**Contribution to the Global University for Sustainability**

**Seventh South South Forum on Sustainability**

**Climate Change, Global Crises, and Community Regeneration, 8–17 July 2020**

**Lingnan University, Tuen Mun, Hong Kong.**

**Transition and Crisis of Civilization in the Time of the Pandemic and Climate**

**Short version**

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11-07-2020

**A Crisis of Civilization and a Transition**

Today we are facing a conjunction of a major climate crisis and a pandemic crisis. As Kyle Harper underlines, the environmental crisis that accompanies the Anthropocene.

This crisis concerns the civilization carried by capitalism and capitalist globalization, at least in its neoliberal phase and probably in the foundations of capitalism itself. Ecological contradictions question the relationship between the Human Being and Nature. Economic and social contradictions question the dominant system, namely neo-liberal capitalism. Political contradictions question institutions, states and democracy. Ideological and cultural contradictions question world understanding. Geopolitical contradictions question the international system. The debates are open on all these aspects, the overall corresponds to a crisis of civilization.

Transitions are long and uncertain periods. Samir Amin had emphasized the importance of transitions between modes of production. He also questioned the linearity of History which would have seen the succession of modes of production of primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism to reach the expected end, that of socialism and communism. He had shown the bias of this Western-centric vision and insisted on the neglected modes of production such as the lineage modes of production, important in Africa and Asia, and as the Asian or central tributary modes of production, that of the great empires that played a major role in history.

I would also like to underline the idea, developed by Samir Amin, that the transition is being prepared in the peripheries, where the balance of power is less fixed, where the new can make its way, where the imagination of the dominated and the excluded can discover the vulnerabilities of the dominants.

The discussion on ecological, social, democratic and geopolitical transition has the interest of naming the great contradictions at work. Now it remains to nourish each of these dimensions with new proposals for the construction of another possible and necessary world. It is also necessary to develop the alternatives, the new social relations of surpassing capitalism, in today's societies,

The question of democracy is at the beginning of certain paths of transition: democracy in corporations, local democracy, democracy in public action and in state institutions, international democracy. Similarly, this situation is based on inequalities between countries and peoples, which are unbearable and are becoming less and less supported. Democracies have to be reinvented.

The situation revealed by the pandemic also leads us to reflect on historical ruptures and continuities. The hypothesis of discontinuities cannot be ignored. The ecological rupture leads us to reflect on the implications of a crisis of civilization, taking the scale of the resulting shocks. A crisis of civilization leads to upheavals that some may describe as collapse, which characterizes processes and does not signify falling into millennialist fears. What some now call the collapse is also the preparation of a new civilization. It is not the end of the world, it is the beginning of a long transition that will not be linear.

**The decline in the resilience of the international system**

The way the world has reacted to covid-19 has demonstrated the significance of the shocks that are taking place. The covid-19 health crisis demonstrated the weakening of the United States as the dominant pole and the weakness of the organization of the international system in its inability to respond to a global crisis. The fall of the American empire is an open assumption.

The Western system is still militarily dominant, but has lost the ability to think globally. This capacity seems to have been displaced to Asia. It should be pointed out that this shift towards the Pacific is not, in itself, a civilizational advance, a new model, but a new geopolitical balance leaving more room for multipolarity.

The health crisis has also demonstrated the inadequacy of the international system. Responses to a global crisis have been national, without much concertation. The possibility of multipolarity is open.

**And today**

In the current situation, the contradictions will be exacerbated. The ruling classes are still there and they will do everything they can to regain control. They will implement the shock strategy described by Naomi Klein.

The first task of the movements will be to resist. Resist xenophobic, racist and securitarian ideologies. Resist the questioning of individual and collective freedoms. Resist economic and social blackmail, unemployment and misery. Resist wars and the police and military build up.

This resistance will create contradictions and opportunities: social contradictions with the exacerbation of inequalities; internal contradictions within capitalism between extractivist capitalism and GAFAM capitalism; social contradictions between the mass of executives and shareholders; ecological contradictions with the awareness of living conditions on the planet, climate, biodiversity, pandemics; demographic contradictions with high schooling and unemployed graduates, population ageing and migration ; geopolitical contradictions with the rise of the Global South and the

decline in the resilience of American and European empires.

The second task of the movements is to work on alternatives and to start building a new world in the ancient world. The combination of the climate crisis and the pandemic crisis is challenging certainties.The religion of capitalist development no longer makes sense, it carries a philosophical crisis.

The battle for cultural hegemony has begun. It will be hard but it is not lost. Against the ideology of neoliberal capitalist globalization and inequalities, what is being promoted are rights and equality of rights: rights against profits; rights to health, education, housing, income and work; rights and obligations for Nature and the living environment. We promote women's rights, the rejection of discrimination and racism and the rejection of police violence. It is a new global movement that articulates classes, genders and origins. It is an awareness of the persistent traces of slavery and colonization. These ideas have progressed, and the climate and the pandemic crisis have confirmed their evidence.