EXTRACTIVISM

Edited Volume's Workshop

"The Extractive State: Resources, Leverage and Power"

29-30 October 2026

Editors and organizers: **Hannes Warnecke-Berger** and **Luíza Cerioli**

Extractivism.de Research Project

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Rationale of the edited volume:

Over the past few decades, the global political economy has undergone a profound transformation. Raw materials trade, energy systems, critical minerals, supply chains, and infrastructure have shifted from the margins of economic analysis to the center of debates about geopolitical conflict, decarbonization, and global accumulation. Competition over resource access, pipeline conflicts, sanctions regimes, decentralized energy systems, semiconductors, and green technologies all point to a common dynamic: control over extractive structures has become a decisive foundation of contemporary power. Yet the social sciences still lack an adequate conceptual language to grasp the political agency of extractive states.

This book argues that extractive states are neither residual nor "resource-dependent" deviations from an industrial capitalist norm. Rather, they constitute a durable and increasingly central form of political-economic organisation within the world system. Their power derives from strategic positions within global surplus structures, control over energy systems, mineral endowments, infrastructure bottlenecks, and the material foundations of the green transition. The argument is both ontological and epistemological. Ontologically, extractive states exercise distinct forms of power rooted in the political control of raw materials. This power stems from the organisation of surplus through the capture of rents, control of infrastructural chokepoints, or geopolitical positioning.

States that appear economically "weak" from a classical modernisation perspective may nonetheless wield significant leverage in the world economy, a leverage that is intensifying with the energy transition. Epistemologically, the category of the "extractive state" remains underdeveloped. Development studies have largely framed resource-rich countries in terms of dependency, rentierism, or the resource curse. Political economy has prioritized an

empirical focus on industrial production and labor-centered accumulation, while international relations has treated natural resources as secondary variables within state rivalry or within Western-centric realist or liberal frameworks. Consequently, the constitutive role of extractive states in shaping the global order has been insufficiently theorized, while prevailing approaches continue to privilege industrial and technological centers as primary sites of power.

This book project challenges that assumption. Extractive states have long been central to global capitalism and the geopolitical order, and current transformations make this especially evident. The shift towards electrification and renewable energy is not reducing extractive power but reorganizing it. At the same time, external leverage often coexists with internal fragilities, such as clientelism, authoritarianism, enclave economies, and distributive conflicts over rents. The politics of extractive states, therefore, cannot be reduced to resource endowments alone. They involve struggles over class formation, state-building, social coalitions, sovereignty, ecological conflict, and geopolitical strategy.

Extractive states are thus simultaneously sites of domination, dependency, resistance, and global leverage.

Timeline

- 29 and 30 October 2026: writing workshop in Kassel
- December 2026: submission of the first draft of chapters
- March 2027: Complete submission of book project to Routledge (series: Global Challenges in Political Economy)

Workshop organisation:

	29 October
09:00–09:15	**Introduction to the workshop** Rachid Ouaissa, Hans-Jürgen Burchardt, Luíza Cerioli, Hannes Warnecke-Berger
09:15–10:00	**Luíza Cerioli and Hannes Warnecke-Berger** – *The extractive state: an introduction*
10:00–10:45	**Lira Luz Benites Lazaro** – *Political Coalitions and Actor Constellations in Brazil's Energy Transition: Lobbying, Discourse, and Competing Development Projects in a Green Extractive State* Discussant: Luíza Cerioli
10:45–11:00	Coffee break
11:00–11:45	**Rabah Noui** – Reorganizing Extractivist Power: State–Business Relations and Green Entrepreneurship in Algeria's Energy Transition

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	Discussant: Kressen Thyen
11:45–12:30	**Lucas Cifuentes** – *Just Transition on Whose Shoulders?* Discussant: Hannes Warnecke-Berger
12:30–14:00	Lunch
14:00–14:45	**Jessica DiCarlo and Raphael Deberdt** - *Securing circulation: How corridors and infrastructure shape the critical minerals rush* Discussant: Luíza Cerioli
14:45–15:30	**Jasper Finkeldey** – *The Extractive State and Social Movements* Discussant: Kressen Thyen
15:30–16:00	Coffee break
16:00–16:45	**Alexander Dunlap** - *Aren't All States Extractivist? On State Formation and the Engineering of Extractivist Political Machines* Discussant: Hannes Warnecke-Berger
16:45–17:30	**Jojo Nem Singh and Takahiro Kamisuna** – *Nickel, Oligarchs, and the State: Statecraft and Industrial Upgrading in Indonesia and the Philippines* Discussant: Luíza Cerioli
17:30–18:15	**Cagri Carikci** - Financing Extractive Statecraft: Class Power, Green Energy, and Subordinate Leverage Discussant: Hannes Warnecke-Berger
18:15–18:45	Wrap first day
20:00	Dinner

	30 October
09:00–09:45	**Elena Pérez Lagüela** – *Western Sahara: energy nationalism, South-South neocolonialism and the Green Energy Transition* Discussant: Kressen Thyen
09:45–10:30	**Julian Germann** – *Transnational Capital, Modalities of World Market Integration, and the Limits of Extractive Leverage* Discussant: Hannes Warnecke-Berger
10:30–10:45	Coffee break
10:45–11:15	**Marília Closs** - *Between Transition and Extraction: Mapping Extractivist Positions of Coalitions in Climate Negotiations (UNFCCC)* Discussant: Luíza Cerioli

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11:15–12:00	**Gabriel Eyselein** - *Under pressure: Criticality and the EU's Response to the Extractivist State* Discussant: Hannes Warnecke-Berger
12:00–12:45	Final discussion: cross-cutting themes, conclusions, and next steps
12:45	Lunch and farewell

Address workshop: UK Wilhelmshöhe Villa**,** Wilhemshöhe 47, 34117 Kassel

Hotel Address: Hotel Deutscher Hof, Lutherstraße 3-5, 34117 Kassel

- Trams 3 and 1 take you there. Stop: Weigelstraße

Dinner address: t.b.a

