

# **Politics is Intervention**

**Christian Klar**

**Abstract:** The old world does not want to step down and a new world is increasingly insisting on its right. It can be said that the latter already had chances to enter history and unfold its social promises in 1917/18, after 1945 and in the 70s and 80s of the last Century. Each time, however, a restoration set in, that exposed the shortcomings of the new beginnings. Each time, however, the restoration was combined with an increasing destructiveness for the social existence of human beings on the planet. This essay is an attempt to discuss this interregnum.

**Keywords:** geopolitics, Tronti, Bolivarian revolution, intervention, politics.

For the first time in history the successful test of the atomic bomb in the Soviet Union in August 1949 initiated a balance between the great powers, under whose umbrella many nations were subsequently able to free themselves from the colonial yoke. In the Western industrialized countries, political mobilizations shook off their fear of war and engaged with socialist perspectives.

At the beginning the historical break of 1989/90 seemed to lead to a return of the Western empire's monopoly on power. The geopolitical space referred to as "the West" are essentially the old colonial powers.

The backlash to decades of socialist camps, however, registered a few peculiarities from the beginning that one should be aware of in order not to waste thinking unnecessary detours. The widespread depression was due to the fact, that revolutionary theories in the West had long since developed in an epigone-like manner.

Authentic movements kept a clear view. A remark from the ranks of the FMLN in El Salvador found its way into the international media: What is the Berlin Wall against the walls in the world between rich and poor? This already indicated that the old center of the world would no longer be able to hold its predominance and interpretative sovereignty.

In the same year 1989 – at the end of February – Venezuela experienced the Caracazo, an uprising that prepared Chavezism, which essentially instigated two things: rethinking socialism while integrating consequences from 11 September 1973 in Chile. On this basis, the Caribbean country continues to challenge the Western empire as well as the old world extended from colonialism.

When Hugo Chávez in 2015 declared at the Summit of the Americas in Argentina that "the time has come for the second independence", he had in mind what he also expressed elsewhere. He spoke about Simón Bolívar and other fighters against the old colonial powers:

"The project was the creation of republics of equals and free people, republics in freedom and equality, the project was the abolition of slavery, the elimination of misery, poverty, exploitation."

However, this had not been achieved.

“Bolívar captured this painful reality in a profound and dramatic sentence, when he said: 'I ploughed in the sea ...'. What was the use of this independence, Bolívar said, they could not create the republics of equals and free people they wanted, could not eliminate inequalities and privileges”.

The reference is intended first to draw attention to the presence of immense asynchronies of political and ideological processes in the world. The demographic, economic, informational and geopolitical shifts are not even addressed.

The old world does not want to step down and a new world is increasingly insisting on its right. It can be said that the latter already had chances to enter history and unfold its social promises in 1917/18, after 1945 and in the 70s and 80s of the last Century. Each time, however, a restoration set in, that exposed the shortcomings of the new beginnings. Each time, however, the restoration was combined with an increasing destructiveness for the social existence of human beings on the planet.

With the reduction of Western self-assertion to war and sanctions since the Restoration from the 1980s onwards and with the verdict of the then British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher that "there is no society, only individuals", the latest phase of Western, neoliberally and militaristically structured destructiveness was set. The conflicts since then have been marked by this verdict, which incorporated its anti-human vision into the contemporary capitalist economy. Critical and analytical thinking has been lost across the board. When looking at Western political personnel, the terms errand boys and Atlantic Bridge breeding's come to mind.

A recent Oxfam factsheet reported on the economic faults over two years of Corona measures:

“While the fortunes of the ten richest billionaires doubled, over 160 million additional people live in poverty.” Speculation and virtual assets continue to multiply.

The wars of the US and its allies since the 1990s have essentially been waged for the purpose of turning developing societies into failed states. The weakening of Western hegemony can only be slowed down by the disappearance of alternative models and poles of development. At the same time entire civilizations were turned to rubbles.

In ideological terms, the era of wars and sanctions since 1990 has revealed that colonial thinking has remained completely unbroken in the Western empire. One must emphasize: completely unbroken! It remained and remains deeply embedded in the discourse of opinion-leading agencies and intellectual agents. All efforts to spread a liberal and enlightened canon of values internationally and internally and to

establish it as superior carry its opposite. It is precisely the discourse of values that most clearly and unbrokenly repeats colonial patterns, as a glance at the writings of Franz Fanon reveals:

“It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from, or still better never existed in, the colonial world. The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also negation of values.”

Similar to this the Western left has also rooted its affirmative attitude towards the dominating circumstances. The enlightened canon of values functions essentially through the needs of the individualized consumer. Identities are defined and detached from people's social existence. “Woman” continues to be subaltern economically and in other areas, but experiences a revaluation as an identity and can be used with great ideological added value for domination, meanwhile especially in the militarized areas of politics and foreign policy: For the preparation of a coming war, the first thing to be done is to appoint a woman as foreign minister, minister of defence, etc. This could be observed above all in the USA with the "identity" POC.

This in itself banal procedure of domination is not even newly invented. Only the apparatuses of distribution, media, think tanks and state departments have new dimensions. The contents mostly follow up ideological deficits and poorly theorized neuroses of the New Left of the 1960s.

The systematic contempt of the economy and its built-in domination, the exaggeration of the so-called conflict between generations, the anti-authoritarian neurosis and multiplying rebellious masks no longer allow for an analytical approach towards social reality.

The war that turns the dispossessed into dust particles under the roaring mega-machine and destroys their subjecthood even before it destroys their lives, is no longer considered the greatest catastrophe in this ideological regression. Exploitation is no longer considered a social relation, at best a somewhat more or less individually felt frustration. This leaves only a general affect against "authoritarianism", which the NATO catalogue on "authoritarianly constituted" nations easily hijacks for itself.

This development successfully robbed the Western left, which after World War II was increasingly less rooted in the proletarian classes, of critical thinking. The universities, which are traditionally reactionary in constitution and only produced a flowering of systemic and ideological critique in the 1960s and 1970s, serve as well-formatted ideological agencies. The affirmative view of a world that is out of joint and extremely endangered, which is so widespread, can leave one stunned.

A last inkling of the dangers to the continued existence of the human being as a social being manifests itself only in the definition and care of victims of the conditions. These remnants of activism of the Western left, however, could no longer reach the height of the times or even an anticipation of overcoming the old order. The self-assurance that one is morally on the right side, and the associated seizure of one's own good intentions, are a terrible swansong. In addition, this constitutionality has fostered divisions for sometimes grotesque reasons and a further distance from political thinking.

Since the 24th February, a war is now perceived in Europe as a global event. A war that is rather a single battle in the great ongoing war since 1990. If one skips over the extraordinary affects in the Western debate when dealing with it, one can quickly see that neither NATO nor Russia will determine the outcome. It will be "the rest of the world" that will do so. The subjective potential of this "rest" is vastly underestimated. Intellectual creativity and historical consciousness are basically not perceived or represented in the West. "The rest of the world" appears at best as a demographic factor and a threat.

The list of countries in the world that refuse to participate in the Western sanctions against Russia is as well telling of the memory of the formerly colonized countries as of the weariness in the world of the forked-tongue speeches. It seems obvious to seize the opportunity to break the thirty-year self-importance of the self-proclaimed "world community", which at the same time acted as judge and executioner of the weaker nations.

For very many countries in the world, the focus is currently on breaking Western dominance. A multipolar world order should offer more scope for development and independence. For the first time, there are communicative and scientific preconditions for viewing human history as a common one. Here lies a precondition with which the policy of divide and rule at the expense of the peoples can be rejected.

For the Western left difficult times lie ahead. Only now starts the reckoning for 500 years of colonial history. This reckoning holds many psychological and political impositions, whose punitive and reparative demands must be communicated to the populations of the Western empire. Communicating this downgrading - after centuries of self-evident dominance - and linking it to a socialist perspective could be one of the tasks of the left inside the Western empire.

The leaders of nations subordinated over historical periods will tend to dampen the reparations discourse in order to achieve international cooperation and short-term advantageous negotiations.

More radical expectations prevail among the populations. Here again, Venezuela is an illustrative example. A very successful cultural policy since the first Chavista governments has replaced the image of one's own history, determined from the outside via Miami, with the appropriation of one's own authentic history. With this, the historical repression and the

memory of the history of the uprisings have been brought back into the present.

The emerging nations will continue to use spheres of action within capitalist logics. Socialist socialization, which has been repeatedly put on the agenda, has just as regularly come under pressure from world market mechanisms (up to and including open sanctions). However, this contradiction is a clearly recognized one. That is why the fundamental critique must put the structure of the world market at the center. Otherwise, the pattern of enthusiasm for new socialist Meccas and subsequent disappointment will only be repeated.

The form of the nation state is more likely to undergo a revival, in the sense that the nation state will provide the ostensible framework for the organization of the propertyless classes. Social services and safeguards are constitutive of modern mass societies and a moment of socialization. The internationalist consciousness receives a boost in the recognition of the common situation. Humans are social beings and need their fellow human beings. If this isn't the source of politics, politics is only the management of privileges.

This must be included by a Western left that believes itself to be "further" in its theoretical discourse, where it even develops theory at all. What is theoretically correct, however, is not always politically correct:

"Tactics and strategy must be united in our minds, while at the level of things, in facts, we must take care to keep them divided and – as circumstances demand – in mutual contradiction. The error of all the leftist positions in the history of the workers' movement is that they did not take account of this. It is an unpardonable error. The intellectual illusion of a 'scientific politics' is the shortest path to practical defeat for the working class.

They should align with the opposite principle, for what is right theoretically may be mistaken politically. Theory is understanding and foresight, and thus knowledge – even if one-sided – of the process's objective tendency. Politics is the will to invert this process, and thus is a global rejection of objectivity; it is subjective action so that this objectivity is blocked and unable to triumph.

Theory is anticipation. Politics is intervention. And it must intervene not into what is expected, but into what precedes it; here lies the need for the twists and turns of tactics.

In this sense, theory and politics are always contradict one other. Their identity and noncontradiction is the same thing as opportunism, reformism, passive obedience to the objective tendency, which then ends up in an unconscious working-class mediation of the capitalist point of view."<sup>1</sup>

.....  
1 Mario Tronti, Marxist philosopher and politician from Italy.