NATURE, CAPITAL, AND CATASTROPHES



Jakob Pins, wood engraving "The Apocalyptic City" scene of terror and destruction

"The era that has all the technical means to completely alter living conditions across the entire Earth is also the era that, through the same separate technical and scientific development, has all the mathematically unquestionable means of control and prediction to measure exactly in advance where-and by what date-the automatic growth of the alienated productive forces of class society will lead: in other words, to measure the rapid degradation of the very conditions of survival, in the most general and trivial sense of the term." Guy Debord, (1971)¹

Marx's naturalism

It has become increasingly "fashionable" to associate Marx's name with the zeitgeist, to the detriment even of the totality of his praxis, and to make him, according to fashion, an "indigenous" Marx, a "decolonial" Marx, a "feminist" Marx... and, of course, an "ecological" Marx². It is clear to any serious, i.e., non-ideological, reader of Marx that, from his so-called "early" texts to those of his "maturity," including the Grundrisse and Capital, he always considered the inseparable relationship between man and nature to be one of the central issues of his historical materialism. "For Marx, nature and history are intimately and indissolubly linked." Schmidt, Le concept de nature chez Marx³. It is therefore important to note that Marx's approach is akin to what might be called "historical naturalism," as it is determined by historical social relations that profoundly transform the interactions between nature and humanity.

"As early as 1844, Marx saw the relationship between humans and nature as central to his theory of alienation. For him, the radical rupture of the primitive unity between human beings and nature was at the root of modern alienated life, and he opposed the emancipatory idea of the reunification of humanity and nature under the formula: 'humanism = naturalism'." Kohei Saïto, La nature contre le capital, Syllepse, Paris, 2021.

The very definition of the concept of "nature" allows us to differentiate between creative and generative powers external to man and his techniques. The existence of nature thus predates the appearance of man. But this nature only begins to have a history when it is transformed by human activities, which are also produced by this "mother" nature.

¹Debord, Guy, La planète malade, in Œuvres, Gallimard, Paris, 2006.

²For example, Bellamy Foster, John, Marx écologiste, éditions Amsterdam, Paris, 2011, which attempts to establish an "ecological socialism," whereas Marx's Marxism is in itself an organic whole.

³This work, published in French in 1994 by PUF, is an impeccable account of the relationship between man and nature from the point of view of "living Marxism."

"To speak of the social history of nature is to defend the coincidence of human practices and their objective material condition." Paul Guillibert, Terre et capital, p. 57, éditions Amsterdam, Paris, 2022.

At the same time, man only emerges from his animality through the transformation of nature through work, understood here as productive activity, the starting point and basis of the process of hominization.

"It is precisely by shaping the world of objects that man begins to assert himself as a generic being. [Thanks to this production, nature appears to him as his work and his reality. [...] Man does not recreate himself only intellectually, in his consciousness, but actively, really, and contemplates himself in a world of his own creation." K. Marx, Manuscripts of 1844, Paris, éditions sociales, 1968.

Marx's worldview corresponds to a totality of interdependencies and reciprocal mediations between nature and human social relations, which he conceives as a "metabolism" of coevolution of different and multiple species. In scientific terms, this approach can be compared to the notions of ecosystem or biocenosis, systems based on a set of interactions between factors of different kinds (biotic, abiotic) and living beings. It also reflects a certain vitalism. The relationship between nature and humanity is conceived as the expression of the dialectic of a reciprocal relationship between natural objects or objectified subjects. To breathe, a being needs air, that is, an object external to itself. Nature is, therefore, a set of relationships between natural organic (living) and/or inorganic (mineral, metallic) beings.

"In my opinion, the distinction between organic and inorganic bodies refers to Marx's naturalism, that is, to the idea that all natural beings are defined by the type of relationship they have with other objective beings, without which they cannot exist. (...) It is rather a philosophy of the discontinuities between the organic and the inorganic in a natural totality constituted by their objective interactions." P. Guillibert, p.75.

The destruction of nature is the destruction of these relationships and interactions; without air, we can no longer breathe.

"The sun is the object of the plant, an object that is indispensable to it and confirms its life; in the same way, the plant is the object of the sun, insofar as it manifests the life-giving force of the sun, the essential **objective force** of the sun. A being that does not have its nature outside itself is not a natural being; it does not participate in the being of nature. A being that has no object outside itself is not an objective being. A being that is not itself an object for a third being does not have being as its object, that is, it does not behave objectively, its being is not objective." K. Marx, Manuscripts of 1844, p. 137, Éditions Sociales, Paris, 1972.

The emergence of the capitalist social relationship

But the most important thing for Marx was to understand how the M.P.C. had completely disrupted and perverted this metabolism, turning it into a monstrosity of catastrophes and dragging all organic and inorganic species into a process of destruction. With the advent of mechanized industry, these exchanges of substances were broken in favor of an alienated capitalist logic that transformed everything into merchandise. In the specifically capitalist phase, the disruptions and pathologies caused by the breakdown of this **metabolism** between nature and humanity are developing more and more, at the same time as capitalist contradictions are accelerating. This process of accelerating contradictions is the driving force

behind the increase in catastrophes of all kinds, whether they are labeled "natural." It is also reflected in the growing separation between "the city and the countryside," the geographical poles of human alienation. For Marx, although nature and humanity were mutually generated in the beginning, it was the emergence of the capitalist social relationship that introduced a total and deleterious separation between the two.

"It is not the **unity** of living, active men with the natural, inorganic conditions of their exchange of substance with nature, nor, consequently, their appropriation of nature, that needs to be explained or that is the result of a historical process, but rather the **separation** between these inorganic conditions of human existence and this active existence, a separation that has only been posed as a total separation in the relationship between wage labor and capital." K. Marx, Manuscripts of 1857-58 known as "Grundrisse," p. 448, Éditions Sociales, Paris, 2011.

Moreover, what classical economics until recently called "free goods" (the seabed, air, water, light, space, etc.) are in the process of being definitively appropriated and subsumed by capital, and thus denatured, polluted, and militarized. In this way, capital continues its expansion. Its tendency to continually push back the limits of its domination over natural resources is the same as its tendency to exert its influence over all aspects of daily life.

Nature and property

It was in one of his early articles that Marx considered the agrarian question, including land ownership and land rent, in order to argue against the destructive private appropriation of the remnants of village common property.⁴ In 1842-43, in the "Rhenish Gazette," Marx had, as he wrote, "for the first time to say my piece about what are called material interests" in connection with the debates in the Rhenish Diet on timber theft and the situation of the Moselle winegrowers.⁵ It is particularly interesting to note that one of Marx's first political battles was precisely to defend this ancestral customary right that allowed poor villagers to collect dead wood that had fallen from trees, in contradiction to the sacrosanct legislation defending forest owners.

From his bourgeois point of view, this collection of dead wood constitutes theft, since it takes place on "his" land, but it refers to the natural process of dead wood falling and therefore can be subject to collective appropriation. This debate is highly topical, as it pits the private appropriation of a so-called free good against the raw material of a nascent industry. The same is true today with the private appropriation of the seabed and the riches it contains:

"Nickel, copper, manganese, and cobalt are increasingly in demand, especially for the manufacture of batteries, solar panels, and smartphones. They are found in sulfide clusters or in the form of polymetallic nodules." Now it is the abysses that are in danger because they are still considered

⁴This is another very good example of revolutionary Marxism's longstanding interest in these issues, whatever the new discoverer of an "ecological" Marx may think. The magazine **Le fil du temps** devoted three issues, 2, 6, and 7, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to this topic under the title: "Le marxisme et la question agraire" ("Marxism and the Agrarian Ouestion").

⁵For a detailed analysis of this first outline of materialist analysis, see

Lascoumes-Hatwig Zander, P., Marx, du "vol de bois" à la critique du droit, PUF, Paris, 1984.

⁶France Culture, Au fond des océans, des richesses convoitées, July 2023, on the website: https://www.radiofrance.fr/France culture/podcasts/grand-reportage/grand-reportage-emission-du-vendredi-17-fevrier-2023-9417242

a common space that belongs to everyone and therefore to no one. The conquest of nature by capital is thus a condition of its reproduction and an expression of its class domination. Today, this type of problem could be transposed almost literally to the conflicts between the populations of certain peripheral countries and capitalist appetites, for example overwater resources. One example is the conflict between the inhabitants of Cochabamba and the multinational Betchel during the famous "water war" of 2000. For Marx, the woodcutters are merely complying with a sentence handed down by nature, regardless of the rules of private property. It is the same contradictory reality that confronted the appropriation of land and mining by capitalists with the indigenous Amerindians, for whom the land, like the sky, was by nature unappropriable. Once again, in the opposition between the remnants of customary law and the increasingly invasive force of bourgeois law, it is the balance of armed force that has decided, and continues to decide, in favor of the appropriation/destruction of nature by capital and its competing representations (individuals, societies, states).

Alteration of natural conditions

If the fundamental unity between nature and humanity has been definitively broken by the capitalist social relationship, which, as it develops, increases their separation more, this rupture also generates disintegration and destruction, both of humanity and of the natural conditions of its existence. In this sense, so-called ecological catastrophes are nothing more than a moment in the general catastrophism of the M.P.C., as in the recent and predictable earthquake in Turkey in February 2023, which did nothing more than reveal known seismic faults and failed constructions caused by corruption and systemic cynicism in the race for profit. The same can be said of the collapse of the Morandi viaduct in Genoa in August 2018, an admission that concrete is "capitalism's weapon of mass destruction".

It is also worth mentioning the catastrophic floods that devastated the Valencian Community (Spain) in November 2024⁹. In short, whether they are linked to known and predictable phenomena such as these or to the effects of the M.P.C. on the environment (consequences of climate change, destruction of habitats, pollution, introduction of particularly "invasive" species into new habitats, overexploitation of the environment, etc.), all these catastrophes can be explained by the unhealthy relationships between people and things engendered by the capitalist principle.

False solutions and real opportunities

Obviously, reconstruction will take place under the same conditions, if not amplified and accelerated, necessarily producing the same dramatic consequences. Destruction (devaluation)

⁷Science fiction has already anticipated the catastrophic end of humanity as a result of irreparable damage to the abyss. The novel in question is Abyss, by German author Frank Schätzing, published in 2004 and available in French from Presses de la Cité, in which nature unleashes the elements against human greed.

⁸We take this expression from the interesting book by A. Jappe: Béton, arme de construction massive du capitalisme, L'échappée, Paris, 2020, which for once sells us less on the new "Palim-psao" ideology that we have already criticized extensively in our review text Matériaux Critiques N°5: "La Sainte famille des gratteurs ou la critique de la valeur (Contre Kurz, Jappe et consorts)" available on our website: https://materiaux critiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes

⁹See on this important proletarian reaction: "No one will silence us. We will speak on behalf of our dead" written by our comrades from the Barbaria group: https://barbaria.net/et published in French in our journal Matériaux Critiques N°10 as well as on the website: https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes

is the indispensable condition for reconstruction, allowing for a new valorization of capital¹⁰. Like capitalist wars, these catastrophes are privileged moments in which, through reconstruction thanks to a new technical composition of capital, the rate of profit can be increased and the process of valorization continued. On this question too, the tradition of revolutionary Marxism has maintained a radical understanding of a modern world heading toward destruction. Faced with ecological danger, the "green" variant of this general trend takes the form of bioengineering or other forms of "techno-solutionism" as capital's response to the catastrophes it engenders and as new modes of market expansion. The commercialization of these productive techniques and other scholarly and technological inventions does not depend on their pseudo-neutral or less harmful nature, but on their **profitability.** Science, like all other productive forces **of capital,** is fully integrated and subsumed by capital. It is the counterrevolutionary ideological work of social democracy and Stalinism to have claimed that the productive forces (of capital) are socially neutral and therefore usable, in themselves, in another logic and by another mode of production.

Humanity, finally liberated from social classes and the ignominious realm of commodities, which will have been revolutionized by the class of proletarians and wage slaves, will determine what is best for itself and, therefore, what is best for nature, of which it is an integral part. Since the necessary production of the means of subsistence will no longer be determined by profit, as in capitalism, but by the real needs of human beings, it is certain that the current sciences and productive forces will undergo profound transformations. Current ecological trends, whatever they may be, offer only provisional solutions because they fit into the logic of the world of Capital. Authentic communists reject this logic and confront the system as a whole. The ecological catastrophe can only be eradicated through the radical transformation of society, through a social revolution on a planetary scale. Everything else is just a distraction that prevents us from taking the bull by the horns.

"From the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production, social democracy and Stalinism drew what they needed: a (supposedly) rational project for the domination of nature. Far from criticizing capitalism, they supported it both in the exploitation of the proletariat and in the destruction of the natural environment." Gilles Dauvé, Pommes de terre contre gratte-ciel, Entremonde, Geneva/Paris, 2024.

The cult of the religion of progress, shared by all those who believe in a possible rational and optimistic outcome, justifies and reinforces, de facto, the acceleration of the pace of capitalist change ¹¹capitalist disasters, even among so-called revolutionaries.

"There is no nonsense, however vast, that modern technology is not willing to endorse and cover with virgin plastic, when it corresponds to the irresistible pressure of capital and its sinister appetites (...) The capitalist era is more laden with superstition than all those that preceded it. Revolutionary history will define it not as the era of rationality, but as the era of junk. Of all the idols known to man, it is the idol of modern technological progress that will fall from the altars with the greatest crash." A. Bordiga, Politique et "construction," Prometeo, July 1952: Espèce humaine et

¹⁰On this issue, we refer the reader to our text "Summary notes on valuation – devaluation" in journal No. 1, website: https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes

¹¹We have written about this important critique in a text entitled "On the margins of the health crisis: For a Marxist critique of science" in our journal Matériaux Critiques No. 4, available on our website https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes

Marx the productivist?

The supposed productivism attributed to Marx, now "denounced" by postmodern ideologies, is in reality that of bourgeois scientism and progressivism, not the prerogative of living Marxism. It was above all social democracy, with its gradualist cult of progress, and Stalinism, with its megalomaniacal claim to defeat liberal capitalism with its underdeveloped statism, that were the most enthusiastic fanatics of capitalist productivism. And today, it is some of their ideological descendants, the orphaned children of historical and criminal Stalinism, who are reversing that productivism to become the happy disciples of a "degrowth" that only means more misery... but green misery.

"The fatal flaw of gradualism is not that it takes too long, but that it retains the essential: it democratizes and softens capitalism, business, and the wage-earning workforce, without going any further; moreover, its program is not to get rid of it, but to moderate it." G. Dauvé, p. 167, already cited on p. 5.

Marx did not wait for the arrival of new parodists to discover and study in detail the works of Justus von Liebig¹² on the irreversible damage caused by soil depletion due to intensive industrial agriculture. This is what he clearly states:

"One of Liebig's immortal merits is to have developed the negative side of modern agriculture" (...) As in urban industry, the increase in productive force and the greater degree of fluidity of labor are paid for in modern agriculture at the price of decay and diseases that undermine the workforce itself. And any progress in capitalist agriculture is not only progress in the art of exploiting the worker, but also in the art of exploiting the soil; any progress in increasing its fertility over a given period of time is at the same time progress in the ruin of the lasting sources of this fertility. The more a country, such as the United States of America, relies on large-scale industry as the basis for its development, the faster this process of destruction occurs. So much so that capitalist production only develops technology and the combination of the social production process while at the same time ruining the living sources of all wealth: the land and the worker." K. Marx, Capital, Book One, pp. 566-567, Messidor/éditions sociales, Paris, 1983.

For this reason, some authors (Malm, Haraway, Guillibert) have spoken of the "Capitalocene" to characterize the capitalist cause of climate disruption and so-called natural disasters.

"In response to the emergence of the Anthropocene concept, a critical perspective has recently emerged. Basing his reasoning on the internal dynamics of capitalism rather than on that of an 'evil' Anthropos, Andreas Malm, a doctoral student in human ecology at Lund University (Sweden), proposes the alternative concept of Capitalocene."¹³

While this characterization allows capitalism to be nominally identified as the fundamental cause of multiple catastrophes, the truth is that this neologism offers no perspective for a radical solution to these "disturbances" and therefore does not point to the necessary communist revolution as the only possibility for preventing the deadly course of the system.

¹³"Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Some avenues for reflection," L'esprit libre, June 2017, on the website https://revuelesprit libre.org/anthropocene-ou-capitalocene-quelques-pistes-de-reflexion

¹²Justus von Liebig (1803-1873) was a German chemist, and agronomist considered the founder of industrial agriculture based on organic chemistry.

What is ecology for?

Like all other fields of knowledge, ecology represents a reformist and doomed attempt to adapt some of its most disastrous consequences to capitalist logic. Originally, it was the "science of habitat" developed in 1866 by Ernst Haeckel, a Darwinist biologist, but it quickly became the study of man and his environment. In this way, ecology subsequently became "political," claiming to be able to resolve environmental and climatic dysfunctions, including industrial pollution of the entire biosphere.

In essence, it is a partial vision that, peacefully or not, calls on the capitalist state to transform itself to avoid the worst of its "excesses" in certain areas. For decades, these movements have been alerting public opinion to the dangers unfolding before our eyes. And it was not until 1972 and the warnings of the Club of Rome's "Stop Growth" reported that the alarm was sounded. For João Bernardo, the growing popularity of ecology from the 1970s onwards was largely due to the decline of the social struggles it accompanied. For him, the genesis of ecology has a deep connection with the history and ideology of fascism ¹⁴.

"For capitalism, all natural resources are the color of gold. The faster you exploit them, the faster the gold flows. The existence of a private sector means that everyone tries to obtain the maximum possible profit without thinking for a moment about the interests of the whole, those of humanity. As a result, every wild animal that has monetary value, every plant that grows in the wild and generates profit, is immediately the object of a race to exterminate it. (...) The state can certainly do a lot to prevent the ruthless extermination of rare species. But the capitalist state is, after all, nothing more than a sad representative of the common good (...) Capitalism (...) has replaced local needs with global needs and has created the technical means to exploit nature. These are enormous masses of matters that are destroyed by colossal means and transported by powerful means of transport. Society under capitalism can be compared to the gigantic force of a body devoid of reason. While capitalism develops unlimited power, it simultaneously devastates the environment from which it lives in an insane manner." A. Pannekoek, La destruction de la nature, July 1909¹⁵.

This prediction by one of the leading exponents of revolutionary Marxism in the 20th century already anticipates the absurdity of environmental movements in their belief in a state that could manage capitalism in a balanced way that respects people and nature. How ironic to ask the main reproductive organ of the system to ensure that it reproduces without too much damage, or even to become the guarantor of a decrease in... profits. The maximum result of environmental activism has been that practically all parties in the bourgeois political arena have felt compelled to add a green touch to their programs, compelled to do so by the avalanche of disasters and the ideological pressure that has become dominant. Of course, once in power, all of them, including the Greens, are forced to adapt to the needs of development and capitalist demands, as in the astonishing example of the return to nuclear energy (both peaceful and military), a former dividing line for all opposition environmentalists. Moreover, apart from diverting the attention of the exploited, ecology has become very profitable for

¹⁵Pannekoek, Anton, "The Destruction of Nature," in Zeitungskorrespondenz No. 75, July 10, 1909, https://www.marxists.org/francais/pannekoek/works/1909/07/pannekoek_19531108.htm

¹⁴"I have demonstrated, with numerous examples, the connection between ecology and fascist regimes, and in particular between agroecology and German National Socialism." It will be interesting to refer to the second part of his text. https://mondialisme.org/IMG/pdf/J-bernardoledesertetlesmonstres.pdf as well as his article: João Bernardo Ecolos et antivax: https://www.npnf.eu/IMG/pdf/joa_o_bernardo_ecolos_et_antivax.pdf

capitalism. There is nothing that does not transform into market value.

But that is not all that is important; the large-scale and spectacular mobilization of these citizen movements is a vital complement to the false sense of guilt typical of the petty-bourgeois consumer. For those who cannot afford it, there is always green austerity and second-hand "vintage" items. Furthermore, the reforms carried out in the name of ecology do not necessarily correspond to the stated good intentions of saving the world from global warming or pollution. To give a current example, the "eco-responsible" campaigns promoting electric cars over combustion engines are no less "ecological" than those for electric cars:

"Some point to their energy-intensive production, while others claim that their pollution depends on the country where they are recharged and on its electricity production. The independent consulting firm Carbone 4 has published a study to shed some light on the matter. What it shows is that the production of an electric vehicle pollutes more than that of an equivalent internal combustion vehicle. It is the manufacture of the battery, the heart of the electric vehicle, that consumes a large amount of energy" If you want to compare the ecological impact of electric cars with that of combustion engines, whether gasoline or diesel, all experts agree that you must consider the entire life cycle, from manufacturing to recycling. And there, the winner is not always the one you would expect. (...) To manufacture the battery that supplies the electricity," explains Maxime Pasquier, deputy head of the transport and mobility department at the French Environment and Energy Management Agency (Ademe), "you have to go and find the metals, sometimes on the other side of the world. Cobalt, graphite, manganese, lithium, nickel... extracting them requires a phenomenal amount of energy. Not to mention water and chemical additives, which are very harmful to the environment."

The environmentalism of the moment and the adaptation of our miserable individual survival to the whims of the environment are further bogged down in a guilt-inducing morality of the most charlatan effect, as if every small gesture added together could constitute the global solution to these multiplied catastrophes. This belief in gradual solutions based on the sum of individual actions (Rabhi's famous "Hummingbird"!) fits well with the civic myth of shared responsibility to disguise the true economic, social, and political causes of these catastrophes. This proven reformism encompasses all of ecology, even Murray Bookchin's "libertarian municipalism"¹⁸.

"A bourgeois substitute for religion, the idea of a guaranteed better future is inexorably decaying, but monstrous flowers grow on this manure: the nostalgia that torments our contemporaries, making them see all archaic forms of survival and consciousness linked to it in an idyllic light, bears the indelible mark of impotence and infantilism." Encyclopédie des nuisances: Discours préliminaire, p.14, November 1984, Paris, 2009.

Through these spectacular demonstrations and actions, ecology, like the Catholic faith, provides a temporary and inexpensive means of achieving a false sense of conscience. The cries of Greta Thunberg and her avatars are nothing more than the expression of impotence turned into a policy of exculpation and exoneration of politics. Unfortunately, as this new

 ^{16&}quot;Are electric cars really less polluting than combustion engine cars?" November 2022, on the website: https://www.europe1.fr/societe/la-voiture-electrique-est-elle-vraiment-moins-polluante-que-la-voiture-thermique-4145186
 "Electric or combustion engine car: which pollutes more?" Le Parisien, August 2019, on the website: https://www.le

¹⁷ "Electric or combustion engine car: which pollutes more?" Le Parisien, August 2019, on the website: https://www.leparisien.fr/automobile/voiture-electrique-ou-thermique-laquelle-pollue-le-plus-12-08-2019-8132190.php
¹⁸It was this libertarian who enabled the ideological whitewashing of the highly militaristic and mafia-like leader of the PKK,

¹⁸It was this libertarian who enabled the ideological whitewashing of the highly militaristic and mafia-like leader of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, and the construction of a mythical communist and clan-based state in Rojava. Bookchin is one of the "founding fathers" of a non-revolutionary libertarian ecology oriented towards the creation of small autonomous and self-managed communities (communalism).

ideology is not biodegradable, a radical critique of its soporific effects, which reinforce the counterrevolutionary mantle typical of this period, is necessary. For this reason, Slavoj Žižek sees political ecology as one of the main fields of expression of ideology, understood as a distorted view of reality. For Žižek, ecology is a modern avatar of religious thought that allows its followers to domesticate the terrifying reality of the consequences of the PRC by presenting itself as an indisputable and, therefore, reassuring reality.

It is worth recalling here Bordiga's prediction in 1951: "If it is true that the industrial and economic potential of the capitalist world is increasing rather than decreasing, it is also true that the more it develops, the worse the living conditions of the human masses become in the face of natural and historical cataclysms. Unlike the periodic flooding of rivers, the flood of capitalism's frenzied accumulation does not have the prospect of a 'recession' similar to the downward curve of the hydrometer, but rather the catastrophe of rupture." Amadeo Bordiga, "Crue et rupture de la civilisation bourgeoise," Espèce humaine et croûte terrestre, pp. 29-30.

This "catastrophe of rupture" will either be the capitalist catastrophe of the destruction of the earth and humanity, or the revolutionary catastrophe of their emancipation through communist revolution.

"What man has created, he can destroy. What man can destroy, he can also remake in any other way." Lewis Mumford: Technique and Civilization 19

2025: Fj, Eu, Ms & Mm.

Translated by IsaCR.

Musical illustration: Steppenwolf: "Born To Be Wild" https://youtu.be/YwLmmXGEEps?si=SE856X 03RL1MZwhs

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¹⁹Quoted from the Encyclopédie des nuisances: Preliminary Discourse, p.14.