AFTER ME/ONTOPOLITICS: POST-SOCIALIST NECROECOLOGIES IN A NON-PHILOSOPHICAL KEY

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/// Introduction

The first three decades of the twenty-first century in Serbia have been marked by the post-socialist condition: slow transition from self-governing socialism until the 1990s, then dictatorship until the end of the twentieth century, and then movement, in several waves, towards a free-market economy and supposedly liberal democracy. This socioeconomic transitional state is also reflected in relations to ecology and in the condition of the built and natural environments: Belgrade, for example, is occasionally ranked as one of the most polluted cities in the world thanks to a reliance on fossil fuels (Beta 2021) – cheap coal foremost – in the production of energy, and also due to oftentimes congested streets containing a large number of older vehicles, which emit more polluting fumes than those manufactured according to newer standards. There are occasional mass protests for better air quality (for example, Danas Online 2021). The reliance on coal-fired power plants for energy production is also a cause of significant air pollution across Europe (Jensen 2019). Moreover, since the opening of the economy after the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 2000, there has been a steady influx of transnational capital, which has been invested in, among other things, extraction of what is usually termed "natural resources." The most infamous example is Rio Tinto's plan for lithium extraction in the

Jadar river basin, which has been halted for now by mass protests across Serbia.

This article will consider the non-philosophical treatment of the material-semiotic practices – or knowledge, in non-philosophical terminology – that have arisen around the Jadar lithium project during the past several years. On the one side, there is a complex *relationality* between transnational capital, the post-socialist condition, and the environment, which produces what I call *post-socialist necroecologies*, through the devastation of local habitats. On the other hand, there are a number of discourses and practices aiming to abolish such harmful relationalities and the *meontopolitics of non-becoming* or *non-being* through which these destructive relationalities are produced. The mass protests against lithium mining in the Jadar basin, with protesters demanding a ban on any kind of lithium exploration and extraction in both the Jadar basin and the whole of Serbia, are one of these material-semiotic practices. The protestors are thus projecting *non-relational ontopolitics*, a breaking off of exploitative relations with transnational companies and the state bodies that would facilitate the preservation of the local environment's relationality as it has always been. Similar protests have been occurring in relation to small hydro-power plants in the mountains of East Serbia, as well as in regard to mining and smelting by the Chinese company Serbia Zijin Copper in Bor, and to air pollution caused by coal-fired power plants and traffic in Belgrade and elsewhere. The non-relational ontopolitics of mass protests across Serbia are directed against the meontopolitics that produce post-socialist necroecologies.

Thus, there is a difference between meontopolitics and ontopolitics, relationality and non-relationality, non-becoming and becoming, as the grounding concepts of these material-semiotic practices, which constitute what I call (necro)eco-*logy*, a non-philosophically uncovered syntax of post-socialist necroecologies produced in Serbia as effects of complex historical, social, and economic relations between various human and non-human agents. Non-philosophy uncovers the grounding concepts – the syntax – through a particular reduction that undermines "any given philosophical or macroscopic entity": a reduction to "a phenomenal immanence" that is also called "in-person" or "in-One" (Laruelle 2015a: xiv–xv). By insisting on the radically immanent One and its unidirectionality, non-philosophy undermines the pretension of Western metaphysics reflected in the terms becoming and non-becoming, that is, being and non-being, which ground the horizon of (necro)eco-*logical* thought. It radically critiques all material-semiotic practices or knowledge grounded in metaphysical concepts of Be-

ing (being, becoming, non-being), Other, and Unity by subjecting them to dualysis and unilateralisation in order for minorities (Laruelle 2018) and victims (Laruelle 2015b) in the World to stop suffering the violence of the World – with the World being the totality of kinds of regional knowledge, including (necro)eco-*logy*. By performing a dualysis and unilateralisation of environmental material-semiotic practices related to the Jadar lithium extraction, I will show how these practices are bound by Western metaphysics as violent (necro)eco-*logy* and then point towards what remains after these metaphysical presuppositions of (necro)eco-*logy* are made inoperative. It turns out that beyond/within/before/after/under/above relationality and non-relationality, becoming/being and non-becoming/non-being and their me/ontopolitics, there is the unidirectional One as heno-humaneity that undermines and reassembles conditions of possibility of thinking about the environmental devastation in twenty-first-century Serbia and elsewhere.

/// Post-Socialist Necroecologies

As noted at the beginning of the article, the term "post-socialist condition" usually refers to the period after the violent dissolution, beginning in 1991, of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but it is even more widely used for the period after the end of Slobodan Milošević's dictatorship in 2000 (see Petrović & Backović 2019). The years after Milošević's fall saw accelerated economic and social reforms towards a free-market economy and liberal democracy. These reforms were grounded in the process of privatisation of what used to be owned by the state, that is, everything in socialist Yugoslavia. With privatisation of the once common good, the gates were opened for the influx of transnational capital as well as for the precarisation of the workforce and the intensification of extraction of so-called natural resources. This set of relations and conditions was of key importance for the production of what I call post-socialist necroecologies.

The prefix necro- points towards Achille Mbembe's concept of necropolitics, which he defines as governing through death (Mbembe 2019). However, in Mbembe's work, those who are governed by death are exclusively human beings, while animals and other living beings are not considered in any substantial way, and the difference between the living and the non-living produced through geontopower is even less considered (Povinelli 2016). With the concept of necroecologies, I want to underline that it is not only humans who are governed through death, and that it is

not only they who live in necropolitically produced deathworlds (see also Cavanagh & Himmelfarb 2015; Thakur 2016; Critical Art Ensemble 2018; Truscello 2020). Entire environments and ecologies are produced as death-worlds, and those environments necessarily include other living and non-living beings, together with – or without – humans. The concept of necro-ecologies is in a sense a more encompassing concept than necropolitics, pointing towards the need to take into account in our analysis the ways in which animals, plants, and other (non-)living beings are governed through death and maiming (Puar 2017), and in the final instance through extinc-tion. With this in mind, I define post-socialist necroecologies as natural-cultural environments of biotic and abiotic assemblages which, due to the historically and complexly sedimented effects of self-governing socialism and the post-socialist transitional socioeconomic form, produce conditions that are inimical to some human and non-human actors and lead to their immediate or slow death and, finally, to extinction.

Another important aspect of the contemporary state of affairs is the plurality of necroecologies in post-socialist Serbia. Namely, different geo-graphical regions have different histories that produce different local con-ditions inimical to relationalities resulting in the necroecologies lived today. For example, the autonomous province of Vojvodina used to be a marsh-land but is today considered the granary of Serbia, due to efforts to drain it and turn it into arable land dating back to the time of the Austro-Hungari-an empire. Today, these lands are not only used for intensive agriculture but are also a source of fossil fuels. The fuels are extracted by Naftna Industrija Srbije, which was bought by the Russian oil and gas company Gazprom Neft in 2008. East Serbia, on the other hand, being a mountainous region, is rich in small rivers which are exploited for the production of electricity by small hydro-power plants – thus destroying surrounding habitats. East Serbia, and the town of Bor in particular, is also a place of intense mining and smelting undertaken by the Chinese company Serbia Zijin Copper. This area was one of the centres of activist effort (see Blagojević 2019) be-fore Jadar in West Serbia, the focus of this article, overtook media attention and political focus.

In December 2021 thousands of people across Serbia gathered for sev-eral successive weekends to protest against Rio Tinto's intended project of lithium extraction in the Jadar river basin. Large groups of environmental activists and ordinary citizens blocked roads and bridges, disrupting traf-fic for several hours and drawing attention to their demands, which in

effect is a single demand to ban lithium mining on a national scale. The government acceded to the demands, albeit apparently only temporarily (Reuters 2022), as the protests threatened to spill over into the upcoming election run. Rio Tinto, on the other hand, issued a statement to claim that it worked according to the state's laws and "the highest professional standards throughout its 10-year presence in Serbia in order to launch 'the largest mining investment in this part of the world'" (Associated Press 2021). The project is worth an estimated 2.4 billion dollars. The December events followed Rio Tinto's years of lithium exploration and expansion of assets in the Jadar basin, and environmental concerns from people living in the immediate vicinity as well as from environmentalists across Serbia. It is feared that if Rio Tinto is allowed to proceed with its plans, other areas of the country may become endangered as well.

In its ten-year presence in Serbia, Rio Tinto has given rise to many concerns about the environmental damage it may cause and its relationship with the Serbian government. As stated in the announcement of the conference "Jadar Project – What Is Known?," organised by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) in May 2021,

> The announced construction of the mine with accompanying tailings dump, use and treatment of water and chemicals in the process of lithium-carbonate and boric acid extraction – as well as the impact of the mine and technological process of extraction on the environment of that region has caused considerable doubts and great concern of the citizens, thus getting the scientific and expert public interested. Additionally, doubts were exacerbated by the pre-existing insufficient transparency of the entire process, beginning with the granting of an exploration permit, over the modifications in the community development plan and reclassification of the land use, to the very choice of the technological process. (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts 2021)

One of the most direct consequences of all of these highly problematic issues identified by SANU are the effects of 528 drill holes left by Rio Tinto after supposedly stopping its operations. As the environmental organisation Ecological Uprising notes, these drill holes, and everything that went into the process of creating them, poisoned underground waters and arable land (N1 Beograd 2022). While a number of residents sold their land to

Rio Tinto, many others who live from agriculture remained and are now in danger of being exposed to toxic pollutants through water and food. Non-human animals, plants, and other (non-)living beings are also exposed to these toxic substances, and are also endangered by direct removal, displacement, and destruction. The Jadar river basin is in the process of slowly becoming a deathworld for its multispecies inhabitants. It is being turned into a necroecology.

Necroecologies are produced through what I call meontopolitics. The concept of meontopolitics describes techniques, technologies, and strategies of introducing non-becoming/non-being into a particular field of relationality. I have coined the term by putting "ontopolitics," signifying mutually implicated becomings (Chandler 2018), together with the prefix "*me*" which means negation – "*me on*" signifying non-being in Greek. The concept of meontopolitics thus signifies conditions of *impossibility* for relationality, *dis-enabling* becomings, the ways in which devastation, slow death, and extinction are introduced in the processes of relational becomings. Meontopolitics pertains to the ways non-relations are produced or the ways in which already existing/becoming relations are broken off or diminished. In the case of the Jadar basin, meontopolitics encompasses various material-semiotic assemblages ranging from national laws and decisions of the Serbian government, to local, socialist environmental and social histories that have produced the current state of affairs, to the flux of transnational capital and all the specific extractivist technologies and techniques employed on site (as described in the SANU quote above). On the other hand, ontopolitics not only includes the pre-extractivist field of relationality but also environmental activists' and citizens' push against Rio Tinto's meontopolitical technologies, such as exploration drilling, buying up the land, etc. They insist on the preservation of the existing relationality, in contradistinction to the non-relationality that is introduced through the environmental devastation resulting from Rio Tinto's meontopolitical technologies. They also produce different kinds of relationalities not only in the Jadar river basin, but across Serbia, by bringing together various groups and individuals in protests and road blocks. The struggle against Rio Tinto produces novel becomings through its ontopolitics. However, both meontopolitics and ontopolitics, non-relationality and relationality, becoming and non-becoming, are conceptually part and parcel of (necro)-eco-*logy*.

/// (Necro)Eco-*logy* and Heno-Humaneity

In this part of the article, I perform a reduction of a corpus of knowledge dealing with Rio Tinto and lithium extraction in the Jadar river basin as described in the previous section. I identify the syntax within it, and show how the syntax unifies a regional form of knowledge which is a (necro)-eco-*logy*. By identifying the syntax, it can be "sterilised" (through unilateralisation and dualysis), and a multiplication of knowledge can be enabled that would be without a meta-language (philosophy) and, consequently, transcendence (a unifying principle/law). These types of (necro)eco-*logical* knowledge remain bound to syntax in the sense that they assume, firstly, ontico-ontological difference (metaphysics), and, secondly, a transcendental level that rises above the metaphysical. This transcendental level then becomes the transcendent principle (Being, Other) that grounds both the extractivist practices and their critique. Environmental activist responses to extractivism and Rio Tinto's extractivism itself are, in the final instance, grounded in concepts of Being (thinking), Other (existing) and Unity. Both are necessarily (necro)eco-*logical*.

I follow François Laruelle in his project of applying non-philosophy or non-standard philosophy, as he has been calling it more recently (see Laruelle 2010a), to various mixtures of knowledge and philosophy and, in the final instance, to the World. The World, according to Laruelle, is the sum of the various kinds of regional or fundamental knowledge that human beings produce. These include philosophy, art, religion, science, technology, and so on. The World, more precisely, is the form that philosophy gives to knowledge, as philosophy is supposedly the dominant type of knowledge and gives form, reason, and ground to other kinds of knowledge (see Laruelle 2013a: 202, 211–212). The aim of non-philosophy is to disable philosophy's pretension to dominance over other forms of knowledge, to sterilise it, as Laruelle writes (see, for example, Laruelle 2013a: 245), and free the multiple that has no common denominator.

Multiple material-semiotic practices constitute a form of knowledge about non-human animals, plants, the environment, and nature in general. I call these various practices and the knowledge about them eco-*logy*, as all knowledge about the environment is produced with a particular meta-language which guarantees its unity. This is what Laruelle calls a mixture, and he thus implies the whole of Western philosophy as well, because this mixture is always a mixture of (dominant) philosophy and regional knowledge. The form of knowledge that has an environment as its object assumes *logos*

(given through philosophy) and, when considered in the context of post-socialist necroecologies, is a (necro)eco-*logy* which requires becoming/being and non-becoming/non-being reflected in (non)relational me/onto-politics. As such, it is in need of non-philosophical treatment in order to free knowledge from the authoritarian World-form, and to "offer it simply a usage in terms of another autonomous thought" (Laruelle 2013a: 190).

In this article, then, I stage an encounter between (necro)eco-*logy* and non-philosophy in order to explore the problem of metaphysical presuppositions of environmental material-semiotic practices within the framework of radical immanence (also called the One, One-in-One, Man-in-Man, heno-humaneity, etc.). (Necro)eco-*logy* becomes material for non-philosophical unilateralisation and dualysis. These non-philosophical methods make visible what Laruelle calls Philosophical Decision (syntax), as well as the transcendence that is "the heart of Decision" (Laruelle 2013a: 245; see also Laruelle 2013b: 24–26). Non-philosophy makes another posture possible – the posture of radical immanence, of in-One – that disables the philosophical-theoretical violence of claiming to have access to the One/Real. While it may seem preposterous to insist on the One in environmental thought and practice after decades of various critiques of the very concept, the non-philosophical One as the radical immanence (of) itself entails the radical multiple. Non-philosophy ends "the civil war between philosophy and the human sciences [...] in a different conception of man," and such conception "makes of man a being-Unseparated (from) self, and this Separated-without-separation from the World" (Laruelle 2013c: 79). This non-philosophical "man," or rather Man-in-Man, is everything but what common sense and philosophy make of this term.

There are several axioms – or rather oraxioms (oracle + axiom), given their "position" outside the sphere of logos – that refer to the One; the most important state that the One is "radical immanence, identity-without-transcendence," that the One is "the Real insofar as it is foreclosed to all symbolisation (thought, knowledge, etc.)," and that the One is "that which determines or gives in-the-last-instance world-thought as given" (Laruelle 2013c: 166). The determining that the One "performs" is done in one direction only – from the One, hence the unilateralisation. Dualysis follows from the One as foreclosed to all thought. Non-philosophy insists on the dual (not duality nor dualism; see Laruelle 2013c: 56) between the One and the World in order to disable the possibility of unity that philosophy in its various ways seeks. Dualysis thus eschews "any synthesis and unitary analysis" (Laruelle 2013c: 56) in unidirectionally thinking according to the One.

Axiomatics is the only way to rigorously think about radical immanence (of) itself, the One or the One-in-One as foreclosed. The only way to think in a radical immanent mode is through "generalising the philosophical and scientific styles, as its 'logical' form, the essential means provided by science and philosophy (axioms and hypotheses, induction and deduction), and *the force-(of)-thought rather than logic* as transcendental organon" (Laruelle 2013a: 57). What guarantees the non-dominance of philosophy is precisely science, as it disables the philosophical pretension to reification. The essence of science as seen in axioms, theorems, induction, and deduction enables unified theory (philosophy + science that is non-philosophy), which "must be explicative of epistemological Difference and must proceed by axiomatized hypotheses and by operations of induction and deduction of knowledges over this Difference" (Laruelle 2013a: 70; see also Laruelle 2013a: 73–77). The essence of science as seen in its operation and categories is without the mixture of epistemo-logical Difference. In that sense, the use of axioms in non-philosophy does not mean deducing metaphysical truth and knowledge, which would mean that philosophy is still dominant and that we are still bound by the Difference. Non-philosophical transcendental axiomatics is "radically immanent and *consequently* heteronomous to philosophy and science" (Laruelle 2013a: 76).

As Laruelle writes, "man is precisely the Real foreclosed to philosophy" and as such philosophy "can only imagine what this lone 'being' or 'non-being' is who can be put into axioms and that – so great is its autonomy – only tolerates axioms" (Laruelle 2013c: 79). More to the point, "where there is the human, thought must be made axiom and renounce its sufficiency" (Laruelle 2013c: 79). As the immanence (of) itself, it cannot be induced or deduced from anything other than itself. The One-Real can only be posited as the One-Real, it cannot be mediated by anything other than itself. More precisely, it is not mediated by anything at all – it is a simple given, or, "the real as given-without-givenness excludes any 'phenomenological distance' and its modes (nothingness, distinction, division, transcendence, alterity, etc.)" (Laruelle 2013c: 53; see also "Given-without-givenness"). Everything is in-One, there is no outside, beyond, or whatever other spatial or temporal metaphor (see also "Non-intuitive (non-spatial and non-temporal)" in Laruelle 2013c). The task of thinking from the foreclosed One-Real as the immanence (of) itself supposes, then, axiomatics with theorems that follow from the axioms. It is a unilateral movement. Transcendental axiomatics, as the instrument of force-(of)-thought, is different from the formal axiomatics found in science and ontological axiomatics found in philosophy.

Compared to these two, transcendental axiomatics forms "first names" and "non-conceptual symbols" "on the basis of the intuitive and naive concepts of philosophy" through suspension of their philosophical meaning (Laruelle 2013c: 150). Transcendental axiomatics cannot do without philosophy as "thought is condemned to resort to philosophy" (Laruelle 2013c: 150), that is, non-philosophy uses philosophy and its concepts to create its symbols and first terms. Such a first name is "the One."

The One unilateralises, while the clone dualyses, the a priori from the empirical, which in non-philosophical terminology is the mixture of philosophy and regional knowledge. The "clone" is what Laruelle calls the transcendental subject (the term "subject" is weighed down by metaphysical implications and thus eschewed). The One, foreclosed as the radical immanence (of) itself, only unilaterally uni-lates (there is no re-lation in-One). Given that the ontico-ontological difference is unilaterally uni-lated in-One, none of the ontological terms apply to the One. Metaphysical terms are, thus, determined-in-the-last-instance by the One. As the environmental discourse or (necro)eco-*logy* refers to the ontic of the metaphysical, it follows that it is unilaterally determined-in-the-last-instance by the One. It is also unilaterally dualised by the clone as the empirical material. There are several steps here in recognising the work of syntax in the (necro)eco-*logy* of post-socialist necroecologies. Firstly, the (necro)eco-*logy* itself creates the ontological difference between beings and Being/becoming in viewing individual beings (animals, plants, humans) as part of a greater whole (nature, ecosystem, environment), and thus always already cementing a horizon of possible thought and the production of knowledge. The next step is the transcendentalisation of the hierarchically higher term (Being/becoming). Being, in understanding post-socialist necroecologies, becomes the key term, although in my reading it is rather becoming, as well as its opposite, that is of utmost importance. As noted, with the introduction of necroecologies in the Jadar river basin, the existing relations are being destroyed and will be further destroyed if the project actually takes place. In ontological terms, the understanding of the given state of affairs, then, is moving between the opposites of becoming and non-becoming, the ontopolitics and meontopolitics guiding lithium extraction and resistance to it. In the last instance, these terms are unified in an image of the given state of affairs and produce a single understanding of what is given: a (necro)-eco-*logy*. Any thought beyond ontopolitics (becoming) and meontopolitics (non-becoming) is made impossible as these terms circumscribe what is real within (necro)eco-*logy*.

However, once this syntax is identified, another kind of thinking is made possible by the One. Freed from the syntax, an environment without logos/unity becomes Uni-verse – a form of knowledge about the environment that is produced by unilaterialisation of the One and dualysis of the clone. Environmental debate in a non-philosophical key in regard to lithium extraction enables new forms of knowledge about the environment to be used. The correlate of all forms of knowledge is the Uni-verse, whose subjects are the clones. The unilaterality of clones is unimaginable and unintelligible as they are voided of all models, since the models belong to the syntax. However, it is not enough just to say that the clones are "unintelligible." This is the case only from the viewpoint of the World. Clones are indexed to the Uni-verse, to the One, which is radically foreclosed and as such unyielding to any kind of ascription and description. This makes clones undecidable in the quantum physical sense of the word. They are as undecidable as the One, as a wave function before measurement. Laruelle performs this step of connecting quantum physics and non-philosophy so as to foreclose the possibility of saying (that is, collapsing into the World) anything about the One and related "names" (see Laruelle 2010a). This step also means that there is no such thing as "human nature" as this is a collapsed wave function giving us decided values. Hence, by quantum redefinition, by unidirectionally "flowing" from the One, a possibility of deciding anything about "nature" is radically foreclosed. (Necro)eco-*logy* then must be uni-lated to Uni-verse, and humanity to heno-humaneity (Laruelle 2012). Heno-humaneity free of thought, existence, and unity is the *conditio sine qua non* of non-philosophical ecology-without-logos unilaterally determined by the Uni-verse.

/// Conclusion: After Me/Ontopolitics

Given the radical incompatibility, the dual of the One and the World – the irreversible unidirectionality that does not affect the mixtures but only sterilises them through clones – of what use is the non-philosophical treatment of environmental issues in post-socialist Serbia? I have written about ontological difference, which, together with the unifying principle, creates the syntax underlying all mixtures of the World and in this case constitutes (necro)eco-*logy*. I have called freeing the multiple without any common denominator, without (necro)eco-*logy*, "ecology-without-logos," and it issues forth, or rather, uni-lates unilaterally, from heno-humaneity and the Universe or, in short, the One after sterilisation through the clones. Where does

that leave post-socialist necroecologies in the making and those already made? It leaves them exactly where they were at first, but it casts "us" as Man-in-Man, or Man-in-person, without humanism and without (necro)-eco-*logy*, who unilaterally unilates (necro)eco-*logies*. This means that what changes at first, given the unilaterality, is only the nature of the form of knowledge. It becomes apparent that there is a single form – (necro)eco-*logy* – governing the multiplicities of knowledge regarding the environment, and that it must be made inoperative if "we" are to move away, as clones, from the violence constitutive of the very horizons of thinking.

Non-philosophy seemingly does not deal with historical particularities in a direct way, given that its "empirical" material is only a form of knowledge. Material-semiotic practices constitutive of – or knowledges about – post-socialist necroecologies are seemingly treated without reaching for historical or contextualising understanding, but only through the form of knowledge that is given in them for the clones. This, furthermore, means that non-philosophy does not produce effects in the World, as non-philosophy is "located" outside of the World and only unilaterally connected to it. But non-philosophy does, again, point to the "fact" that the single form of knowledge has a "beyond" and hence there is a "beyond" to the horizons of Western metaphysics. Non-philosophy does say that "we," as the clones, Man-in-Man or heno-humaneity, possess the horizon of the Uni-verse, and thus points to the change that must be performed in moving from (necro)eco-*logy* to the Uni-verse. The change is reflected in moving away simultaneously from both relationality and non-relationality to unilaterality. The unilaterality of Man-in-Man, radically undecidable as the One, is, exactly because of radical undecidability, radical freedom from the World. Thus, there is a way for the given state affairs to become otherwise, since heno-humaneity is unbound by whatever can be said, known, or felt. Moreover, by undermining the syntax and the World, "we" discover that "we" – in the sense of the shared radical immanence not belonging to a single being – are minorities and victims by suffering the violence of the World (philosophy, capitalism, the post-socialist condition, (necro)eco-*logy*, etc.), while non-philosophy's aim is to produce a non-violent knowledge.

This insight leads to rather unexpected conclusions that may surprise those bound by ontological difference and syntax. Namely, Laruelle (2021: 151) writes that

> man will be treated as participating necessarily in the animal but not being exhausted there […] and we will treat the animal as ne-

> cessarily having a human aspect, but not reducible to its simple
> naked representation of this aspect […] The generic must be un-
> derstood as the same split instance, therefore in a relation of idem-
> potence with itself […] Man is Idempotence-in-person, we can say
> nothing more or less, idempotence denying itself in order to dif-
> fuse itself in all living things

– "idempotence" being one of the "names" of the One. Instead of insisting on the absence of ontological difference between the human, the animal, and the plant, as most contemporary posthuman environmental theory does, Laruelle insists on their *dual*. What he terms the "degrowth of philosophy or of the metaphysical nature of the animal-world is the condition for reaching the animal, for reaching its generic clone," but that means that there is also a specific kind of priority of the Man-in-person which "is dedicated to defense and not to domination" (Laruelle 2021: 150). It is a priority that goes directly against (necro)eco-*logy* and its "*principle of Anthropic Sufficiency*, which is the implied content of its physico-natural formulation as an *anthropic principle that amounts to immediately or in-itself positing the anthropos*" (Laruelle 2021: 150, italics in original).

The defence also carries a different meaning here. It is "a positive act, the reduction of transcendence, not its negation, but the repetition that lowers it from its under-mining root […] Within this ethical order, everything must be asked of man and nothing of the animal, except for the animal who is within man and under his guidance," and it also carries an ethics of "safeguarding the humans, the least suffering for the animal, the moderated use for the plant" (Laruelle 2021: 148). The unilaterality of the One reconstitutes knowledge – instead of knowing and relating to the non-human and the environment through either relationality or non-relationality, meontopolitics or ontopolitics, the One shifts the order of relating – it uni-lates and by the very performance of uni-lation reorders the order of relating from the radically undecidable to knowledge of particular regions of reality. The radically immanent undecidability of minorities and victims of the World is defended through unilaterality, not through relationality or non-relationality. Material-semiotic practices constituting post-socialist necroecologies – Rio Tinto's actions and environmentalist responses to them – are thus left without (necro)eco-*logy* as their syntax, that is, they are made to uni-late thought clones with the radically immanent undecidability of their victims and minorities. In a word, "we" are minorities and victims who are prior-without-precedence to (necro)eco-*logy*, and it is to

"us" that all uni-lates, including the World with its violence. Perhaps the peace "after" me/ontopolitics, "after" post-socialist necroecologies produced by (necro)eco-*logy*, will be possible once the unilaterality of radical immanence is recognised.

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/// **Abstract**

The complex relationality between inheritance of the socialist past, the socioeconomic transitional present characterised by extractivist capitalism, and a future marked by species extinction, produces post-socialist necroecologies. On one hand, relationally devastating resource extraction produces necroecological non-becoming through its meontopolitics; on the other hand, there are mass movements calling for the cessation of that extraction and for an ontopolitics of becoming other than those causing environmental destruction. This article concerns the non-philosophical reduction of the metaphysical presuppositions of these environmental material-semiotic practices in contemporary Serbia, showing that they are grounded in ontological pairs of non-becoming and becoming. To think about the post-socialist necroecological material-semiotic condition in a non-philosophical key means thinking about it neither relationally nor non-relationally, neither through non-becoming or becoming, but unilaterally, through heno-humaneity and beyond Western metaphysics.

Keywords:
post-socialism, environment, necroecology, meontopolitics, non-philosophy

/// **Abstrakt**

Po me/ontopolityce: postsocjalistyczne nekroekologie w perspektywie nie-filozoficznej
Dziedzictwo socjalistycznej przeszłości, przejściowa socjoekonomiczna teraźniejszość charakteryzująca się ekstraktywistycznym kapitalizmem oraz przyszłość, w której zarysowuje się wyginięcie gatunku ludzkiego – złożone relacje między tymi wymiarami budują postsocjalistyczne nekroeko-

logie. Z jednej strony relacyjnie dewastujące wydobywanie zasobów tworzy nekroekologiczne „nie-stawanie się" poprzez swoją meontopolitykę.
Z drugiej zaś istnieją ruchy masowe nawołujące do zaprzestania wydobycia
surowców i apelujące o ontopolitykę „stawania się" zamiast takiej, która
przyczynia się do katastrofy środowiskowej.

Niniejszy artykuł porusza kwestię nie-filozoficznej redukcji metafizycznych przedzałożeń stojących u podstaw środowiskowych praktyk materialno-semiotycznych we współczesnej Serbii, pokazując, że są one zakorzenione w ontologicznych parach „nie-stawania się" i „stawania się".
Myśleć o postsocjalistycznych, nekroekologicznych uwarunkowaniach
materialno-semiotycznych w nie-filozoficznej perspektywie to myśleć nie
tyle relacyjnie bądź nie-relacyjnie ani w kategoriach „nie-stawania się" czy
„stawania się", ile jednostronnie – wykorzystując radykalną immanencję
wykraczającą poza metafizykę zachodnią.

Słowa kluczowe:
postsocjalizm, środowisko, nekroekologia, meontopolityka, nie-filozofia

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