

Planngng Post-Anthropocene Eco-Politics Under the COVID 19 Situation

Lee Kwang-Suk

Co-editor of *Culture/Science*, Professor at Seoul National
University of Science & Technology

COVID-19 Variables

It's hard for anyone to remember afterimages of the scenery that has rapidly disappeared behind them from the windows of a speeding train. The sense of acceleration (velocity) presented by capitalism was an object of worship by the Futurists of the early 20th century, and has always been linked to the logistics of capitalist growth. We have lived in this way, hanging on to the "Snowpiercer" of capitalism, rushing endlessly without even a temporary station stop. So far, no internal or external resistance or friction has been able to block this speeding instinct. Yet, a new form of virus, nothing but a microbe, has put our world on temporary pause. The so-called COVID-19 epidemic has stopped the speeding train of capitalism, and presented us with a completely new type of daily life called the "new normal."

While the Spanish Flu, which rampaged across Europe in 1918, is often referred to as the representative viral infection of the 20th century, it is hard to recall an epidemic disaster exerting the great influence and bringing the deep feelings of helplessness to humans that COVID-19 does today. The disastrous situation caused by this pandemic was so grave it could not be met by closing borders or restricting travel, and it put the entire world in a state of inactivity and panic. The WHO declared a state of "pandemic," the highest level of global epidemic, yet the shock continues. International society is still at a loss over what to do. Capitalism, as a solid global system, was so helpless in the face of the pandemic, that some might call this the "end of history."

Could the problem have been the inertia of world leaders, consuming time as they watched the life-ending, "burning Earth" like mere onlookers, without taking concrete countermeasures? Earth's ecological disaster has returned to us in the form of "zoonosis." This is specialists' view: that COVID-19 is a type of zoonosis, caused by increased contacts between humans and animals due to humans' disturbance of the ecosystem and destruction of habitats. They observe that due to the destruction of nature, the number of wild animals has decreased, causing viruses to adapt to the environment in close contact with humans, thus going through self-modification and using humans as their new hosts. The

problem is that the propagation cycles of such infectious viruses are becoming increasingly frequent and fatal to human society. Historically, just considering the recent outbreaks of the ongoing COVID-19, SARS in 2003, novel influenza in 2009, and MERS in 2015, we have truly been experiencing a tsunami of viral epidemics during the past decade or so. This global epidemic crisis is largely the result of capitalism's reckless development of nature, destruction of life and environment, unethical rearing of livestock in factory-type production systems, and the circulation and eating of wild animals. In other words, it is the price we must pay for capitalism's destruction and rupture of the ecosystem.

COVID-19 will be documented as the representative ecological crisis of the so-called Anthropocene, which is the unofficial scientific name given to the final stage of life on Earth, accelerated by the capitalist material civilization built by humans. The Anthropocene refers to the geological era (-cene: epoch) of the trash dump of civilization, newly accumulated on the strata as humans (the anthropos-) became the dominant species of Earth.^{1]} For example, the sedimentary layers of the Anthropocene consist of plastic residue mixed with earth and organic matter, concrete waste, cement compounds, nuclear matter, pesticides, metal components, fertilizer-responsive nitrogen, and byproducts of the greenhouse gas condensation effect. Replacing the original scientific name for the contemporary geological layer of the Earth "holocene," the bizarre, unofficial term Anthropocene seems like the warning of a countdown to the end of the Earth era. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, numerous regions of the continents have been drying up in desertification, countless species going extinct daily, and trash continuously piled up with no alternative measures. Nuclear waste and contaminated water are not dealt with properly, exposing the ecosystem to unimaginable risks, ocean life forms are being suffocated by plastic, and humans' basic health is threatened by the diverse contaminants and chemicals they have made themselves.

Perhaps we need to thank the coronavirus, which at least temporarily suppressed the madness of the speeding capitalist machine. Not only does the COVID-19 situation feel like an urgent warning of the start of full-

^{1]} See Lee Kwang-Suk, "Issues Surrounding the 'Anthropocene' Discussion and Techno-Ecological Prospects," *Culture/Science*, vol. 97, 2019, pp. 22-54.

fledged global disaster, but this trifling microbe has also stopped our instinctively speeding capitalist locomotive, gradually bringing back liveliness to meanings we had either forgotten or considered trivial. From this different view, though COVID-19 is life-threatening to humans, it also serves as a catalyst to remind us of what we have been missing in our lives.

This article asks readers to consider today's COVID shock as a depressing and powerful sign of the Anthropocene. From this point we will explore several different approaches and practices that may help us deal with this crisis of the Anthropocene. Ultimately, it is also a search for practical plans for global ecological transition.

Mainstream Discussions of Eco-Modernism

Is vaccination ultimately the only way for humankind to deal with today's COVID shock? While COVID-19 is an issue related to the climate crisis and the Anthropocene, vaccinations are merely a temporary measure, not an ultimate solution. Plans must be made not only in preparation for the possibility of COVID mutations or the periodical outbreak of other viruses, but also for the "post-" Anthropocene, following widespread vaccinations. At the same time, several different positions exist with regard to the Anthropocene crisis and the search for alternatives, and can be categorized as follows.

First there is the near-sighted position, which trusts excessively in capitalist science and technology's ability to reform. These are people who rely blindly on so-called human reason and "scientism." To them, COVID-19, the climate crisis and other crises of the Anthropocene can ultimately be controlled. In their view, Earth's crisis today is not critical evidence of the results of human arrogance, but rather an opportunity for human civilization to use its powers to control Earth in new ways, a view that is both unfounded and dangerous. They are unable to escape from the influence of modernist perception, placing humans' ability to control nature and objects above all. What they fail to recognize is that the "recuperative power" of Earth cannot be recovered simply by devising scientific tools as makeshift measures.

Let us also look at the visions of those thirsty for technological effects, attempting to cover up the Earth's ecological crisis with more state-of-the-art technology and science. This group, generally called "ecomodernists" or "dogmatic scientists," represents the elitist logic and dominant discourse of mainstream society. They see the climate crisis and greenhouse gas issues as maladies of the industrial capitalist era, and believe that contemporary cutting-edge science and technology can be used to remedy such problems. Even under today's circumstances, where humans' desire to dominate nature through science and technology has resulted in the actual destruction of Earth's ecosystem, they do not show a reflective attitude, but continue to express strong confidence in humans' ability to control nature through greater science and newer technology. Such unfounded optimism that human reason and high-level science can control the ecological crisis has in fact deeply penetrated into our consciousness as well. Consider one geoengineering solution for global warming, which involves spraying a sulfur oxygen compound in the upper layers of the atmosphere in an attempt to cool the Earth by blocking sun rays.^{2]} This environmental engineering solution called "solar geoengineering" is being sold as a plausible alternative enabling humans to change the Earth's temperature rise.^{3]} This cheap Anthropocene escape plan, resembling a limited surgical procedure, is reckless in that it could bring a different form of environmental disaster, destabilizing the global climate and ecosystem. The danger posed by this group is that they constantly repeat the errors of the past in new ways, unable to rid themselves of their arrogant overconfidence in science and technology.

Meanwhile, there is also the phenomenon of "greenwashing," aiming to turn the eco-crisis into a capitalist business opportunity. Numerous businesses are trying to use the Anthropocene crisis as an opportunity to serve their own interests, in the name of alternative energy development or fuel efficiency. Such "green growth supporters" are generally using the environment as a pretext for corporate profit. In a way, they are closer to those who deny climate change. They are the cunning ones, gaining profits from the crisis. Unlike the operations denounced by the public as relics of industrial capitalism due to their carbon emissions,

2] Paul J. Crutzen, "Albedo Enhancement by Stratospheric Sulfur Injections: A Contribution to Resolve a Policy Dilemma?" *Climatic Change*, vol. 77 (2006), pp. 211-219.

3] "10 Aims at the End of Humankind ... Who Shot the Arrow?" *Hankyoreh*, Dec. 26, 2018.

these new green industries claim to be environmentally friendly, and use advanced technology, yet conceal their own adverse effects on the ecosystem.

Political Ecology and Limits of “Earth Planetism”

Next, we need to take note of the mainstream group that generates and leads the discussions of the Anthropocene. We may call this group the “Earth planetists.” The earth planetist perspective focuses on the state in which Earth, which previously showed little response to humans, is now enraged and sending signals of dissolution to us. They say that when Earth calls out, “Look at me,” we must begin to seriously consider Earth as a single, ecological, organic object of study. While environmentalists have focused on local life issues, earth planetism criticizes local environmentalism for not responding to the Anthropocene phase, and stresses countermeasures against our fate of common extinction as passengers on “burning earth.” Here humans are placed in an urgent “apocalyptic” situation, in which they must together find means of escape from their dark fate on planet earth, as everyone faces imminent death regardless of economic or social status. Philosopher of technology Bruno Latour presented the following analogical examples to describe the urgency of Earth’s overall crisis today. Passengers on an aircraft are desperately searching for a place to land, knowing that they have little fuel left; people are looking for a safe lifeboat in which to survive the global crisis; someone in a burning house is hesitating over whether to call the fire department or not; and people are debating “how to land without crashing into Earth (Down to Earth).”^{4]}^{5]} The analogies of a plane without fuel, a boat with a hole in it, and an already burning house refer to the urgent situation of humankind, facing common destruction regardless of social restraints such as class, race or economic status. At the same time, his analogies emphasize that we all live together on the doomed planet earth as partners sharing a common destiny. These rather banal rhetorical emphases are effective in that they stress the “planetary” transition of human views, that we must read “Earth” as a whole, and as an “agency” and the sum of organic systems, which humans have paid little attention to, or neglected.

4] From the title of Bruno Latour’s *Down to Earth*, Park Beom-Soon, transl., Eum, 2021.

5] Bruno Latour & Pauline Julier, “[Conversation] Strata and Nature: Why Anthropocene?”, *Okulo*, vol. 7, 2018, p. 86.

After all, humans are accustomed to the large and small events and objects surrounding them, but negligent when it comes to focusing on Earth as a whole system. Earth planetism is thus provided free of charge, and rebukes the reality that has come back to us as a dagger of tragedy, due to the failure to manage the common natural resources of infinitely exploited Earth. The earth planetism perspective is a powerful warning, notifying people about the urgency of this crisis, and is a wake-up call informing us that no one is exempt from preparing for the collapse of Earth.

Therefore, earth planetism contributes greatly to stimulating an immediate common response to the ecological crisis. Moreover, from an epistemological view, the planetary view overcomes anthropocentrism, to emphasize the common fate of all life on earth and the relational-ontological aspects of all life forms and objects, both human and non-human. In other words, earth planetism naturally connects to a “non-cartesian” human (society)-nature monism, and a de-anthropocentric position that believes the earth, humans and other species of (non)life relate to one another and transform upon a level and equal plane of immanence.^{6]} Those advocating the idea of the Anthropocene claim that in order to prevent the destruction of the order of coexistence among everything due to humans’ privileged status, humans as a species must maintain a de-anthropocentric view of nature, recognizing that they are an “organic part of nature.” This has the effect of understanding humans as unstable and relational substances, and of focusing on the relational arrangement and “materialities” of objects on earth. As has been well noted, British scientist James Lovelock, in his Gaia hypothesis, saw Earth not simply as a lump of rock supporting life forms, but as an active organism that evolves on its own, and on which life forms and inorganic substances relate to one another. This maximizes the “vitalist” imagination with regard to the group and giant agency called Earth.^{7]} The “object-oriented” ontology of things connected to Earth planetism urges humans to

6] Kim, Hwan-Seok, “The New Paradigm of Social Science: New Materialism,” *Orbis Sapientiae*, vol. 25, Sept. 2018.

7] “Vitalism,” developed in Spinoza’s philosophy, stresses that all matter (nature) in a monistic world is “autopoietic,” and at the same time has the power of “sympoietic” change in relational ways. Vitalist materialism particularly rejects the objectified division of humans from nature, and the anthropocentric logic derived from such division. In other words, the vitalist approach traverses the realms of life species and objects, previously considered separately, to emphasize vertical and horizontal transformability, and has emerged as a new materialistic thesis attempting to overcome anthropocentrism by placing humans in the status of one among infinite objects. In the view of such “new” materialism, Earth in its Anthropocene is a collective of vitalist objects and a gigantic agency.

leave their dominant status over Earth, and the privileges they have enjoyed until now in comparison to other species.

The philosophy and approach called “new materialism,” which notes the de-anthropocentric materiality of objects on earth, has become an important theoretical resource for Earth planetism. New materialism has continuously evolved, with characteristics such as de-anthropocentrism, relational materiality and ecological politics of disposition, and emphasis of the agency of non-human objects and beings.^{8]} The effects of such non-cartesian monism in the context of the Anthropocene is quite clear. New materialistic Earth planetism excludes human dominance over nature, seeks equalitarian and symbiotic relations beyond the human species, including neighboring species and (machine) objects, and can garner more human attention to the Earth agency as a kind of life form or gigantic system. To this end, as stated by Rosi Braidotti, in order to overcome this time of difficulty it is important that humankind “visualize the subject as a transversal entity that includes humans, animals, which are our genetic neighbors, and the Earth as a whole.”^{9]}

The life communal perspective has no choice but to advise relational coexistence among the countless different humans and life forms in order to save the earth system. The blind spot in this, however, is the zoom-out effect of the planetary view. Compared to its strong point of dealing with Earth as a living and breathing life sphere, there is the possibility of looking at it from a distance while eliminating the differences or distinctions among humans, non-human life forms and objects. If we escape from anthropocentrism, the countless “dispersal of activity” occurring among the diverse beings, and their relational coexistence and disposition, can be better revealed.^{10]} But for the same reason, if we emphasize the united activities of matter without focusing on the situation of ecological extinction created by humans, there is a high possibility that responsibility for the crisis will be dispersed. Realistically, it can be troublesome to search out the merits and demerits, who was greedy, and who has brought about the extinction crisis during the history of capitalism. New materialism can be indifferent

to the need for tenacious questioning of mistakes made by capitalist growth, for carefully exploring who were the actual perpetrators of the climate crisis, and who were the main victims. Debating responsibility for the crisis is important, to guarantee thorough elimination of the causes, and to build future ecological strategies. Ultimately, planetary thinking emphasizes our symbiosis with all non-human beings in the Earth’s ecosystem, but has a strong tendency to weaken or erase the roles and responsibilities of humans, who are the culprits in today’s Anthropocene situation, by dispersing the “moral responsibilities” among both human and other species and objects. Rather than finding who is at fault for the global crisis, they simply say humans are to blame for Anthropocene problems. But even now, it is officially documented that the lives suffering the most damage and being killed by Earth’s ecological rage are the poor, the women and children, and animals and plants, constantly exposed to poor environmental conditions. On the other hand, the leaders and transnational corporations of nations that have contributed the most to the climate crisis have intentionally neglected this reality. Thus the thesis of crisis on planet Earth has so far only presented the grand narrative of human extinction as a foreground, while pushing the specific, suffering beings out of sight.

Establishing the “Capitalocene” Issue

Even at the moment of extinction of Earth’s ecosystem and species, human society seems to think there are separate lifeboats or exits enabling the survival of the rich and privileged. The denunciation by leftist ecologists, claiming that the Anthropocene discussion shamelessly neglects the reality of social discrimination and vulnerability taking place in all aspects of human society, is not so far-fetched after all.^{11]} The abstract discussions of the Anthropocene, relying on Earth planetism, specifically have “the possibility of making it difficult for us to perceive the economic inequity brought by technological change after the industrial revolution, and the geographical, political inequity in terms of greenhouse gas emissions.”^{12]} In the framework of planetary or new materialistic Anthropocene, which stimulates the fear of human race extinction, the

8] Kim, Hwan-Seok, op. cit. p. 6.

9] Rosi Braidotti, *Post-Human*, Lee Kyoung-Ran, transl., Acanet, 2015, p. 109.

10] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Moon Seong-Jae, transl., Hyunsilmunhwa, 2020, p. 76.

11] See Andreas Malm and Alf Hornborg, “The Geology of Mankind? A Critique of the Anthropocene Narrative,” *The Anthropocene Review*, 1, no. 1 (April 2014), pp. 62–69.

12] *Ibid.*, 65.

political-economic essence of the ecological crisis taking place in the capitalist system is likely to be ignored or played down. That is to say, the Anthropocene discourse is an accomplice to the act of blaming all humankind for the crisis of the species, while pardoning global capital power, which is benefiting from the crisis. This can be evaluated as deletion of the historical specificity of capitalism, or as disregard of the value system of global capitalism.

Essentially, the term Anthropocene lacks a direct warning against the abnormal development and desire for growth of the capitalist system. The Anthropocene is in fact restrained by the nasty fetters of capitalism, which have advanced over a long period. These include the development and exploitation of nature, corporate management of life and the natural environment, destruction of the land and common urban infrastructure, impoverishment of human labor, and highly automated technical power. In this sense, discussions of common fate, holding everyone accountable for the ecological crisis, or humans' blind belief in science and technology, seem either naive or futile.

The Capitalocene was created in opposition to the planetist Anthropocene. This concept was first mentioned by radical economist David Ruccio, and developed by eco-Marxists such as Jason Moore and Andreas Malm to directly point out the problems of the Anthropocene.^{13]} They claim that today's state of global ecological crisis should be called "Capitalocene," and not Anthropocene. They believe it is more important to realize that the Earth is covered with the traces of capital, rather than describing its surface as a thin green layer. The ecological destruction mechanism of humans, especially capital power, should be seen as the greatest problem. To them, capitalism is "not just part of the ecology but the system itself, and a group of relations that integrate power, capital and nature." That is to say, "world-ecology" is a "(capitalist) ecology that is pulled by an endless force of accumulation through frontiers, and expands to the entire planet."^{14]}

The advocates of "Capitalocene" question new materialism and the planetist theory of "dividing the responsibility among all things," invented to break

through the Anthropocene crisis. They consider the core as capitalist "global ecology" strategy. In other words, they urge us to look at the present situation, where capitalism's endless exploitation system is united with planet Earth's usefulness. In this sense, we must also note Haraway's reflective concept of "Chthulucene." Like new materialism, Haraway emphasizes "making new social forms of connection with (non) human others, and new social combinations, with countless intersection and grafting of multispecies."^{15]} At the same time, she believes we must properly evaluate the history of privatized capital, which intends to modify the very order of life and nature through genetic and life engineering and artificial intelligence. Haraway's Chthulucene argument combines the awareness of Anthropocene and Capitalocene, maintaining a perspective of "adding," which builds an equalitarian relationship with our new "kin."

In the end, Anthropocene ecopolitics seems aimed at building new ecological prospects for Earth with vulnerable (non) human life forms at the center. Of course, this scenario must go beyond a human-centered Earth rescue scenario, and requires solidarity among the human species, those othered in the capitalist reality, animals, machines, mutants and natural objects, which are different yet share a common destiny. As already mentioned, it is important to make sure we do not lose the equalitarian vision formed among the "material forces indiscriminately sweeping through the world of humans and of nature" within planet earth.^{16]} In other words, we must address both the human-centered architecture of objects being fully manifested on the ecological stratum, and capital's global order of ecology. Thus there is an urgent demand to establish radical eco-politics, by giving an exact diagnosis of the internal injuries of the ecology twisted by capitalist value production, and the structure of ecological class politics, while embracing the expansion of new materialistic thought on the level of an ontological horizontal bond among humans, all other life, and objects.

The Choices We Are Left With

With the machines of capitalism stopped by the

13] Jason W. Moore, ed., *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2016.

14] Raj Patel & Jason W. Moore, *History of the World in Seven Cheap Things: A Guide to Capitalism, Nature, and the Future of the Planet*, Verso, 2017, pp. 38-40.

16] Terry Eagleton, *Materialism*, Jeon Dae-Ho, transl., 2018, p. 25.

COVID shock, the truths of the objects and situations surrounding us are emerging. In particular, when the Chinese factories, considered to be the main culprits of carbon emissions, were stopped, the concentration of fine dust particles decreased temporarily but significantly. Koreans living in Northeast Asia were able to observe satellite photographs showing the clear sky during this short period, and had the luxury of breathing clean, dust-free air. In the center of Thailand, enveloped by silence in the absence of tourists, groups of hungry, angry monkeys, rather than humans, roamed the streets. On the beaches of India and Brazil, closed off due to COVID-19, there unfolded the unusual scene of endangered sea turtles peacefully laying eggs that hatched in the hundreds of thousands. Hence, life forms that were not human took the place of the humans, who had rushed into hiding. The sequence of life activity on Earth observed after the outbreak of COVID-19 was an opportunity to reconfirm the extent to which humans' "ecological footprint" has threatened animals' radius of life, and the magnitude of our influence in the extinction of various species of life.

COVID-19 is clearly revealing the shameless, naked face and stench of capitalism, which has quietly settled under the surface. For example, the issues of neocolonial extortion and the depletion of resources from "inexpensive nature" have returned to our attention. It is already well known that amidst the uncertain situation of the world, destruction of the Amazon rainforest by illegal gold miners and lumberers is increasing. During this process, deaths have also increased as numerous natives contracted the coronavirus from the evil developers. Not only is the Amazon rainforest being exploited; hundreds of native tribal communities also have been placed in the crisis of extinction. The virus disaster is now revealing the painful fact that the neocolonial desire to exploit nature continues to ravage the most vulnerable parts of the world, and is destroying the lives of the indigenous people living there.

Canadian writer and journalist Naomi Klein, in her book *Shock Doctrine*,^{17]} explains "disaster capitalism," which is how state elites use grave social crises and disaster situations as pretexts to push through what they have wanted from the start. Disaster capitalism is functioning

even more efficiently in the COVID-19 era. Since the capitalist states always respond to new viral infection disasters with irrelevant answers, perhaps disaster capitalism is the right term. For example, in the current disaster situation, authoritarian nations are using the pandemic to exercise stronger governmental power over their citizens and to implement surveillance as routine, under the pretext of public safety. In the case of neoliberal countries like Korea, the market-worshipping, high-level elites are working on the development of "green growth." Without the slightest regret for their contributions to environmental disaster, they are trying to get back on the speeding train, using slogans of new growth and development. The situation of disaster amidst the corona pandemic gives us the opportunity to reflect, and suggests another route, but "the new is not being born yet."^{18]}

The lessons taught us by COVID-19 and the climate crisis are clear. As the term "capitalist realism" suggests, we have been living amidst a poverty of imagination, without the power of future hope, unable even to picture a concrete scenario of escape from capitalism.^{19]} Though COVID-19 came to us as a disaster, at the same time it is leading us to contemplate on new coexistent values of life. According to the July 2020 issue of *Time magazine*, the COVID-19 epidemic had the indirect effect of reducing the world's greenhouse gases by 7%. It was the immediate effect gained as people's fear of infection made them suspend some manufacturing facilities and reduce total energy consumption. Furthermore, this appearance of a new form of virus confirmed that other variations of infectious zoonoses could break out if we do not change our ways. Let us also consider the bitter reality that people in poverty, refugees, urban workers and native people worldwide are at higher risk of becoming COVID-19 refugees. Today's emphasis of "untact" society has painfully reminded us of the principles of the capitalist material world, that its foundation can only be sustained through frequent contact with new essential workers and their labor. And it also has clearly confirmed the ultimate difficulty of securing a future for Earth through the existing "everyone on their own" method of the capitalist system and powerful nations.

17] Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, NY: Penguin Books, 2008.

18] From the title of Nancy Fraser's book, *The Old is Dying and the New Cannot Be Born*, Chaeksesang, 2021.

19] Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?*, Park Jin-Cheol, transl., Luciole, 2018.

To keep global warming within a 1.5 degree range, we must reduce Earth's carbon emissions by half within the next decade. This also means that we need an escape strategy from the carbon-based economy, or a "degrowth" every year for the next decade, equivalent to the shock of the COVID virus, which reduced carbon emissions by 7%. However, so far we have simply been inventing "green new deals" that are actually only market variations of "climate Keynesism" and "green washing,"^{20]} ignoring the fact that if we cannot block the acceleration of global warming and ecological destruction, infectious viruses like COVID-19, or even more powerful ones, will continue trying to use human bodies as their hosts.

We must deconstruct the hopeless desire to destroy that marks capitalist realism, and establish a symbiotic, coexistent ecological alternative. This must be planned at all levels—the nation, large cities, regions and global communities. As a powerful prescription for Earth's salvation, we must urgently implement the transition to a post-carbon society according to a "green new deal," and in the long term work with all our might to restore the global ability to metabolize matter, which has largely broken down due to capitalist development.

Modern conveniences cannot be abolished altogether. But at least we can reduce the scale of production, and correct our current path of growth-oriented madness and the worship of "value." This means taking the harsh disaster of the coronavirus as a lesson of human history. If we are unable to gain some kind of reflective lesson from the coronavirus disaster, second and third ecological disasters will certainly take place. What is required is a new way of life, and a plan for universal coexistence of life to bring the speeding locomotive of capitalism to a complete stop.

20] For the analogy of "climate Keynesism," see John Bellamy Foster, "On Fire This Time," *Monthly Review* vol. 71, no. 6 (November 2019), pp. 1-17.