**Joel Cowell: Our View of Ecosocialism, Capitalism and the Ecological Crisis: Capitalism Is a Cancer of Humanity**

**The author: Joel Cowell, Bard College, USA.**

**This article is a conference paper submitted by Professor Joel Kovel to the International Academic Symposium on Marxism and 21st Century Socialism hosted by the School of Marxism at Wuhan University (December 7-8, 2013).**

**Introduction: Who are we, as ecological socialists?**     
    The term ecosocialism first emerged in Brazil in the 1980s, referring to a way of combining the struggle for the integrity of the Amazon with the socialist revolutionary tradition. Ecosocialism is therefore the heir to the specter of communism that haunted the European continent as Marx and Engels wrote in The Communist Manifesto. Although a young specter, it has a long lineage and a wide influence. Ecosocialism’s main battleground is the earth, which is being ravaged by an unprecedented ecological crisis. Most people think of the ecological crisis as “climate change,” but climate change is only the most striking aspect of the ecological crisis. The ecological crisis is linked to a myriad of ecological disorders, including species extinction, the emergence of new diseases, unprecedented pollution, and more.  
     
    Traditional socialism sees capitalism as the enemy of humanity and seeks to overthrow it. Ecosocialism also sees capitalism as the enemy, and it believes that nature, like humans, is a victim of capitalism, and overthrowing capitalism is the only way to overcome the ecological crisis. To do this, it is necessary to introduce the ecosystem as a natural unit and link it to humans and human society.  
     
    Nature on Earth is a collection of countless ecosystems, each of which is an organic whole of natural elements. These ecosystems follow different laws, one of which is the second law of thermodynamics, which applies to the entire universe. Its entropy principle has a huge impact on the emergence and prosperity of organisms. The second law of thermodynamics states that as the probability of occurrence of any array of elements in a closed system, entropy must increase over time. Therefore, unless organisms can achieve eternal existence through self-replication, the randomness and disorder of this probability will always exist. In contrast, death symbolizes the victory of randomness and the destruction of the structure of life. From another perspective, death tends to equilibrium, while the characteristics manifested in human production labor, namely life activities, are in a dynamic state of tension with other things in nature.  
     
    Ecosystems are not in equilibrium because this would eliminate their specific forms. When ecosystems enter a certain unbalanced dynamic mode, life will appear in the form of "self replicating". Such ecosystems, as well as those that protect life forms, can be called "integral ecosystems", and their existence is necessary for the evolution of life.  
     
    Man is a natural being, and his life activities (in other words, his "nature") are the transformation of nature realized in social production activities. In the process of man's transformation of nature, the situation of man's domination of man and man's domination of nature emerged, and with it the class society as the construction principle of the mode of production. The most fatal stage is the currently dominant capitalist system, which originated in ancient times, evolved into the world-conquering empires in the 16th century, manifested in colonialism, and in the current era manifested in the branches of neo-postcolonialism and the globalized economy and mass culture system. History has witnessed its entire development process, magnificent and stupid.   
     
    The Universal connection between the elements of the ecosystem allows each ecosystem to extend far. At present, we live in an ecological crisis, which means that the dominant capitalist society is destroying the balance of the universally connected ecosystems on an ever-increasing scale and in a nonlinear and chaotic way. The consequences are extremely terrible, and may be the destruction of civilization and even the extinction of humans and other species. Humanity is facing the possibility of the end of history.

The Extreme case of this state of affairs may be difficult to accept, but if we want to survive and successfully deal with it, we must recognize the existence of this possibility. Ecosocialism is, in any case, an exploration of unknown territory. Although traditional discourses of natural or social science, or even radical political theory, are essential to the basic information provided by ecosocialism, they are also limited by the existing mode of production in which they are rooted. They can neither understand nor overcome this nonlinear, exponential, worldwide crisis. Ecosocialism is premised on the commitment to transcend existing society and existing ways of knowing, even at the risk of being “left”. It will be a radical, fundamentally revolutionary doctrine that must have a global vision or it will be useless.  
     
    Although its origins can be traced back more than 20 years, the “creed of ecosocialist vision” was not finally established until 2011. We believe that everyone has the innate spiritual and practical ability to transform the world in an ecosocialist way. Although this spark is often suppressed by various social forces, its potential still exists, especially among young people. This potential works in various contexts, uniting different individuals and working together towards the ecosocialist goal of a global society living in harmony with nature. We want to promote this goal through the widespread implementation of various so-called "ecologically integral processes". We are well aware of the gap between ourselves and the goal, so a basic concept of the ecosocialist vision is "prefiguration", which allows us to understand the temporary nature of current struggles, use our imagination and maintain hope.  
     
    Ecosocialism is neither an NGO nor a political party. We belong to the left, but we often criticize the left because it fails to correctly understand the basic characteristics of the ecological crisis and even colludes with capitalism and various reformisms to make the ecological crisis worse.

The ecological crisis has deep historical roots. It appeared with the industrial revolution and began to attract people's attention in the second half of the 20th century. However, it was not until the last 10 years that environmental disasters and some unfavorable scientific data awakened sporadic awareness in international organizations and official media. At the same time, the growing public voice against the destructiveness of the ecological crisis has also brought these issues into public consciousness. As a result, the idea of ​​ecosocialism has begun to appear in progressive movements.  
     
    This is a positive progress, but it also brings new challenges. Given the current anxiety, confusion, and severity of the crisis, it is easy for the idea of ​​ecosocialism to become a slogan that weakens or confuses people's insight into the basic characteristics of the ecological crisis, or even leads to a superficial thinking that avoids the depth of the problems we face and the need to solve them. We should not follow Marx blindly, but nothing can better summarize the urgency of the current situation than the young Marx's call for "ruthless criticism of everything that exists." Criticism will not be shaken by the power of the authorities or by the possibility of disturbing effects. Nor should we forget Marx's conclusion in 1846 that laws or any other administrative measures will not bring about major political and economic changes. On the contrary, "nations must at least completely change their industrial and political conditions of existence, that is, their whole way of life, before they can make such laws."①  
     
    Like other concepts, ecosocialism can be used by humans, but it still should be ruthlessly criticized for its use and abuse.  
     
    **Capital and the ecological crisis**     
    The core proposition of ecosocialism is that capital accumulation, that is, the dominant function of the entire capitalist system, is the driving force of the ecological crisis. In other words, the existence of capital accumulation makes it impossible to overcome the ecological crisis and restore the Earth's ecosystem with life characteristics. Although capitalism can also be reformed in various aspects, the ultimate purpose of reform is to better carry out capital accumulation. The necessary accumulation movement is the global expansion of the capitalist system - the same process as globalization and ecological crisis - which makes the spell of capitalist reform doomed to fail in other parts of the world.  
     
    We have not found any circumstances under which this proposition could be falsified, but it has been met with evasion or crude denial. Despite the importance and logical rationality of capitalism, the existing institutions of capitalist society, from government to academia, have made little effort to explore the proposition, or even to discuss it, that capitalism is fundamentally harmful to the ecosystems on which it depends. Ecosocialism does not exist in real social life, and only those on the margins of society have begun to take it seriously, and these people are therefore excluded from existing discussions. This is prima facie evidence of the rigidity and irrationality of capitalist ideology, and is also a secondary proof of our main proposition above. Unfortunately, the vast majority of people are obediently compliant in the capitalist institutions of social control and reproduction.  
     
    The claims of ecosocialism can be supported both by induction, since almost all ecological imbalances that have occurred point to capitalist enterprises and/or the capitalist state, and by deduction.  
     
    1. No one would question that the summum bonum of capitalist production is the continuous growth of economic products, or that everything must be subject to the dominance of the economy as the dominant factor in society. Since the earth is finite and consists of countless delicate, self-regulating and interacting ecosystems, what else can capitalist production mean except to destroy the earth's ecosystems until human civilization itself and countless species are destroyed? All efforts to recycle or the idea of ​​negative growth are theoretically untenable unless combined with a strong will that capitalism must be overthrown.  
     
    2. Ecosocialism must also explain the chaotic, nonlinear and exponential characteristics of ecosystems under the influence of capital. This stems from the most basic characteristics of capital, that is, the effective principle consisting of "self-expanding value" and expressed through commodity exchange in the circulation of money. Looking at the entire human history, among all the countless modes of production created by humans, only capitalism puts value at the center of motivation.  
     
    Marx described the behavior of capital in the section "The Fetishism of Commodities" in the first chapter of "Capital". Here, value becomes the god of the capitalist world and the heir of the slain gods of pre-capitalist society. It is a treasure house of spiritual power that absorbs the essence of pre-capitalist production methods, and it is also the main institution of the system that is separated and manifested in phenomena such as monetary concentration, profit drive, and financial capital accumulation. At the height of capitalism in the 19th century, Nietzsche wrote the aphorism “God is dead”, expressing the resulting spiritual desolation and foreshadowing its result – the rise of fascism.

The blindly worshipped God reappears in the process of abstraction from our natural creation to the commodity of labor power. This thorough dehumanization creates abstract labor, which provides the necessary conditions for the formation of capital and the unlimited production of commodities. This also means that use value is subordinate to exchange value. Use value and exchange value are combined in the production process. Use value is qualitative, referring to the intervention of nature in the production process; while exchange value only specifies the quantitative aspect, which exists in the mind of a natural being rather than in nature itself. Because the capitalist worldview emphasizes that quantity determines quality and nature is subordinate to profit, this has led to profound and incurable alienation throughout capitalist society and laid the hidden danger for the intensification of the ecological crisis.  
     
    Quantity can be extended to infinity when measured by numbers. To the extent that it controls production, nature loses its beauty and diversity and is seen as a mere reservoir of resources and a collection of garbage - our rivers become sewers, our lakes and oceans become cesspools, our mountains become obstacles to coal mining and must be dynamited, among other evils.  
     
    All other values ​​are subordinated to the purpose of generalized commodity production, providing the necessary conditions for endless capital accumulation. This explains the disorderly nonlinear character of capitalist production: nature is subject to the ever-changing logic of profit and exchange at all times, rather than to the integrity of the ecosystem. Capitalist growth is driven primarily by monetary growth rather than the prosperity of the ecosystem, and therefore the capitalist growth model is exponential and gradually drags nature into the abyss of destruction. Each point of capital accumulation starts with the amount of value obtained in the previous cycle and becomes the basis for the next cycle. Endless imbalances intervene in the general struggle between classes and strata, causing the ubiquitous anxiety inherent in capitalist society and serving to highlight the crisis of capitalism. This is largely due to the regulation of the economy by a fickle value system that deals with debt and speculation and fluctuates wildly according to ever-changing data.  
     
    Capital accumulation requires radical change in those who want to make it possible. Its main source is the idea that humans can use their creativity and imagination to transform human activities into commodities themselves. All pre-capitalist modes of production, as cruel, wasteful and inefficient as they have been, closely linked humans to spiritual and divine forces. This view, extended to the early capitalist era as a doctrine of universal human rights, was widely adopted by the emerging democracies and transferred to the socialist value system. Although this conception survived until the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and promulgated by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, its concept has disappeared in the idea that humans are "factors of production." Now, people are mainly seen as a source of labor, a commodity distributed throughout the world, and their value is mainly determined by the non-human category of productivity.  
     
    Dehumanization marks the human ecosystem under capital as a structural determinant of the ecological crisis. Capital not only directly degrades the status of ecology, but also creates a large number of manipulable, alienated, and indebted people. These people are unable to relate to the natural world, to care for it or to restore it. This calls for theoretical and practical constructions to deal with the growing burden of ecological destruction. These are loosely grouped under the umbrella of “environmentalism”, a large and often bureaucratic organization often used by those who stand on the side of the security of capitalist economics and state rule. Since the word “environment” is by definition external to us, it itself creates a separation between nature and humans, so human ecosystems are incomplete. A similar confusion arises in the question of “sustainability” and whether it applies to the capitalist system or society as a whole. For environmentalism, this distinction is meaningless because the whole cannot be understood in this way. As a result, everything remains the same, while the earth is devastated.  
     
    **Our conclusion is: capitalism is a cancer of humanity.** It is based on this consideration that we seek to build a new type of ecosocialist society, centered on a completely different production relationship with nature, a new mode of production. Whether this is feasible remains to be seen. But the first obligation of ecosocialism is to build up this possibility, starting with a firm and deliberate rejection of capitalism as a viable alternative for our future. Only in this way can the treatment have its intended effect.  
     
    **Ecosocialism’s Position**     
    People who live in capitalist society enjoy the earth’s benefits as well as its damages. However, there is no reason to wallow in guilt or to try to improve the earth’s ecology by limiting their personal consumption. In itself, this is not a bad idea – in fact, we recommend that everyone should pay attention to what they eat, reduce pollution, choose environmentally friendly means of transportation, recycle, and so on. However, we are not dealing with individual actions per se, but with an existential choice and its consequences on a universal scale.  
     
**Our Relationship to actual existing environmentalism**  
     
    Ecological crises often break out around the world in unexpected ways and at unpredictable times, as one ecosystem or another becomes increasingly interconnected under the influence of conflicting forces. Each outbreak counts toward the totality of ecological crises. It is inconceivable that any one person can grasp these manifestations in their entirety, but it is necessary to have a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of them if he or she is to influence everyone. Therefore, all the issues that environmentalists consider are also the concerns of ecosocialism. The difference is that ecosocialism refuses to view these issues from the perspective of environmentalism, which is fragmented, isolated, weakened, or even separates humans from nature. Ecosocialists avoid the one-dimensional vision of Cartesian science, classical capitalist economics, and environmentalism, and adopt the "twofold vision" expressed in the opening line of William Blake's poem "Auguries of Innocence", which asks us to "see a world in a grain of sand." In believing in this vision, we can gain an infinitely broad perspective and approach universal unity. This is not driven by the numbers of capital accumulation. Mathematics tells us that there are infinite things, so ecosocialism strives for the boundless imagination that comes from sensory engagement with nature, rather than the cold quantification of value that characterizes capitalist production—the “icy water of egoistic intent,” as Marx and Engels wrote in The Communist Manifesto.

The “ego” refers to a point of separation in capitalist accumulation and a form that the self takes as it separates from others and nature in the globalized market. The reason the ego is narrow-minded is that it reproduces the capitalist world. But for the double vision, the whole and the part are dialectically unified. Each of us, in every position, has a unique perspective. Since we are ultimately equally valuable beings inhabiting the same natural world, we should seek universality through our individual particularity, whether as an individual or as a region.

The perspective of environmentalism is generally defined as turning away from or avoiding struggle. The ecosocialist perspective urges a practical marriage with the key points of ecosystem destruction, aiming to seek universalization from a field that transcends individual struggles and the competition generated by capitalist accumulation itself. In other words, the double vision requires us to dialectically see the existing order while building a new one.  
     
    **What do we mean by proposing transcending capital?**     
    We think about this question in the simplest way because we believe the answer is simple, even though it is extremely difficult to achieve. In order to defeat capital, we have to liberate labor and restore the creativity that is inherent in human beings. Since capital comes from exploited abstract labor, the movement to liberate labor deprives capital of a major source of accumulation. More importantly, the liberated people will spontaneously take on the mission of dismantling capital. This is a kind of slave uprising. We use a technical term for this, namely "freely associated labor", which occurs throughout the history of liberation from class rule, and its freedom means natural occurrence.  
     
    Freely associated labor in the language of ecosocialism can also distinguish it from environmentalism. Environmentalism focuses on the study of exogenous pathologies in ecosystems and the threats they pose, while ecosocialism focuses on the quality of labor and regards the control of ecosystems as a prerequisite for healing ecosystems. In fact, when people are fully and freely in contact with themselves and others, they will adopt appropriate technologies to improve nature. As part of nature, humans recognize that they are interdependent with nature and love nature. Therefore, humans will spontaneously liberate others and nature itself in the process of liberating themselves. This is the path to overcoming the ecological crisis. For freely associated labor, it is part of an ecocentric ethical whole that gives ecosocialism its functional identity.  
     
    In doing so, we touch upon the age-old debate about whether human nature is good or evil. We are not here to discuss this issue unless we are convinced that doing evil is the greatest weakness of human beings, or we do not regard it as an inherent sin or a "bad circumstance" - just as we refuse to think of good as "good circumstances". Both are variants of reasoning that have led to the stagnation of environmentalism, pragmatism and other bourgeois ways of thinking.  
     
    As ecosocialists, we see things from the perspective of how life is lived. My mentor, the Marxist anthropologist Stanley Diamond, sees the problem of aggression or evil in this way - the evil side of human nature appears as the result of "unlived life". This sounds a bit confusing until someone says: life is a gift from nature, and not living well is trampling on nature's gift and nature itself. Therefore, if we choose nature, we can make it on our side.  
     
    Production is the defining activity of human existence, creating our lives and involving the transformation of labor and nature. This is what Marx emphasized. From his early years to his later years, Marx's critique of capital always emphasized that capital suppresses the universality of labor. In this sense, the core goal of socialism is essentially far more than the pursuit of improving the material status of labor. It firmly demands the liberation of labor and allows it to pursue universal goals that transcend narrow materiality. This is to follow nature, not to regard it as inert matter, to share its life.  
     
    However, after generations, socialism has belittled and transformed the role of nature in production, abandoning the gifts of nature and nature itself. If there is a new ecosocialist mode of production - the only one that can be believed given the current state of the world, because all other modes of production are heading for extinction - then it must be one that gives nature the same value as labor. The ecosocialist vision would call this form of value the intrinsic value of nature. This is the core of our theory and practice.  
     
    **The problem of intrinsic value**  
     
    In our view, any conception of ecosocialism that fails to grasp the problem of intrinsic value is superficial, misleading, and deceptive—and a repetition of the mistakes of the first stage of socialism. Unfortunately, this attitude is common on the left, including on the socialist left and among ecosocialists who are reluctant to think about what an “ism” means.  
     
    Until recently, when Cuba, Bolivia, and Venezuela broke with the pattern, most attempts at socialism have continued and exacerbated capitalism’s disregard for the integrity of the natural world. The one major exception was the Soviet Union after the counterrevolution was suppressed. Although the Soviet attempt ended tragically, it still deserves careful study. We will leave aside other important debates about China, except to argue that the extent of China’s ecological destruction and the extent of its “progress” are two sides of the same coin.  
     
    We condemn the reflexive condemnation of all things socialist with capitalist ideology. But if anything is as preconceived as overcoming the ecological crisis, then this so-called “actually existing socialism”—what we call “first-epoch socialism,” socialism before the ecological crisis—certainly reveals the need for a revision of key theories and practices. In the most general sense, we would say that socialism’s inability to resolve the ecological crisis and to transcend the progressive domination of nature by capitalism and its ideology is a manifestation of its inability. This is not surprising, since every socialist revolution has occurred in a country surrounded by capitalist forces.

The potential for ecosocialism is emerging around the world in various forms of resistance to capitalist production. Some of these occur in relatively isolated places, even within the mind of a single person; some are highly localized; and others transcend national borders and involve a transformation of collective consciousness. Given the dynamism of ecology, it is absurd to argue that ecosocialism is limited by separate nation-states—even though some relatively developed countries have provided assistance to ecosocialist movements that have emerged elsewhere. These are strategic points for a developing “ism” that still has much theoretical work to do, but they miss the basic principles of ecosocialism and how its successors and successors achieved the first generation of socialism. Above all, it is the intrinsic value of nature that is brought to the fore.

  Ecosocialism will resurrect nature, which has been codified by humans; it will appear in people’s minds and manifest in their beliefs and practices as the intrinsic value of nature. There is nothing mysterious about this; in fact, it is a reflection of common sense. Can we imagine an alternative to capitalist ecocide except by respecting the whole of nature to achieve its own vitality? Ecocide means the destruction of the natural environment by [deliberate](https://www.google.com/search?sca_esv=6bd45db164d8933b&rlz=1C1SQJL_trTR1056TR1056&sxsrf=ADLYWILCyVs2nWREumX4wVU_aLMSwiJTmQ:1721790849824&q=deliberate&si=ACC90nyOnVY18Aw7zUtkWPYo5mTnhb6wYh48OtosbYr2IyCIgGc0UjhjzUwuk9QJzVmGA_2dPpx9CjuZh5X1dKas8s2lxs6Blqyq5h_aa4oOck3JjnCLmF0%3D&expnd=1&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=2ahUKEwi3xezf2r6HAxVAExAIHdPKDO8QyecJegQIMRAO) or [negligent](https://www.google.com/search?sca_esv=6bd45db164d8933b&rlz=1C1SQJL_trTR1056TR1056&sxsrf=ADLYWILCyVs2nWREumX4wVU_aLMSwiJTmQ:1721790849824&q=negligent&si=ACC90nytWkp8tIhRuqKAL6XWXX-NLQiVSTMVBmhKR73afuhf-bRyTHBOdxbh7JCEicRyKAobS0Ubjym0qmCuWiIsrakoP7rcOjBBuvIFFBSxpP4m1_OOe2w%3D&expnd=1&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=2ahUKEwi3xezf2r6HAxVAExAIHdPKDO8QyecJegQIMRAP) human action. "their crime is nothing less than attempted ecocide"

     
    Value is manifested as a will to seek, possess, grasp and/or realize a certain desire. When it belongs to the “suchness” of a thing—we can also call it the “nature” of a thing—it becomes intrinsic: not created, but existing in itself. This view is best reflected in the spiritual products of human beings, first in localized, national forms, and later in the form of the negation of complex, even imperial societies at the height of the Roman Empire.  
     
    Intrinsic value is a critique of existing production. As human phenomena, these are chains of causal relations that are repeatedly affected by human production activities, including those driven by capital. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg. Because we are not looking for an illusory space of "pure nature", but to create a contestation space between the original assumptions and the capitalist civilization that has become a fact. Intrinsic value opens this door for us. If enough people can practice it with conviction, then capital can be abolished in a short period of time. The task of ecosocialism is to make this happen.  
     
    Intrinsic value is a concept of "anti-political economy". Commodity society uses the symbols of use value and exchange value in its self-narrative process, clarifying the field of political economy. Because capitalism is the ruthless conquest of use value by exchange value, and because the new use value is open to the integrity of the ecosystem and becomes a test field for a functional ecosocialist mode of production; therefore, the intrinsic value we envision is to act together with use value in the construction of a new but actually old mode of production, of course, this construction process is repeatedly intervened by politics and ecology. If ecosocialism points to the struggle for use-values ​​as a check on capitalist ecocide, and if intrinsic values ​​make the natural world whole, then ecosocialism can be seen as an alliance in which ecocentrism’s use-values ​​and intrinsic values ​​lead to a new ecosocialist society in which social control of the economy replaces economic domination of society.  
     
    **Conclusion: Building ecosocialism and a new form of revolution**     
    If we return and discuss the universal ecosocialist movements, inevitable and natural outbursts of ecosocialist movements, we need to envision and recognize them, explore their potential, understand their interconnections, and develop these connections on a global scale until a new social form emerges in the interstices of the old society and takes it over from within. This form of revolution is fundamentally different from all previous revolutions, and its goal is to transform the state and civil society in accordance with a new mode of production.  
     
    We can call these outbursts “ensembles” of different ecosocialist potentials; they are numerous, requiring the development of ecosocialist discernment and providing a platform for the peaceful resolution of disputes. The endless problems that arise in them can be left to the creative forces that rise up against the cancer of capitalism.  
     
    As has been observed, the “ensemble” requires both production and resistance, and neither can be left without the other. If capital could easily penetrate both elements, it would not be enough to build organic gardens, nor to be open to the world and then accumulate repeatedly. The "ensemble" opens in a partial mode, guided by the double vision in the forecast, but always deviates from this mode later.

**Our 2 Permanent Principles**

Two permanent principles are: first, the unremitting efforts to build those original production communities called "commons" that are similar to collective ownership and production.

Second, the goal of exchanging commodity production through the production of the entire ecosystem. This requires rethinking the entire role of money, weakening its function as a carrier of abstract value and strengthening its function of simple exchange - a goal that will become possible once labor is liberated.  
     
    Ecosocialism claims the choice just as the Church established an option for the poor in the process of its liberation theology (also including this option). For ecosocialism, the following two options are specific.

**Ecofeminism**

Ecofeminism combines the feminist principles of economic and judicial equality with the consideration of the basic fact that gender oppression and violence against women play a central role in the dominant mode of production and its destruction of the natural world. Capitalism failed entirely because of the failure of patriarchal coordination, and once the ecosocialist vision of nature emerges, patriarchal modes of argumentation will be eliminated.

**Indigenization**     
    Indigenization is essential from the perspective of consciousness and justice. Ecosocialism requires an alliance with producers in the Global South, who hinder the access of capital and need to be protected from it. However, the selection of local peoples is also necessary, because the intrinsic values ​​of their culture play a greater role. We are not talking about "noble savages" who are closer to nature. The history of human struggle has taught them some life lessons that need to be learned if we want to live well.  
     
    Finally, ecosocialists must be prepared to try things that would be unthinkable in all previous history, let alone experienced. Survival skills are necessary, as are the skills to resist growing government repression. We are not talking about counter-violence, but about a strategy to confuse those in power so that their accomplices collapse, disintegrate, and instead join the ecosocialist camp. Then, the work of recovery and reconstruction can enter the next stage, including the most important question: the state question.

  ① Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 1, People's Publishing House, 1995, pp. 171-172.