

# The rise of end times fascism

[Naomi Klein](#) and [Astra Taylor](#) 2025/4 [The Guardian](#)

The governing ideology of the far right has become a 🍷 monstrous, supremacist survivalism(優越主義者のサバイバリズム). Our task is 📍 to build a movement strong enough to stop them

The movement for corporate city states cannot believe it's good luck.

For years, it has been pushing the extreme notion that wealthy, tax-averse people should up and start their own high-tech fiefdoms, whether new countries on artificial islands in international waters (“[seasteading](#)”) or pro-business “freedom cities” such as [Próspera](#), a glorified gated community combined with a wild west med spa on a Honduran island.

Yet despite backing from the heavy-hitter venture capitalists Peter Thiel and Marc Andreessen, their extreme libertarian dreams kept bogging down: it turns out most self-respecting rich people don't actually want to live on floating oil rigs, even if it means lower taxes, and while Próspera might be nice for a holiday and some body “upgrades”, its extra-national status is currently being [challenged in court](#).

Now, all of a sudden, 📍 this once-fringe network of corporate secessionists finds itself knocking on open doors at the dead center of global power. 今、突然、このかつては周縁的だった企業分離主義者のネットワークが、世界の権力の中心で開かれた扉を叩いている。

The first sign that fortunes were shifting came in 2023, when a campaigning [Donald Trump](#), seemingly out of nowhere, promised to hold a contest that would lead to 🍷 the creation of 10 “[freedom cities](#)” on federal lands. The trial balloon barely registered at the time, lost in the daily deluge of outrageous claims. Since the new administration took office, however, would-be country starters have been on a lobbying blitz, determined to turn Trump's pledge into reality.

運命が変わり始めた最初の兆しは 2023 年に現れた。キャンペーン中のドナルド・トランプが、まるで何もないところから突然、連邦土地に 10 の「自由都市」を創設するコンテストを開催すると約束したのだ。その試みは当時ほとんど注目されず、日々の驚くべき主張の洪水の中で埋もれてしまった。しかし、新しい政権が発足して以来、国を始めようとする人々はロビー活動を展開し、トランプの公約を現実のものにしようと決意している。

Inspired by a warped reading of the political philosopher Albert Hirschman, figures including Goff, Thiel and the investor and writer Balaji Srinivasan have been championing

what they call 🚪 “exit” – the principle that those with means have ♦ the right to walk away from the obligations of citizenship, especially taxes and burdensome regulation.

- ♦ Retooling and rebranding the old ambitions and privileges of empires, they dream of
- ♦ splintering governments and carving up the world into hyper-capitalist, democracy-free havens under the sole control of the supremely wealthy, ♦ protected by private mercenaries, ♦ serviced by AI robot

アルバート・ヒルシュマンという政治哲学者の歪んだ解釈に触発され、ゴフやティール、投資家で作家のバラジ・スリニバサンを含む人物たちは、「🚪 エグジット」と呼ばれる原則を支持しています。これは、

- ♦ 資産を持つ者が市民の義務、特に税金や煩わしい規制から逃れる権利を持つという考え方です。彼らは
- ♦ 帝国の古い野望や特権を再構築し、再ブランド化し、政府を分裂させ、世界を超資本主義的で民主主義のない避難所に分割することを夢見ています。
- ♦ これらの避難所は、極めて裕福な者たちの単独の支配下に置かれ、民間の傭兵によって守られ、AI ロボットによってサービスが提供されるのです。

One might assume that it is contradictory for Trump, elected on a flag-waving “America first” platform, to lend credence to this vision of sovereign territories ruled over by billionaire god-kings. And much has been made of the colorful flame wars between the Maga mouth-piece Steve Bannon, a proud nationalist and populist, and the Trump-allied billionaires he has [attacked](#) as “technofeudalists” who “don’t give a flying fuck about the human being” – let alone the nation state. And conflicts inside Trump’s awkward, jerry-rigged coalition certainly exist, most recently reaching a [boiling point](#) over tariffs. Still, the underlying visions might not be as incompatible as they first appear.

トランプが「アメリカ第一」のプラットフォームで選ばれたことは、億万長者の神王によって支配される主権領土のビジョンに信憑性を与えることが矛盾していると考えられるかもしれません。そして、マガの代弁者であるスティーブ・バノン、誇り高いナショナリストでポピュリストと、彼が「テクノ封建主義者」として攻撃したトランプに近い億万長者との間のカラフルな炎の戦争について多くが語られています。「人間に対して全く気にかけていない」と言う彼らのことは言うまでもなく、国家についても同様です。そして、トランプのぎこちない、即席の連合内部には確かに対立が存在し、最近では関税を巡って頂点に達しました。それでも、根底にあるビジョンは最初に見えるほど互換性がないわけではないかもしれません。

The startup country contingent is clearly foreseeing a future marked by shocks, scarcity and collapse. Their high-tech private domains are essentially fortified escape pods, designed for the select few to take advantage of every possible luxury and opportunity for human optimization, giving them and their children an edge in an increasingly barbarous future. To put it bluntly, the most powerful people in the world are preparing for the end of the world, an end they themselves are frenetically accelerating.

スタートアップ国の代表団は、明らかに衝撃、欠乏、崩壊に特徴づけられた未来を予見しています。彼らのハイテクな私的領域は、本質的に要塞化された脱出ポッドであり、選ばれた少数の人々があらゆる可能な贅沢と人間の最適化の機会を享受できるように設計されています。これにより、👁️ 彼らとその子供たちは、ますます野蛮化する未来において優位性を得ることができます。率直に言えば、👁️ 世界で最も権力のある人々は、世界の終わりに備えており、その終わりを自ら狂ったように加速させています。

That is not so far away from the more mass-market vision of fortified nations that has gripped the hard right globally, from Italy to Israel, Australia to the United States: in a time of ceaseless peril, openly supremacist movements in these countries are positioning their relatively wealthy states as armed bunkers. These bunkers are brutal in their determination to expel and imprison unwanted humans (even if that requires indefinite confinement in extra-national penal colonies from Manus Island to Guantánamo Bay) and equally ruthless in their willingness to violently claim the land and resources (water, energy, critical minerals) they deem necessary to weather the coming shocks.

これは、イタリアからイスラエル、オーストラリアからアメリカ合衆国に至るまで、世界的にハード・ライトが捉えた要塞化された国家のより大衆市場向けのビジョンからそれほど遠くありません。絶え間ない危険の時代において、これらの国々で公然と優越主義的な運動が、比較的裕福な国家を武装したバンカーとして位置づけています。これらのバンカーは、望まれない人間を追放し、投獄する決意において残酷であり(それがマヌス島からグアンタナモ湾までの超国家的な刑務所での無期限の拘禁を必要とする場合でも)、◆ 彼らが必要と見なす土地や資源(水、エネルギー、重要な鉱物)を暴力的に奪う意欲においても同様に無慈悲です。

*Though it builds on enduring rightwing tendencies ... we simply have not faced such a powerful apocalyptic strain in government before*

Interestingly, at a time when previously secular Silicon Valley elites are [suddenly finding](#) Jesus, it is noteworthy that both of these visions – the priority-pass corporate state and the mass-market bunker nation – share a great deal in common with the Christian fundamentalist interpretation of the biblical Rapture, when the faithful will supposedly be lifted up to a golden city in heaven, while the damned are left to endure an apocalyptic final battle down here on earth.

If we are to meet our critical moment in history, we need to reckon with the reality that we are not up against adversaries we have seen before. We are up against end times fascism.

Reflecting on his childhood under Mussolini, the novelist and philosopher Umberto Eco observed in a celebrated [essay](#) that fascism typically has an “Armageddon complex” – a fixation on vanquishing enemies in a grand final battle. But European fascism of the

1930s and 1940s also had a horizon: a vision for a future golden age after the bloodbath that, for its in-group, would be peaceful, pastoral and purified. Not today.

Alive to our era of genuine existential danger – from climate breakdown to nuclear war to sky-rocketing inequality and unregulated AI – but financially and ideologically committed to deepening those threats, contemporary far-right movements lack any credible vision for a hopeful future. The average voter is offered only remixes of a bygone past, alongside the sadistic pleasures of dominance over an ever-expanding assemblage of dehumanized others.

私たちの時代の真の存在的危険、気候崩壊から核戦争、急増する不平等や規制されていない AI に直面しながら、これらの脅威を深めることに財政的かつイデオロギー的にコミットしている 🍷  
現代の極右運動は、希望に満ちた未来のための信頼できるビジョンを欠いています。平均的な有権者には、過去のリミックスと、ますます非人間化された他者に対する支配の悲惨な快楽しか提供されていません。

And so we have the Trump administration’s dedication to releasing its steady stream of real and [AI-generated](#) propaganda designed solely for these pornographic purposes. Footage of shackled immigrants being loaded on to deportation flights, set to the sounds of clanking chains and locking cuffs, which the official White House X account [labeled](#) “ASMR”, a reference to audio designed to calm the nervous system. Or the same account [sharing](#) news of the detention of [Mahmoud Khalil](#), a US permanent resident who was active in Columbia University’s pro-Palestinian encampment, with the gloating words: “SHALOM, MAHMOUD.” Or any number of homeland security secretary Kristi Noem’s sadism-chic [photo ops](#) (atop a [horse](#) at the US-Mexican border, in front of a crowded [prison cell](#) in El Salvador, [slinging](#) a machine gun while arresting immigrants in Arizona …).

The governing ideology of the far right in our age of escalating disasters has become a monstrous, supremacist survivalism.

It is terrifying in its wickedness, yes. But it also opens up powerful possibilities for resistance. To bet against the future on this scale – to bank on your bunker – is to betray, on the most basic level, our duties to one another, to the children we love, and to every other life form with whom we share a planetary home. This is a belief system that is genocidal at its core and treasonous to the wonder and beauty of this world. We are convinced that the more people understand the extent to which the right has succumbed to the Armageddon complex, the more they will be willing to fight back, realizing that absolutely everything is now on the line.

Our opponents know full well that we are entering an age of emergency, but have responded by embracing lethal yet self-serving delusions. Having bought into various apartheid fantasies of bunkered safety, they are choosing to let the Earth burn. Our task is to build a wide and deep movement, as spiritual as it is political, strong enough to stop these unhinged traitors. A movement rooted in a steadfast commitment to one another, across our many differences and divides, and to this miraculous, singular planet.

私たちの対戦相手は、私たちが緊急事態の時代に突入していることを十分に理解していますが、致命的で自己中心的な妄想を受け入れることで応じています。彼らは、地下に閉じ込められた安全のさまざまなアパルトヘイトの幻想に取り込まれ、地球が燃えるのを見て見ぬふりを選んでいきます。私たちの使命は、これらの狂った裏切り者を止めるのに十分な強さを持つ、政治的でありながら精神的な広く深い運動を築くことです。私たちの多くの違いや分断を超えて、お互いに対する揺るぎないコミットメントと、この奇跡的で唯一の惑星へのコミットメントに根ざした運動です。

Not so long ago, it was primarily religious fundamentalists who greeted signs of apocalypse with gleeful excitement about the long-awaited Rapture. Trump has handed critical posts to people who subscribe to that fiery orthodoxy, [including](#) several Christian Zionists who see Israel's use of annihilatory violence to expand its territorial footprint not as illegal atrocities but as felicitous evidence that the Holy Land is getting closer to the conditions under which the Messiah will return, and the faithful will get their celestial kingdom.

Mike Huckabee, Trump's newly confirmed ambassador to Israel, has [strong ties](#) to Christian Zionism, as does [Pete Hegseth](#), his secretary of defense. Noem and Russell Vought, the Project 2025 architect who now leads the office of budget and management, are [both staunch](#) advocates for Christian nationalism.

つい最近、主に宗教的原理主義者たちが終末の兆候に歓喜の興奮を持って迎えていました。トランプは、その炎の教義を信奉する人々に重要なポストを与え、イスラエルの領土拡大のための壊滅的な暴力の行使を違法な残虐行為ではなく、聖地がメシアの帰還の条件に近づいていることの幸運な証拠と見なすクリスチャン・シオニストたちを含んでいます。トランプの新たに確認されたイスラエル大使マイク・ハッカビーはクリスチャン・シオニズムとの強い結びつきを持っており、防衛長官の彼の秘書ピート・ヘグセスも同様です。ノームとラッセル・ヴォート、現在予算管理局を率いるプロジェクト 2025 の設計者も、クリスチャン・ナショナリズムの強力な支持者です。

Even Thiel, who is gay and [notorious](#) for his party lifestyle, has been heard [musing](#) about the arrival of the antichrist of late (spoiler: he thinks it's Greta Thunberg, more on that soon).

But you don't need to be a biblical literalist, or even religious, to be an end times fascist. Today, plenty of powerful secular people have embraced a vision of the future

that follows a nearly identical script, one in which the world as we know it collapses under its weight and a chosen few survive and thrive in various kinds of arks, bunkers and gated “freedom cities”. In a 2019 [paper](#) titled Left Behind: Future Fetishists, Prepping and the Abandonment of Earth, the communication scholars Sarah T Roberts and Mél Hogan described the longing for a secular Rapture: “In the accelerationist imaginary, the future is not about harm reduction, limits or restoration; rather it is a politics driving toward an endgame.”

[Elon Musk](#), who dramatically grew his fortune alongside Thiel at PayPal, embodies this implosive ethos. This is a person who looks up at the wonders of the night sky and apparently sees only opportunities to fill that inky unknown with his own space junk.

Though he burnished his reputation warning about the dangers of the climate crisis and AI, he and his so-called “department of government efficiency” (Doge) henchmen now spend their days escalating those same risks (and many others) by slashing not only environmental regulations but entire regulatory agencies, with the apparent [end goal](#) of replacing federal workers with chatbots.

Who needs a functioning nation state when outer space – now reportedly Musk’s singular obsession – beckons? For Musk, Mars has become a secular ark, which he claims is key to the survival of human civilization, perhaps via uploaded consciousnesses to an artificial general intelligence. Kim Stanley Robinson, the author of the sci-fi Mars Trilogy that appears to have partially inspired Musk, is blunt about the dangers of the billionaire’s fantasies about [colonizing Mars](#). It is, he [says](#), “just a moral hazard that creates the illusion we can wreck Earth and still be okay. It’s totally not true.”

Much like religious end-timers who long to escape the corporeal realm, Musk’s drive for humanity to become “multiplanetary” is made possible by his inability to appreciate the multispecies splendor of our only home. Evidently uninterested in the vast bounty that surrounds him, or in ensuring Earth can continue buzzing with diversity, he instead deploys his vast fortune to bring about a future that would see a handful of people and robots eke out survival on two barren orbs (a radically depleted Earth and a terraformed Mars).

Indeed, in a strange twist on the Old Testament tale, Musk and his fellow tech billionaires, having arrogated god-like powers to themselves, aren’t content to just build the arks. They appear to be doing their best to cause the flood. Today’s rightwing leaders and their rich allies are not just taking advantage of catastrophes, shock-doctrine and disaster-capitalism style, but simultaneously provoking and planning for them.



宗教的な終末論者のように、肉体的な領域から逃れたいと願うムスクの「多惑星的」な人類の推進は、彼が私たちの唯一の故郷の多種多様な素晴らしさを理解できないことによって可能になっています。彼を取り巻く広大な恵みに無関心であるか、地球が多様性を持ち続けることを確保することに興味がない彼は、代わりに彼の膨大な富を使って、わずかな人々とロボットが二つの荒れ果てた天体(著しく枯渇した地球とテラフォーミングされた火星)で生き延びる未来を実現しようとしています。

確かに、旧約聖書の物語の奇妙なひねりの中で、ムスクと彼の仲間のテクノロジー億万長者たちは、自らに神のような力を奪い取り、ただ「a」を構築することに満足していません。

What of the Maga base, though? Not all are sufficiently faithful to earnestly believe in the Rapture, and most certainly don't have the cash to buy a spot in a "freedom city" let alone on a rocket ship. Fear not. End times fascism offers the promise of many more affordable arks and bunkers, these ones well within reach for lower-level foot soldiers.

Listen to Steve Bannon's daily podcast – which bills itself as Maga's premier media outlet – and you will be barraged with a singular message: the world is going to hell, the infidels are breaching the barricades, and a final battle is coming. Be prepared. The prepper message becomes particularly pronounced when Bannon switches to hawking his advertisers' products. Buy Birch Gold, Bannon [tells](#) his audience, because the over-leveraged US economy is going to crash and you can't trust the banks. Stock up on ready-to-eat meals from [My Patriot Supply](#). Sharpen your target practice using a laser-guided at-home system. The last thing you would want to do is depend on the government during a disaster, he reminds listeners (left unsaid: especially now that the Doge boys are selling off the government for parts).

*End times fascism is a darkly festive fatalism – a final refuge for those who find it easier to celebrate destruction than imagine living without supremacy*

Bannon doesn't only urge his audience to make their own bunkers, of course. He also advances a vision of the United States as a bunker in its own right, one in which Ice agents stalk the streets, workplaces and campuses, disappearing those deemed enemies of US policy and interests. The bunkered nation lies at the heart of the Maga agenda, and of end times fascism. Inside its logic, the first job is to harden national borders and expunge all enemies, foreign and domestic. This ugly work is now well under way, with the [Trump administration](#), enabled by the supreme court, having invoked the Alien Enemies Act to deport hundreds of Venezuelan immigrants to Cecot, the now infamous mega-prison in El Salvador. The facility, which shaves prisoners heads and packs up to 100 people into a single cell, stacked with bare bunks, operates under the civil liberties–

destroying “state of exception” first declared over three years ago by the country’s crypto-loving, Christian Zionist prime minister, Nayib Bukele.

Bukele has offered to provide the same fee-for-service system for US citizens the administration would like to drop into a judicial black hole. “I love that,”

Trump [said](#) recently, when asked about the proposal. No wonder: Cecot is the sick if logical corollary of the “freedom city” fantasy – a zone where everything is for sale and due process does not apply. We should expect much more of this sadism. In a chillingly candid statement, the acting Ice director, Todd Lyons, [told](#) the 2025 Border Security Expo that he wanted to see a more “business”-oriented approach to these deportations, “like [Amazon] Prime, but with human beings”.

If policing the boundaries of the bunkered nation is end times fascism’s job one, equally important is job two: for the US government to lay claim to whatever resources its protected citizens might need to get through the tough times ahead. Maybe it’s Panama’s canal. Or Greenland’s fast-melting shipping routes. Or Ukraine’s critical minerals. Or Canada’s fresh water. We should think of this less as old-school imperialism than super-sized prepping, at the level of the national state. Gone are the old colonial fig leaves of spreading democracy or God’s word – when Trump covetously scans the globe, he is stockpiling for civilizational collapse.

This bunker mentality also helps explain JD Vance’s controversial forays into Catholic theology. The vice-president, who owes his political career in no small part to the largess of the premier prepper Thiel, explained to Fox News that, according to the medieval Christian concept of *ordo amoris* (translated both as “order of love” and “order of charity”), love is not owed to those outside the bunker: “You love your family, and then you love your neighbor, and then you love your community, and then you love your fellow citizens in your own country. And then after that, you can focus and prioritize the rest of the world.” (Or not, as the Trump administration’s foreign policy would indicate.) In other words, we owe nothing to anyone outside our bunker.

Though it builds on enduring rightwing tendencies – justifying hateful exclusions is hardly new under the ethno-nationalist sun – we simply have not faced such a powerful apocalyptic strain in government before. The “end of history” swagger of the post-cold war era is rapidly being supplanted by a conviction we are in the actual end of times. Doge may wrap itself in the banner of economic “efficiency”, and Musk’s underlings may evoke memories of the young, US-trained “Chicago Boys” who designed the economic shock therapy for Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorial regime, but this is not simply the old marriage of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. It’s a new, money-worshipping millenarian mashup that says we need to smash the bureaucracy and replace humans with chatbots in order to cut “waste, fraud and abuse” – and, also, because the



bureaucracy is where the Trump-resisting demons hide. This is where the tech bros merge with the [TheoBros](#), a real group of hyper-patriarchal Christian supremacists with ties to [Hegseth](#) and others in the Trump administration.

As fascism always does, today's Armageddon complex crosses class lines, bonding billionaires to the Maga base. Thanks to decades of deepening economic stresses, alongside ceaseless and skillful messaging pitting workers against one another, a great many people understandably feel unable to protect themselves from the disintegration that surrounds them (no matter how many months of ready-to-eat meals they buy). But there are emotional compensations on offer: you can cheer the end of affirmative action and DEI, glorify mass deportation, enjoy the denial of gender-affirming care to trans people, villainize educators and health workers who think they know better than you, and applaud the demise of economic and environmental regulations as a way to own the libs. End times fascism is a darkly festive fatalism – a final refuge for those who find it easier to celebrate destruction than imagine living without supremacy.

It's also a self-reinforcing downward spiral: Trump's furious attacks on every structure designed to protect the public from diseases, dangerous foods and disasters – even to [tell](#) the public when disasters are headed their way – strengthen the case for prepperism at both the high and low ends, all while creating myriad new opportunities for privatization and profiteering by the oligarchs powering this rapid-fire unmaking of the social and regulatory state.

それは自己強化的な悪循環でもあります。トランプの公衆を病気、危険な食品、災害から守るために設計されたすべての構造に対する激しい攻撃は、災害が迫っているときに公衆に知らせることさえも含め、両端でのプレッパ主義の根拠を強化し、同時にこの急速な社会的および規制的国家の解体を推進するオリガルヒたちによる民営化と利益追求の新たな機会を無数に生み出します

At the dawn of Trump's first term, the New Yorker investigated a phenomenon that it [described](#) as “doomsday prep for the super-rich”. Back then, it was already clear that in Silicon Valley and on Wall Street, the more serious high-end survivalists were hedging against climate disruption and social collapse by buying space in custom-built underground bunkers and building escape homes on high ground in places like Hawaii (where Mark Zuckerberg has downplayed his 5,000 sq ft underground pad as a “little shelter”) and New Zealand (where Thiel purchased nearly 500 acres but found his plan to build a luxury survivalist compound rejected by local authorities in 2022 for being an eyesore).

トランプの初期の任期の夜明けに、ニューヨーカーは「超富裕層のための終末準備」と表現された現象を調査しました。その当時、シリコンバレーやウォール街では、より真剣な高級サバイバリ

ストたちが気候変動や社会崩壊に備えて、カスタムビルトの地下バンカーのスペースを購入し、ハワイのような高地に逃げるための家を建てていることはすでに明らかでした(マーク・ザッカーバーグは自らの 5,000 平方フィートの地下パッドを「小さなシェルター」と控えめに表現しています)。ニュージーランドでは、ティールが約 500 エーカーを購入しましたが、2022 年に地元当局から景観を損なうとして高級サバイバリストの複合施設を建設する計画が却下されました。

This millenarianism is bound up with a suite of other [Silicon Valley](#) intellectual fads, all premised on an end-times-inflected belief that our planet is headed towards a cataclysm and it's time to make some hard choices about which parts of humanity can be saved. Transhumanism is one such ideology, encompassing everything from minor human-machine “enhancements” to the quest to upload human intelligence into a still illusory artificial general intelligence.

この千年主義は、私たちの惑星が大災害に向かっているという終末的な信念に基づく、他の一連のシリコンバレーの知的流行と結びついており、人類のどの部分を救うべきかについて厳しい選択をする時が来たのです。トランスヒューマニズムはそのようなイデオロギーの一つであり、軽微な人間と機械の「強化」から、まだ幻想的な人工一般知能に人間の知性をアップロードすることを目指す探求までを含んでいます。

There is also effective altruism and longtermism, both of which skip over redistributive approaches to helping those in need in the here and now in favor of a cost-benefit approach to doing the most good in the long term.

Though they can appear benign at first glance, these ideas are shot through with dangerous racial, ableist and gender biases about which parts of humanity are worth enhancing and saving – and which could be sacrificed for the supposed good of the whole. They also share a marked lack of interest in urgently addressing the underlying drivers of collapse – a responsible and rational goal that a growing cohort of figures now actively shun. Instead of effective altruism the Mar-a-Lago regular Andreessen and others have embraced “[effective accelerationism](#)”, or the “deliberate propulsion of technological development” without guardrails.

効果的利他主義と長期主義もあり、どちらも今ここで困っている人々を助けるための再分配的アプローチを飛ばし、長期的に最も善を行うためのコスト・ベネフィットアプローチを選んでいきます。一見無害に見えるかもしれませんが、これらの考えは、どの人類の部分が強化され、救われる価値があるのか、そしてどの部分が全体のために犠牲にされるべきかについて、危険な人種的、障害者差別的、性別バイアスに満ちています。また、崩壊の根本的な要因に緊急に対処することへの関心が著しく欠けており、これは今や成長する層の人々が積極的に避けている責任ある合理的な目標です。効果的利他主義の代わりに、マラ・ラゴの常連であるアンドリーセンや他の人々は、「効果的加速主義」、つまり「ガードレールなしでの技術開発の意図的な推進」を受け入れています。

Meanwhile, even darker philosophies are finding a wider audience, like the neoreactionary pro-monarchy rants of the coder Curtis Yarvin (another one of Thiel's intellectual touchstones), or the "[pro-natalism](#)" movement's obsession with dramatically increasing the number of "western" babies (a Musk fixation), as well as the exit guru Srinivasan's vision of a "tech Zionist" San Francisco where corporate loyalists and police join forces to politically cleanse the city of liberals to make way for their networked apartheid state.

ever-heating world. The second is Covid-19: epidemiological models had long predicted the possibility of a pandemic devastating our globally networked world; the actual arrival of one was taken by many powerful people as a sign that we have officially arrived at what US military analysts [forecasted](#) as "the Age of Consequences". No more predictions, it's going down. The third factor is the rapid advancement and adoption of AI, a set of technologies that have long been associated with sci-fi terrors about machines turning on their makers with ruthless efficiency – fears expressed most forcefully by the same people who are developing these technologies. All of these existential crises are layered on top of escalating tensions between nuclear-armed powers. As the AI scholars Timnit Gebru and Émile P. Torres have [written](#), though the methods may be new, this "bundle" of ideological fads "are direct descendants of first-wave eugenics", which also saw a small subset of humanity making decisions about which parts of the whole were worth continuing and which needed to be phased out, cleared out, or terminated. Until recently, few paid attention. Much like Próspera, where members can already experiment with human-machine mergers such as having their Tesla keys [implanted](#) into their hands, these intellectual fads seemed to be the marginal hobby horses of a few Bay Area dilettantes with money and caution to burn. No longer.

Three recent material developments have accelerated end times fascism's apocalyptic appeal. The first is the climate crisis. While some high-profile figures might still publicly deny or minimize the threat, global elites, whose ocean-front properties and datacenters are intensely vulnerable to rising temperatures and sea levels, are well-versed in the ramifying perils of an

最近の3つの物質的な発展が、終末的なファシズムの黙示録的な魅力を加速させています。◆ 第一は気候危機です。一部の著名な人物が公に脅威を否定したり軽視したりするかもしれませんが、海に面した不動産やデータセンターを持つグローバルエリートは、上昇する気温と海面に対して非常に脆弱であり、ますます熱くなる世界の危険性をよく理解しています。◆ 第二はCovid-19です。疫学モデルは、長い間、私たちのグローバルにネットワーク化された世界を壊滅させるパンデミックの可能性を予測していました。実際にパンデミックが到来したことは、多くの権力者にとって、米国の軍事アナリストが予測した「結果の時代」に正式に到達したことを示すサインと受け取られました。もはや予測はありません、事態は進行中です。◆ 第三の要因は、AIの急速な進展と採用です。この技術群は、長い間、機械がその創造者に対して冷酷な効率で反乱を起こすというSF的な恐怖と関連付けられてきました。これらの恐れは、これらの技術を開発し

ている同じ人々によって最も強く表現されています。これらすべての存在的危機は、核兵器を持つ大国間の緊張の高まりの上に重なっています。

None of this should be written off as paranoia. Many of us feel the imminence of breakdown so acutely that we cope by entertaining ourselves with various versions of life in a post-apocalyptic bunker, streaming Apple's [Silo](#) or Hulu's [Paradise](#). As the UK analyst and editor Richard Seymour reminds us in his recent book, *Disaster Nationalism*: "The apocalypse is no mere fantasy. We are living in it, after all, from deadly viruses to soil erosion, from economic crisis to geopolitical chaos."

*The forces we are up against have made peace with mass death. They are treasonous to this world and its human and non-human inhabitants*

Trump 2.0's economic project is a Frankenstein's monster of the industries driving all of these threats – fossil fuels, weapons and resource-ravenous cryptocurrency and AI.

このすべてを妄想として片付けるべきではありません。私たちの多くは、崩壊の切迫感を非常に強く感じており、ポストアポカリプスのバンカーでの生活のさまざまなバージョンを楽しむことで対処しています。Apple の「サイロ」や Hulu の「パラダイス」をストリーミングしています。イギリスのアナリストで編集者のリチャード・セイモアが最近の著書『災害ナショナリズム』で私たちに思い出させているように、「黙示録は単なる幻想ではありません。私たちは結局のところ、致死性ウイルスから土壌侵食、経済危機から地政学的混乱まで、これを生きています。」私たちが直面している力は、大量死と共存しています。彼らはこの世界とその人間および非人間の住人に対して反逆的です。トランプ 2.0 の経済プロジェクトは、これらの脅威を引き起こす産業のフランケンシュタインの怪物です – 化石燃料、武器、資源を貪る暗号通貨と AI。

Everyone involved in these sectors knows that there is no way to build the artificial mirror world that AI promises to construct without sacrificing this world – these technologies consume too much energy, too many critical minerals, and too much water for the two to coexist in any kind of equilibrium. This month, the former Google executive Eric Schmidt admitted as much, [telling](#) Congress that AI's "profound" energy needs are projected to triple in the next few years, with much of it coming from fossil fuels, because nuclear can't come online fast enough. This planet-incinerating level of consumption is necessary, he explained, to enable an intelligence "higher" than humanity, a digital god rising from the ashes of our relinquished world.

この分野に関与するすべての人々は、AI が構築すると約束する人工的なミラーワールドを、この世界を犠牲にすることなく構築する方法はないことを知っています – これらの技術は、二つがいかなる均衡の中で共存することを許さないほど、あまりにも多くのエネルギー、重要な鉱物、そして水を消費します。今月、元 Google の幹部エリック・シュミットは、AI の「深刻な」エネルギー需要が今後数年で三倍に増加する見込みであり、その多くが化石燃料から来ると議会で認めました。なぜなら、原子力は十分に早く稼働できないからです。この地球を焼き尽くすような消費レベル

は、彼が説明したように、人類よりも「高い」知性、私たちの放棄した世界の灰の中から立ち上がるデジタルの神を可能にするために必要です。

And they are worried – just not about the actual threats they are unleashing. What keeps the leaders of these entangled industries up at night is the prospect of a civilizational wake-up call – of serious, internationally coordinated government efforts to rein in their rogue sectors before it's too late. From the perspective of their ever-expanding bottom lines, the apocalypse is not collapse; it's regulation.

彼らは心配している – ただし、彼らが引き起こしている実際の脅威についてではない。これらの絡み合った産業のリーダーたちを夜も眠れなくさせるのは、文明の目覚めの可能性 – 彼らの無法なセクターを手遅れになる前に抑制するための真剣な国際的な政府の取り組みである。彼らのますます膨らむ利益の観点から見ると、黙示録は崩壊ではなく、規制である。

The fact that their profits are predicated on planetary devastation helps explain why do-gooder discourse among the powerful is giving way to open expressions of disdain for the idea that we owe each other anything by right of our shared humanity. Silicon Valley is done with altruism, effective or otherwise.

Meta's Mark Zuckerberg [pines](#) for a culture that celebrates “aggression”. Alex Karp, Thiel's business partner at the surveillance firm Palantir Technologies, [rebukes](#) the “losing” “self-flagellation” of those who question American superiority and the benefits of [autonomous weapons systems](#) (and, by association, the lucrative military contracts that have made Karp's vast fortune). Musk informs Joe Rogan that empathy is “the fundamental weakness of western civilization” and he [vents](#), after [failing](#) to purchase a supreme court election in Wisconsin: “It increasingly appears that humanity is a biological bootloader for digital superintelligence.” Meaning we humans are nothing but grist for Grok, the AI service he owns. (He did tell us he was “dark Maga” – and he's not the only one.)