"Like a hot bread from an oven, this book appears from inside one of the most effective European branches of the climate movement, Climaximo of Portugal. It does not shy away from the enormity of the task this movement has set itself. Activists will find much to chew on. Perhaps they will even discern some recipes for the cook shop where – if anywhere – a future is made."

Andreas Malm, *Author of "Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming" and "How to Blow Up a Pipeline: Learning to Fight in a World on Fire" among others.*

"This book shows the importance and strength of unifying our struggles, going beyond focusing only on our campaigns, and being in solidarity with the struggles of others. This is the way to build peoples power, as this book reveals. If you read this book, you need to start organizing, if not, you must read again. We all must stop being part of the problem and be part of the solution."

Anabela Lemos, *Leader and defender against extractive megaprojects in Mozambique, fighting for social and environmental justice with a global perspective.*

"This book is an honest and passionate 'recruitment tool'. Enrooted in struggling and organizing experience, it offers proposals on how 'to find courage inside our fears' for the climate emergency, and to move beyond thought into collective action. Whatever your position in the climate movement, don't miss it."

Stefania Barca, *Ecofeminist scholar and activist, author of "Forces of Reproduction" and of "Workers of the Earth".*

"There are few books of this sort. It is a crisp critique of struggles as well as a manual for action. It dips into history, outlines current efforts, cracks and fissures and asks the unavoidable question: why are we complacent in the face of unfolding disasters? This question is for us all to answer."

Nnimmo Bassey, *Author of "To Cook a Continent - Destructive Extraction and Climate Crisis in Africa"*

"We are heading towards climate hell, with capital's feet on the accelerator. What can one do? The authors of this remarkable essay call for a state of climate emergency, and propose a road map for (anticapitalist) system change. Essential reading for climate activists, ecosocialists and ... everyone."

Michael Löwy, *Author of "Ecosocialism. A radical alternative to capitalist catastrophe"*

"If Rosa Luxemburg was correct that it's either "socialism or barbarism" and Naomi Klein that capitalism is the root cause of the climate crisis, then the authors of All In! ask the next logical question: How do we overthrow capitalism in time to preserve a livable planet? Their conclusions and the revolutionary roadmap they lay out should shock us all into immediate action."

Andrew Boyd, *Chief Existential Officer at Climate Clock, author of "I Want a Better Catastrophe" and editor of "Beautiful Trouble"*

"Only the overwhelming force of free multitudes, unstoppable like a river in full flood, surging past every obstacle, aware of their transformative power and constituted as a true power, the ONLY SEAT OF POWER, can pave the way for a revolution that will finally dismantle the historical structures of oppression threatening the survival of humanity as a whole. Today more than ever, if we want to live, we must recognize the monster before us. But above all, we need inspirational ideas to guide us into ACTION. This book offers that clarity and direction. I highly recommend it."

Juan Pablo, *climate and decolonial activist, international delegate of the Yukpa people and the ONIC (National Indigenous Organization of Colombia)*

"*All In* describes our challenge in stark terms. Capitalism is driving the climate crisis and there's only a decade or so to stop already dangerous climate change becoming runaway climate chaos. So the task is to dismantle capitalism and do it in short order. The prospect, perhaps, does not look good. Imperial capital appears entrenched and fiercely reactionary – but also ridden by successive crises. More to the point, the climate justice movement has no coherent plan, nor even a coherent space in which to plan, for its overthrow. *All In* invites us to get real about what we have to do to make that space and plan together."

David Hallowes, *author of the groundWork Reports*

"*All In* is militant theory in the best sense of the word: committed, based on principled, founded on militant experience with no hesitations to draw uncomfortable lessons. It's a book that expresses the steep learning curve of the ecologist movements of the last decade, and because of that talks fearlessly about strategy, about organization and about building ecologies able to win and to think big – for big is the challenge we are facing."

Rodrigo Nunes, *author of Neither Vertical Nor Horizontal: A Theory of Political Organization*

"As peasants, we defend a way of cultivating the land that puts human, animal and plant life before the interests of capital, a self-sustaining economy to feed the world. Capitalism is at war with those of us who defend our territories, displacing us to cities to provide cheap labor while plundering our resources. It is urgent to organize globally to build this new world in order to that those at the bottom take on those at the top."

Leonor Yonda, vice president of CNA – Coordinador Nacional Agrario – Colombia

"In *All In*, Mariana and Sinan blow our minds from the very beginning. They make us aware of the gravity of what is happening. They show us capitalism's responsibility for the current systemic crisis, they show us the need for global action now and the need to build an alternative. To this end, they call us to unite and work for a global subject that assumes responsibility for profound transformation, for a path of revolution. Based on lessons from movement history, they propose a path forward to achieve the goal of overthrowing capitalism – global revolutionary action now."

Edgar Mojica Vanegas, union leader in Colombia

"*All In* wrestles with questions that should be on the minds of everyone who is concerned about the state of the world we live in."

Pete Cannell, *at ScotE3 - Employment, Energy and Environment*

"*All In* is a short, sharp, shock of a book; and it does exactly what it says on the tin. ... The ambition of the project is compelling, the breadth of history taken as a reference is impressive, the depth of intellectual references is persuasive."

Brendan Mortague, *at The Ecologist*

"*All In* recovers the long-abadoned classical debate of the strategic hypotheses of the socialist revolution, in order to put the climate collapse at the center of anti-capitalist and internationalist reflections and struggles of the 21st century. It is a blow of fresh air and an indispensable push for the left(s) who often find itself perplexed and adrift."

José Correa Leite, *activist with the World Assembly for the Amazon and author of World Social Forum: strategies of resistance*

All In: A Revolutionary Theory to Stop Climate Collapse

Mariana Rodrigues & Sinan Eden

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All In:
A Revolutionary Theory to Stop Climate Collapse

MARIANA RODRIGUES & SINAN EDEN

We would dare say that the argument in this book was already in the air and we are writing about it now because we didn't yet see anyone else write it down.

The core arguments here were developed collectively in Climáximo's international work. When ideas develop as part of a struggle, it is very hard to assign ownership to them. We are the authors of the book in the sense of accepting the accountability for the mistakes and missteps in it.

N.B. Throughout the book, "we" will hold different meanings: society as a whole (with your authors in it), the movement (with your authors in it), specific organizations your authors were active in, you and your authors, or just the authors. We hope it will be clear from the context which is which.

“I don't see how he can ever finish, if he doesn't begin.”

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, Lewis Carroll

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§1. Sobering Up

§1.1. The Moment

We all have been in that moment at least once. It may have been a conference, a workshop, a simple meeting or perhaps just a conversation over a drink. Suddenly it emerges out of nowhere and everywhere: **what's at stake is everything, but the conversation is about everything else.**

We all have had our brief moments of connection to the meaning of living in the context of the climate crisis. Then we let it slip. We won't say it like that to ourselves, of course. Instead we say that we are analyzing the socioeconomic system, that we are strategizing, that we are doing our part, or something along those lines. We developed obscure ways of intellectualism in which even we cannot see our denial. We look at it for perhaps a minute or two, then we look through it. By looking through

it, the climate crisis becomes hollow and therefore maybe bearable. By looking through it, we also become hollow.

We are terrifyingly disconnected – our emotions, our politics, our strategies, our analyses, our tactics, our organizations... they are all set for failure because they are set for a different context and for a different task.

How can we get a grip of that moment of connection? How can we hold on to it, be curious and playful with it?

Sinan recalls:

> *I have been a climate activist for fifteen years, which is a fancy way of saying I failed. Ten years after I started giving talks about climate activism, a young woman got on stage and spoke out:*
>
> *"For more than 30 years, the science has been crystal clear. How dare you continue to look away and come here saying that you're doing enough, when the politics and solutions needed are still nowhere in sight.*
>
> *"There will not be any solutions or plans presented in line with these figures here today, because these numbers are too uncomfortable. And you are still not mature enough to tell it like it is.*
>
> *"You are failing us."*
>
> *This was Greta Thunberg. She was addressing a UN summit, but she could be addressing any strategy meeting of any of the activist organizations or networks I have been in – and I have been in many.*
>
> *I took Greta's words personally. Years of talking, marching, taking action, campaigning and writing "system change, not climate*

change", and how dare I to continue to look away and say I'm doing enough?

Why this distancing? How can we be honest with ourselves?

How can we dare to win?

§1.2. The False Crossroads

Progressive movements are feeling caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. They have been there for some time and they're imploding in uncertainty.

Everyone in the movement is more and more aware of two sets of information. The first is that the capitalist system is the root cause of the climate crisis and has absolutely no perspective of solving it. The logical consequence is that the task of any movement informed by climate justice is to dismantle capitalism. The second is the threat of runaway warming cascading to climate chaos. In other words: urgency.

Both of these sets of information are very heavy to carry. So, the movement has been trying to lift one at a time. That approach is not working very well. The urgency narrative, without an escalation strategy directed at the root cause, is dramatizing the situation and recruiting new people into the movement but is not preparing them for the actual task. The anti-capitalist narrative, without a proper delivery deadline, is training speakers, distributing pamphlets and building sophisticated talking points, without an actual ambitious movement surrounding it.

In a way, it is safe to say that there is no climate justice movement in the materialist sense of the word: There is possibly a four-point-four-