Afterword

Toward Eco-Socialism as a Global and Local Strategy to Cool Down the World-System

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For several years, Thomas Hylland Eriksen and his collaborators have discussed how the world system has been overheating due to the drive for profits, economic growth, increased production and consumption, and high dependency on fossil fuels, all of which result in an increase in greenhouse emissions and ultimately contribute to anthropogenic climate change (Eriksen 2016; Stensrud and Eriksen 2019). In this volume, Eriksen with coeditors Susanna M. Hoffman and Paulo Mendes, along with contributors in various countries, make a significant contribution to the relatively young and still burgeoning anthropology of climate change, Their volume delineates strategies to seek to cool down the world system, not so much at the global level but at localized levels. Their book is literally a tour de force focusing on impacts of overheating in various locations, including Northwest Namibia, the Eastern Himalayas of India, New Zealand, French Polynesia, Belém in northeast Brazil, Bangladesh, East Africa, the Austrian Alps, the Elbe River Valley near Dresden, Native American communities of the American Southwest, the remote montane of Portugal, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Oaxaca, Mexico, and the state of Georgia in the United States, along with variegated efforts to cool down the ecological and climatic systems of these locales. Included is a chapter depicting disasters consequent to climate change in Colorado and Louisiana. As the various chapters reveal, the efforts to cool down the climatic and ecological systems thus far are meeting with mixed results at best.

Climate Capitalism

There is much debate on how to mitigate climate change. Proposed solutions range from shifting from fossil fuels to alternative energy sources (such as wind, solar, geothermal, biofuel, and even nuclear sources), planting trees, developing more environmentally sustainable technologies, developing and using energy-saving devices, retrofitting buildings with such devices, improving public transport and inducing transitions away from private vehicles, and geoengineering. Many of the specific proposals, albeit not all of them, would be modest steps toward climate change mitigation.

Capitalism has a capacity to turn tragedies of all sorts into profit-making opportunities, thus prompting the development of *disaster capitalism* (Klein 2007; Lowenstein 2015) and, in the case of climate change, *climate capitalism* (Newell and Paterson 2010). Although government officials, politicians, and climate scientists tend to be publicly visible in the climate change mitigation discourse under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), private corporations tend to be less so. Whereas corporations such as the now-defunct Global Climate Coalition were often part and parcel of climate denialism, more and more corporations have come to assert that they are striving to achieve environmental sustainability and reduce greenhouse gas emissions in their business practices. Wright and Nyberg (2015) maintain that corporate environmentalism tends to build on the notion of ecological modernization that stresses the ability to come up with technological innovations that are environmentally friendly.

Ecological modernization, which entails a shift to renewable energy sources, increased energy efficiency, and a numerous array of other techno-fixes, constitutes the overarching agenda of climate capitalism. This is most profoundly seen in the case presented in *Cooling Down* of the wind power development project in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, which Leppert and Barrio characterize as an illustration of *green neoliberalism* as it involved a public-private partnership between a renewable energy company and the Mexican state. While the project has the potential to reduce greenhouse gases, it actually has exacerbated existing class and ethnic inequities in the region, as is illustrated in a case study of a small Zapotec town, the pseudonymous Bina Za. As Maldonado and Middleton illustrate in their chapter, various Southwest Native American communities are leading the way in their region by turning toward renewable energy sources in a part of the country characterized by plentiful sunshine and powerful winds. In her ethnographic depiction of the highest glacier ski area situated in the idyllic Tirolean Pitztal Valley of Austria, Nöbauer discusses how the ski resort company is turning to an array of environ-

mentally dubious techno-fixes. This includes an All Weather Snowmaker to counter diminishing snowfall, which produces snow even at relatively high temperatures. The irony of high-profile ski areas such as the one at Pitztal is that highly affluent people crisscross the globe to reach them in airplanes that spew greenhouse gas emissions and contribute to the melting of glaciers in numerous places. Fortunately, a large number of environmentalists argue that the downhill ski industry is environmentally unsustainable on a number of fronts, including in its deforestation of mountainsides resulting in destruction of significant carbon sinks and contribution to soil erosion and mudslides.

Existing climate regimes, ranging from the UNFCCC to the European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme (EUETS), to various national emissions trading schemes, have proven ineffective in significantly cutting back on greenhouse gas emissions. In contrast to the Conference of the Parties 15 (COP15) in Copenhagen in 2009, many political pundits, and even some environmentally focused nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), celebrated the Paris Agreement at Conference of the Parties 21 (COP21) in Paris in late 2015. In this effort, the United States and China joined hands with virtually all other nations in agreeing to limit emissions with the parameters of a 2-degree-Celsius, even a 1.5-degree-Celsius, world. However, given the fact that the emission targets that nations have voluntarily pledged would only achieve a 2.7- to 3.5-degree-Celsius world, the Paris Agreement still operates within the parameters of the existing capitalist world system. Thus, large numbers of both social scientists and climate activists are skeptical of the excitement expressed by the UNFCCC delegates and politicians by the outcomes of the Paris assemblage (Lyster 2017). Shortly after his election in late 2016, Donald Trump withdrew the United States from the Paris Agreement.

Parks and Roberts (2010) maintain that the international climate justice movement has an uphill struggle given that many of its actors are opposed to emissions-trading schemes, along with offset schemes such as the United Nations's (UN) Clean Development Mechanism and the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) program. They favor carbon taxes on the polluters and compensation for the victims of climate change, particularly in the Global South. Climate regimes at international, regional, and national levels have tended to accept the emissions-trading schemes and market mechanisms as axiomatic. For instance, REDD conflicts with the subsistence needs of forest dwellers around the world, such as the Sengwer people in Kenya's western highland studied by Castro in his *Cooling Down* chapter.

Conventional economists contend that market mechanisms, such as emissions-trading schemes and carbon offsetting, will solve the "diaboli-

cal problem" of climate change. As a critical anthropologist and historical social scientist, I ask: "How can you expect the system that created the problem to solve the problem?" This question is especially relevant because the problem in this instance—anthropogenic climate change—is not a peripheral feature or unfortunate economic externality of global capitalism. It cannot be easily expunged; rather, it is a significant byproduct of continual expansion of production and the promotion of growing levels of consumption. Nicholas Stern (2015), a mainstream economist who has concerned himself with climate change mitigation for roughly the past fifteen years, argues that various figures have played a significant role in climate action. In his view, they range from Pope Francis to members of royal families to actors, celebrities, sports stars, businesspeople, academics, teachers, and young people. While I would include Greta Thunberg as a student climate activist fitting the bill, it is notably ironic that the carbon and ecological footprints of many of those figures mentioned by Stern contribute to the climate crisis, not to mention the grossly uneven utilization of global natural resources.

Toward an Integrated Critical Understanding of Climate Change

The effort to critically examine and respond to the adverse impacts of climate change on humanity and the ecosystem must be a multidisciplinary effort. It entails collaboration between climate scientists, Earth system scientists, energy analysts, and physical geographers, on the one hand, and social scientists, including anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists, political scientists, and human geographers, on the other hand (Baer and Singer 2018). Such multidisciplinary endeavors are exemplified in chapters on climate change adaptation in Bangladesh by Siddiqui, Sikder, and Bhuiyan and Aotearoa New Zealand by Schneider and Glavovic.

The reality is that natural scientists and mainstream economists tend to dominate much of the discourse on climate change, as is evidenced by the composition of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Rockström (2011: 26–27) advocates moving beyond the "disciplinary status quo" characteristic of the sciences and universities and toward emphasis on "more integrated and problem-solving programmes." Collaboration serves to bring the strengths from various disciplines to what is a monumental but undeniably vital task: understanding and effectively responding to climate change. Climate change research needs to move beyond research centers and universities. It needs to collaborate with communities, particularly those that are being adversely impacted by climate change, as well as NGOs, progressive political parties, women's groups, indigenous

communities, and climate action groups that are pushing for effective climate change mitigation strategies informed by a strong sense of social and climate justice.

Several of the chapters in this anthology discuss the significance of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) in enlightening climate science and other scholars operating in the climate change space. Schnegg found that his ǂnūkhoen informants engage in a pattern of *environmental pluralism* in which they intersperse indigenous, Christian, and scientific discourses to make sense of droughts in their region. The upland villagers with whom Aisher worked the Indian Himalayas are experiencing increasing storms and other extreme weather events that remind people of their need for *conviviality* with powerful supernatural forces. They also are experiencing what some scholars term *solastalgia*, or a sense of loss due to dramatic changes in what once was a more reassuring landscape. As Lauer et al. report in their chapter, the fishers on the French Polynesian island of Moorea have a longer-term interpretation of the periodic crown-of-thorns starfish outbreaks that marine biologists tend to view as adversely impacting coral reefs. This raises the thorny question as to how much credence to give a TEK, including that of Christian fundamentalist perceptions of climate change, in coming to terms in communicating the seriousness of climate change and discussing radical strategies to address it. While getting people to come to terms particularly with the reality of anthropogenic climate change, prompting them to take radical climate action to address it is a much more difficult process. This is because it would require drastic alterations of existing political-economic structures and lifestyles, particularly those of the rich and powerful.

Several of the chapters focus on strategies by which communities and people around the world are seeking to mitigate and even adapt to climate change. Soares discusses the shifting hydric landscape in the city of Belém. The technocratic Una Watershed Project has sought to drain the wetlands, construct soil embankments, and develop a sanitation program. Nevertheless, flooding of the Guarjará Bay constitutes an indicator that nature has a way of reclaiming its own pathways. As Albris found in his ethnographic work in the Elbe River Valley, although peri-urban settlements near Dresden experienced massive flooding in 2002 and 2013, many residents adopted a stance of *defiant acceptance* of the possibility of climate change–related floods. They were not ready to forgo the sense of social cohesion that developed as a result of confronting disaster. As Siddiqui, Sikder, and Bhuiyan discuss in their chapter touching upon migration of Bangladeshi peasants to cities of varying size, it is a process that intricately interweaves the search for job opportunities and urban amenities with escaping climate change–related flooding in low-lying coastal and riverine

areas. However, ultimately, while people may be able to adapt to climate change in the short run, any community has a limited amount of resilience. Thus, mitigation or drastically reducing greenhouse gas emissions is the more significant imperative, which raises the question of how much mitigation is possible within the parameters of global capitalism. This is illustrated in Hoffman's chapter on climate change–related disasters as exemplified by the Boulder flood in 2013 and the steady contraction of the Isle de Jean Charles band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Native Americans in the Mississippi Delta. Both of these case studies illustrate how infrastructure projects initially intended to ward off natural forces backfire. Rewilding Europe's plans to introduce large animal species wildlife in the Faia Brava Reserve in Portugal is guided as Sá aptly observes by capitalist principles. It constitutes a collaborative venture involving NGOs, rural landowners, agriculturalists, and banks, and in a loose sense mimics the type of green capitalism espoused by the US-based Breakthrough Institute.

The Need for an Alternative World System

Ongoing global warming and associated climatic and other anthropogenic environmental changes raise the question of how long humanity can thrive into and beyond 2100. While a large section of the international elite has come to recognize the seriousness of climate change, the solutions they propose under the guise of ecological modernization, green capitalism, and existing climate regimes are insufficient to contain catastrophic climate change. As a result, perhaps more than any other environmental crisis, anthropogenic climate change forces us to examine whether global capitalism needs to be transcended and humanity needs to develop a new approach, as some would see it, along eco-socialist lines. Indeed, Dawson (2017: 299) suggests that climate change increases the likelihood of a revolution in the future and argues that "humanity needs a global people's movement to battle climate chaos while generating work for the disenfranchised masses of the world."

Eco-socialism still remains a vision, but one in this age of climate change that merits thoughtful consideration. It entails the following dimensions or desired goals: (1) a global economy oriented to meeting basic social needs, namely adequate food, clothing, shelter, and healthful conditions and resources; (2) a high degree of social equality and social fairness; (3) public or socialized ownership of productive forces at national, provincial, and local levels; (4) representative and participatory democracy; (5) environmental sustainability; and a (6) commitment to a safe climate

(Loewy 2015; Baer 2018a; Saul 2019; Albritton 2019). Ultimately, the shift to eco-socialism in any country would have to be part of a global process that no one can fully envision. Antisystemic movements will have to play an instrumental role in bringing about the political will that will enable the world to shift to eco-socialism. As Magdoff and Williams (2017: 311) observe, any revolutionary upheaval aiming to create a global ecological society "will have to dwarf mobilizations we have seen recently around the world" by linking up many of the struggles seeking to achieve social, economic, and environmental justice.

The transition toward an eco-socialist world system is not guaranteed and will require a tedious, even convoluted path. Nevertheless, while awaiting the "revolution," so to speak, progressive people can work on various system-challenging transitional reforms that open the door to wider socioecological revolution. These include: (1) the creation of new anticapitalist left parties designed to capture the state: (2) the implementation of emissions taxes at sites of production that include efforts to protect low-income people; (3) public ownership of the means of production; (4) increasing social equality, including gender, ethnic, class, and racial equality, within nation-states and between nation-states, and achieving a sustainable global population; (5) the implementation of socialist planning and workers' democracy; (6) meaningful work and shortening of the working week; (7) development of a steady-state economy; (8) the adoption of renewable energy sources, energy efficiency, appropriate technology, and the creation of green jobs; (9) sustainable public transportation and travel; (10) sustainable food production and forestry; (11) resistance to the capitalist culture of consumption; (12) sustainable trade; (13) sustainable settlement patterns and local communities; and (14) demilitarization (Baer 2018a: 201–53). These transitional steps constitute loose guidelines for shifting human societies or countries toward eco-socialism and a safe climate, but it is important to note that these steps would entail global efforts, including the creation of a progressive climate governance regime. Constructing an alternative to global capitalism is the ultimate climate mitigation strategy, even though it will not be achieved anytime soon, if indeed ever. There is the distinct danger that humanity will continue to overheat the planet rather than cool it down, but it is essential that anthropologists play a role in the latter process.

Antisystemic social movements will have to play an instrumental role in bringing about the political actions that will enable the world to shift to eco-socialism. Given the failure to date of established international and national climate regimes to adequately contain the climate crisis, efforts to create a radical climate governance process will have to come from below. Ultimately, the climate justice movement, one that remains quite dispa-

rate, will have to form strong alliances with other antisystemic movements, perhaps particularly the anticorporate globalization or social justice and labor movements. Hardt and Negri (2009: 94–95) assert that "only movements from below" possess the "capacity to construct a consciousness of renewal and transformation," one that "emerges from the working classes and multitudes that automatically and creatively propose anti-modern and anticapitalist hopes and dreams." A viable anticapitalist movement will have to address the material impoverishment of much of the world's population, which includes many of the peoples that contributors to this volume have studied. Many parties, ranging from the World Bank to entertainment celebrities, make appeals to "eradicate extreme poverty" or "make poverty history." However, "make wealth, particularly extreme wealth, history," and the eradication of poverty will follow. Personally, I hope that the eco-socialist vision will serve as an integrative focus for antisystemic movements, including the climate justice movement, within nation-states and transnationally, although I recognize how daunting this task will be.

Much of the climate movement is focused on moving beyond fossil fuels, a worthwhile endeavor. However, just as capitalism operated on other forms of energy prior to the Industrial Revolution, capitalism could theoretically operate on renewable sources of energy, a form of *green neoliberalism*, which will require enormous sources to develop and maintain. For example, the Koch brothers have become major investors in windfarm, solar energy, and biofuel projects. Subalterns around the world are increasingly having their land and labor expropriated by mining companies, including ones that are providing resources for renewable energy operations and supposedly green technologies, such as electric cars and autonomous vehicles (Arboleda 2020). Even though some variant of green capitalism might bring down greenhouse gas emissions to some degree, it would not address the social inequities, limited democracy, militarism, threat of nuclear warfare, and global pandemics such as COVID-19 that are byproducts of global capitalism.

Climate justice and social activists face an incredibly daunting task. The next two or three decades, if not the immediate next one, will bring great hardship for much of humanity, exacerbated by the rise of authoritarianism, accompanied by the nexus between corporations and governments constituting surveillance capitalism, including in the US White House and countries in the Global South such as Brazil and the Philippines. As climate change increasingly affects humans and nonhuman beings, the powers that be will be inclined to construct a Fortress World to protect their privileges, borders, and market system. There are no easy fixes to these grim realities, but it is imperative that climate activists become climate justice activists as part of a meta-movement to challenge and transcend

global capitalism. I encourage my fellow anthropologists and other social scientists to not only study the global climate movement but become part of it in order to facilitate the cooling down of an overheated planet.

Airplanes, Climate Change, and COVID-19

While a growing number of critical scholars acknowledge that global capitalism constitutes the overarching driver of anthropogenic climate change, one of the smaller elephants in the room has been the aviation industry. The number of airplane flights worldwide has been growing, at least prior to COVID-19, which forced reluctant governments around the world to temporarily restrict the number of flights. Air travel, along with cruise ships, has played a key role in turning a localized epidemic in Wuhan in China into a global pandemic. Prior to this unfortunate event, aircraft flights were contributing 5 to 6 percent of greenhouse gas emissions, not only in the form of carbon dioxide but also nitrous oxide, methane, and ozone (Baer 2020a). Despite repeated claims by airline companies that they were gradually turning to more fuel-efficient and aerodynamic aircraft, these technological innovations were offset by a rise of roughly 5 percent per annum (in keeping with the Jevons paradox, or rebound effect, where the economical use of energy results not in diminished consumption but an overall increase). This rise was even higher for affluent people in China, India, and other developing countries, who started to emulate the habits of their counterparts in developed countries. Airplanes of many sorts (commercial, military, and private) have become sources of tremendous profit and integral components of modernity and the capitalist world system. Furthermore, aviation companies are an excellent example of how corporate profit making is subsidized by public funds.

Airplanes serve to transport both human actors and commodities to keep the world system operating and overheating. However, they do so with dire environmental, climatic, and health consequences (Baer 2020a). The human actors who rely on air travel include businesspeople, politicians, celebrities, the super-rich who own multiple homes in far-flung locations, sports teams, tourists, academics, international university students, other students studying abroad for short-term stints, and even UN climate change conference delegates and observers, environmentalists, and climate activists. The list seems almost endless but, with some exceptions such as low-paid migrant workers, refugees, and rank-and-file military personnel, it consists of relatively affluent people.

Furthermore, air cargo constitutes the underbelly of the airline industry. Its operations often occur at night and at secure inaccessible facilities,

bonded warehouses, and multimodal logistics centers, often located some distance from passenger terminals. Corporate globalization has resulted in a growing reliance on air cargo to quickly transport manufacturing components and products. The extractive industry around the world, including in the Atacama Desert of Chile and in Australia, has contributed to air travel by transporting their workers to mining sites (Arboleda 2020: 129–30). However, both extractive industries, such as iron ore and coal, and the petroleum industry are highly dependent upon marine shipping. Paskal (2010: 80) describes sea shipping as the "circulatory system of the global economy" in which about "90 percent of the world trade products are carried at some point."

Last but not least, militarism is highly dependent on aircraft, whether it is in the form of propelling jet fighters and drones or transporting military cargo and personnel around the world to engage in imperialist ventures. Historically, there has been a powerful nexus between the aviation industry—whether aircraft manufacturing or the airlines—and airport construction. This nexus has been strong around the world because of the military significance of aviation, particularly for the United States, but also Britain, Germany, the former Soviet Union and Russia today, and most recently China.

While infectious diseases can be transmitted vis-à-vis ship and train travel, airplane flights have elevated the spread of diseases to a new level. The internal environment of the airplane is an unhealthy one, with little oxygen, germs carried by both crew and passenger, and low-level electromagnetic radiation from flight equipment and x-rays encountered at high altitudes. The outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in late November 2002 and lasting to July 2002, which according to the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention infected more than 8,000 people and killed 774 people as it spread from China to at least twenty other countries, illustrates how air transportation can serve as a rapid transmitter of infectious disease. Tragically, by comparison to SARS, the role of airplanes, as well as cruise ships, in spreading COVID-19 has been exponentially more profound, turning a local epidemic starting out in Wuhan, China, into a global pandemic. Despite the role of airplanes in disseminating SARS and COVID-19, the European Union has permitted airlines to fly with all seats full, thus violating social distancing practices in other walks of life. Developed capitalist societies are the most reliant on air travel, both domestically and internationally. Only time will tell how COVID-19 will adversely affect the health of people in developing or peripheral capitalist countries, such as India, Indonesia, and those in sub-Saharan Africa. Latin America, particularly Brazil, already has emerged as an epicenter of COVID-19. In contrast to the developing capitalist countries, which are

quite mixed in terms of the quality of their health infrastructures, the impact upon the former could be devastating in ways that still are presently difficult to ascertain.

Ironically, the coronavirus pandemic has forced governments around the world, in an effort to stem even further spread of COVID-19, to ground the vast majority of international flights as well as many domestic flights. The International Air Transport Association terms the pandemic as "apocalypse now." In Australia, Virgin Airlines is seeking to receive a bailout from the Coalition Party government. Qantas CEO Alan Joyce, reportedly the highest-paid Australian CEO, opposes the bailout for Virgin unless his company obtains one itself on the grounds that Virgin is mostly owned by government-supported foreign airlines. Joyce has been trying to revive Qantas for the moment by pressuring the federal government to allow his airline to fill airplanes for domestic flights, with no empty seats to enable social distancing and making the wearing of masks optional.

A far more preferable strategy would be to allow Virgin to collapse and nationalize Qantas, as it once was, dismiss Joyce, shift to a much-reduced national airline, and create a nationalized solar-powered railway system that greatly improves upon existing state railway systems. Implementing such measures would require tremendous political will, one missing in both the Coalition and Australian Labor Parties, whether in or out of government. While it is far too early to say when humanity will return to some state of normalcy in a post-COVID-19 world, a consolidated airline industry in the wake of airlines that will fall by the wayside, a scenario that has occurred previously in a highly competitive industry, may seek to rise like a phoenix, offering perhaps relatively inexpensive flights, particularly with a low oil price, at least in the short run.

While academics are not generally ranked among the global elites, many in full-time positions, including anthropologists, and particularly those at elite institutions and at higher administrative levels, fall into the ranks of frequent flyers (Baer 2018b). Much of this behavior has been driven by the dictates of the corporate university structure, which seeks to internationalize itself in a competitive bidding war for student numbers, including overseas students, and research funds. This has occurred as governments have reduced funding for particularly public universities. While undoubtedly the vast majority of anthropologists around the world accept climate science, climate change has already adversely affected many of the subjects of their research and will continue to do so as humanity plunges further into the twenty-first century. They often seem to be unaware—or perhaps they compartmentalize their awareness—that their flying may be contributing to a four-degree or more world by the year 2100 if emissions

from many sources are not quickly abated in the next few decades. Elsewhere, I have sought to grapple with strategies as to how anthropologists contribute to the cooling down of the planet by reconfiguring the amount of flying that they do in terms of attending conferences, giving guest lectures in distant universities, and conducting fieldwork (Baer 2019, 2020b).

Conclusion

As the chapters in *Cooling Down: Local Responses to Global Climate Change* reveal, anthropogenic climate change has been inducing and will continue to induce severe economic, political, military, sociocultural, and health consequences as the twenty-first century unfolds. Ongoing global warming and associated climate and other anthropogenic environmental changes raise the question of how long humanity can thrive, at least in its present numbers and occupying much of its present places of habitation, into and beyond 2100. The critical anthropology of climate change, the perspective from which I operate, posits that global capitalism has been around for about five hundred years. It has come to manifest so many contradictions, including ecological and climatic crises, that it needs to be transcended to ensure the survival of humanity and animal and plant life on a sustained basis. This points to the need for a critical anthropology of the future that calls for a cooling down of the planet and is informed by an environmental and social need for an alternative world system. Such as system would be committed to social justice, democracy, and environmental sustainability, one that in certain circles is referred to as eco-socialism. However, a robust eco-socialism needs to grapple with and draw upon other anticapitalist discourses, including eco-anarchism and ecological economics (Biehl 2015; Laurent 2020).

In his version of eco-anarchism, Ted Trainer urges the affluent, particularly in the Global North but also the Global South, to adopt a *Simpler Way*, to literally cool down. As anthropologists know from their ethnographic research on indigenous and peasant peoples around the world, without romanticizing them, they have been purveyors of a Simpler Way for eons. We should be addressing to right to not work and ways to overcome the current "work ethic." For the majority of people on the planet, personhood, or the right to personhood, depends enormously on work, on what we do (let alone *la distinction*). Emissions will not change if we keep working/producing as we do and as much as we do. We should also be addressing debt (or the emission of money/debt) in general, and sovereign debt in particular, and therefore the economic growth imperative.

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