.net/author/jomo-kwame-sundaram/>

Shahd:

- The Premise of Envisioning the End of the Illegal Israeli Occupation: The Palestinian Right to Self-determination as Decolonisation (AIHaq)
- Perspectives on international law and Palestinian liberation (LPE)
- It is time to move the UN and international law out of the West (Al Jazeera)
- UN experts warn international order on a knife's edge, urges states to comply with ICJ advisory opinion (OHHCR)
- M. Bedjaoui, Towards a new international economic order (UNESCO)

And some parting quotes:



Jomo Kwame Sundaram

'We're living in a really different time. This is an era of bullies and gangsters. But it's creating a mess [in which] it's even more important for us to offer and strategically support ongoing struggles for achievable alternatives.'



Asli Bali

'We need to find places where we can use the [current multilateral] machinery to resist, while retaining the deconstructive imagination and ambition to replace this machinery'

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FRACTURES

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Do we still live in a neoliberal world?

Summary of FRACTURES session 3, 14 May

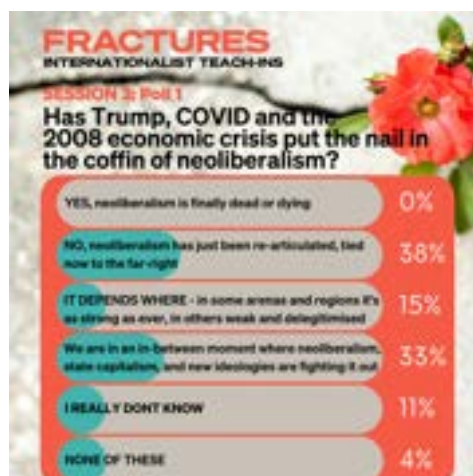
Our third conversation was with:

- **Quinn Slobodian**, author of *Hayek's Bastards: Race, Gold, IQ and the Capitalism of the Far Right*,
- **Daniel Chavez**, co-author of *The Future is Public* and coordinator of TNI's Global Green Industrial Policy Lab
- **Anita Gurumurthy**, Director of IT for Change in India
- **Sofia Scasserra**, a TNI associate researcher who specialises on digital economy, labour and development.

Content below

- Poll of audience
- The state of neoliberalism
- Thoughts on strategy
- Comments in the chat
- Key facts
- Recommended reading
- Key quotes

Poll – Has Trump, COVID and the 2008 economic crisis put the nail in the coffin of neoliberalism?



There is of course no single answer to these polls - and many in the chat said they would tick more than one answer - but they give a sense of the sentiment of the room.

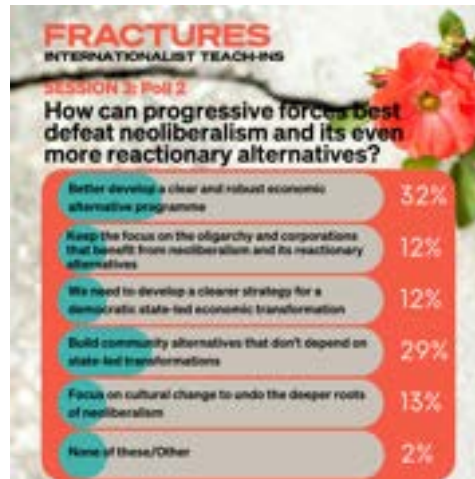
No-one thought neoliberalism is dead! But many agreed it was re-articulating and being contested in new ways.

The state of neoliberalism

- Quinn Slobodian argued that to understand where we are in relationship to neoliberalism, we need to consider the four distinct ways the term is used: as a historical era, a bundle of policy ideas (like deregulation and privatisation), a form of behaviour or self-identity, and crucially, as an intellectual movement that arose in the 1930s **united around a central goal of defending capitalism from democratic interference**. In this sense, neoliberalism is not a fixed or monolithic concept but has adapted over time in response to political and economic challenges. The **recent fusion of neoliberalism with far-right political forces is therefore the latest strategy to resist progressive and global social movements perceived as threats, but it is not a stable coalition which opens up opportunities for the left**.
- Anita Gurumurthy argued that **digital capitalism is a unique dimension** of this moment, where a **handful of tech oligarchs— “feudal digital lords”—control both the means of communication and production simultaneously**. This convergence makes digital platforms not just economic entities but central infrastructures that govern social life and public discourse, deeply entrenching structural and infrastructural power. These digital platforms **amplify misogyny, sexism, racism, and other forms of discrimination as integral features, not bugs**. The sensationalism, virality, and falsehoods systematically promoted by capitalist-driven algorithms, reinforce capitalist and eugenicist imperialistic logics that dominate the thinking of the Big Tech oligarchs. They also have no answer to climate change and systemic inequities, besides further dispossession, inequality and labour precarity.
- Daniel Chavez agrees that **neoliberalism is not dead but has entered a phase of decay** marked by contradictions and crises evident across both the global North and South, what Gramscians call an interregnum—where the old neoliberal order is in decline while the post-neoliberal future remains uncertain. In this time, **states have reasserted their role in the economy**, particularly since crises like the 2008 financial collapse and COVID-19 pandemic. This resurgence is visible in diverse contexts—from the industrial strategies of China and parts of Asia to renewed developmentalism in Latin America, and industrial and green policies in the global North such as the U.S. Inflation Reduction Act and the European Green Deal. It has a long history as all successful industrialisations—from the U.S. and Western Europe to East Asia—have involved strong, planned state intervention, challenging neoliberal free-market orthodoxy, but as China has shown it can also risk being authoritarian and exploitative and the **climate crisis demands planned state-led transitions that avoid carbon-intensive pathways of past industrial development**.
- Sofia also argued that neoliberalism is not disappearing; rather, it is **deeply embedded**—it is **particularly visible in the way digital algorithms organise economic production and resource allocation**. It is also evident in the presence of far-right governments (e.g., in Argentina under Javier Milei). At the same time, it is **also faces opposition and contestation** from progressive governments and movements across Latin America in countries like Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil.

Thoughts on strategy going forwards

We did another poll which gave a sense of how the audience leaned in terms of strategy. There was quite a varied response in terms of where people feel it is best to prioritise our energies. Again of course these strategies are not mutually exclusive.



- **Quinn:** There are **fractures within the neoliberal right, because there are contradictions between far-right groups that push for more welfare chauvinism and pronatalist policies and the neoliberal emphasis on economic freedom and market deregulation.** These lead to disputes over immigration policy and economic priorities—that the left could exploit. There is a **need for credible left populist alternatives** focused on economic justice and democratic control, internationalism, learning from international developments beyond the U.S. and recognising the instability within far-right and neoliberal alliances.

- **Anita:** Time to reimagine digital governance beyond corporate control by **advocating for public goods regimes in the digital realm.** Communities alone cannot solve these challenges due to the “tragedy of the anti-commons” in data ownership and coordination, which means we will need **new public infrastructures** of data and digital commons managed collectively—integrating state, communities, and civil society. In India for example there are initiatives like data trusts for schoolchildren’s data co-managed by communities, schools and the state that we can learn from. **Digital non-alignment** is another important strategy for a just international economic order, countering the current US-dominated tech imperialism enforced through trade and intellectual property regimes. We also need **new alliances** across diverse social movements – some of which are already happening - linking digital rights with labour, environmental, feminist, and anti-financialisation struggles—to reclaim the tech agenda as a collective, democratic, and equitable project.

- **Daniel:** Need to articulate and develop a **transformative industrial policy in the global South** that deliberately shapes economic production beyond market dictates to **prioritise social development, planned climate transition and environmental sustainability, and democratisation of economic decision-making.** Core elements of this policy would include state ownership of strategic sectors (notably critical minerals), managing trade and production

systems in ways that break structural dependencies imposed by neoliberalism and unequal terms of trade, and integrating infrastructure, social development, jobs, and skills development into industrial planning. This will only come about by **building robust political power through popular mobilisation of workers, peasants, and intellectuals around developmental alternatives**; fostering new class alliances bridging formal and informal sectors; and enhancing international solidarity through South-South cooperation to challenge neoliberal restrictions on policy space and trade agreements and to decolonise economic knowledge which remains centered on the Global North. Struggles and the transformative construction of alternatives, such as those developed by Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, greatly contribute to forging these new alliances.

- **Sofia:** Drawing from her work with Latin American trade unions, she notes a strengthening internationalism within labour movements. This moment of crisis and uncertainty is an opportunity—where **“everything is questioned, everything can happen.”** So the left has a **critical role to generate new ideas and struggles** that can influence the construction of an alternative economic and political order. One of those arenas is trade, where scepticism and opposition by various countries toward fully liberalising e-commerce and digital sectors at the WTO is opening up space for civil society to propose alternative governance models and more democratic policy-making.

Other key points

- **Embrace of anti-globalisation by the right is not necessarily a victory for the left.** Rejection of WTO for example does not mean a rejection of corporate trade rules, but rather that the US wants to unilaterally impose its will on everyone without any international accountability that can affect its interests. Still the rejection of free trade does open space for alternative regional or global trade architectures that do not necessarily align with neoliberalism.
- **Existing mechanisms like “due diligence” frameworks** and advocates for holding technology companies **legally accountable for “tech crimes,”** including wage theft in platform economies **are failing.** We need more root-and-branch transformation of the digital sector.
- As we look at capital/labour relationships, we **need nuanced understandings of “class” and “working people,”** particularly in the global South, where the informal sector constitutes a **majority of employment.** This also demands new labour and political alliances beyond conventional trade union structures to effectively address labour challenges and build worker power.
- There is a **dangerous techno-utopian narrative that AI and digital tech alone can solve environmental crises, which ignores deeper systemic issues.** “There is this misconception that the earth is a datified planet and the datified planet through the magic of AI can deliver us.”

Comments in the chat

Ted S: A fantastic treatment of aspects of today's topic by Perry Anderson in a recent London Review of Books: <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v47/n06/perry-anderson/regime-change-in-the->

Kaspar L: Textbook neoliberalism has never been implemented 'fully' as it always requires the state

Simeon G: The focus on oligarchy and tech consolidation of means of production & communication brought up by Anita is something we must focus on. Any movement must find ways to bypass, subvert, thwart, rein in this sector.

Ipek E.V: Simultaneously, we should also consider how we regulate the public AI. There is no guarantee that anything public is going to be for public benefit.

Fahd H: The Left's blind spot when it comes to crypto really hurt us. We should have understood and engaged with the technology from the start as hacktivists wanted. The tendency to discard anything to do with technology or finance as 'bad' left space for this current casino-style culture to take over

Dian B: Here's another crack. People's Health Movement is starting an initiative for Public Pharma. We would really appreciate all of your support

Further reading and listening

Quinn recommendations:

- Blood and soil neoliberalism (Dissent Magazine)
- Interview with Quinn on Crack Capitalism book (The Nation)
- What is neoliberalism interview (Doomscroll/Youtube)

Anita:

- IT for Change's great blog: <https://botpopuli.net/>
- Declaration from Kerala on a new innovation ecosystem for our collective digital futures
- <https://globaldigitaljusticeforum.net/>
- Anita and Nandini's piece for TNI's State of Power report on digital power: The Intelligent Corporation: Data and the digital economy

Daniel

- Global Green Industrial Policy Lab
- The Future is public report
- Book (in Spanish) La trama del neoliberalismo: Mercado, crisis y exclusión social (CLACSO 2003)
- Video conversation with Jojo Nem Singh on "Business of the State" and Resource Governance
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy: <https://www.tuedglobal.org/>

Some facts



By 2050, 40% of the world's youth will be in Africa and 15% in India (55% in total), often living in precarious, informal economies, highlighting the urgency of rethinking global development, labor, and technological policies.



Up to 80% of employment in some Latin American and African countries is informal, complicating traditional class analyses and labour mobilization strategy

Key quotes:



Quote from Daniel Chavez

“The future is public, but should also be green, and the only way to make it green is if it’s public.”



Quote from Anita Gurumurthy

“Where there is a Goliath, there is a David. Many Davids maybe, but they can bring [the Big Tech oligarchy] down.”

“

There’s a crack in everything. That’s how the light gets in.

—Quoting Leonard Cohen

”

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FRACTURES

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30 April-18 June 2025



Do we still live in a neoliberal world?

Summary of FRACTURES session 4, 21 May

Our forth conversation was with:

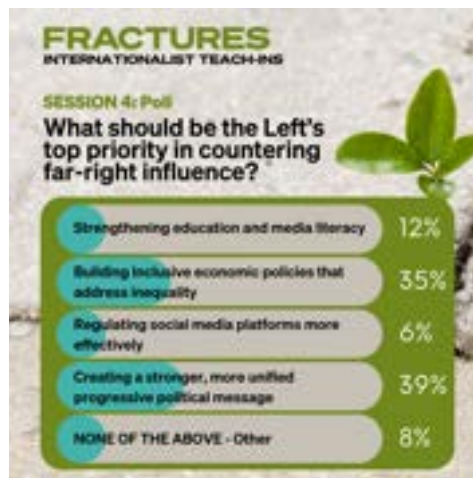
- **Joe Mulhall**, Research Director at Hope not Hate and author of *Drums In The Distance: Journeys Into The Global Far Right*
- **Ailynn Torres Santana**, Professor and researcher at FLACSO Ecuador
- **Raqib Hameed Naik**, Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)
- Co-moderated by **Maie Panaga Babker**, Noor

Content below

- Poll of audience
- The global far-right
- Thoughts on strategy
- Comments in the chat
- Resources and links
- Key quotes

Poll – What should be the Left's top priority in countering far-right influence?

We did a poll here is what people thought.



The rise of a global multi-racial far-right

- **Joe** spoke to his experience of extensive undercover research and infiltration of far-right groups across the UK, Europe, and the United States to highlight how **far-right adherents are not easily identifiable, monstrous "others" detached from mainstream society but rather ordinary people**—friends, neighbors, co-workers—often living in economically marginalized or socially isolated environments. He also stressed the importance of understanding the far right through a global lens while simultaneously acting hyperlocally. **Far-right movements are no longer confined by geographic or national borders; instead, they form interconnected, multi-racial networks** that share tactics, narratives, and strategic alliances across continents. This transnational dimension is facilitated by digital communication tools and shared conspiracy theories, such as the "replacement theory" and anti-immigration rhetoric, which resonate across diverse contexts despite cultural differences. Third, he pointed to the **socio-economic roots**

fueling the far right's rise, in particular **widespread economic insecurity**, growing inequality, and political disenchantment that create fertile ground for far-right ideologies that prey on fear, anger, and a perceived loss of status among populations to pitch autocratic and exclusionary solutions that reject liberal democracy and multiculturalism. Fourth, Mulhall highlighted the sophistication of the **far right's adaptability and resilience, which operates through digital networks** that enable activists—even teenagers—to engage anonymously or semi-anonymously. These networks function like a "many-headed hydra," capable of regeneration and morphing tactics rapidly, making them difficult to combat through traditional means.

- **Ailynn** spoke about the entanglement between far-right politics and religious neoconservatism in Latin America. She **argued against framing the far right solely as a backlash and instead highlighted its productive dimension, meaning it actively builds platforms, networks, and agendas** rather than merely reacting to progressive advances. It creates and consolidates new political, cultural, and social realities—shaping institutions, policies, and everyday life through sustained campaigns that often co-opt neoliberal economic agendas, authoritarian governance practices, and conservative religious values to maintain power. Ailynn identified a **"reactionary ecosystem" where far-right forces and religious neoconservatives overlap** and strengthen each other, especially through shared anti-progressivism and anti-communism. A **key pillar** that unites these forces is the fight against **"gender ideology,"** which is not merely about gender or sexuality politics but serves as a moral foundation for far-right agendas, blending secular and religious rhetoric. This alliance weaponises concepts of "freedom" and traditional family values to morally justify far-right positions, even enabling them to challenge human rights frameworks related to women's and LGBTQ+ rights. It also intersects with broader issues like migration, climate change, and security, each politicized differently in diverse contexts but connected by far-right narratives.
 - **Raqib:** Far-right groups today are more connected, resourced, and powerful than ever, engaging in extensive networking facilitated by digital platforms to exchange tactics, techniques, and procedures—fostering a coordinated global far-right ecosystem. **Far-right groups prioritise common enemies over ideological uniformity**, for example strategic alignment between Hindu far-right nationalists and the U.S. alt-right, united by Islamophobia despite occasional tensions on immigration issues. Far-right has also developed **multifaceted propaganda tactics**, which include disinformation, misinformation, and the normalization of extremist ideas through popular culture eg memes, viral videos, AI-generated synthetic media, live streaming, podcasting, and extremist music ("Hindutva pop") as potent tools for identity-building and recruitment, especially targeting vulnerable and isolated youth. They don't only exploit existing digital platforms but **actively construct their own digital ecosystems or takeover mainstream platforms like Twitter (now X) under Elon Musk's leadership**. It is also important to **follow the money, with extremely wealthy individuals who bankroll far-right movement** as well as global financial networks, for example Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and its affiliates operate extensive infrastructures in over 50 countries, mobilizing significant grassroots donations (millions of dollars) and forging alliances with far-right, Islamophobic, and Zionist entities.
-

Thoughts on strategy going forwards

- **Joe:** Progressive movements need to **prioritise hyperlocal engagement**, strengthening democratic participation, economic justice, and cultural engagement to counter the far right's appeal. This requires offering a **compelling, hopeful vision of the future** and addressing the material grievances of marginalized populations that can counter the far-right's mythic stories of a lost golden age.
-

- Ailynn: Need a **holistic, intersectional approach that links political struggles**—feminist, anti-racist, and territorial defense—to effectively counter far-right movements.
-
- While the far right projects a unified front, there are **critical fractures around key geopolitical and policy issues**—such as positions on the Israel-Palestine conflict, Russia-Ukraine war, and climate change – that **can be strategically exploited** to weaken or split far-right coalitions.
-
- Given the decentralized, networked nature of contemporary far-right activism, understanding and contesting these movements requires thinking beyond traditional national borders and formal party structures. Progressives and anti-fascists need to **operate at multiple levels—from local neighborhoods and institutions to global digital environments—and foster communication and coordination internationally.**
-
- Counter-strategies must therefore **engage with electoral politics and public discourse**, as elections of likes of Orban, Trump normalises the role of the far-right in government. We must continuously contest legitimacy and exposing contradictions and failures of far-right governance.

Comments in the chat

Alejandra B: We give too much weight to hegemonic narratives that make us think they are the only reality. There are people already living other realities. From the global south we have much to offer in terms of ways of life outside the hegemonic logic.

Katerina A: Its about dealing with racism and colonial thought within our ranks in countries of the so called "west" , investigate and map the nexus of capital and far right political organizations, learn to speak to the people , reframe/reown / re learn to discuss security from the Left - demilitarizing the term

Joe: Though 'far right' is a useful term, and the term used in this report, the 'far right' of the political spectrum is certainly not a monolith, and thus its breadth makes it necessary to split it further into its constituent parts, namely the radical right and the extreme right. The radical right accepts the fundamentals of democracy but rejects certain values of liberal democracy, such as minority rights, and pluralism. Many radical right movements and parties are also populist. The extreme right, which includes nazis and fascists, fundamentally rejects democracy, popular sovereignty and majority rule and may also advocate violence and even terrorism

Noor: For FR / fascist actors purity is central - so nature and ecology become central to their narratives. Of course, for other actors, the question becomes of climate change denial etc. but it's important to reroot this in both narratives

Deepti B: We have to see the larger economic, political and social structures to understand people who have far-right ideologies. Today, people have less jobs, low income, decreasing quality of life, emotionally, physically and mentally stressed.

Chiara C: I think this is interesting in the context of anti-feminist women. Women are exhausted from doing paid and unpaid work which is an issue everywhere but for some the answer is - stay at home,

be a woman and let the man go to work, the trad-wife movement. So capitalism's gendered impacts is intimately linked with going backwards on women's autonomy and gender roles.

Steve L: "Social democrat" parties claim to represent the working class but pursue policies of austerity. This feeds into far right development and undermines the fight from the left

Simeon G: There is a former WHO epidemiologist, Dr. Gary Slutkin, who makes a very convincing case for looking at far-right internationalisation as an incident of pathogen transmission

Sehnaz KB: So much of the rise of the far right is coupled with institutions, institutional structures that don't work for the people. And once the far right comes to power, we see them dismantling whatever is left of accountability institutions within states.

Further reading and listening

Ailynn:

- Anti-gender politics: religious fundamentalism and political neoconservatism
- Latin American Neoconservatism and Antifeminism: Freedom, Family, and Life

Joe:

- British Fascism After the Holocaust: From the Birth of Denial to the Notting Hill Riots 1939–1958
- The International Alt-Right
- Drums In The Distance: Journeys Into the Global Far Right
- Academic working group on far-right and climate
- State of Hate 2024

Raqib:

- Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)
- India Hate Lab
- Elon Musk, X, and Amplification of Islamophobia in the UK
- Factsheets on Hindu nationalist groups in the United States
- The Hindu Nationalist Campaign Against Secularism and Christians in Nepal
- <https://www.thepolisproject.com/research/transnational-illicit-finance-hindutva-corporates>
- Hindu nationalism, hate speech and role of tech

NOOR:

- Reflections on Fascism & Frameworks of Collective Resistance by Souad Souilem
- Roots of Hate: Fascist and fundamentalist narratives & actors in South Asia and Southeast Asia regions
- Roots of Hate: Fascist and Fundamentalist Narratives & Actors in South-West Asia and North Africa Regions
- Fascism in Practice – Digital Spheres as Landscape by Moussa Saleh
- Monetisation of Hate

Link shared in chat:

- Political ecology of the far right network
- Reactionary International: <https://reactionary.international/>
- Far right protest observatory (SciencePO)
- Neoliberal Authoritarianism in Rwanda: A Feminist Analysis
- On Indian fascism

- Explained: Leicester riots, Hindutva and the RSS
- Tech-far right nexus blog

Key quotes



Maie Panaga Babker

'The far right is not some looming threat. It's already here in our culture, media and politics, disguised as tradition and justified in the name of security... it shares a single logic: that power belongs to the few and fear must govern the rest.'



Raqib Hameed Naik

'If the far right can form strategic alliances across ideological and national boundaries, why can't we? We need to build robust, inclusive coalitions to strengthen pockets of resistance across borders and continents.'



Joe Mulhall

'We need better stories, a better vision of change that shows people what the world can look like if we win... The far right offers a mythical utopian future; the left must respond with hope and empowerment.'

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FRACTURES

INTERNATIONALIST TEACH-IN SUMMARIES

30 April-18 June 2025



Are we headed to World War III?

Summary of FRACTURES session 5, 28 May

Our fifth conversation was with:

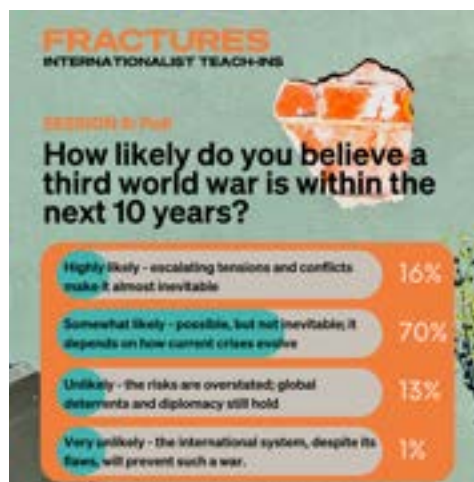
- **Niamh Ni Bhriain**, coordinator of TNI's War and Pacification programme
- **Samar Al-Bulushi**, professor of anthropology at UC Irvine and author of *War-Making as World-Making: Kenya, the United States, and the War on Terror* (2024)
- **Andrew Feinstein**, Shadow World Investigations and editor of *Monstrous Anger of the Guns: How the Global Arms Trade Is Ruining the World and What We Can Do About It* (2024)
- Co-moderated with **Anuradha Chenoy**, Adjunct Professor, Jindal Global University (Haryana, India) and Asia-Europe Peoples' Forum.

Content below

- Poll: Are we headed to World War III
- Key points from the session
- Thoughts on strategy
- Comments in the chat
- Further resources

Poll: Are we headed to World War III?

We did a poll to test the temperature of the room, but it also opened an important debate about how to define 'world war' and indeed 'war' itself.



Global rise of militarism

- **Niamh Ni Bhriain:** Global military spending is on a dramatic and inexorable rise, reaching a record \$2.7 trillion this year, which is accompanied by escalating wars, conflicts, and the normalization of genocide, where two million people are being starved to death in Palestine. NATO's military spending accounts for over 55% of this spending. Until recently they had a goal of spending 2% of GDP on the military and they are now committing to spend around 3.5-3.7%. The European Union is making the biggest additional investments, guided by arms industry influence. The new 2030 Defense Readiness Plan proposes €800 billion in funding—massively outweighing EU climate allocations. NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte has openly said this

spending may come at the expense of social services, healthcare, and pensions. The **main drivers** for this militarisation are the **influence of arms company lobbyists and representatives** in decision-making spaces, as well as a **colonialist mindset and racist logic** that perpetuates dominance and territorial expansion. The **main consequences** are a **complete undermining of diplomacy, international law and attempts to build peaceful resolutions to conflict**. EU is now claiming its strategy is peace through strength, but this is the opposite of what peace means. Militarisation does not increase safety; it fuels more war, conflict, and climate breakdown.

- **Andrew Feinstein.** The **global arms industry** is pivotal to this militarisation, **driven by corruption and the profit motive**, with politicians and oligarchs benefiting from the trade in weapons, which accounts for 40% of all corruption in world trade. The **arms trade is the sharp end** of an ever more corrupt, mendacious political order almost everywhere, characterized by **corporate state capture**, where politicians and governments serve the interests of a tiny minority of billionaires and corporate titans and willing to use authoritarianism and repression to protect their interest. The corruption in the arms trade feeds back into the political systems of both buying and selling countries, with senior politicians and officials benefiting from corrupt monies, as seen in the example of Tony Blair's estimated earnings of over £110 million as a result of the Iraq war since leaving office

Redefining war

- **Samar:** Need to go beyond ideas of world war to reflect on the daily, systemic violence experienced by populations in the **Global South**, not just great power conflict in the Global North. This broader view reveals persistent, globalized war-like conditions for the global majority. It also points to the way **'permanent war' has emerged through the Post-9/11 'War on Terror' to reshape global governance, law, and power in order to pacify racialized populations through violence and control and creating a militarised political economy**. It has also led to ever more **obfuscation, such as through discursive shifts (e.g., replacing "war" with terms like "stabilization" or "areas of active hostilities")**, **manipulation of Legal and Humanitarian discourse**, and the **militarisation of areas like development, democracy promotion, and humanitarian aid**, making military solutions appear normal or inevitable. Institutions like the United Nations are complicit, shaping the geopolitical consensus around militarised solutions, as well as some civil society organisations that examine civilian harm but don't question the militarisation itself. It has also led to the **outsourcing of imperial wars**, for example through AFRICOM, the U.S. operates military facilities in 15 African countries and has shifted from direct invasions to drone warfare, training and funding African security forces to act on behalf of U.S. interests eg in Kenya where trained police are involved in extrajudicial killings and repression, supported by U.S. aid. It also **intersects with elite interests in the Global South**, which means that **countries like Kenya are not merely U.S. proxies; they may also use interventions (e.g., in Haiti) as testing grounds for repressive tactics to be used domestically**.
-
- **Niamh** also spoke to the massive militarisation that is rarely covered in the global North, such as in Mexico as well as the violence against migrants who are allowed to drown in the Mediterranean as a result of European border policies.

Points in the discussion

- **Increased defense spending** is claimed to be good for economies, but studies show it has **never worked to increase jobs** and even acts as a drag on economic growth and prosperity
- The **military-industrial complex has become bigger and broader**, with **tech companies** now also being defense companies, while **financial institutions** like Fidelity and BlackRock play a crucial role in funding these entities
- **Militarisation is central to driving the climate crisis**, with direct emissions from military equipment and indirect impacts from military protecting fossil fuel companies, highlighting the need for anti-militarism and climate movements to converge. Instead of being exposed, the arms industry has greenwashed itself as a solution to the climate crisis, rather than a central component of the problem, by promoting "greener" weapons and military bases
- **Feminists** like Amina Mama, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, and Angela Davis highlight the **need to expand the vision to look at how violence is embedded in the fabric of our lives** and to think about interconnected forms of power and sources of oppression

Thoughts on strategy going forwards

- Advocating for **state neutrality or non-alignment** is one avenue. In Ireland it has a long history (Neither Kaiser nor King was a slogan during WWI), but it is still being steadily undermined, eg Shannon Airport being used by the US military. But it is critical to arrive to exit countries from the Global North war machine and to show a different path.
- In the Global South some states have refused to take sides on the Russia/Ukraine war for similar reasons and are opening up space for resistance to genocide/war, such as South Africa taking Israel to the ICJ. But opposition to US or European imperialism by certain states should not mean carte-blanche support. For example military coups in the Sahel region may use anti-imperialist rhetoric but continue to share intelligence with these countries and promote militaristic approaches. **More than multilateralism, we need internationalism - people-to-people forms of solidarity** as a more reliable source of hope and inspiration
- **Direct action is a key tool**, for those who can do this. For example groups like Palestine Action in the UK have successfully shut down a number of Elbit factories (one of the main Israeli companies involved in the genocide)
- **Strikes and worker actions**, such as dock workers refusing to load weapons, **are essential** in challenging the military-industrial complex, and workers should organize themselves to refuse work on certain munitions or components. This needs a lot of outreach and mobilisations as some union leaders have openly said they only care about jobs and working conditions and not the global impacts of goods/products made by union labour.
- **Military tax boycotts** and **putting up independent candidates in elections** are also important actions to take.

Compelling fact



The United States government employs more people to run one aircraft carrier than it has diplomats across the entire world, and the country has 12 aircraft carriers, highlighting the prioritization of military power over diplomacy

Comments in the chat

Inoshi: 'We're already in a low grade WW, this will continue.'

Carlos T: 'War has always been good for business. It is in the roots of capitalism, that is the prevailing political economic system chosen by imperialists and colonialists from Europe and the US.'

María LP: 'From a Latin American perspective, the use of the term "civilization" is as violent as war or worse, because it takes you to the Spanish conquest of the continent: the destruction of several peoples materially, culturally and symbolically.'

Josephine: 'While focusing on strategies like neutrality and targeting arms companies we always need to keep making the connection to the need for systemic change. ... any demands that stay short of wanting to change the system as the whole will at the most temporarily pacify the war machine. But to dismantle it we need a different system. So that needs to be part and parcel of our communication and our demands.'

Katerina A: 'As a Greek, I remember how our entire youth was shaped by the austerity narrative and the supposed need to tighten belts because of the debt crisis. Now, the EU is suddenly willing to abandon austerity—not to invest in a sustainable, just future for all, but to rearm and fuel militarization. Why do that? Unless you are preparing for war.'

Further reading and listening

Samar:

- The US Plan to Outsource its Imperialism in Haiti to Kenya (Jacobin)
- What is AFRICOM? How the U.S. Military is Militarizing and Destabilizing Africa, (Teen Vogue)
- Empire by Invitation (The Intercept)
- Book: War-Making as Worldmaking Kenya, the United States, and the War on Terror (2024)

Niamh:

- Policy briefing on the EU's complicity in Israel's genocide in Gaza
- Article: How the EU has used the war in Ukraine to expand its border regime
- Fanning the flames: how the European Union is fuelling a new arms race.
- More TNI reports on EU militarism <https://www.tni.org/en/topic/eu-militarism-and-war-policies>
- More TNI reports on the climate impacts of militarism here: <https://www.tni.org/en/topic/climate-security>
- Follow Neutrality roadshow in Ireland: https://www.instagram.com/neutrality_now/

Andrew:

- Apartheid, the arms trade, and Israel: Interview with Andrew Feinstein (Counterfire)
- Project indefensible – 7 myths that sustain the global arms trade
- Palestine Action (direct action against genocide) <https://www.palestineaction.org/>

Other resources recommended in the session:

- Airwars is a good resource for tracking a lot of the wars that are often not covered (eg constant drone wars) and the civilian impacts <https://airwars.org/>
- G. Toal, Oceans Rise Empires Fall: Why Geopolitics Hastens Climate Catastrophe (2024)
- I.Rangelov & M. Theros, Climate emergency and the future of civic space: Lessons from the War on Terror (2024)

And some parting quotes:



Andrew Feinstein

'In our current moment we probably have the most mendacious, mediocre and corrupt political leaders we have seen in the world at least in my lifetime - a concept of extreme corruption called state capture where the highest office of states and the policy process itself is captured for narrow private interests'



Niamh Ní Bhriain

'Militarisation is about profit, it's about control, it's about dominance, it's about territorial expansion.'



Samar Al-Bulushi

'There's no longer a clear beginning or end to war—it's become a protracted assault on human dignity.'



Niamh Ní Bhriain

'You can't fight the climate crisis without taking on militarism—it's impossible.'

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FRACTURES

**INTERNATIONALIST
TEACH-IN SUMMARIES**

30 APRIL-18 JUNE 2025



Amidst the global fractures, can we save our planet?

Summary of FRACTURES session 6, 4 June.

Our sixth conversation was with:

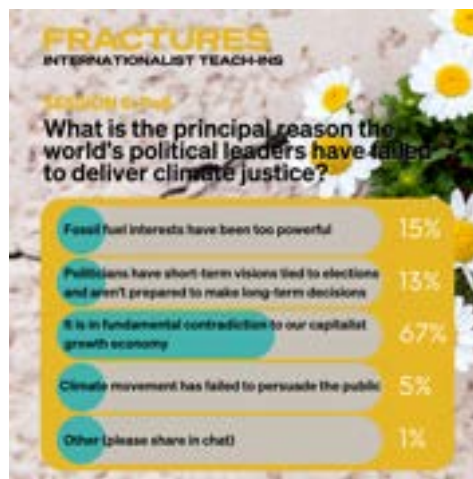
- **Tasneem Essop**, Executive Director of Climate Action Network International
- **Julia Steinberger**, Professor of Societal Challenges of Climate Change at the University of Lausanne
- **Maureen Santos**, FASE, Brazil
- **Lavinia Steinfert**, TNI researcher and co-author of *Reclaiming Energy* (2024)

Content below

- Poll: Biggest block to climate justice
- Key points from the session
- Thoughts on strategy
- Comments in the chat
- Further resources

Poll: What is the principal reason the world's political leaders have failed to deliver climate justice?

This was a poll where more than one answer is definitely required, but still this showed the audience felt strongly that capitalism was the biggest obstacle to climate justice.



State of the climate justice movement

- **Julia:** We're now in the 'they fight you' stage of climate resistance—**fossil fuel and capitalist interests** are actively pushing back. Neoliberalism is not dead; it has simply adapted and remains embedded in fossil fuel lobbying and disinformation networks (e.g., global neoliberal Atlas Network). **Climate justice and economic justice therefore are inseparable**—both face common adversaries – so must unite their struggles. There is hope: existing technologies can create better lives within planetary boundaries—if overconsumption and inequality are addressed.

- **Tasneem:** The climate movement has matured— it is more united in system critique and linked with broader social struggles (debt, human rights, anti-militarism). However, the movement faces increasing repression—especially targeting those fighting the biggest existential threats of fossil capitalism and genocide (e.g., Palestine). Our adversaries, rooted in colonialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism—are both united and adaptable, able to mutate in the face of public pressure and willing to use ever more violence. Global North continues to evade responsibility for emissions and finance, while Global South leaders mimic neoliberal models. It's a mixed picture but powerful resistance is coming from local communities and Indigenous peoples (e.g., anti-pipeline struggles), regional campaigns like Don't Gas Africa, global youth-led protests like Fridays for Future and legal victories through climate litigation. Collective organizing and transnational solidarity remain critical.

- **Maureen:** Brazil's COP30 will be a battleground between civil society, polluters and polluting nations, and a host government divided on environmental justice. As the summit is happening in the Amazon, it is an emblematic moment to center Indigenous and grassroots struggles that are usually marginalised in official negotiations. A 'People's Summit' is being organized autonomously to centre climate justice and link local struggles with global movements. Civil society is uniting around six thematic axes (Territories and sovereignty; reparations, environmental racism and opposition to false solutions; Just, popular, and inclusive transitions; Anti-oppression, democracy, and internationalism; Just cities and urban peripheries; and Feminist resistance and women's territorial struggles). Despite being led by a progressive government, Brazil is still enacting anti-environmental laws due to pressure from conservative forces and corporate lobbies. We are looking to build a movement not just on COP but for the long-term.

- **Lavinia:** TNI's involvement with struggle for energy transition has exposed how important the issue of ownership and accountability is in finding climate just solutions. Current trends are expanding energy systems—not transitioning them—despite heavy public subsidies. We therefore need to reclaim energy from profit-driven systems to democratic, public control.

Thoughts on strategy going forwards

- **Julia:** The backsliding of politicians on climate action highlights how democracy is under attack by elite economic interests and therefore the importance of climate and social justice movements linking their struggles. Authoritarian and neoliberal forces oppose climate action precisely because it requires democratizing economic power. **The case for systemic change is strong—but poorly communicated. There's a need to connect the dots between climate breakdown, inequality, and the erosion of democratic rights.** We need to show how the vast majority of humanity really has common interests and use this to build broad-based coalitions for transformation.

- **Tasneem:** We don't start from a blank slate – we can learn from past struggles. Now is a time to escalate to smash the system, which demands deep organizing, especially among working-

class and marginalized communities. It also requires driving wedges into the popular base of support for the right, to address the needs and insecurities of ordinary people. **Just transition is a crucial strategy** to bring in broader constituencies—by centering justice in climate, labor, and economic planning. The genocide in Gaza has prompted climate justice movements to deepen alliances with anti-militarist organizations, Palestinian solidarity groups and broader anti-imperialist movements. The campaign for the Loss and Damage Fund, where all the movements converged to make that their number one priority, is a case of how collective movement power can compel reluctant governments to make concessions, underscoring the value of participating in flawed but critical international forums.

- **Lavinia: Dual-power approach needed, both democratising the state and building community ownership to ensure real accountability.** Example of Tunisia, where despite an authoritarian government, civil society is fighting both privatization and authoritarianism by reclaiming public energy control with some success.
-
- **Maureen:** Experience in Brazil highlights the difficulties of working under even seemingly progressive governments that simultaneously support and obstruct climate justice, revealing the **importance of autonomous grassroots mobilization that is adaptable and able to bridge local-global divides.** Building alliances across diverse struggles strengthens the broader fight for climate justice, economic equality, and social freedoms in an increasingly hostile political environment.

Other thoughts from Q&A

- **Julia: Degrowth and post-growth are not just idealistic—they're scientifically necessary.** Economic growth does not drive well-being; need satisfaction does. To address precarity also felt in the global North, **need a four part communications strategy:** 1. It's not your fault — the system was built by elites; 2 You've been lied to — disinformation campaigns obscure the truth; 3. Humans are not selfish by nature — we're capable of cooperation and; 4. A better world is possible and achievable — scientifically and politically.
-
- **Maureen:** Should civil society still engage with COP, given how corporate and state-led it has become? It's a debate that resurfaces every year, especially in the Global South. **COP is clearly embedded in capitalist structures, but we don't go because we believe in it—we go to expose it, to pressure, to organize, to resist.** National policies often reflect international agreements, so monitoring the process matters but civil society must retain an autonomous space and not rely on COP as the primary arena of struggle.
-
- **Tasneem: Militarisation must be opposed by climate movements both on principle and for practical climate reasons** - Emissions from war are immense (e.g., Israel's assault on Gaza), military budgets divert funds from climate action and need to link with anti-war and anti-imperialist struggles.

Where is the hope? Where is the light coming in?

- **Julia Steinberger:** The convergence of climate and Palestine solidarity
- **Maureen:** The solidarity from global civil society
- **Lavinia:** Young climate activists are bolder and more intersectional than ever
- **Tasneem:** Despite repression, the resistance is growing stronger and more conscious, particularly among youth.

Comments in the chat

Alistair A: i feel we need to understand the centre and centre left as our major obstacle to building a mass movement - we need to take them on with an explicitly anti-growth - anti net zero - campaign

Andrew L: I think it's important to double down on \$1.5 trillion loss and damage reparations — but at the same time pushing for immediate-term strong reforms locally (including or especially in the Global South).

María LP: The problem is not just the fossil fuel industry, but capitalism itself, included the colonial use of natural common goods for profit of the rich colonial countries. Being from Argentina, we are seeing the devastation extractivist industries are producing in the extraction of lithium, which is part of the 'green energy transition', of which many social democrat European governments are proud.

Anders E: Unless we decide how to drastically increase the prices of fossil fuel in a socially just way - you will get nowhere

Adele T: The Genocide and ongoing colonial, illegal occupation in Palestine has propelled systems literacy in a way we haven't seen before. ... However, our ability to organise on a large-scale is prevented by a many-headed monster, e.g. 1) a electoral-political and NGO class operating within silos 2) the reality of our post-truth world and evolution of the media/learning landscape where it is entirely possible to inhabit an entirely separate reality (Trumpism); 3) absolute unwillingness of the majority in the global north to give up material comforts

Steve L: In the UK we are seeing significant state repression against peaceful activists. Confidence in both major parties is now at an all time low. And yet it is difficult to see a way forward.

Serwah A: I wonder if it is possible to depend on the Global North for funding and seriousness [given] the underlying current of self-interested expansionism at all costs that many of those in the Global North have historically embraced - from human migration from Africa to imperialism colonialism to capitalism to neoliberalism to climate degradation.

Michael T: I think we need a wide spectrum of approaches, but I think it is essential to tie the polycrises together and not always put climate breakdown at the centre. Also find ways to counter the common mindset that ecological change means personal sacrifice instead of empowerment. The 'commons' should be our focus.

Farzana B: Do we really make multilateral institutions work through our collective power? So far global condemnation of genocide in Gaza has not resulted in stopping of Isreal to commit crimes

Serwah A: Want to challenge the use of the word 'light'. First it is the juxtaposition between lightness and darkness and the colorist implications. But also it does not recognize what we get from the darkness in the cycle of a day. Darkness allows us rest and reprieves from the demands of capitalism.

It also historically forced us to be in deep relationship with our surroundings and trust our environments to take care of us. It is one of my pet peeves in the wellness community.

Further reading and listening

Julia:

- What we are up against - the secret history of the making of the climate crisis <https://jksteinberger.medium.com/what-we-are-up-against-2290ba8c4b5c>
- Post-growth: the science of wellbeing within planetary boundaries [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196\(24\)00310-3/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196(24)00310-3/fulltext)
- Providing decent living with minimum energy: A global scenario' <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0959378020307512>
- Paper (preprint) on need satisfaction decoupling well-being from economic growth. <https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-5355955/v1> led by the amazing Lea Tamberg, part of the REAL project, REAL - A Postgrowth Deal. <https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-5355955/v1>

Tasneem:

- Climate Action Network here: <https://climatenetwork.org/>
- Just Transition: A climate, energy and development vision for Africa https://justtransitionafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Just-Transition-Africa-report-ENG_single-pages.pdf2
- Hidden strategies used by the West to keep Africa poor as they develop using Africa's resources: Interview with Fadhel Kaboub, Associate Professor of Economics, Denison University. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOQTWrtU7k&ab_channel=LynnNgugi3
- This changes everything you thought about the end of World War II: Hamza Hamouchene, TNI. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lc6eizZBdCc&ab_channel=TransnationalInstitute
- <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/carbon-footprint-israels-war-gaza-exceeds-100-countries>
- TNI report on climate impacts of militarism: <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/climate-collateral>

Lavinia:

- Reclaiming energy report - <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/reclaiming-energy>
- The future is public report - <https://www.tni.org/en/futureispublic>
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy: <https://www.tuedglobal.org/>

And some parting quotes:



Julia Steinberger

'Democracy is the big threat here—because democracy comes with claims for redistribution, for social justice, and for not destroying the planet.'

Tasneem Essop

'Our adversaries are not just the fossil fuel industry—they are the very state machinery, with corporate and oligarchic hands behind it.'



'If the system is dying, we should be doing the best we can to smash it.'

'The most repressed movements today are those fighting two existential crises—climate collapse and genocide.'

Lavinia Steinfert



'We need to match our system critique with system-level solutions.'

Maureen Santos



'The light comes when we see all the solidarities coming from civil society around the world.'

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FRACTURES

INTERNATIONALIST TEACH-IN SUMMARIES

30 APRIL-18 JUNE 2025



How do we resist and win?

Summary of FRACTURES session 7, 11 June.

Our seventh conversation was with:

- **Shanelle Matthews**, Founder of the Radical Communicators Network and co-editor of *Liberation Stories: Building Narrative Power for 21st-Century Social Movements*
- **Nimmi Gowrinathan**, activist, scholar and founder of the Politics of Sexual Violence Initiative and author of *Radicalizing Her* (Beacon Press 2021)
- **Tooba Syed**, feminist labour organiser, Pakistan

Content below

- Key points from the session
- Comments in the chat
- Further resources and links
- Key quotes

Key points from the session

- **We are in a moment of backlash to the movement advances of the 2010s**
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- **Shanelle** pointed to the ways that the progressive era of the 2010s in the US exposed many truths of the systems we face - the war on terror as a racist machine of surveillance and control, that environmental justice is racial justice, that reparations is not charity, that indigenous sovereignty is law, that our carceral system needs abolition, that addressing inequality needs an end to capitalism. So this is not failure. The Black Lives Matter movement, #MeToo, Occupy, immigrant rights movements shaped how we understood society. But it also prompted a backlash against these advances. We have an opportunity now, as the social movement left, to define a compelling and materially grounded story, one that moves beyond resistance, but actually sets the terms of what comes next.
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- **Activism vs. Organising: Depth and Accountability** Tooba talked from her experience about limitations of vibrant but episodic activism (eg feminist marches in Pakistan and actions reliant on online mobilising) that burst on the scene and then falter – and therefore the need to work towards sustained organising. Organising builds power over time, is usually offline, brings in accountability but also requires “boring” work such as meetings, working with functional hierarchies, dealing with folk that may not be instant allies, and institutional development that social media-fueled activism often sidelines. Shanelle added that funding for this also needs to be given more priority. Without this, movements risk fragmentation, superficial victories, and vulnerability to right-wing backlash. Tooba recognised in response to a discussion in the chat, however, that people have different roles in movements (eg artists) and not everyone is called to be an organiser. But we do need (re)investment in movement infrastructure capable of resilience and long-term struggle.
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- **Complexity of female fighters and violent resistance** Violence is not something that can be ignored as the state deploys violence constantly, so we need to address the issue in our strategies. Nimmi's work interviewing women involved in armed struggles disrupts conventional Western feminist narratives around violence and peace. The female fighter embodies resistance not only against patriarchal and cultural oppression within families and communities but also against state violence on bodies and lands. Recognizing these complexities allows movements to hold nuanced conversations about violence, accountability, and political agency, opening space for more inclusive feminist and anti-imperialist solidarities that refuse simplistic moral binaries.

- **Narrative power as a battlefield and a garrett** Shanelle identified narrative power as a central terrain where progressive and reactionary forces contest societal beliefs and futures. The right has successfully colonised digital architectures by weaving fear, nostalgia, and supremacy into everyday narratives and making it seem 'common sense', creating an urgent challenge for the left to develop capacity in storytelling, platform creation, and cultural production that resonates widely.

- **Nimmi talked about "the Garrett", a powerful metaphor drawn from Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, where Jacobs wrote her story from an attic space called a garrett. This confined space symbolises narrative captivity and represents the limited space in which oppressed people, particularly women and gender-nonconforming folks, can survive and speak. It is critical to make visible the conditions of this captivity before any emancipatory or transformative storytelling can occur. This includes focusing on the "narrative ceiling," a limit on what stories can be publicly told or heard—such as how mainstream media cuts off or censors calls for abolition or radical change or uses coded language like 'empowerment' to prevent any systemic challenges to the status quo.**

- **We need long-term investment in digital platforms governed by justice and care rather than capitalist logics.** Shanelle suggests building narrative power in these fractured times requires three things: 1) combining radicalism with pragmatism, making vision irresistible 2) narrative agility, being nimble, speaking language that resonates with people, responding to opportunities and 3) collective authorship, democratizing storytelling, funding creators of color, building horizontal media collectives and fighting for the material conditions that allow people to dream and create.

- **Internationalism beyond borders** The discussion repeatedly emphasizes that local and national struggles (e.g., debt crises, gender rights, militarization) are interconnected with global imperialist and capitalist systems. Transnational organizing is not only a moral imperative but a strategic necessity, as unilateral national efforts will be insufficient to tackle issues like climate change or debt bondage. Tooba's account of cross-border South Asia feminist solidarity despite geopolitical conflict, and Nimmi's insight into intersecting liberation struggles across continents (a meeting she is attending is bringing together militants from Palestine, Ireland, South Africa and other regions) shows the importance of building multi-regional coalitions anchored in shared analysis, resources and most of all sharing experiences. Coming from that sharing of

experiences, Nimmi warned internationalism cannot flatten differences or power relations, the unique ways and contexts people connect to the struggle, nor ignore the history and contradictions eg in Sri Lanka, collective organising against the debt can't ignore the partial origins of Sri Lanka's debt crisis in the genocide of Tamils.

- **Balancing organisational structures: Democratic centralism vs. flat hierarchies**Nimmi underscored the importance of context for decisions on how to organise, particularly in times of repression, highlighting how movements sometimes require certain centralised, disciplined structures for survival and effectiveness, especially in armed struggles or when holding territory. However, internal democratic debate and consensus-building remain vital for legitimacy and lasting power. The tension between structure and openness is context-dependent and dynamic, and honest internal critique is necessary, even if not always publicly visible due to risks of external co-optation or repression.
- **Need for popular education anchored in reality and radical vision**Shanelle insisted on the importance of popular education that is culturally relevant, accessible, and embedded in a vision of systemic transformation rather than reformism. Education must address the material crises people face while raising critical consciousness, empowering communities to understand structural causes and imagine collective futures. Practically it's very hard for folk most impacted by our systems to participate in popular education spaces without material support. Yet without this foundation, movements risk being reactionary or symbolic rather than structurally transformative.
- **Building intersectional frameworks that integrate identity and class.** We need to respond to material conditions and build large alliances against capitalism while not ignoring the ways capitalism and imperialism impacts particular identities and minorities. So when movements centered on race and gender and sexuality and disability sideline critiques of capitalism, we risk winning representation within systems still built on extraction and disposability. But when class struggle flatten people's identities to worker or to laborer, they erase the very real ways capitalism sorts people differently based on race, gender, ability, and other characteristics. This means developing strategies that are as attentive to care and culture as they are to wages and wealth.
- **The importance of healing, 'calling in,' and building bridges within movements**Tooba pointed to the corrosive impact of cancel culture and call-out dynamics within progressive spaces, which hamper collective healing and solidarity and prevent movements from growing or learning from mistakes. Building a movement culture oriented toward "calling in," restorative justice, and mutual accountability is necessary to sustain momentum and retain diverse participants. It is through this relational labor that movements can avoid fragmentation and foster enduring unity across identities and ideologies.

Comments in the chat

Tom A: Very good to see the problem of internationalism centered. This is, by the way, a particular problem in the US. Solidarity with the Global South has to be a huge part of it. But it is not enough. The "common good" (Tooba) also has to be part of the tale

Farzana B: As we witness the decline of multilateral institutions established in the aftermath of the Second World War, it becomes increasingly clear that patriarchal capitalism cannot be challenged within isolated national frameworks. The only meaningful response lies in building international connections among feminist, anti-capitalist, and anti-imperialist movements. Cross-border solidarity is not just desirable—it is essential. This global connectivity is the only viable path forward in confronting the systemic crises we face.

Mark L: I think this recent declaration offers hope:
<https://globaltapestryofalternatives.org/events/radasd:declaration>

Katerina A: I think, more than homogeneity, we are in desperate need of a shared, spoken utopia. I completely agree on the importance of accountability, movement integrity, and organization. But what we urgently need is an articulated hope—one that can connect across continents and technoscapes.

Helen L: current militarism is a major threat to civilization and to peace. More weapons and armies will not give us peace, it will create war.

Further reading and listening

Tooba

- Tooba's keynote talk with Judith Butler on transnational anti-gender politics and resistance at LSE: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmLiW_tuyyO
- Article on The Making of an Economic Crisis in Pakistan (EPW): <https://www.epw.in/journal/2023/19/commentary/making-economic-crisis-pakistan.html>
- Interview with Third eye portal as part of series on Feminist Journeys across South Asia: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qA1Ffcf3XWY>
- An article on the rising feminist movement in Pakistan: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1470333>
- An article on "what the left lacks": <https://www.dawn.com/news/1506837/what-the-left-lacks>

Nimmi

- The Garret (on narrative captivity): https://www.ccny.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/2023-02/ColinPowellSchool_CCNY_NimmiGowrinathan_TheGarret_0.pdf
- "Monsters and Women": Guernica Magazine: <https://www.guernicamag.com/of-monsters-women/>
- Radicalizing Her: Why Women Choose Violence <https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/nimmi-gowrinathan/radicalizing-her/>
- www.adimagazine.com
- Female Fighter Series, Guernica Magazine: <https://www.guernicamag.com/special/female-fighters/>

Shanelle

- Her new edited book: Liberation Stories Building Narrative Power for 21st-Century Social Movements, Shanelle Matthews, Marzena Zukowska, and the Radical Communicators Network (New Press, 2025) <https://www.liberationstories.com/>
- 5 Years After George Floyd: Three Lessons For The Future Of Our Movements (NewsOne) <https://newsone.com/6174511/five-years-after-george-floyd-lessons-for-future-movements/>

- Liberal Failures Demand a Realignment: Building a Left That Delivers (LinkedIn)
<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/liberal-failures-demand-realignment-building-left-shanelle-matthews-nqhje/>
- Narrative Power in a Reactionary Era: The Left's Rhetorical Assignment (LinkedIn)
<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/lefts-rhetorical-assignment-shanelle-matthews-bp85e/>
- Solidarity Narratives in Crises: A Practice Guide, Solidarity is This:
<https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/solidarity-narratives-in-crises-a-practice-guide/id1251648447?i=1000642690296>

And some parting quotes:



Nimmi Gowrinathan

'How do you locate political voice? I say you start with discomfort. A group of men say something, someone says something in class, and something inside of you is like, I don't agree with that. Maybe you're angry, maybe you're frustrated, but you can't figure out quite what it is, but something makes you uncomfortable. Then you start to mark that over time. That's how consciousness builds.'



Tooba Sed

'The crises we face—debt, climate change, imperialism—transcend national borders; we can only address them regionally and internationally. Palestine must be at the center of internationalist politics; it's a reminder that if it can happen there, it can happen anywhere.'



Shanelle Matthews

'The right didn't just out organize us, they outmaneuvered us narratively... We are living in the narrative terrain of our oppressors.'



Nimmi Gowrinathan

'Our work is difficult and often invisible... If we can make people feel less lonely in the struggle, then that is enough for now.'



Shanelle Matthews

'The future isn't something that's happening to us; it's something we are narrating into existence... The empire will always try to write the ending of the story; it is our job to ensure they do not get the last word.'

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FRACTURES

INTERNATIONALIST TEACH-IN SUMMARIES

30 APRIL-18 JUNE 2025



How do we build liberatory futures?

Summary of FRACTURES session 8, 18 June.

Our eighth conversation was with:

For this final session of the FRACTURES series, we were delighted to host a conversation with:

- **Kali Akuno**, co-founder and director of Cooperation Jackson, USA
- **Blessol Gathoni**, Queer Social Rights Activist and Community Organizer, Kenya
- **Lyn Ossome**, Associate Professor and Director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research, Uganda
- Co-moderator: **Hakima Abbas**, African feminist and popular educator

Content below

- Key points from the session
- Further resources and links
- Key quotes

Key points from the session

- **Decolonisation of mindsets and modes of production** : All speakers spoke to the importance of challenging dominant development paradigms and a colonial mindset. Capitalism's pursuit of endless growth has pushed the planet toward ecological collapse, necessitating a re-evaluation

of 'development' itself. Degrowth, ecological stewardship, regenerative technologies, and reclaiming indigenous knowledge systems can craft livable futures attuned to environmental limits. This demands a radical reorientation from extraction and consumption to care, reciprocity, and respect for all life forms.

- **Existing practices of liberation as foundations for futures:** Kali Akuno spoke of the experience of Cooperation Jackson – and its 'Build and Fight' formula – that both challenges reactionary systems and policies and also constructs autonomous projects centered on mutual aid, food sovereignty, digital communication innovations and participatory democracy. When coordinated democratically and across different scales, these diverse experiments could constitute the building blocks of a post-capitalist mode of production. It challenges narratives of leftist inadequacy by emphasising aggregation and federated cooperation over awaiting large-scale political party revival. It highlights the significance of bottom-up practices that materially meet people's needs while building political power.
- **Queerness as a Decolonial and Anti-Capitalist imaginary:** Blessol Gathoni argued African queer theorising and organising complicates Western liberal human rights frameworks that may have created space for queer voices but also had limits and exclusions. Queerness interrupts colonial and capitalist constructions of identity and kinship, that centered family and neoliberal forms of production, governance and society and which viewed third world populations as labour or resources for the thriving of a white consumer individual. Queerness offers alternative ways to imagine freedom, land stewardship, and relationality – what it is to be African - beyond neoliberal individualism and white supremacy. This approach reveals the inseparability of identity politics from territorial and ecological struggles, broadening the scope of liberation to include marginalized sexualities, restorative practices, forms of community healing and non-normative ways of being.
- **Agrarian and gendered social reproduction struggles as core to liberation:** Lyn Ossome reminded us that the majority of populations in the global South rely on the informal economy, agrarian economies and subsistence means of survival, intertwined with gendered labour largely performed by women. Under neoliberalism, many working people have deeply precarious conditions and live with high levels of emiseration – they are 'surplus people' – often subject to state violence. Understanding liberation requires centering these realities, which capitalist industrialisation schemes overlook or undermine, and engaging this population at the heart of our work. Social reproduction—care work and nurturing relationships—is political labour central to sustaining communities (as we saw during COVID) and resisting exploitation. Thus, liberatory futures must embrace food sovereignty, land access, ecological sustainability, and feminist analyses of labour and reproduction.
- **Land as a domain of struggle and freedom:** Both Lyn and Gathoni spoke to how land needs not just to be seen as an economic resources but as a fundamental domain tied to freedom and liberation for historically marginalised peoples. Lyn talked of the role of women in decolonial land struggles in Kenya and Uganda, and today against the necolonial scramble for food, fueled by financial capitalism and speculation. We need to look beyond land as political economy or as

neatly fitting into our own ideological frameworks, to being a space for ecological and feminist struggles rooted in care, survival, and embodied resistance. At same time, Lyn warned against simplistic romanticisation of peasant struggles, pointing to internal contradictions, legacies of colonialism and the dangers of prioritising the liberation of one group above another. Freedom must be multi-dimensional and intersectional.

- **Local government as strategic terrain:** The speakers emphasise that while national governments usually serve extractive capitalist interests, local municipal bodies sometimes offer openings for negotiation and experimentation. Cooperation Jackson's work illustrates how marginalised majorities in cities - even within deeply reactionary states and nations - can forge new social institutions, commons, and cooperative economies, engaging dual power strategies inspired by struggles like the Zapatistas. However, these experiments face continual threats from multinational corporations, neoliberal governments, and environmental crises.
 - **Boycotts and non-cooperation as emancipatory tools:** The Q&A discussion raised the importance of refusal tactics such as boycotts and non-cooperation with oppressive states and corporations. Such strategies, combined with grassroots organising and community education, can amplify consciousness and create pressure points for systemic change.
 - **Internationalism as a practical and necessary praxis:** The interplay between local struggles and global solidarity was repeatedly stressed. Liberation cannot succeed if confined to isolated locales; rather, federated commons, shared resources, and inter-movement dialogue are essential. Drawing on diverse regional experiences—from African agrarian movements to US-based municipal organizing and Rojava's autonomous zones—transnational collaboration strengthens movement capacities to confront capital's global reach and its violent repressions but it must also be conscious of the very different realities and contexts for many groups and peoples.
 - **Sustaining hope in lived practice:** The discussion began by acknowledging the difficulty of imagining liberatory futures when the present reality is steeped in violence, systemic injustice, and environmental decay. Hope is sometimes presented as a fleeting sentiment, but it can be more powerful if it is grounded in existing, lived practices—historical and ongoing—that challenge capitalist exploitation, colonial legacies, and hegemonic state power.
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Further reading and listening

Kali Akuno

- Cooperation Jackson: <https://cooperationjackson.org/intro>
- Books: Jackson Rising Redux: Lessons on Building the Future in the Present" https://www.pmpress.org/index.php?l=product_detail&p=1188 and "Jackson Rising: the Struggle for Economic Democracy and Black Self-Determination in Jackson, MS" <https://darajapress.com/publication/jackson-rising>

- Build and Fight Formula here video series: <https://cooperationjackson.org/announcementsblog/buildandfichteducationalseries>
- Black labour and liberation in the disposable era: <https://www.counterpunch.org/2015/09/04/until-we-win-black-labor-and-liberation-in-the-disposable-era/>
- Some lessons from the practices in Jackson: <https://cooperationjackson.org/blog/npcq10yearsofcjdevelopment>

Blessol Gathoni

- White supremacy as cultural cannibalism in 2017: <https://longreads.tni.org/stateofpower/white-supremacy>
- Paraphilanthropy: <https://www.bayoakomolafe.net/post/paraphilanthropy-giving-money-its-freedom-papers>
- Decolonisation is not a metaphor: <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18630>

Lyn Ossome

- Pedagogies of feminist resistance in Africa: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/22779760211000939>
- Gender and Development in the Agrarian South: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0305750x24003474>

Other links shared in the chat:

- The Crack in the Wall, Zapatista: <https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2015/05/10/the-crack-in-the-wall-first-note-on-zapatista-method/>
- Film on indigenous knowledge and hope for the future, called The Eternal Song: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILU6enxwVg&t=3s&ab_channel=ScienceandNonduality
- Climate socialism: <https://jasonhickel.substack.com/p/climate-socialism>
- We are the Solution campaign for food sovereignty: <https://grain.org/en/article/5333-we-are-the-solution-african-women-organise-for-land-and-seed-sovereignty>
- Conversation with Vanessa Machado de Oliveira, author of Hospicing Modernity and Outgrowing Modernity. <https://www.teamhuman.fm/episodes/322-vanessa-machado-de-oliviera>

And some parting quotes



Hakima Abbas

‘While oppression produces contradiction and contradiction produces struggle, so liberation at once is inevitable and is a constant practice. We’re not talking about pipe dreams or utopias. These are real, existing, and in construction, practices of revolutionary work. So as we sometimes bend under the crush of defeat or the enormity of the systemic change that we need, there are practices that sustain possibility, that show us what is and can be different.’



Kali Akuno

'We've actually gained a lot of traction throughout the world in figuring out how to work in the margins, how to work in the cracks... Imagine a world where all these different things came together, where mutual aid was directly tied to the autonomous food sovereignty work, and then tied to new social digital technology, where we are working collaboratively to plan out and coordinate mutual exchange. That is within our grasp and they're being experimented on small scales.'



Blessol Gathoni

'Queerness has wrapped up against the idea of the postcolonial independence struggles that define the African citizen as a person who values the family unit as the most important unit to neoliberal capitalism... Queerness brings the question and recognition of our bodies as the last territory.'

'We have to keep challenging the western notion of the human... the fantasy where the human is removed from natural resources or from nature. This is the biggest myth of separation that we've suffered for the last centuries.'



Lyn Ossome

'The resistance waged by women are an assertion of women's awareness of the life-center that land holds, that preservation of nature is fundamentally driven by acts of care.'



Shaun Matsheza

'The world has been made by people. The world can be unmade and remade by people.'

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