

XX. The New Geopolitical Reality and its Ideological Requirements

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An essay on the new necessities of ideological production

Introduction

Geopolitical and political reality as well as its proper reading were, are and will always be a challenge for all social and spiritual leaders. Today's reality is characterised by the end of traditional hermeneutic systems, i.e. those stochastic examples from which the lot of social, political, economic and philosophical issues drew their "safe" and lucid answers. These traditional, holistic examples that were also used in the cases of individual national social formations as well as groups of national social formations were – roughly – the following two: the Socialist one and the Liberal one. The two conflicting worlds, the Eastern and Western ones respectively, rallied ideologically and geopolitically around these two axes. The government elites of the National Social Formations (NSF's) that used to comprise these two worlds concur with this Procrustean division. The same phenomenon also characterized for nearly fifty years the respective political cultures and dominant ideologies as well as the geopolitical approaches of the said National Social Formations.

A.1. The past nation-centred, bipolar geopolitical Paradigm and its political conscience

Naturally, this division is rather rudimentary and mainly grounded on the –ideologically based-¹ self-definition of the said National Social Formations (NSF's)² or of their groups and incorporations.

A careful analyst would discover on the one hand a multitude of “by definition” socialist-type features in social formations which defined themselves as liberal ones, while, on the other, several “by definition” liberalistic elements in those social formations that would place themselves in the “socialist” camp.

This Procrustean division, however, lacked a pragmatist foundation, save in the way of the society's administration and economic organisation. In liberal social formations there was no central planning for a medium-to-large percentage of the economic activity, while there was a solid pluralist –from an ideological-philosophical point of view– citizen participation in the administration of the said social formations. The exact opposite was to be observed –mutatis mutandis– in the case of social formations that defined themselves as “socialist” ones.

It should be stressed that, ideo-geographically, the ensemble of liberal NSF's, constituted that political-geographical entity which is known as “The West”, while the “socialist” ones formed the so-called “Eastern Block”, with the well-known power competitions between the TWO blocks.

The crude hermeneutic of this political-ideological holism collapsed – officially as well – in November 1989, along with its most powerful symbol: the Berlin Wall. Ever since, many (“convenient” for the international political-economic-social establishment) fixatory situations of a most serious socioeconomic bearing came to an end. The social, political and intellectual forces constantly and anxiously pursued a new method of government as well as a system of hermeneutic codes for the new reality. The then political forces together with their passé ideologi-

1. The term “ideologically based self-definition” signifies what the author hereof refers to as “fixatory self-definition”. Use of the term's analytical form is employed for the benefit of the less specialized reader.

2. For practical reasons, which for the most part agree with reality, one could replace the term National Formation with the terms “country/countries/states”. In cases of sub-national entities, the term NSF is maintained.

cal mandarins suddenly became conscious that they now found themselves at the rear of History, realized that the myth of the cold war ideological holism had expired, accompanied by their usual practices of the time; together with their –until then– political certainties; together with the – until then – bipolar system of “hot peace”, together with the –until then internationally valid – ideological, political and cultural illusions.

A.2. The new chaotic and supranational international political reality

Referring to geographical units and the instability factors that characterize them, would not really constitute an innovation –things in this field are (more or less) understandable. Our intent is to demonstrate the theoretical void that characterises the modern “showcase” of metropolitan elites, as pertains to the tools used in deciphering the causes for international stability. It is a void that leads metropolitan political elites to a perpetual wandering and an unstable oscillation between the already dead holistic hermeneutic systems of the past and timid eclectic explorations that are, however, lacking both clear orientation and a new model (or various new ones, for that matter).

The first thing that metropolitan elites are required to realize is the social, economic and cultural model, within the framework of which they are seeking to locate the structural elements of the New Paradigm – if, of course, that is what they actually seek. This is a point that needs to be underlined, given that even if these quests do bear fruit, their result will not be something necessarily transplantable in a different social, economic and cultural framework; this endeavor will have a fatal outcome for such a hybridist functional system.

Conversely, an unsuccessful transplantation of the metropolitan model in regional-type, socio-political and cultural environments that fall under the influence of metropolitan political-economic elites creates more instability and intensifies the international system’s chaotic tendency. It deepens the differences in potential as pertains to sectors of political, social and cultural development between the Metropolitan NSF’s and their Regional equivalents, thus creating new and stronger prerequisites for hot rifts.

On the contrary, Metropolises themselves have to deal with a pe-

culiar situation in their interior: in the framework of economic internationalisation and continuous international scale integrations, their national small – and medium-sized economic units discover that their productive, technological, and overall competitive scales do not suffice so as to cope with the respective colossal scales of the new, ever-integrating and self-internationalizing market.

The new international horizontal forms of economic unit concentration and centralisation create a new order of small and medium “neo-proletarians” of the productive and financial process, the emergence of which destabilizes fully the internal political-economic and cultural system of metropolitan formations. This “neo-proletariat” is characterised by the high educational standard of its neo-proletarians, hence it constitutes a new, socially –and therefore analytically as well– novel social entity, the behavior of which cannot be classified under any of the hitherto known Marxist decoding models.

In such cases, the reckless as well as agonizing response of the political-economic Metropolitan elite is to “export” their domestic problem and to violently extract resources and profits (international surplus value) from the vital space made up by the social formations of their immediate geopolitical sphere of influence. The objective of this reaction is to secure the necessary resources that will sustain the high economic and consumption level of metropolitan societies so as to preclude any instances of social rifts and subversions. Obviously, should the NSF’s of each metropolitan sphere of influence be deficient in the necessary resource and profit reserves in order to satisfy the internal social and economic problems of the interested metropolises, the metropolitan economic-political elites endeavor the enlargement of their own geopolitical spheres of influence by violently incorporating new NSF’s therein.

It is, however, obvious that the international system is in no condition to withstand at length these new methods of economic, political and cultural hegemonism. The issue of extracting international surplus value in the – more or less – “mild” manner that used to characterize even Western social democracy (not to mention the formerly cold war soviet “imperium”) has now evolved into a system of “hot” rifts and violent supranational integrations.

Nonetheless, in the present historical conjuncture, metropolitan societies also face intense subversive challenges and volatile situations. The internationalized market in the industrially developed world leaves no room for misinterpretation: the electronic velocity of the “Third Wave”

proletarianises equally fast the masses of workers in these societies and at the same time it radicalizes them socio-politically.

The aim of these marginalized masses of supranational origin has now become the metropolitan hegemon himself! Not to any further extent as a political and economic structure but as nation, as culture, as an ideological scapegoat, as the “hell” of all that is decadent and wretched, as an “antinational” totem of hatred. This demonizing attitude leads to such detestable occurrences as racism and the diachronically and dia-historically persistent nationalistic hate. The confrontation quality between Regional and Metropolitan NSF’s ceases to be rational. It is transformed into a metaphysical “demonomachy” which unquestionably leads to all sorts of international and binational atrocities, such as –for instance– religious or political terrorism!

The circle closes! The new-type supranational integrations must decide on the form and quality of their content; the form and quality of their integration process; the form and quality of the relations amongst themselves. This is precisely where the metropolitan political-economic elites will have to answer at a theoretical level.

A.3. Why survival of the cold war political semiotics would be off-beam, inopportune and dangerous

If we suppose that the Left-Right ideological dipole actually had a reason of existence, political usefulness and relevant content at the time of the two power pole conflicts (Eastern vs. Western), the abovementioned analysis creates serious doubts – at least as far as the new essence of the terms’ content is concerned; their new meaning; and consequently their semantic and useful survival within the framework of modern political and geopolitical demands.

Even if one were to accept that their use by each local political-economic and social elites or nomenclatures was undertaken under the purest of intentions, their use –let alone their abuse– today can only yield destructive and retrogressive results.

The new (under construction) supranational structures and incorporations require analogous worldviews that will be in a position to provide solutions to modern compelling issues; issues such as Ecology, Energy, Labour and International & Domestic Security.

The result of the 21st century historical distiller is a particularly pellucid philter: it is the end of fixations; the end of ideologies; the end of mass fantasies. The main point is whether, by whom, and when this elixir shall be sampled.

The new paradigm that derives as the fragrance of this historic distillate is called *Synthesis!* It is a synthesis of economic and political methods; a synthesis of social views; a synthesis of cultures. It is a synthesis that will come following careful qualitative and quantitative analysis of international political, economic, cultural and defensive data; that is to say, following careful geopolitical analysis.

It is a synthesis that can only aim at human prosperity and international justice: elements ensuring – them alone – International Security.

So, in this historical conjuncture, the infrastructure of this Synthesis is – again and always – economic. It is the free economy, moving carefully and wisely towards the said direction, notwithstanding of the observed presence of transitional situations (i.e. China).

However, developments in the information sector do not pertain only to the movement of money and investments – either true or fictitious. They also pertain to and affect cultural osmosis between various National Social Formations, as well as all sorts (Defensive, Economic, Political or Cultural) of incorporations thereof. This osmotic process, if channeled in a methodical and decisive way through these incorporations, not only will it be greatly accelerated but it will also allow the creation of new, common political base supranational incorporations (for instance the European Union).

These new incorporations will have accepted the rationale of a joint economic effort for the common benefit and they will have eradicated such cultural differences that were – by their nature – of the confrontational type. Of course, incorporations of different cultural basis will continue to overlap. This is precisely the feature that will become the bridge for the new osmotic processes between already unified geo-cultural complexes. These new, second level and of twin nature (economic and cultural) osmotic processes lead to the ultimate level: the creation of a planetary conscience that can only be governed – as per its formation process – by the principles of justice, acceptance, peace, security and order.

The prerequisites for an effortless development of this economic and cultural infrastructure's constituents as well as the necessary elements for its technically and socio-politically safe functioning may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Control of Corruption and Interweaving (political money);

- 2) Control and safeguarding of the free competition terms;
- 3) Free movement of ideas and mandatory Education for all citizens;
- 4) Human rights protection;
- 5) Protection of Political and Cultural freedoms in the framework of respect and peaceful coexistence among human societies;
- 6) Protection of Natural Resources, Natural Reserves and the Environment;
- 7) Control and eradication of both Organized and Common crime as well as of (religious and/or political) Terrorism.

All of the above should be attempted in an international, supranational environment, the components of which (i.e. the individual states) will have to cooperate harmoniously with one another. So, the first requirement for the success of the said plan is the creation of a supranational legal framework that, albeit departing from existing international law manifestations, will be regarded as a form of International Community “Internal Law”. This suggests that it will be provided with a commonly and internationally accepted repression system as well as relevant subsystems capable of enforcing the callings of the new Internal Law of International Level.

In this case, the aims of the International Community – if it indeed wishes to be rightfully called so – should be two:

- 1) The combination of the existing Justice-serving Systems (International Courts of Law) and the creation of a globally accepted International System of Judicial Power; and
- 2) The combination of the existing Collective Security Systems and the afresh creation of a New International Collective Security System.

International community efforts towards the achievement of the above aims shall be both protracted and at multiple levels.

However, the antiquated and retrogressive divisions between “Left” and “Right” – alluding to 1789 and the French Revolution – have no place whatsoever alongside these efforts. The stakes are now global and its components that need to be resolved are numerous and of paramount importance; in contrast, they are of a higher level, with much rougher features.

The contribution of “Leftist” thought in the evolution of mankind is in no way reduced in this context; nor is the contribution of “Liberal” thought in the economic, political and cultural arrangement and operation of the hitherto National Social Formations.

We stress, though, that “Leftist thought” is not necessarily the privilege of “Leftist” parties and movements, just as the quality of “Liberal intellect” does not automatically characterize “conservative” partisan carriers.

Some brilliant examples can be drawn from the Greek reality. The first post-dictatorship governments of the New Democracy party under K. Karamanlis, implemented such measures in 1974-1980 (publication of mass transport, nationalisation of banking institutions) that when their equivalents were employed by the French socialist government, they were regarded as and consolidation of President F. Mitterrand’s socialist inspiration, tendency and ideology. Of equal significance is the withdrawal of Greece from NATO’s military aspect when that same “Right” government was in power.

Respectively, in spite of their anti-American and anti-Right rhetoric, the thus far governments of the “socialist/ Leftist/ of Marxist origin/ nation-liberating” PASOK movement never touched the US bases in Greece in any way; quite the contrary, they provided NATO and US forces with all the facilities they required during their intervention in former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, the Gulf War against Iraq and – quite recently – during the (deprived of any sense of international law basis) American-British intervention in Iraq! In addition, the same “socialist” governments exhibited an extraordinary ability to function, fully accept and outstandingly “come to terms” with the European institutions, at a time when the latter – according to PASOK’s political chanting slogans – were one and the same with the “capitalist-imperialist” and “belligerent” NATO formation!

Let us not fool ourselves! The issue preoccupying international reality in this crucial turn of the 21st century is neither the validity (or not) of the Tenth Thesis on Feuerbach, nor – exclusively – the essence of Gramsci’s “functional intellectual” notion. The issue for mankind is not to be located in “casting out the evil” based on specific methods of “political theology” and “anti-right” or “anti-left” anathemas. The issue for mankind consists on the one hand of making full use of the historical distillate that is extracted from the hitherto ideological, political and philosophical struggles and confrontations that crystallize in the aforementioned seven points; and on the other hand – following a synthetical approach – the resolution of an enormous, burning and pressing international predicament: mankind’s own deliverance from decadence, decay and ultimate self-annulment. In other words, mankind should organize itself in a new, international manner.

A.4. The role of the EU, Greece and the “Special Relationship” countries³ in the creation of a new global political perception

Examples of supranational incorporation applications may be found in: the largest part of UNO human activity sectors; NATO’s defence sector; the sum of EU political, social, and cultural and – hopefully – defence activities; as well as at a level of international powerful and special relations with the USA and the UK.

The 21st century demands that metropolitan NSF politicians make use of this existing reality and plot respective internal policy courses, so as to render the “use” of such entities feasible and to the benefit of humanity. It must be made clear that, in essence, internal policy is not planned in the offices of heads of state – including the President of the US. The recent resolution adopted by the UN Security Council (21-22 May 2003) to lift sanctions against Iraq (and more precisely the “Oil for Food” programme” with 14 votes in favor and 0 against, proves that the economic infrastructure and its callings prevail even in cases of vigorous conflicts and crises in the framework of the same cultural complex – in our case, the western cultural space.

This being a phenomenon that occurs at a time when the two mighty European powers in terms of defence and economy (France and Germany respectively) are moving towards the creation of a common European Constitution as well as a common system of Collective Security within the framework of the EU.

These facts suffice to convince us that the mutual support – both cultural and economic – between the EU & the UK and the UK & the USA played the role of a bridging element, which lead to the convergence anew of the EU and USA supranational incorporations that are of a common cultural basis. On the other hand, the recently observed close relationship among France, Germany and Russia cushioned the of late slightly disturbed relations between the USA and Russia.

One can discover a multitude of analogous – and of equal importance – cases in the international scene. Nevertheless, what such international realities reveal is that it is necessary to immediately deal with the international (ergo internal) policy, which should be the object of a

3. The USA and the UK.

realistic approach, free of ideological fixations of the “Left-Right” type as well as of metaphysical-type nationalistic burdens.⁴

Greece is to play an important – as well as practical – role in this new political landscape of global dimensions. Its inherently ecumenical, linguistic, political and intellectual civilization may serve as a potential channel for the ecumenical spirit that is this necessary global Humanism. The Byzantine link between Christianity and Hellenism, as well as the respective one of the Western Roman state, may function as a perfectly potent positive catalyst in the creation process of this new global Humanism. It is a continuous request that the Greek political elites realize these “exquisite airs/ the secret troupe’s invisible instruments”⁵ that are drawing nigh... This realization in itself sets, defines and clarifies the ideological approaches that must characterize the said elites and that must give meaning to their political Praxis and Practice.

The classical Greek spirit, moisturized by Christian spirituality, functioning within the Roman legal construct and assisted by the Judaic pragmatist cosmopolitanism, can constitute a solid bridge between the Eastern and Western worlds. In this framework, atherosclerotic racist commandments and antiquated “Left-Right” schemes have no place whatsoever.

The new global civilization must rediscover its original causes, its rudimentary building blocks if humanity aspires to survive and do justice to the name of Man.

This new Greco-Roman-Judaic cultural keystone shall have to be installed by local political elites at the top of the national – and subsequently the international – socio-political shell, with Europe and the USA as its main building blocks. It shall have to synthesize and connect the elements that unite the individual cultures by negating those that divide them.

It is in this historical stage that the political national elites must rise to the occasion. Such a stance requires honesty and the utmost sincerity

4. For the record, it should be noted that the author hereof was meticulous in the use of “nationalistic” versus “national” throughout the text.

5. Excerpt from the poem “God forsakes Anthony” (1911) by C. Cavafy. It refers to the story by Plutarch about the time when Anthony was besieged in Alexandria by Octavian and heard the sounds of instruments and voices making their way through the city, and then fading out; the god Bacchus (Dionysus), Anthony’s protector, was deserting him...

on their behalf.⁶ These are old and historically justified principles that have been, nevertheless, forgotten and buried under the dust of History and the ruins of expired Empires. Yet, now, at the Dawn of a New Global Humanist Civilisation, they surface once again and knock on the door of our Memory and Conscience. Let us show them in swiftly, letting go of all fixatory burdens of the past.

6. “Trust”, according to F. Fukuyama and “Social Responsibility”, according to M. Rocard.