

Summaries

Wolfgang Hein: Time and Space. Predictions of Capitalist Development and its Overcoming. While the Communist Manifesto is seen as a lucid prediction of capitalist globalisation, anti-capitalist revolutions have not followed its expectations. Capitalism has proven to be able to react very flexibly to the challenges produced by its own dynamics and to those posed by the Russian and Chinese Revolutions. The author postulates that the neglect of interactions between time and space (and related power structures) constitutes an important source of errors in predictions on the trajectory of capitalism. After summarising ways of predicting social and political change (including future studies and utopias), the role of predictions in global environmental politics is discussed, starting with a comprehensive study from the US Government (Global 2000). Highlighting the lack of transformative visions, the author turns to a critical analysis of capitalism, focusing on the relationship between the Communist Manifesto's vision and changes in revolutionary concepts and their failures. In his prediction on national revolutions, Marx underestimated the change in global spatial structures in the course of capitalist development, which led to a deepening of globalisation and to an arena of global politics. The theory of regulation has analysed a succession of specific phases of capitalist accumulation. In more recent times, however, this has been accompanied by the growing resilience of nation states, related to profits from uneven development, as a source of strengthening social compromises in the most advanced and powerful countries. Finally, mass migration undermines the principles of global capital mobility and national control of the mobility of labour (linked to sovereignty). While the political fragmentation of the globe contrasts with human rights norms and the fight against climate change, this fragmentation is strengthening many citizens' national identification in the Global North. The article concludes by discussing the difficulties of predicting the future of capitalism and concrete utopias of a post-capitalist society against the background of conflicts between a humanitarian and ecological globalism and the resilience of national egotisms in the Global North.

Georg Simonis: Climate Projection and Political Power – Approaching a Complex Relationship. At all levels of political action, climate governance is based on the knowledge resources of the Earth sciences. With the establishment of the international climate regime – from the Framework Convention to the Paris Agreement – Earth scientists have come to assume the dual role of scientific and political actors. The role of political actor is based on the Earth sciences' ability to project risks, formulate policy options, and assess policy action programs to avoid predicted risks. The first section of the paper deals with the quantitative growth of these new political actors and how they have succeeded in securing their political legitimacy. To ensure that climate impact research is understood and converted into avoidance and /or adaptive strategies, political translation is required. Using the example of the negotiations leading up to the Paris Agreement, the second section of the paper

suggests that an ideal alliance of transnational civil society and political actors paved the way for success (i.e. generation of problem awareness, identification of options for action, and legitimacy of political regulations). The third section of the paper outlines three examples which show the increasing power of climate experts: (1) interpretation and political framing of changing climate conditions, (2) assessing policy responses, and (3) climate research as an integral part of an EU system of transformative governance. The establishment of global climate governance leads to scientification, to a powerful scientific-technical expertocracy, and to the institutionalisation of a complex planning apparatus for the control of climate change.

Christoph Scherrer: Labour Oversupply. Challenges for the Sustainability Goal “Decent Work”. In many late industrialising countries the majority of persons leaving agriculture do not find alternative gainful employment. In fact, many of the late industrialisers are prematurely de-industrialising. Explanations for the lack of absorptive capacity found in industries and productive services range from over-regulated labour markets to globalisation. Through a comparison of the conditions informing early and late industrialising countries, the article highlights various factors which late industrialisers must contend with: demographic pressures, restrictions on migration, productivity differentials vis-à-vis the Global North and the few successful late industrialisers, and the constraints on the promotion of industry stemming from neoliberal globalisation. It also points to challenges for a state-led industrial policy stemming from the colonial heritage and a lack of societal trust.