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GANDHI, GUATTARI AND THE DECOLONIZATION OF THE ANTHROPOCENE

Introduction

We are living in the planetary age of the Anthropocene, otherwise known as the age of Man. The Anthropocene signifies that humans have become a geological force. The Anthropocene is characterized by a profound climatic transformation of our planet, leading us to our extinction. This exceptional planetary-scale crisis compels us to question - who is the *Anthropos* of the Anthropocene? The Anthropos of the Anthropocene is not the entire humanity but a small subset of humans located mainly in the West.[1] Contemporary theorists suggest that the Anthropocene is a

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[1] See Moore, Jason (2015). *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*. London: Verso; Pulido, Laura (2018). "Racism and the Anthropocene." In Mitman, Gregg; Armiero, Marco; Emmett, Robert S. (Eds.). *Future Remains A Cabinet of Curiosities for the Anthropocene*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; 116-128; Vergès, Françoise (2017). "Racial Capitalocene". In Johnson, Gaye Theresa and Lubin, Alex (Eds.). *Futures of Black Radicalism*. London: Verso, 72-82.

deeply problematic concept because it hides troublesome differences between humans. Jairus Victor Grove suggests that we live not in the Anthropocene but in the Eurocene,[2] an epoch that is dominated by European colonialism. Along with other concepts such as plantationocene,[3] racial capitalocene[4] and white-supremacy-scene,[5] the Eurocene shows how European colonialism emerged as a central organizing category within the emerging historiography of the Anthropocene. The concept of Eurocene helps us to realize how the structural accommodation of European colonialism shapes the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene, as an ontological category, is inextricably bound up with the techno-military apparatuses of colonialism. Therefore, the Gandhian invocation of *swaraj* is politically relevant to challenge the racial dimension of the Anthropocene. By conjoining the histories of European imperialism, racial capitalism, and white supremacy, it is necessary to reflect on the embedded technocratic racism of the Anthropocene, which is usually perceived as a race-neutral, scientific category.[6]

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[2] Grove, Jairus Victor (2019). *Savage Ecology: War and Geopolitics at the End of the World.* Duke University Press.
[3] Haraway, Donna. (2015). "Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin". *Environmental Humanities*, 6 (1), 159-165.
[4] Vergès, "Racial Capitalocene".
[5] Mirzoeff, Nicholas (2018). "It's Not The Anthropocene, It's The White Supremacy Scene; or, the Geological Color Line." In Richard Grusin (Ed.). *After Extinction* (123-150). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
[6] See Baldwin, Andrew; Erickson, Bruce (2020). "Introduction: Whiteness, Coloniality, and the Anthropocene". *Environment and Planning. D: Society and Space* 38 (1), 3–11; Braidotti, Rosi (2017). "Four Theses on Posthuman Feminism". In Grusin, Richard (Ed.) *Anthropocene Feminism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 21-48; Davis, Heather; Todd, Zoe (2017). "On the Importance of a Date, or, Decolonizing the Anthropocene". *ACME: an InternationalJjournal for Critical Geographies* 16 (4), 761-780; Karera, Axelle (2019). "Blackness and the Pitfalls of Anthropocene Ethics". *Critical Philosophy of Race* 7(1), 32-56; Last, Angela (2018). "Open Space to Risk the Earth: The Nonhuman and Nonhistory." *Feminist Review* 118 (1), 87–92; Malm, Andreas and Alf Hornborg. (2014). "The geology of mankind? A critique of the Anthropocene narrative". *The Anthropocene Review* 1 (1), 62-69; Tuana, Nancy. (2019). "Climate apartheid: The

To speak of the Anthropocene is to speak of how colonialism's techno-military subjugation of indigenous people inscribes racism into global environmental change. The Anthropocene is inextricably a racial category as it bears the geological traces of techno-military subjugation of indigenous people by colonial enterprises. The Anthropocene is not merely an object of scientific research. The technoracist arrogance of the Anthropocene needs to be contested through the Gandhian assertion of *swaraj*, which bears immense political significance in democratizing the anthropocenic technosphere. Gandhian ecophilosophy is based on existential interconnectivity which resists Western humanism's technocratic narrative of progress. Similarly, the Guattarian ecosophy is based on a relational ontology of complex co-implication that resists modernity's biopolitical regimes. Gandhi's striving for *swaraj*, which means self-governance of people's social, economic and environmental affairs, manifests transversally in the three interactive ecologies of self, society, and nature.

The Anthropocene: A Rupture in the Modern Imaginary

The emergence of the Anthropocene constitutes a radical rupture in the modern imaginary as it calls for the modes of thinking that do not remain confined within the modern worldview.[7] As Dipesh Chakrabarty points out:

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forgetting of race in the Anthropocene". *Critical Philosophy of Race* 7 (1), 1-31; Whyte, Kyle (2017). "Indigenous Climate Change Studies: Indigenizing Futures, Decolonizing the Anthropocene". *English Language Notes* 55 (1), 153-162; Yusoff, Kathryn (2018). *A Billion Balck Anthropocene or None*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

[7] Matthews, Daniel (2018). "Obligations in the New Climatic Regime." In *Critical Legal Thinking*. Retrieved from: http://criticallegalthinking.com/2018/07/16/obligations-in-the-new-climatic-regime/.

Yet climate change poses for us a question of a human collectivity, an 'us' pointing to a figure of the universal that escapes our capacity to experience the world. It is more like a universal that arises from a shared sense of a catastrophe. It calls for a global approach to politics without the myth of a global identity, for, unlike a Hegelian universal, it cannot subsume particularities. We may provisionally call it a "negative universal history. [8]

To understand both the continuity of colonial modernity[9] and its discontinuity requires intellectual engagement with various struggles for social justice that questioned political claims of modernity. The concept of colonial modernity delineates that the modernity achieved in the West was achieved through material conditions of colonialism and continues to achieve through its new face of neoliberal globalization. Colonial modernity is not simply a historical phenomenon but a worldview embodied cognitively. Therefore, self-reflection is necessary to arrive at a decolonized worldview. This self-criticality would help us recognize the deep embeddedness of colonial modernity within our social and political practices in the Indian subcontinent. Through the lens of self-criticality, we can see the privileges and pathologies of late modern capitalism and its debilitating exploitation of mass people in the Global South. It is necessary to reflect on why the mass people of the subcontinent who followed the ethical praxis of decolonization initiated by Gandhi with no privilege and extraordinary perseverance.

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[8] Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2009). "The Climate of History: Four Theses." *Critical Inquiry* 35(2), 222.

[9] Mishra, Pankaj (2004). *An End to Suffering: The Buddha in the World*. Macmillan.

To recover from modernist cognitive prejudices, we need to engage with Gandhi's anti-colonial ideas. The late modernity's patriarchal, racist and destructive capitalism is a great barrier to such intellectual endeavors. The colonial modernity historically connects us to the political experiments of Gandhi. We need to revisit Gandhi's political experiments if we want to locate ourselves ontologically – along with all our historical interests – in the new epoch of global warming. Because the advent of the Anthropocene disrupts all of the modernist channels of human discourse, undermining their categories and overturning their assumptions. Gandhian ecophilosophy opens the avenue for us to understand this unprecedented condition in which we find ourselves posing historical, political and ethical questions that overflow our modernist assumptions and disciplinary categories.

The Task of Decolonization in the Anthropocene

Gandhi revivified indigenous spiritual tradition by popularizing concepts like *ahimsa* (non-violence), *swaraj* (self-rule), and *satyagraha* (truth-force) to counter Western modernity. In the face of climate catastrophe, we may find ourselves at the beginning of the twenty-first century in a mirror image of those Indians who, at the beginning of the twentieth century, were trapped between the claims of the universalities of modernity and the particularities of traditional forms. Inspired by Gandhi, many of them tried to counter the universal claims of modernity with the particularities of traditional culture, hoping to move beyond modernity with the integrity of their vision. In the Anthropocene, those indigenous voices are making themselves heard after generations of oppression enacted by colonialism. Therefore, Gandhian ideas would

help us identify western modernity's prejudices, blind spots, and cognitive arrogance. With the advent of the Anthropocene, we must again question the universal claims of colonial modernity, which is the cause of the Anthropocene. Through this encounter with colonial modernity, we can refashion ourselves by invoking diverse identities of culture, race, gender, nationality and ethnicity. In the face of global warming, we need to envision new forms of global agency and universal politics to counter the global aggression of late modern capitalism. Through our struggle against late modern capitalism, we can easily relate ourselves with the Indians who confronted modernity in its colonial guises.

Timothy Morton[10] uses the term late modern to signify the persistence of the colonial-modern project. It is an undeniable fact that the condition of the Global South is deeply unjust- still colonial. As western modernity accentuated the Anthropocene, this connection marks the definitive end of the legitimacy of the history of colonial modernity. Therefore, engaging with anticolonial ideas in the Anthropocene is a task of radical ecological imagination. This project of radical ecological imagination can be enacted by engaging with the emancipatory ideas of anticolonial thinkers like Gandhi. Dipesh Chakrabarty's idea of provincializing Europe seeks to decenter European thought from the practice of history focusing on the study of South Asia.[11] Similarly, the Eurocentrism of the Anthropocene needs to be challenged through the political invocation of swaraj. Bruno Latour also points out the relevance of nonmodern ideas to challenge the hegemony of modernity:

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[10] Morton, Timothy (2013). *Hyperobjects. Philosophy and Ecology After The End of the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 173.
[11] Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000). *Provincializing Europe*. Princeton University Press.

The antimoderns, like the postmoderns, have accepted their adversaries' playing field. Another field – much broader, much less polemical – has opened up before us: the field of nonmodern worlds. It is the Middle Kingdom, as vast as China and as little known.[12]

Swaraj: Towards a Radical Ecological Imagination

Swaraj provides an alternative framework for envisioning society beyond the temporal confines of the Anthropocene. The concept has emerged from the Gandhian restoration of Indian tradition, with significant global resonance. The term *swaraj*, which means self-rule, emerges from ancient Indian practices of mass decision-making in local assemblies. Though the concept achieved popularity during India's anti-colonial struggle against the British Empire, it does not merely mean "national independence." Gandhi suggests that swaraj encompasses individual as well as community autonomy and freedom, integrally coupled with the ethics of responsibility towards others (Gandhi, 1997).[13] It means self-care, self-restraint, and ethically just behaviour guided by spiritual self-rule. While advocating political *swaraj* as Home Rule in India, Gandhi widened the meaning of the term by referring to its classical usage in the Bhagavad Gita. Gandhi's ultimate purpose was to develop a philosophy of nonviolent resistance to western modernity.

Gandhi mainly defined the politics of *swaraj* in social, ethical, and spiritual terms, which maintained uneasy coexistence with political

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[12] Latour, Bruno (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press, 48.
[13] Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1997). *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Anthony Parel (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

nationalism.[14] The reason behind such a unique conceptualization of *swaraj* is what Ashis Nandy calls "psychopathology of colonialism".[15] Nandy also elaborates on Gandhi's focus on the ethical praxis of psychological decolonization. The inner motive of all actions in the individual's self-realization was the key to Gandhi's unique understanding of *swaraj*:

> It is swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands. Do not consider this Swaraj to be like a dream. Here there is no idea of sitting still. The Swaraj that I wish to picture before you and me is such that, after we have once realized it, we will endeavour to the end of our lifetime to persuade others to do likewise. But such swaraj has to be experienced by each one for himself. One drowning man will never save another. Slaves ourselves, it would be a mere pretension to think of freeing others. [16]

Gandhi's *swaraj* was a response to the psychic violence of colonialism perpetuated by a culture of adulthood, historicism, objectivism, and hyper-masculinity.

Guattari's Ecosophical Challenge to the Anthropocenic Imaginary

Nowadays, there is a scientific consensus on anthropogenic climate change.[17] But even during the 1980s, it was clear to Guattari that we had entered an era of ecological crisis because of the rapid expansion of the

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[14] Woodcock, George (1971). *Mohandas Gandhi*. New York: Penguin Books.
[15] Nandy, Ashis (2009). *The Intimate Enemy. Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. New Delhi: OUP, 85.
[16] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings,* 73*.*
[17] Cook, John, et al. (2016). "Consensus on Consensus: A Synthesis of Consensus Estimates on Human-caused Global Warming." *Environmental Research Letters* 11(4), 048002.

human habitat. The situation has continued to deteriorate over the past 30 years. Recently scientists coined a term capable of fully encapsulating the scale of the problem we are facing today: the Anthropocene.[18] At least three decades ago, Guattari foresaw the ecological consequences of the Anthropocene. And, as Guattari predicted, the ecological crisis has intensified, and become more palpably global.

What is the significance of Guattarian ecosophy in the Anthropocene? The ecosophy of Deleuze and Guattari is immensely relevant to understand the most tense epoch in terrestrial history which is the Anthropocene. Through posing a challenge to humanism, Anthropocentrism and capitalism, Deleuze foresaw the perils of the Anthropocene. Guattari further advanced Deleuzian philosophy by elaborating ecosophical and cartographical dimensions and demonstrated how a mechanosphere covers the planet. Together, Deleuze and Guattari developed a geophilosophy which envisioned a new earth inhabited by new peoples. The concepts provided by Deleuze and Guattari can be conveniently deployed to understand anthropogenic climate change. Those concepts also lead us to the kind of interdisciplinarity that the epoch of the Anthropocene requires.

Felix Guattari developed the concept of ecosophy between 1985 and 1992. In his view, ecosophy is an empowering framework contrary to the capitalist way of life (Guattari, 2013).[19] Guattari's ecosophy integrated the three ecologies Gregory Bateson had already mentioned –

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[18] Crutzen, Paul J. and Stoermer, Eugene F. (2000). "The Anthropocene." *Global Change Newsletter,* IGBP 41, 17-18. Retrieved from: http://www.igbp.net /download/18.316f1832132347017758000 1401/1376383088452/NL41.pdf.

[19] Guattari, Félix (2013). *Qu'est-ce que l'écosophie?* (Nadaud, Stephane, ed). Paris: Lignes & IMEC.

environmental, social, and mental ecologies.[20] Guattari's original French version of *The Three Ecologies* was published in 1989. In the context of the recent debates on the Anthropocene, the ecophilosophical project is still very relevant yet often misinterpreted. The word *ecosophy* is the combination of the Greek *oikos* and *sophia*, meaning household and wisdom respectively. From the ecosophical perspective, our *oikos* is the Earth. Thus, an ecosophy is a philosophical worldview concerned with our living conditions in the ecosphere. Guattari suggests that an ecosophy is not merely an abstract paradigm. It is a radical worldview which challenges long-established Anthropocentrism based on the nature/culture dichotomy, speciesism, and human domination of Earth's ecosystems.[21]

The Relevance of Ecosophy in Decolonizing the Anthropocene

Deleuze and Guattari's critical assessment of western philosophy helps us to decolonize the Anthropocene. Deleuze and Guattari formulate a new philosophy by rethinking the issues concerning subjectivity, agency, knowledge, and truth from the Western canon. Deleuze and Guattari construct their philosophy as a form of thinking practice based on immanent materialism. Though Deleuze and Guattari[22] do not provide any strategy for survival in the Anthropocene, their work is concerned with introducing non-humans into streams of thought which Guattari (2000) called *ecosophy*. Levesque provides the following definition of

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[20] Bateson, Gregory (2000). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, and Epistemology*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
[21] Gare, Arran (2014). "Deep Ecology, the Radical Enlightenment, and Ecological Civilization." *The Trumpeter* 30 (2), 184-205.
[22] Deleuze, Gilles; Guattari, Felix (1984). *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Robert Hurley, Mark Steem and Helen R. Lane. London: Athlone Press; Deleuze, Gilles; Guattari, Felix (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

ecosophy: "an ecosophy is a philosophical worldview or a system inspired by our living conditions in the ecosphere."[23] Though Deleuze and Guattari provide an ecosophical analysis of capitalism, their analysis may not be adequate to understand the anthropogenic climate change promulgated by contemporary capitalism.

Felix Guattari provides us with valuable philosophical resources to deal with the present ecological and epistemic crises embodied by the Anthropocene. Most importantly, Deleuze and Guattari's philosophical endeavour provides us with tools that help us to transcend the problematic Anthropocentrism of Western philosophy. Deleuze and Guattari's philosophical project denounced the category of man as the source of history, knowledge and praxis. But their critique of human exceptionalism does not entirely deny the specificity of the human in the all-pervasive flow of life.[24] Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy belongs to the tradition that examines reality from the human perspective considering all the limitations of Anthropocentrism. Inspired by the Enlightenment, their philosophical endeavour was aimed at critiquing the structures that prevent human flourishing so that new social relations can emerge.

Deleuze and Guattari explicate the ethical dimension of being human in their theory of more-than-human assemblages, which are open to various forms of micropolitics.[25] Deleuze and Guattari don't denounce

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[23] Levesque, Simon (2016). "Two Versions of Ecosophy: Arne Næss, Félix Guattari, and their Connection with Semiotics." *Sign Systems Study*, 44 (4), 512.
[24] Roffe, Jon; Stark, Hannah (2015). "Introduction: Deleuze and the Non/Human." In Roffe, Jon and Stark, Hannah (Eds.). *Deleuze and the Non/Human*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-16.
[25] Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*; Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.

anthropocentrism simply to indulge in posthuman eclecticism, which is not stable enough for any political or epistemic commitment. On the contrary, Deleuze and Guattari provide an ontology that explicates the singular dependency of the human species on many layers of material flows that shape the world. They also explain how the human-nonhuman symbiotic relation is being radically altered by capitalism. Deleuze and Guattari's antihumanism is significantly different from recent posthumanist developments like actor-network theory which tends to substitute the critical legacies of humanism with political indifference. They don't think that the human species is a parasite on the planet. Instead, they invoke philosophy's ethical question that propounds that life is collective and political. Guattari derives from Deleuze's work to articulate his ecosophy, which helps us to decolonize the Anthropocene.

Guattari's Vision of Radical Ecological Politics

Guattari's politics explicitly rearticulates communism by focusing on subjectivity and creativity after the collapse of left politics.[26] He engaged with the looming environmental crisis from the political vantage point of communism. In his book *The Three Ecologies*, Guattari clearly stated the relevance of radical ecological politics against myopic environmentalism: "The Earth is undergoing a period of intense techno-scientific transformations. If no remedy is found, the ecological disequilibrium this has generated will ultimately threaten the continuation of life on the planet's surface".[27] Stepping beyond narrow-minded ecological politics, Guattari's machinic ecology begins with a

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[26] Guattari, Félix, and Negri, Antonio (1990). *Communists like Us: New Spaces of Liberty, New Lines of Alliance*. New Yok: Semiotext (e).

[27] Guattari, Félix (2000). *The Three Ecologies*. Translated by Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton. London: The Athlone Press.

world-system analysis of systematic dispossession on various scales. There are three ecologies interwoven in his theoretical framework: social ecology, subjective ecology and environmental ecology. He had a remarkable premonition of the catastrophic consequence of the Anthropocene:

> In the field of social ecology, men like Donald Trump are permitted to proliferate freely, like another species of algae, taking over entire districts of New York and Atlantic City; he 'redevelops' by raising rents, thereby driving out tens of thousands of low-income families, most of whom are condemned to homelessness, becoming the equivalent of the dead fish of environmental ecology. Further proliferation is evident in the savage deterritorialization of the Third World, which simultaneously affects the cultural texture of its populations, habitat, its immune systems, climate, etc. [...] How do we regain control of such an auto-destructive and potentially catastrophic situation?[28]

Guattari helps us understand the limitations of technological accelerationism enacted by the Anthropocene. Transhumanism celebrates rapid technological acceleration in a world where billions of people don't have access to the basic amenities in their lives. Guattari found it necessary to seek an alternative to late capitalism as its endless proliferation is threatening the very existence of life on our planet leading us to the sixth mass extinction. Guattari provides us with conceptual tools to envision an alternative future.

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[28] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 43.

Along with ecosophy, Guattari also provides a new perspective on cartography. *Schizoanalytic Cartographies*[29] shows how understanding the crisis of Integrated World Capitalism has to be multiscalar. He also borrows various terms from physics such as emergence, system and chaos to understand what he calls Integrated World Capitalism. Guattari coins the term *mechanosphere* to explain the planet-wide entanglement of mechanical, architectural and biological processes.[30] Guattari's multidisciplinary approach to ecology perfectly fits with the contemporary transdisciplinary discourses of the Anthropocene.

While Guattari remains critical of Anthropocentrism, he does not completely dispel the need for geoengineering:

> Natural equilibriums will be increasingly reliant upon human intervention, and a time will come when vast programmes will need to be set up to regulate the relationship between oxygen, ozone and carbon dioxide in the Earth's atmosphere. We might as well rename environmental ecology *machinic ecology*, because Cosmic and human praxis has only ever been a question of machines, even, dare I say it, of war machines. From time immemorial 'nature' has been at war with life! The pursuit of mastery over the mechanosphere will have to begin immediately if the acceleration of techno-scientific progress and the pressure of huge population increases are to be dealt with. [31]

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[29] Guattari, Félix (2013) *Schizoanalytic Cartographies*. Translated by Andrew Goffey. London: Bloomsbury.
[30] Dukes, Hunter (2016). "Assembling the Mechanosphere: Monod, Althusser, Deleuze and Guattari." *Deleuze Studies*, 10 (4), 514-530.
[31] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 66.

Many climate scientists are now doubtful about the efficacy of geoengineering in dealing with anthropogenic climate change. If the developed nations do not become conscious of the danger of hyper-consumerism, technological solutions won't be able to prevent the climate crisis. Guattari's critique of technological determinism helps us understand that mere techno-scientific solutions without social and political engagements are insufficient to deal with the climate crisis.

Central to Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical endeavour is the conceptual framing for rejecting anthropo-supremacy. Deleuze and Guattari also rejected the strict separation of humans from nonhumans, proposing the notion of the underground rhizome to illustrate the interrelation of all entities. The rhizomatic arrangement of atoms and molecules composes all things and connects the living beings in the cycle of life and death.[32] The figure of the desert plays a prominent role in Deleuze and Guattari's philosophical enterprise. Deleuze and Guattari's figuration of the desert helps us understand what Gregg Lambert called Deleuze and Guattari's "political geology".[33] Deleuze and Guattari's geophilosophy is relevant to theorize the Anthropocene, which is also known as an *age of deserts*.[34] The figuration of desert shows how Deleuze and Guattari synthesize schizoanalysis and geophilosophy to provide their critique of ecological degradation. Deleuze and Guattari's figuration of desert islands signifies our current environmental condition. It provides us with a theoretical framework for understanding the capitalist spatiality that dominates the Anthropocene. It also helps us understand how the Anthropocene

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[32] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.
[33] Lambert, Gregg (2005). "What the Earth Thinks." In Buchanan, Ian; Lambert, Gregg (Eds.). *Deleuze and Space* (220-39). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 220.
[34] Vince, Gaia (2014). *Adventures in the Anthropocene: A Journey to the Heart of the Planet We Made*. London: Chatto & Windus, 192.

enables both physical and metaphysical desertification in which the relationship between life and nonlife becomes precarious.

Ecosophy and Guattari's Idea of Emancipation

Guattari argues that Integrated World Capitalism (IWC), the next stage of classical capitalism, has changed its focus from exclusively producing goods to producing subjectivities through material and immaterial commodities. In *The Three Ecologies,* Guattari writes:

> Post-industrial capitalism, which I prefer to describe as Integrated World Capitalism (IWC), tends increasingly to decentre its sites of power, moving away from structures producing goods and services towards structures producing signs, syntax and – in particular, through the control which it exercises over the media, advertising, opinion polls, etc. – subjectivity.[35]

Guattari further explains: "Integrated World Capitalism pretends to integrate, program, and conduct every inhabitant of the planet. It seeks to direct even their unconscious fantasies via the mass media. A real madness is driving it to promote the homogenization of subjectivity".[36] From Guattari's perspective, ecosophy is a philosophical endeavour to emancipate human relationships both within our own species and within a larger environment. For Guattari, ecosophy is constituted by three domains: environmental, social, and mental. Emancipation is possible by taking into account these three domains of ecological praxis. Thus, Guattari articulates the following goal for ecosophy:

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[35] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 47.
[36] Guattari, *Qu'est-ce que l'écosophie?*, 415.

It is to be hoped that the development of the three types of ecological praxis outlined here [environmental, social, and mental] will lead to a reframing and a recomposition of the goals of the emancipatory struggles. And let us hope that, in the context of the new "deal" of the relation between capital and human activity, ecologists, feminists, antiracists, etc., will make it an immediate major objective to target the modes of production of subjectivity, that is, of knowledge, culture, sensibility and sociability that come under an incorporeal value system at the root of the new productive assemblages.[37]

"Rather than looking for a stupefying and infantilizing consensus", Guattari contends, "it will be a question in the future of cultivating a dissensus and the singular production of existence."[38]

New forms of valorization are necessary to resist the *homogenesis* of capitalistic values that create obstacles to emancipation. Resingularization follows a process that Guattari calls *heterogenic*, which means the development of value on a differentiated ontological level. The new ecological praxis Guattari formulates should evoke the capacity to capture and activate the heterogenous, isolated, and repressed singularities to cooperate and build assemblages of subjectivities able to function as processes of reterritorialization (to take root in a milieu). The ultimate goal of this ecological praxis is to resist ecological disintegration and to inhabit the earth in sustainable ways. For this purpose, it is necessary to "organize new micropolitical and microsocial practices, new solidarities, a new gentleness, and a new aesthetic and analytic

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[37] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 49.
[38] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 50.

practices regarding the formation of the unconscious".[39] This would be the only way to envision a radical ecological politics "working for humanity and not simply for a permanent re-equilibration of the capitalist semiotic Universe".[40] Therefore, Guattari envisions ecological politics as an everyday praxis that paves the way for emancipation. This ecopolitical praxis is a continuous negotiation of meaning with and within our environment. Nevertheless, as Guattari's ecosophy mainly focuses on the benefit of human society, it remains essentially anthropocentric.

Envisioning New Ecological Communities in the Anthropocene

Deleuze and Guattari deployed the concept of refrain to describe the process of attraction, subjectification, and territorialization facilitating the formation of localized communities. A refrain is a territorial assemblage which enables a creative space of appropriation and identification; a place which can be identified as home. As Deleuze and Guattari explain it,

> We are now at home. But home does not preexist: it was necessary to draw a circle around that uncertain and fragile center, to organize a limited space. Many, very diverse, components have a part in this, landmarks and marks of all kinds. This was already true of the previous case. But now the components are used for organizing a space, not for the momentary determination of a center. The forces of chaos are kept outside as much as possible, and the interior space protects the germinal forces of a task to fulfill or a deed to do.

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[39] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 51.
[40] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 51.

> This involves an activity of selection, elimination and extraction, in order to prevent the interior forces of the earth from being submerged, to enable them to resist, or even to take something from chaos across the filter or sieve of the space that has been drawn.[41]

Deleuze and Guattari further elaborate: "The nomos as customary, unwritten law is inseparable from a distribution of space, a distribution in space. By that token, it is ethos, but the ethos is also the Abode."[42] This argument illuminates the essence of Guattari's ecosophy. Guattari's ecosophical perspective informs us that our *oikos* (Abode) is the Earth, to be precise, an assemblage of geosphere, biosphere, and semiosphere. Diverse elements of the Earth form localized ecological communities, which are territorialized spaces of subjectification. Human beings are not exclusive constitutive elements of the communities, all types of sentient and nonsentient entities constitute these locally signifying spaces. Peripheral beings (isolated singularities) do not become insignificant if understood as integral components of a whole. Organisms are knots in a field of intrinsic relations which require a high degree of decentralization. Guattari's ecosophy suggests that territorialized ecological communities emerge through nurturing refrains, and exchanging emotions, thus enabling spaces of communication able to facilitate community members' participation in the milieu.

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[41] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, 333.
[42] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, 334.

Conclusion

This article elaborates on Gandhi and Guattari's understanding of emancipation – individual and collective – in the context of the Anthropocene- an epoch characterized by ecological injustice, anthropogenic climate change, and global warming. Contemporary climate denialism promoted by global neoliberalism provides legitimacy to the various forms of oppression operative throughout colonial modernity. Climate denialism has to be understood parallelly with other forms of denialism: the denial of infra-human and inter-species differences as valuable, the denial of the other as a dialogical equal, the denial of the history of oppression itself, etc. That's why Gandhi argued that *ahimsa* (non-violence), swaraj (self-rule) and self-transformation could be cogent responses to the violence inflicted by various forms of denialism. Guattarian ecosophy emphasizes the importance of producing subjectivities, creating singularities and valuing reterritorialization. An ecosophical worldview is intrinsically communitarian, which shows the importance of the collective assemblage of enunciation. Forming a community means creating assemblages of shared meaning and shared reality. In *The Three Ecologies*, Guattari writes:

> To bring into being other worlds beyond those of purely abstract information, to engender Universes of reference and existential territories where singularity and finitude are taken into consideration by the multivalent logic of mental ecologies and by the group eros principle of social ecology; to dare to confront the vertiginous cosmos so as to make it

inhabitable; these are the tangled paths of the tri-ecological [or ecosophical] vision. [43]

Guattarian ecosophy emphasises on a symbiotic and sustainable pattern of relations with nature and our conspecifics which may help us envision new ecological communities.

Gandhi understood that colonial modernity made victims of both the oppressed and the oppressors. For this reason, Gandhian non-violence is concerned with the voluntary act of disempowerment aimed at transforming the nature of conflict and thus disarming the power of structural violence. This enlightening voluntary act of disempowerment signifies an end of participation in the dominant structures of oppression. Guattari's revolutionary philosophy aims at creating a *new earth* and *new peoples*. He calls for collective self-invention for the sake of planetary politics in the interstices of existing political formations. Contrary to the traditional belief in any kind of transcendentalism which configures the essence of a people, Guattari's planetary politics is intrinsically immanent, which reconfigures a revolutionary collectivity in the face of impending climate catastrophe. Guattari's concepts prepare us to envision a new planetary politics and new ways of relating to the earth. Guattari provides us with the ontological ground to work collectively towards the post-Anthropocene world, which is not vulnerable to systemic breakdown.

Gandhi and Guattari's political praxis also pave the avenue for situated knowledge[44] produced by collaborating agents and also intra- and inter-

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[43] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies,* 67.
[44] Haraway, Donna (1988). "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14 (3), 575-599.

species *intra-action*[45] and *becoming-with*.[46] In the context of the Anthropocene, this political praxis would "redefine the political task par excellence"[47] and lead us beyond the narrow confines of the purely human into an uncanny terrain of new alliances and new possibilities. It is only through such a political praxis – understanding our victimhood in alliance with other species – that we can become capable of collective action and meet the challenges of the Anthropocene.

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