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## BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP BLUE MARBLE

Capitalism, Nature, and the Promethean Gaze, from Mercator to the Space Age

No civilization has organized through the visual more than capitalism. Its capacity to image, survey, and map planetary ecologies of every kind has been a centerpiece of modern world history. That's a story of capitalism, not as a narrowly defined economic system but as a way of organizing life: as a world ecology premised on endless accumulation and the endless conquest of the earth. At its heart is a lethal cocktail of big capital, big empires, and big science. From that epochal trinity emerged a mode of production—including its spectacular repertoire of visual *technics*—that transformed webs of life into profitmaking opportunities.

The Environmental Imaginary and its visual technics are essential to the story of climate crisis and its capitalogenic development. I write these lines out of a growing conviction that modernity's most significant technologies are not merely hardware; they are software. For Marx and Engels, these are the "means of mental production." That's significant, because capitalogenic climate crisis is not reducible to machines and resources. Such reductionism blinds us to the crucial role of capitalism's software, the outputs of capitalism's mode of thought. Blow up a pipeline, and you can slow fossil fuels for a day. Revolutionize the relations of thought, capital, and technology that produced those pipelines, and you can stop excessive carbonization for good. It's a good reminder of an old radical slogan: You can't blow up a social relation.

These relations flow through the *oikeios*: the pulsing, creative, and multilayered webs of life in which we all swim. These webs can be channeled but never controlled. In the modern world—a capitalist world ecology of power, profit, and life—the dominant forces seek to fool us, and in so doing deceive themselves. To discern some essence of these flows and webs, we need *geohistory*.

The mirror image of climate doomism is capitalist Prometheanism, the fantasy that webs of life can be reduced to Nature. You'll notice the uppercase. *Nature*, after 1492, was no innocent word. It became a hammer of empire and capital, a *ruling abstraction*, wrapped up with thoroughly capitalist practices of power-seeking and profit-making. It was a dramatic rupture with medieval thinking about humans in the web of life. Nature became a zone of reality separate from Civilization: unruly, wild, uncivilized. It justified two major processes. One was the Civilizing Project. The new



The optimal size is 165 by 233 millimeters: maximizing the number of pages that can be printed on a single sheet, while minimizing the amount of trim waste I would produce. The optimal format will change, of course, from printer to printer, depending on the sheets being used and the printing machine's capabilities. But there are compromises: you will note my cover is printed in what is referred to as "full bleed," meaning the printing extends to the edges of the paper, leaving no visible margins. To achieve this effect, the design or image has to be printed on a larger sheet of paper and then trimmed down to its final size, effectively cutting off the excess paper and ink.

empires saw the "civilizing" of "savage" humans as among their greatest responsibilities. Through *Nature*, Civilizers enclosed the lives and labors of most human beings along with new frontiers. Importantly, Nature became an imperial claim to the unpaid work/energy of "women, nature and colonies." A second element of this new ruling abstraction was the instrumentalization of Civilization and Nature into an imperial-managerial philosophy. To borrow from Descartes, "thinking things" managed "extended things" (including human natures)—endowing the new bourgeoisie with an epochal responsibility: "We must make ourselves the masters and possessors of nature."

Henceforth the world bourgeoisie would seek to manage the planet as if it were an electronics factory, a sugar plantation, an insurance office. To this end, it had to map the planet as if it were a potential storehouse of Cheap Nature. Hence modernity's successively more complex spatial-visual technics—and infrastructures—of planetary surveillance: mapping, surveying, and photographing planetary spaces in ways that would reveal profitable natures while cleansing the Environmental Imaginary of contentious struggles between landlord and peasant, colonizers and colonized, bourgeois and proletarian. Geohistory is the antidote to this imperial Imaginary.

Geohistory means, simply, earth history. It is a way of seeing that defies, and pursues alternatives to, the imperialist "god trick," from Mercator's projection (1569) to the Blue Marble (1972). That Promethean gaze has been as pivotal to the making of the modern world as any shipyard, cannon foundry, or assembly line. It is not only a means of mental production, but fundamental to the production of those means of production: a software



used for calibration. My entire print run required 1,187 kilos of paper six hundred grams, which means that just under a third of my weight was trimmed or pulp. My making required 790 grams of paper. I currently weigh—I am told—around of virgin fiber would still be necessary even if most paper were made of recycled every round of recycling, strands of fiber become shorter. Hence, a certain amount it requires less ink. But pulp fibers can only be used a certain number of times. With less energy, and is more easily recyclable. It is also more absorbent, which means uncoated and recycled. Uncoated paper requires fewer chemical substances, uses thirty-three to forty percent of all the industrial wood traded globally. My pages are fewer and less powerful chemicals. The pulp and paper industry are responsible for the solid waste by just under forty percent. The pulping of recycled fibers requires zero, the energy required by thirty percent, the wastewater produced by half, and hundred kilos of solid waste. Recycling reduces the number of new trees needed to and produces over twenty thousand gallons of wastewater, as well as over eight some twenty-four trees, consumes nearly ten thousand kilowatt-hours of energy, recycled content. The production of one ton of paper using virgin fibers requires trees, rather than recycled pulp. The largest reduction in our ecological cost could Most of us today are still printed on "virgin paper," paper produced directly from be achieved by avoiding any use of virgin fibers and maximizing the amount of

in the sense of Marx's "Department I" necessary to run the machinery of world accumulation. Its bread and butter is fragmentation and control, creating fictions of thinking and doing, of managerial conception and proletarian execution, of Civilized and Savage.

Against these god tricks—Are they not all the more devilish for their deceptions?—stands an alternative. Let's call it geohistorical materialism. This is a way of seeing, and cultivating, the possibilities Marx glimpsed on the communist horizon: "The complete unity of man with nature—the *true resurrection of nature*—the accomplished naturalism of man and the accomplished humanism of nature."6 George Orwell's observation about Shakespeare readily applies to Marx: he had a "curiosity, he loved the surface of the earth and the process of life."

That curiosity and love of the earth and life are essential to any revolutionary mode of thought seeking to destabilize, and defend against, the planetary managers, the financial bosses, the clandestine special ops forces in this era of unprecedented crisis. Such a task will require forms of knowledge and praxis that flow from the love of the surface of the earth and the process of life—a love that asks for the skills and insights of the philosopher, the poet, the scientist, the social scientist... and artists of every kind. Our assessments of the climate crisis and their political implications must be as geopoetic as they are geohistorical; we must focus on the relations of ideology and science as they entwine with and coproduce the hardware of pipelines and missile guidance systems. The two moments—the software and hardware of capitalist ecocide and exploitation—are dialectically joined, from Columbus to America's Forever Wars.

These days I often read about how fossil fuels, fossil fuel corporations, and associated infrastructures of pipelines, highways, and airports are "killing" us, nature, the planet. In the mid-2010s, serious campaigns lobbied university and retirement portfolios to divest fossil fuel capital. Farther left, a socialist version of the argument has gained popular traction: fossil capitalism.<sup>8</sup> The argument rehabilitates an old historical trope that goes back to the later nineteenth century, when Arnold Toynbee minted the phrase *Industrial Revolution*. At its core, the fossil capital thesis holds that there is something essential about capital's relation to fossil fuels, a view that readily translates into techno-resource determinism. Reducing the climate crisis to the machines that burn carbon, we assume that fossil fuels and pipelines, not capitalists, are the enemy. No reasonable person denies that less carbon must be burned—a *lot less*.

No reasonable person denies that less carbon must be burned—a lot less.

But coal did not make capitalism. Fossil fuels (peat, coal, oil, and gas), as resources, were invented by capitalism.

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That geohistory matters. Our political assessments of climate crisis flow from it. Peat, coal, oil, and gas are not "just there." To paraphrase Marx's keen observation on slavery, coal is just a rock in the ground; only under definite geohistorical relations does it become a fossil fuel. Rocks are rocks; resources become.

Consider the origins of the climate crisis.

The steam engine was no technical *deus ex machina*. The steam engine was the product of the spatial-visual revolution. Its epochal character was enmeshed in many developments, not least two great waves of enclosure prior to the nineteenth century. One occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second was the great burst of Parliamentary enclosure after 1760. These modern enclosures—certainly not limited to England—fused the means of mental production with state power, economic logic, and the developing *material* means of production. Enclosure, through which protocapitalist gentry transformed commons into private property, was enabled by a specific spatial-visual technique: the modern survey.

Modern surveys were necessary to produce capitalism's most basic abstracpar excellence; it entwines the visual fetish of "economic" tion: bourgeois property. Property is of course a visual technics a conception which inevitably undermines" the hierarchical yet and especially in England, was reduced to "facts and figures, distinctness" could be dissolved through the alchemy of spaces as geometric and interchangeable. Property's "natural bound and sold like any other object. Surveys emerged through property with the ideological fetish of Nature as life that can be workers without threatening the bottom line. "satanic mills" and the Cheap Food necessary to feed those dispossession produced the labor power necessary to work the an agricultural revolution whose combination of productivity and was a productive force, at once mental and material. It enabled reciprocal ties of feudal agrarian life. 10 The survey, in other words, monetized and surveilled land.9 Landownership, increasingly The new surveys redesigned commons by reimagining such highly quantitative forms of visual knowledge and technique coincidentally in the era's financial and mercantile heartlands. the intellectual revolution of the late medieval Renaissance, not This revolution rehabilitated—then radically developed—new,

Surveying was embedded in a wider spatial-technical revolution that produced planetary cartography as a productive force. As we are learning, the rise of capitalism was far more than a set of economic and political revolutions. It was an intellectual revolution. Through it, a new mode of thought cohered, one designed to subordinate webs of life to a ruthlessly Promethean logic of

profit maximization. Among its greatest productive—and also destructive—forces were visual technics: the map and the survey above all were implicated in a mode of thought that scholars call ocularcentric.<sup>11</sup>

Conquering the globe and subjecting it to profit-driven surveillance required planetary life in service to endless accumulation. Marble, globes circulated throughout the early modern world; were practical tools in controlling, fragmenting, and managing construction of the modern world market. These visual technics designed to enhance imperial power, geo-prospecting, and the some metaphysical will to power; it was a technical revolution Humanism and its mathematical revolution. Utilizing these shape through a novel world-historical synthesis: between shift essential to the new mode of production. God tricks took and remain-a concrete class-imperial project, a paradigm Haraway calls these perspectives "god tricks." They werealienating, and intrusive visual imaginary. Long before the Blue more than guns, boats, and Bibles. It demanded a relentless, above, beyond, and *outside* planetary space. This wasn't about thoroughly modern god tricks, a disembodied eye could stand Iberian geopolitical power and the financial bourgeoisie of the the earliest survival dates from, I kid you not, 1492. Donna Italian city-states, not coincidentally home to Renaissance

This line of thought upends our usual narrative of "the" Industrial Revolution.

The modern map, not the steam engine, comes into focus as modernity's decisive "technological" breakthrough. If you want to understand steam engines and the climate crisis, you'd best begin with the spatial-visual technics that set them in motion. Without modern cartography, there were no conquests, no international divisions of labor, no modern empires, no commodity exchanges, no military revolutions.

Modern Nature was visual and cartographic in a way no precapitalist civilization could contemplate. Nature could be cheapened and transformed into an Archimedean lever for a planet-encompassing logic of accumulation, only once it was invented. That invention required an epochal synthesis: of Renaissance perspective with mechanical printing. Most commonly associated with Gutenberg's book, in this epochal synthesis the printed word was arguably secondary to the mass-produced image. In Boaz Levin's gifted formulation, Cheap Nature depended upon the Cheap Image: a project and process of rendering human and extra-human webs of life external, fragmented, and therefore—above all—controllable. Extending Sekula's groundbreaking insights, Levin underscores photography's emergence through a long history of the Capitalocene's "instrumental scientific and technical realism." 13

Cheap Imaging is at once producer and product of that realism and its capacity understand today's politics of climate justice, which foreground in visual technics to its imperial metabolisms, and from there "universal language" and its "rational mastery of the world."16 the Anthropocene—the complicity of photography in capitalism's its visual iconography. From this standpoint, the Cheap Image sense of the deep history joining early capitalism's revolution stirrings. 15 From Levin and Sekula, we can therefore start to make joined to an imperial "scopic regime" from capitalism's earliest nineteenth-century capitalism, this "instrumental realism" was of a truth apparatus that cannot be adequately reduced to the thesis reveals—as we see from Mercator to the Blue Marble to late capitalism's ideological struggles around "saving nature" and logically and instrumentally indispensable. Far from a product of of 'intelligence.""4 As such the Cheap Image has been ideointo a larger ensemble: a bureaucratic-clerical-statistical system optical model provided by the camera. The camera is integrated world ecology. Specifically, it was central to "the emergence an essential software/hardware nexus for the emergent capitalist to serve the accumulators of capital. More than a narrow question of epistemological and representational practice, it formed

The Cheap Image was therefore not merely a result, but an instrument, of the dispossession of peasants from their land, and, more ominously, others from a place in Civilization. At every point, the new scopic evicting women, indigenous peoples, Africans, and countless was fundamental to the Cheap Nature regime, enforcing the energy for profit-maximization. Cheap Labor, in other words capitalist strata and their state-machineries worked hand-invast majority from the beginning. Indigenous peoples and Civilized and the Savage. (Later rebranded as Developed and of Cheap Nature: a logic of power, an accumulation strategy, reservoirs of cheapened "women's work." This is the centrality of environmental thinkers have underlined. To offset these glove to dispossess these humans of their place in the new order women were among the first to be redefined, Naturalized. New fields, the Nature in Cheap Nature encompassed humankind's Undeveloped.) Hardly limited to soils and streams, forests and and a way of seeing—and policing the boundaries between—the could be vast continents, subterranean coal mines, or untapped new sources of unpaid work/energy on the frontier. Frontiers tendencies, the trinity of capital, science, and empire had to find sustain the endless accumulation of capital. That accumulation scientific and ideological revolutions necessary to launch and They did so for a specific reason; to secure their unpaid work/ has been monstrously destructive and inefficient, as generations

> regime visualized the Civilizing Project as the triumph of heroic Europeans over the faceless and savage indigenous peoples of the New World.

The rise of capitalism entailed not merely a civilizational fetish but a radically reaches back to these early modern developments.19 allowed not only the navigation of planetary space but its profitof contentious democratic politics from bourgeois governance called the "scientization of politics"—the anti-political evacuation under the banner of Good Science. What Habermas famously planetary environment was produced as an imperial project enabled the mapping of planetary life, producing modern driven subordination. Finally, these cartographic achievements shipping revolution. Early capitalism's greatest innovation—the of the era's militarized and commercialized shipbuilding and Cartography provided the software for the epochal hardware maps were more than state secrets; they were productive forces. of multiple spherical, organic lifeworlds to a singular globe, and undisciplined. This can be seen in three significant ways. the American-led Green Revolution research networks, "the" lberian acclimatization gardens to Britain's Kew Gardens to conceptions of Nature and Science. From sixteenth-century developed across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The new "an object of appropriation." 18 Second, the modern map was Imagined as a globe, the Civilizing Project rendered the Earth mapped from the standpoint of European capital and empire. (like today's Anthropocene discourse)—has a lineage that transoceanic empire—was possible only through maps. These First, there was a mighty transition from medieval conceptions new conception of Nature as the zone of the savage, wild,

The god trick was product and producer of a new, revolutionary social class: of this process-Marx called it primitive accumulation for its property. Time, money. The web of life, Nature.20 At the center of seeing humans, the land, and webs of life. Land became and property rights could be secured only through a new way geoisie—then in formation in places like Genoa, Florence, Lisbon, managerial class. Among the necessary tasks of the new boursovereignty and commons arrangements. Exclusive territoriality Gone were the overlapping and multiuse rights of medieval and cartographic procedures—a novel command over space. tualize, visualize, and practically represent-through cadastral means of mental production. These would allow them to concepand scientific cadres, the forerunners of today's professionalbloody and violent character-was "appropriation of space." and Antwerp—was the development of a new, ocularcentric the bourgeoisie, allied with new empires and new administrative

These procedures sought to "achieve visually... what survey, mapmaking and ordnance charting achieved practically: the control and domination over space as an absolute, objective entity, its transformation into the property of individual or state."<sup>21</sup>

The new Environmental Imaginary—premised on the bourgeois conceit that the trinity of science, capital, and empire had "discovered nature as a whole"—formed through ocularcentric technics.<sup>22</sup> One often reads these days about cognitive and surveillance capitalism. Too often, we forget that these were immanent to the formation of a capitalist world ecology after 1492—and immanent to the imperial apparatus of planetary management today.<sup>23</sup> From Mercator to Google Maps, one can run a red thread of power, profit, and planetary surveillance. Each moment has been intimately connected to the search for profits and the lust for power it calls forth. Each extended bourgeois—managerial control over life through a software enabling (and enabled by) the material means of production and destruction. Through this nexus, the bourgeoisie transformed "information society into a control society and... visual culture into a surveillance culture.<sup>724</sup>

The spatial-visual technics that undergirded the early modern invention of Nature are alive and kicking. In recent decades, they have decisively shaped modern environmentalism and the hegemonic conception of the biosphere. Let us take 1968's *Earthrise*, snapped on Christmas Eve from Apollo 8's lunar orbit. It quickly became "the most influential environmental photograph ever taken." Four years later, again just before Christmas, NASA released the *Blue Marble*, this time taken from Apollo 17's Earth orbit. These images are conventionally linked to the birth of a new environmental consciousness and to the (allegedly) spontaneous origins of modern environmentalism with the first Earth Day (1970). There's no evidence for the connection, breathlessly repeated by mainstream media and eco-luminaries such as Al Gore. But the two iconic images were rapidly seized upon by Anglophone media, interested in *anything* that would



What are these w o r d s made of? Ink. The ink's pigment is typically transported into its substrate using an oil-based vehicle. Pigments determine its color and texture, and additives then influence different characteristics such as viscosity and resistance. The development of modern inks is closely intertwined with the history of the chemical industries. For black pigments, such as those used for my words, "carbon black" is normally used. These are fine particles of carbon obtained as soot from the combustion of hydrocarbons and used in the production of plastic products. Ink is quite literally made out of carbon emissions. I was printed using ink free of cobalt or mineral oil, and made from vegetable and renewable sources (including tree resin and vegetable oils). The use of such ink reduces the amount of volatile organic compounds released into the air during printing.

redirect the public's attention away from ecocide in Vietnam, national liberation struggles, campus revolts, and urban riots. Almost immediately, *Earthrise* and *Blue Marble* adorned corporate offices and the covers of major magazines. Grassroots and corporate environmentalists in the early 1970s agreed: *Earthrise* and *Blue Marble* captured the essence of a fragile oasis, encouraged a far-reaching holism, and created a new era of concern for the Earth. Today, *Blue Marble* hangs in Al Gore's office as he coordinates a venture capitalist firm to solve the climate crisis.

The visual iconography of mainstream environmentalism masks something much darker. *Earthrise* and *Blue Marble* are among the signal results of the American scientific-military-industrial complex, indelibly linked to the nuclear Armageddon to which Paul and Anne Ehrlich gestured in 1968's *The Population Bomb*. It's easy to miss the geopolitics of Whole Earth imagery: one that represents the imperial gaze and planetary surveillance. The infrastructure of nuclear doomsday was visually transmogrified into an image of peace, love, and harmony. As ever, the Environmental Imaginary scrubs away the pain and violence of imperialism and the Cheap Nature it reproduces. Environmental problems became problems of management and technology, not modernity's contradictions of power, profit, and life. In the seventies, this was narrated as the challenge of Spaceship Earth. Today, it is the Anthropocene. Old wine. New bottles.

A radical alternative recognizes that the web of life brooks no neat and tidy From Earthrise and Blue Marble to the Anthropocene, the hegemonic Environweb of life. ways of seeing, knowing, and enacting the human place in the these realities in radical fashion requires a revolution in our within capitalism's situated geohistories. To know and act upon not at the same time-beyond us, within us, in between us, all inside and outside visualizations. The climate crisis is-and is separations, not between Society and Nature; not between and empire; and planetary management, now called stewardship. sustainable development abstracted from the relations of class and resource fetishism; claims that "saving nature" is above the prime mover; a shallow historicism that privileges machine mental Imaginary has been remarkably consistent. Its mutually politics; consumer sovereignty; populationism; anti-communism; reinforcing themes include: humanity rather than capitalism as

What hope, and what place, for a radical visual culture? This is fundamental to that revolutionary reimagining of planetary justice. Radical imaging and the radical imagination are intimately bound. The challenge to modernity's ocularcentrism is not blindness but

the dialectical challenge to its god trick, linked to the Civilizing Project, the endless accumulation of capital, and Promethean fantasies of dominating the web of life. These challenges can lay bare capitalism's real relations, its destructive productivism, its tendency to turn the *Blue Marble* into a sacrifice zone. <sup>26</sup> In so doing, we may illuminate the violent contradictions of capital's biospheric dictatorship, and navigate the turbulent waters of revolutionary transition: one led by the "associated producers" (and reproducers!) in the web of life.

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