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IMPERIALE LEBENSWEISE ‚AT WORK‘ IN LATEINAMERIKA – HEFT I

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Inhalt

- 4 MATHIAS KRAMS, ANNA PREISER
Intro: Die imperiale Lebensweise ‚at work‘ in Lateinamerika. Zur
Wirkungsweise eines ausbeuterischen Verhältnisses
- 27 GABRIELA MASSUH, BRUNO FORNILLO, CAMILA MORENO,
ULRICH BRAND
The Imperial Mode of Living wins until its own death – On green
capitalism and the struggles of social movements at its margins
- 44 ANNA LANDHERR, JAKOB GRAF
Territoriale Macht und periphere imperiale Lebensweise –
Internalisierungsmechanismen in der chilenischen Bergbaustadt
Tierra Amarilla
- 70 FELIX MALTE DORN
Inequalities in resource-based global production networks: resistance
to lithium mining in Argentina (Jujuy) and Portugal (Região Norte)
- 92 SchwerpunktredakteurInnen und AutorInnen
- 96 Impressum

Dialogue

GABRIELA MASSUH, BRUNO FORNILLO, CAMILA MORENO,
ULRICH BRAND

**The Imperial Mode of Living wins until its own death – On
green capitalism and the struggles of social movements at its
margins**

The following text is the record of an interview between Gabriela Massuh, director of the cultural department of the Goethe Institute in Buenos Aires, Bruno Fornillo, researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (Conicet) of Argentina, and Camila Moreno, Brazilian sociologist and post-doctoral researcher at the Humboldt University of Berlin, discussing the book *Imperial mode of Living. Everyday Life and the Ecological Crisis of Capitalism* with its co-author Ulrich Brand. The discussion was organised online in June 2021 by the Argentine publisher Tinta Limón and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's office of the Southern Cone and was facilitated by Gerhard Dilger, director, and Florencia Puente, project coordinator of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's office of the Southern Cone.

A longer version of this text was published in 2021 as an introduction to the Latin American and Spanish edition of the book *Modo de vida imperial. Vida cotidiana y crisis ecológica del capitalismo*¹, written by Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen, and published by Tinta Limón Ediciones. For the purpose of including Latin American discussions about the concept in this special issue of the Journal of Development Studies, the editors of this special issue have translated and slightly edited this text, and added endnotes to clarify some concepts.

1. Introduction

Being confronted with an undeniable crisis and the sense of an economic, ecological and political collapse brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic calls for serious discussions about the core of social reproduction, the ways in which production and consumption are organised, and the forms of economic and social development. Which substantive discussions contribute to a critical analysis of the causes of the present global socio-ecological crisis and to a new imaginary, and thus are able to give consistency to a transformative political practice?

Researchers and political activists Markus Wissen and Ulrich Brand write from the centres of European capitalism. With their book *Imperial Mode of Living*² they provide a conceptual framework that allows us to locate trends that were accelerated and highlighted by the Covid-19 pandemic. They question how norms of production and consumption forged in the global North – and extended to the rest of the world since the mid-20th century – are sustained at the cost of violence, ecological destruction and human suffering, especially – but not exclusively – in the global South. They analyse how the imperial mode of living of the global North systematically conceals the conditions of production – from natural resource extraction to workers' labour conditions – and externalise the negative impacts of capital's operations to peripheral regions of the world. In turn, this imperial mode of living in the global North is not only a cause of and factor in the crisis in the global South, but also a mechanism of economic and subjective stabilisation in the North itself, which thus camouflages its own crisis (Brand/Wissen 2021b).

The following conversation ranges from the eco-social crisis to the emergence of 'green capitalism' as a business opportunity; from the loss of sovereignty of nation states to the dispute over strategic resources and the emergence of Asian powers such as China. What tensions and new contradictions cross the territories of both the global South and North? What can social movements that presented a clear alternative to the mercantilising and destructive forces of neoliberalism at the beginning of the century do today?

2. Imperial mode of living: the resonances of a concept

Gabriela Massuh: The title *Imperial Mode of Living* made me feel strange at first glance. I thought, 'Another book on imperialism'. But the way in which the book proposes to think about the imperial mode of living based on the insistence on 'externalities' seemed absolutely necessary and interesting. The global South appears, in relation to the global North, either as a deposit for waste or as a place of resource extraction. At the same time, it is inevitable to think about the global South that arrives in Europe in the form of migration, and how European governments are installing ever more fences around it.

Following Rita Segato³, one could further propose a parallel between this concept of imperial mode of living and the concept of 'coloniality of power'⁴, which includes the complicity of certain societal sectors within the colonies with the hegemonic power. In this sense, it seems to me that the concept of imperial mode of living makes the current conditions of colonial, patriarchal, racist and classist domination explicit.

Bruno Fornillo: I would highlight the idea of 'mode of living' as outstanding, not so much as 'imperial'. The book's emphasis on the ideological dimensions is really important. The triad of power, prestige and money refers to a fundamental ideological dimension that sustains this type of capitalist accumulation. Further, the text highlights the generalised responsibility very well – not only of sectors of the elite, but also of a large part of the European middle classes and the new powers, especially in Asia. It is key to point out the extension of this imperial mode of living to a large part of the population and, consequently, the extension of the primary responsibility and the generalised commitment of these hyper-productivist and hyper-consumerist modes of living with regard to the current global environmental catastrophe and the unequal distribution of resources.

Ulrich Brand: As Bruno Fornillo rightly says, we are interested in showing how the imperial mode of living wins even in its own death, given its capacity to overexploit the world both ecologically and socially. Its

hegemony, that is, the widespread acceptance of an unsustainable everyday life, is evidenced not so much in its imperial character as in the unlimited extension of a mode of living that requires the outside, the non-present, above all from the global South, but also from regions of Germany or Austria where countless migrants live and work – be it in harvesting or in the meat factories. This contradiction interests us.

As we develop in the book, the hegemony of this imperial mode of living was consolidated in Europe, but also in Argentina, in the post-war period, in the second half of the 20th century, a mode of living that today, with the pandemic, is revealed as a cause of or factor of in a multiple crisis. At the same time, and no less importantly, this mode of living is also a factor in the stabilisation of social relations. Europe is in a crisis, but access to commodities and to cheap products on the world market allows a significant part of its population to maintain a certain standard of living, i.e. to live a ‘normal’ life. However, this situation has not reached any lasting stabilisation, and, based on this diagnosis, we argue that ever more tensions are to be expected: tensions that we call eco-imperial. These are produced in the emerging countries of the South in Latin America and Africa when this mode of living, based on the voracious extraction of global resources, is not accepted and put into discussion.

Camila Moreno: I want to stress the role of the national State, which has increasingly metamorphosed into a business State, a partner of corporations. Very few national States will have real sovereignty to design environmental policies, because States are increasingly co-dependent on public-private partnerships and are deepening the logic of debt with the issuance of bonds (social bonds, green bonds), representing an absurd financialisation of national States, with the consequent surrender of sovereignty and mortgaging of the future. Within this framework, the programmes linked to the Green Deal⁵ are nothing more than pacts that normalise the assumptions of green capitalism.

Regarding the coloniality of power which has been brought up: I believe that the imperial mode of living corresponds to an imperial mode of thinking – the coloniality of knowledge⁶. There exists an entire imported social science that imposes ways of reading our reality that are profoundly colonial, even when they come with the label of criticism. And this is

how movements have been incorporating a whole package of concepts and images that promote a new universalism: bioeconomy, circularity, net zero, carbon neutrality etc. In Brazil, we are importing theoretical schemes to read racial issues, or issues related to women. This is causing a total short-circuit within our modes of thinking. It is as if we were opening franchises, movements that become brands of social struggle rather than real reflections on the constitutive differences of our countries. It is a serious problem not to be able to think from our own realities, intellectual traditions and interpreters. It is also necessary to bring to the debate the issue of how the phenomenon of hybrid warfare⁷, which acts on the battlefield of imaginaries, subduing the schemes of thought and interpretation of reality, is making it very difficult to build fronts of unity in the political struggle.

3. The projects of the global elites: green capitalism and eco-imperialism

Bruno Fornillo: The pandemic made visible the inclination of global elites appropriate and transform themselves towards a sort of green capitalism. A very clear example – and one which the book deals with very specifically – is the unusual take-off of electromobility, to the point of becoming the great beacon of the modernising ecological transformation of capitalism. A case in point is that fact that, during the last year, the value of Tesla's shares grew by 700 percent. However, as Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen rightly argue, it is truly impossible to sustain this sort of ultimate imaginary of contemporary elites, namely that it is feasible to replace the contemporary fossil fuel fleet with another fleet, in this case electric, to sustain the kind of colossal development that exists today.

In Latin America in particular, I would like to point out several things. The first is what the book mentions as greenwashing: it is necessary to look at the Chilean elite, a vanguard elite in Latin America with a particularly modernising capitalism, perhaps because of its strong contact with the USA. It is tremendously 'green' and favours, like no other country in Latin America, an energy transition. An additional fact is that this Chilean elite insatiably buys and hoards land in Patagonia, a 'vacant' and very spacious territory that has become strategic due to its commons, as it contains

incredible riches, such as clean air and water. In short, green capitalism is today the capitalism of the elites.

In the rest of Latin America, for the first time the national-popular discourses⁸ are seeing the need to ‘clean’ themselves’, and are beginning to incorporate environmental variables, at the same time trying to sustain the existing economic models. Talking about Argentina, we are not at all envisioning that the current national-popular government, or ‘progressive’ if you prefer – left, definitely not – can incorporate some emancipatory element. If we think about lithium, what is taking root is an extractive model with provinces having control and dominion over the resources, however, with no growth at all in the technological sector. So, on the one hand, Argentina will extract untiring tons of lithium – not even of battery grade – with a lousy amount off income collection, great environmental and social dangers, and an execrable political-legal system in the mining area – and, on the other hand, a Chinese company producing electric cars for the local market. This is a really pathetic pattern of development.

China’s ambition to decarbonise its economy, the largest on the planet, by 2060 involves renewable energy production on a very large scale. There is quite an uncertainty among global elites about how China is going to carry out green capitalism. But already today, in Latin America, forms of neo-dependence are being established, what the book calls an eco-imperialism. Very concretely, we are the providers of resources for the central countries to carry out their socio-ecological transitions.

Gabriela Massuh: Something that seems important to me in the book is the recovery of both Gramsci and Polanyi. For both, a transformation⁹ requires a political subject. How do we do this today, when there is no political subject capable of carrying out this transformation? Those that desire it are social movements, but not institutional political subjects. There seems to be a kind of marriage between the State and companies that, together, represent the current political subject, in the context of post-neoliberalism.

Regarding the pandemic and the change in customs, I doubt that with a certain Lutheran will, that is, with individual (good) will we are able to overcome the issue. I am more inclined to believe in the strengthening of social movements. The more universal they are, the better. I believe that

ecofeminism has been fighting a great battle in relation to the decriminalisation of abortion, and this struggle is being transferred to the land, and to the problems of territory. From the violation of the feminine territory to the violation of territories¹⁰: it seems to me that combining these aspects could enable to leave the dominant patterns of climate change and the dominant relationship with nature.

Ulrich Brand: Regarding the discussion on the elites, I see at least three projects, apart from the emancipatory project. A first project we could call ‘business as usual’. This position is increasingly weak and is linked to the elites who do not want to see socio-ecological problems. A second project, which Bruno Fornillo emphasised, is that of ecological modernisation of the elites who did understand the socio-ecological problems and, consequently, opened up a whole other field of business linked to green finance, green jobs, green production, with all the implications this has on the imperial mode of living. I also see a third project – this time articulated with the pandemic – linked to the implementation of a whole series of control strategies. We can even speak of an eco-authoritarianism, which differs from the modernising ecological vision of capitalism. The second project assumes a social dynamic that implies certain public debates, the integration of trade unions and other representatives of the subalterns. The third project does a bit the opposite, with an authoritarian tendency to control. This was a process, or a project, that was strengthened during the pandemic.

If we focus on the mechanisms of reproduction of the elites as a whole, we could say that they unfold under what Gramsci would call a ‘passive revolution’. Many changes are taking place, but under the control of capital and the elites. We will have to be attentive to these changes and transformations, to see how this trial of passive revolution of capital is being articulated and implemented. It is on this terrain that the emancipatory forces will have to deploy their strategies and projects.

At this point, it is essential to link a diagnosis of the imperial mode of living with long evolutionary transformations with more specific and complex interventions, as in this case, towards a green capitalism centred on electro-automobility. Today’s elites in the global North talk a lot about social ecological transformation. I call it a new critical orthodoxy. The

Greek word *orthós* means ‘correct’ or ‘true’ and *dóxa* means ‘belief’ or ‘opinion’. The criticism is that the elites understood the serious problems, but the answers remain under their control and rules. Naturally, more critical and radical perspectives of a transformation, not only of the material and energetic basis of the economy, but of the capitalist social forms, are excluded. This is part of the epistemic struggle of the passive revolution.

4. Scope and limits of individual will: when solidarity is not enough

Ulrich Brand: I would like to point out the discussion on individual good will. At the level of society and of official discourse, there are continuous references to good will and good consciences. I would call it a tendency to individualise responsibility. Many of my students, for example, feel the whole weight of the world on their shoulders. They want to change the world and live 100% ecologically and socially. We insist that the social, political and even infrastructural conditions are central concerning the lack of alternatives for individuals. For this reason, many feel challenged by the ideas in the book, by the question of violence and of exclusion that is at the base of our concept. It is not only the subject that must change, but we need a structural, cultural, political, and social change, much more linked to the conditions of life. What is ambiguous, or contradictory, is that the imperial mode of living allows greater access to the world, offers more on a material level, supposedly even makes a better life possible. But it also restricts, if you want to live in another way. You barley have alternatives. Society permanently surrounds you with the desires and images of the imperial mode of living.

Bruno Fornillo: The book is inscribed in a German current of thought connected to the critical tradition of culture. We should take up Walter Benjamin’s idea that every document of culture is, at the same time, a document of barbarism¹¹. The book, in a sense, is a kind of contemporary update of this premise. We cannot focus only on attitudinal, individual issues; it has to be linked to stronger organisational and systemic elements. But, at a certain point, both systemic organisational elements and concrete day-to-day activities are important and must feed back positively on each

other. The devil is in the details, and ideology also works in the details, in our concrete practices.

I further want to dwell on political practice. Going back to Gramsci, I believe that the problem in Latin America is one of hegemony, it is linked to political practice. Not so much in terms of the construction of knowledge – I could name numerous contributions working to differentiate and to create an epistemology of the South – but in the relationship of that knowledge with the outside. We have a problem of ideological work or, as Gramsci would say, the problem of how to link with the common-sense of the ideology of the population. Hence, it could be said that we have a problem on the left, in general terms, in Latin America: a hiatus has been created with respect to the new emancipatory discourses and concrete political practice.

As far as social movements are concerned, they had a very strong potential at the beginning of the century. However, this force began to lean towards national-popular, productivist discourses, displacing more radical solutions, particularly with regard to socio-ecological transitions. We have to ask ourselves how to consolidate a left that has a hegemonic impact in relation to public debate, a left with the capacity to expand within civil society, in Gramsci's terms, which is a debt we have in Latin America. In Argentina and other parts of Latin America it is very clear: those glimpses of great social and territorial movements still have a deficit to translate their demands and mobilising force into the political sphere. In countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador, but also in Chile and Brazil, the progressive discourse is still hegemonised by developmentalist perspectives. I would decentralise the problem of the production of knowledge and ask more about the effectiveness of our ideological struggle in the concrete terrain of political practice.

Camila Moreno: For more than a decade, a whole climate narrative has been developing. Today, it has become a contemporary form of the medieval indulgence: it is possible to sin, but it is also possible to buy compensation for it. This has challenged, as Ulrich Brand said, a generation of young people who do not know a world not facing a climate emergency. It has produced a very strong level of existential anguish in the psychosocial structure. So even though people are less and less attached

to formal historical religions – we see how the Church is making efforts to reinvent itself and associate itself with climate issues, as the Pope did with the encyclica *Laudato si*¹² and, more recently, with the launch of the ‘Council for Inclusive Capitalism’¹³ – very profound transformations are happening in the way people perceive spirituality. But the whole infrastructure of Christian guilt is still there, embedded in our sociability. And the market is very effective in capturing that and offering redemption through consumption. It is impressive how in Europe goods exist with captions like, “You are buying and thereby helping a group of women in Latin America, indigenous, single mothers, living in a threatened forest,” and so on. It is a symbolic level of overexploitation, because they need the subaltern, who are not yet like them, so that people buy and thus feel good about themselves.

5. Social movements and emancipation: the tensions within the empire

Ulrich Brand: In the second half of the book, we analysed the history of the imperial mode of living and, in a short section, the resistances and alternatives to the hegemonic model of life that opened up in Western Europe in the late 1960s and early 1970s. At that time, there was an economic crisis, there were ‘wildcat’ strikes (not controlled by the unions), there were social, youth, feminist, ecological, international solidarity movements. In this framework, a radical critique of the disciplinary regime of Fordism¹⁴ developed. And we know from Toni Negri, but also from Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello¹⁵, that this movement was largely integrated by neoliberalism. Along these lines, I would say that today we do not see significant resistances against the imperial mode of living in the global North. Of course, resistances exist, from Black Lives Matter to movements against the European border regime, or against the exploitation of coal to produce electricity. They exist, but they are not as broad and not as strong.

That obviously forces us to rethink what emancipation means today. In the 1970s, emancipation was thought of as social emancipation, often under the umbrella of an idea of economic growth. The premise was ‘everyone has to live as they do in the industrialised societies of Western

Europe', without paying too much attention to the costs paid by nature for this growth. But, under the conditions of a climate crisis, of an ecological crisis, of the current multiple and civilisational crisis, it is no longer possible to pose emancipation in this way. There is a fundamental challenge for critical thought, which is to rethink emancipation under conditions of a multiple crisis, which has a level of 'scarcity', in ecological terms, that is very problematic. In other words, under conditions of an imperial mode of living, under conditions of a multiple crisis we should rethink the idea of emancipation and go beyond the figure of a 'liberated proletariat' in order to be able to think of conditions for a dignified life, neither at the cost of nature, nor the indignity of other lives. So, I emphasise this idea of changing the social conditions of reproduction of life. But, of course, changing conditions means struggle, means conflict. Maybe it is not the proletariat and its mass organisations – the unions or revolutionary parties – but the multiple conflicts regarding public transport, airport expansions, against industrial agriculture or the automobile industry. What would conditions of a solidarity-based mode of living be? A solidary mode of living needs subjects, however no longer a central subject, but rather a multiplicity of emancipatory conflicts.

In this framework, a large part of current social movements is limited to fighting for social rights at the national level. As valuable as they are at that level, they do not have an internationalist perspective. Also, today in the global North, the Green New Deal is a proposal of the left, but it has few internationalist moments. It is thought at a nation-state level; it is thought under conditions of an imperial mode of living. And that is why we have to reformulate it and rethink what is meant by an idea of the international that is not implicitly linked to imperialism, the global market and extractivism, but that also interpellates the habits and daily lives, both in the South and in the global North.

Of course, emancipatory social movements and initiatives from below and from self-organisation are still very important. But we must also see how they translate into more institutional initiatives and conflicts. For example, there is a legal initiative in Europe – the supply chain due diligence act – to make a company importing products responsible for the social and ecological conditions under which they were produced. This is something that could counterbalance the imperial mode of living.

Gabriela Massuh: There is an internationalist movement that is very likely to expand and that is nourished by a very important eco-social ideology, which consists of the indigenous movements, indigenous struggles for *Buen Vivir*, the Good Living. And it has a great possibility of expanding transversally throughout the American continent, because the usurpation of territories – be it for soybeans, in the form of a meat farm, be it for mining – is transversal from North America to South America. And something similar is happening in Africa and India. There is a possibility of a new internationalism, but it has less access to institutional politics – compared to the Green New Deal and the movements of the global North – because it is a social class without prestige or power.

Bruno Fornillo: I want to highlight the fact – which is mentioned in the book – that empires can no longer externalise their own tensions. Due to conditions of acceleration of production, imperial competition and scarcity of resources, the elites can no longer displace outward the tensions generated in their own territories. A counterpoint can be made in relation to what Eric Hobsbawm calls the ‘golden age’ of capitalism¹⁶. It was the moment of post-war massification, of the Welfare State, a moment in which the imperial mode of living was ‘universalised’ within the global North, and the global North had the capacity to ‘externalise’ its tensions, but also to bring this great consumption and productivity to a large part of the global South. But the book indicates very well that, under current conditions, these tensions will not cease to be experienced within the empire itself. And of course, they are also being experienced in the global South.

These tensions and resistances within the global North can be illustrated by the case of Detroit, which shows what happens when one of the most important industrial cities in the United States, linked to the automotive industry, enters a definitive decline. Today, China dominates the market for electric cars. This situation naturally creates very strong tensions in Europe itself. In fact, in a belated response to the development of the electromobility industry, Volkswagen has now announced that it is going to set up a lithium battery factory in Germany itself. I think this is a pretty graphic example of the way these inter-imperial tensions are being played out because of competition for leading industrial standards.

Camila Moreno: In particular, what worries me about these movements, or rather global brands, that come ready-made, with logos, slogans, etc., is their tendency to make alliances with business actors, with the corporate world, to present themselves at the Davos Forum (WEF), to echo the whole new wave of impact investment, and environmental and social governance (ESG). Along these lines, I am researching on the financialisation of identities and how, instead of increasing struggles and demands for structural changes in the system, movements include the values of the elites in their agendas. This is a taboo subject which is forbidden to criticise, as if these movements were above good and evil, as if they were purer precisely because they have global causes – or because the fundamental cause of them, perhaps, is globalisation itself.

To talk about what is happening in Brazil with the genocidal government of Bolsonaro: when the right wing is under a lot of tension, the extremes also move. So, we see indigenous peoples in the Amazon making alliances with companies, private banks and large technology companies. Yes, we have to look for alternatives, but there is a short circuit in what is happening in the understanding of the processes. For example, projects of popular neighbourhoods in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro that, through apps for cell phones, allow them to open up to the financial markets, so that companies and people from the North can ‘invest’ in the development of the communities. It seems as if they had forgotten what the financial market is and what interests it serves. And this takes place in the context in which states are very fragile, under decades of globalisation and the erosion of national cultures and identities, and in many cases, even in the process of dissolution of their sovereignty and incorporation into new empires. That is why the popular national struggle remains fundamental.

Ulrich Brand: Bruno Fornillo mentioned Walter Benjamin. He used metaphors linked to navigation to think the epistemic-conceptual field. And he said that when it comes to thinking and researching, when it comes to producing concepts, it is a matter of steering the sail well in order to be able to capture the winds of history. What is decisive, he said, is not so much having sails, but knowing how to set them. In the same sense, our desire is to propose the concept of the imperial mode of living as a contri-

bution to a better understanding of the world and its problems, as well as of the dynamics and social alternatives for emancipation. In this way, we hope that the book will help us to guide the sails and allow us to sail together.

- 1 See Brand, Wissen (2021a)
- 2 See Brand, Wissen (2017, 2021a or 2021b)
- 3 Rita Segato is a renowned Argentinian feminist Anthropologist and an important representative of Latin American decolonial feminism, known for her extensive writing on gender, violence, race and coloniality. She is Professor Emeritus of the University of Brasilia and curator of the Aníbal Quijano Chair, launched by the Museum Reina Sofia, to channel Latin American decolonial thought.
- 4 The term coloniality of power was coined by Aníbal Quijano (2016). It can be understood as a pattern of power introduced in colonial times which unfolds through the naturalization of territorial, racial, cultural and epistemological hierarchies (Svampa 2016: 409). For further insights into the concept of coloniality of power and its dimensions see Kusche et al. 2021.
- 5 The (European) Green Deal is a new growth strategy that aims to reduce the climate and environmental impacts of the capitalist mode of production. The strategy is based on the assumption of an absolute decoupling of economic growth and environmental impact, which decoupling has been questioned in numerous studies (Haberl et al. 2020). In 2019, the EU Commission launched a policy initiative of the same name with the goal of making the EU climate neutral by 2050 (European Commission).
- 6 The term ‘coloniality of knowledge’ was coined by Edgardo Lander, Venezuelan sociologist (2000). The term expresses the hierarchisation of forms of knowledge and Eurocentric, epistemological structures of domination and “form of control (...) over knowledge (and) the production of knowledge” (Quijano 2016: 42, Translation: A. P./M. K.). For an overview, see also Kusche et al. 2021.
- 7 The concept of Hybrid Warfare – coined by the military intellectual Frank Hoffman to refer to conventional and unconventional military tactics – has been broadened to include tactics with military as well as non-military means. It can be understood as a “*form of war* (...) (including) ‘non-military actions that undermine the political legitimacy’, exerting influence by the disseminating of strategic information or fake-news and the strategic use of social media (Daniel/Eberle 2021: 435).
- 8 According to Svampa (2020b), the nationalist-popular combines the “affirmation of the nation, a redistributive and reconciling state and charismatic leadership, and organized masses” (Svampa 2020b: 55). While national-popular governments originate in the convergence of social movements with state institutionality (Morena Velador/Figueroa Ibarra 2014: 121) and pursued politics of the masses, it was implemented top-down. It is characterized by the “centrality of the state which absorbed all civic forces” (Boos 2018: 16, Translation: A. P./M. K.) and by

- tensions between nationalist projects and controlled participation, co-optation and nationalization of social movements (Svampa 2020b: 56).
- 9 In the longer Spanish version of this text, Ulrich Brand clarifies, that for “Polanyi transformation is the long, evolutionary transition from agrarian to industrial capitalism.”
 - 10 For an overview on this topic from a theological perspective, see Lassak/Kraus/Scalet 2021.
 - 11 See Benjamin 1974.
 - 12 See Pope Francis 2015
 - 13 ‘The so-called ‘Council for Inclusive Capitalism’ and the Vatican launched a partnership in 2020 which among other, aims at supporting a ‘just energy transition’. The Council describes itself as a “historic collaboration of CEOs and global leaders inspired by the moral guidance of His Holiness Pope Francis to harness the power of business for good. Ours is a moral and market imperative to make economies more inclusive and sustainable with a movement of bold, business-led actions that span the economic ecosystem” (Council for Inclusive Capitalism 2021).
 - 14 ‘The term Fordism is used to describe a phase of capitalist development that lasted from the 19050s-1970s, especially in the capitalist centres. Higher wages and social spending were intended to increase both productivity and consumption (Jäger/Springer 2015: 207). In addition, due to welfare state achievements, also the working class increasingly benefited materially from the resource- and emission-intensive mode of production and consumption. Being based on inequality and the reproduction of an unequal division of labor along the lines of gender, race and a North-South and an unsustainable use of Nature, Fordism was increasingly criticized and politicized by the so called new social movements (Brand/Wissen 2017: 18, 53).
 - 15 See Hardt/Negri 2002 and Boltanski/Chiapello 2003.
 - 16 See Hobsbawm 1994

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