



## The great overthrow

military-Earth thinking notebook

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Autres thèmes

**In less than a generation we have experienced a revolution in our human condition. Globalization is not the least aspect of this revolution. It is economic, it is commercial, it is nomadic. Uprooting has become a value, a model, an ideal. The European Union wants to abolish borders, first within the Union and then throughout the world, and the deconstruction of nations has made great strides in this direction. We have nothing but the same' ahead of us. The contract puts an end to politics, the right to history. We are anaesthetized by the ideology of globalization, by the myth of the standardization of the world.**

**The urgency is simple, and it is strategic, to the highest degree; we must set out to rediscover the world.**

In less than a generation, we have experienced a revolution in our human condition that we cannot see, one that is sweeping away every aspect of our relationships with ourselves, with others and with the world. Globalization is not the least aspect of this revolution, a globalization that claims to create a global consciousness, to ensure the triumph of the universal, as well as the uniform formatting of the desiring consumer, a globalization that is completing its course, while it is still deln the Afar markets, camels are traded on mobile phones, and the former nomads of the sea, the Bugis, forcibly settled by the Indonesian government, ask you for your e-mail address on the wobbly floor of their straw hut on stilts! These observations of evidence feed large volumes on the abolition of borders and the unity of the human race, and learned considerations on the great strategic transformation of the world. These observations of evidence feed large volumes on the abolition of borders and the unity of the human race, and scholarly considerations on the great strategic transformation under way, since military questions are no longer just peacekeeping questions, since peacekeeping questions have become dissociated from questions of nations and borders. What, after all, is NATO after all, if not the imperial desire to remove the armed forces from the order of nations and to acknowledge the death certificate of the Westphalian system?

A keen ear, however, can see that not everything is happening this way, and that the words Made on earth by humans', citizens of the world, global democracy, are getting old and fading even as globalisation triumphs; A disturbing mind will easily draw the conclusion that globalization is not going as planned; it will even go so far as to say that we know nothing about the demons that the globalization of technology and of the global economy is causing. If he is bold, he will go so far as to consider that after globalisation, politics continues, and even that, under the screen of the European Union, the world is still in a state of flux. If he is bold, he will go so far as to consider that, after globalisation, politics continues, and even that, under the screen of the economy, there is still a theatre of war - to the point of calling into question some of the acquired truths of world society, which prove to be as false as they are dangerous.

### **"Emerging Markets"**

Globalization is economic. It is the only way we can see the world, human relations and human activity, and all we know how to see is the economy. What counts is all that matters to us. The advent of the market man has already been achieved for those millions of men and women who have given up the idea of a market economy, any notion of transcendence, and for whom life is all about making the most of it, in all the ways proposed by the obsessive appeal of the advertising industry. It is fashionable to consider that this flattening of the world is taking place everywhere else, in China as in Dubai, and in India as in Russia. This standardization in progress also inspires many geo-economic and even geopolitical considerations, since the birth of the global consumer would be of the utmost importance, reducing international relations to mere questions of good commercial practices at the price of an obvious reductionism, at the price, above all, of a glaring contradiction. As Hubert Védrine readily reminds us, under the little music of the emerging markets, we must hear the muted roar of the emerging powers. As anyone who has the naivety to evoke, in front of Chinese dissidents, Taiwan or Tibet, and in front of liberal Hindus, Pakistan and the Hindu collections of the British Museum, not only is the national conscience not dead, but economic and technical successes reinforce it. Europe, more than the United States, is making itself blind to what it does not want to see; we are entering a world of power, and the economy is only one of many means to achieve it. We are entering a world of power, the economy is only one of many means of acquiring power, and the misnamed emerging markets are not willing to spare any of the attributes of power. Who has reminded us that the nuclear map overlaps so well with that of emerging markets?

### **"The Sweet Trade."**

Globalization is a commodity. It is even the face that is most willingly exposed, with the promise of peace and civilization. The unhindered, unimpeded and uncontrolled movement of goods and services, capital and people would be the way to peace and the guaranteed improvement of relations between people. Pêle-mêle, Montesquieu, Bentham and Kant are called as great witnesses of this happy transformation of the human condition. Unfortunately, there is nothing to verify this thesis, quite the contrary. The recent work of an Indonesian doctoral student, Mahmud Syaltout, focuses on the conflicts that have occurred in Southeast Asia over the past half-century. He forcefully deconstructs the false idea of the "pax mercataria" in the name of which the WTO wants to impose its anti-national ideology and ensure the disarmament of nations in the name of generalized utopian abundance. Analysis of the Vietnamese conflict, of Burma's internal struggles, of the war of liberation in Timor, among and with so many others, eloquently proves that during war, trade continues, and even that in certain circumstances war

stimulates trade. It also shows that the scale and vitality of trade does not prevent anything, especially not war. As some economists have predicted, the diversity of sources of supply, the increase in trade, can lower the threshold of conflict, as belligerents can rely on suppliers and customers, regardless of their geographical location and the nature of their conflict. As others can see, economic globalization, with its model of limitless growth, may well prove to be a source of conflict that is all the more fertile because it is more universal. The war of all against all that Hobbes considered is not the perspective of grumpy old-fashioned; it is in the newspapers, for those who can read and decipher the consequences of the war of all against all, to which the privatization of public space and institutions is gradually reducing those individuals who forget their people, their identity and their loyalty.

### "The demon of origins"

Globalization is nomadic. Uprooting has become a value, a model, an ideal. What a misfortune to be born somewhere, and what a shame not to be a half-breed! Globalization is the promise of absolute mobility, and of the happy uprooting of those who have abandoned any propensity to define themselves other than by the changing identities of their current preferences, by their identification with a fashion, a fantasy, or a project. The thurifers of generalized nomadism forget that the law of blood is the only law that counts among nomads who cannot know any law of the land, and that meticulous genealogies are still recited in the evening, under the tent, in the Danakil desert, Niger or Chad. It is more important to realize that the ideology of mobility has as a concrete consequence an ideology of colonization whose ravages are spreading all over the planet. Under the apparent benevolence of the right to development, under the surreptitious evidence of human rights - to housing, to electricity, to the environment, to health, to education, to health care, to education, to health care, to education for all, to education for all, to education for all, to education for all. to housing, electricity, water, health care, etc. - a neo-colonial regime is being set up that reduces the planet to its usefulness, summons each hectare of forest or desert to be used for a single purpose. at its price, each animal, tree, grass or plant, to its contribution to the GDP, to the satisfaction of human needs, and even more, which legitimizes the dispossession of any community or of any individual from the resources it does not use, or uses badly, for the benefit of those who will be able to value them - to extract all the value they contain, i.e. to liquidate them effectively. The demon of origins is indeed what must be combated, since it is what allows some to call themselves indigenous, to live off this land, this sea, this forest, to make a living from this land, this sea, this forest, to make a living from this land. The demon of origins is indeed what must be fought, since it is what authorizes some to call themselves indigenous, to live off this land, this sea, this forest, and to assert their sovereign right to do with this land, this sea and this forest what they decide - that is, often, nothing. The criminal orders of an American consultant had decided the President of Madagascar, Marc Ravalomanana, to rent a surface area the size of Belgium from the South Korean company Daewoo; it would be able to exploit what the Malagasy did not know how to develop! The operation contributed to the anger of the Malagasy expropriation of their land, and to the coup d'état in the spring of 2009. What will happen to the similar operations that Saudi Arabia and Qatar are carrying out in the Sudan, that China is developing in Angola and the Congo, all of which are leading to the withdrawal of indigenous ownership and use of their lands, in the name of their usefulness and potential yield? Whether these operations make cheap use of the sovereignty of States or the right of peoples to self-determination remains to be seen. It is also true that these operations, when they pit private multinational corporations or investment funds, subscribing to the best law firms, against customary powers, customary owners, or the right of peoples to self-determination, are a violation of the sovereignty of States and the right of peoples to



self-determination, or corruptible officials, reproduce the models so often practised by American colonists taking over Indian lands, or by Cecil Rhodes robbing the tribes of present-day Zimbabwe. What is most important is the reduction of political condition to economic capacity, and the appetite of states and satellite elites for a system that allows them to change the people. And what is essential is to study a colonialism without settlers, but with investment tables, which promises all those who do not meet the required standards of return on capital to become exiles. The essential thing is to study colonialism without settlers but with investment tables that promise all those who do not meet the required standards of return on capital to become exiled to their own land, Indians living on reserves who will be replaced by willing slaves, or to anticipate a formidable political renaissance movement, similar to the colonial wars of liberation of the 1960s and 1980s. We are not finished with the land that is under our feet, and the organization of dispossession, according to the model of the Indian genocide made in the USA, will find before it something else than the unarmed tribes of King Philip [1].

### **"The borders that separate"**

The European Union wants to abolish frontiers, first within it, then in the world, and the deconstruction of Nations has made great strides there, under the self-serving action of the Commission and all those whose hatred of the people is the common ground. Is that the reason for the shared blindness? A recent judgment in Great Britain punishing a French bank for having perhaps recruited a Frenchman in preference to a Britishman for a monitoring mission is a reminder that, on the other side of the Channel, no discrimination, particularly on grounds of nationality, is legal. This judgment, against which the French bank is appealing, is the final expression of the exit from the real world and the weightlessness to which some Europeans are surrendering. In reverse. For the world is a world of nations. Those who think that it doesn't matter to the United States to be an American citizen, to Morocco to be a subject of the king, to Russia to be Russian, are hiding the world. Those who, abandoned to the vertigo of the European Union, consider that borders are being lowered and that the unity of the human race has been achieved, are blind and deaf to the world as it is. Who remembers those young Europeans who used to set off from Paris or London to Kabul in the 1960s and again in the 1970s in a Beetle or a two-horse car? Who does not witness, under the cover of the opening of the Schengen public area, the multiplication of controls, tolls, identifiers and access codes within private areas that are increasingly effectively and efficiently private? The geopolitics of the world is first and foremost marked by the permanence of national aspirations, the quest for national sovereignty or access to power. Where national borders are becoming porous, it is marked by the multiplication of internal borders that separate societies from the rest of the world. Where national borders become porous, it is marked by the multiplication of internal borders that separate societies from within and reduce peoples to collections of separate, isolated individuals, reduced to what they do and what they have. And it is equally marked by the rise of conflicts between religious beliefs, ethnic affiliations and universal projects; during the universal declarations, separation continues. The geo-economy of the world is marked by the impressive interpenetration of national and international interests. The geo-economy of the world is marked by the impressive interpenetration of national and private interests, not against, but within, WTO rules, compliance with international rules, and the interplay of open markets. Sovereign wealth funds are just one example of the astonishing congruence underway between states and capitalism. So it is time to rediscover the borders that protect and safeguard. So it is time for the separations that ensure, between populations with incompatible aspirations, choices and interests, the pacification of the gap and distance. It is therefore a matter of urgency to get out of the confusion in which the rejection of the Other and the dizzying prospect of reducing the world to a Europe like ours traps us. If there are

Europeans, it is because there are some who are not Europeans, Luttwak is said to have said; to recognize this only implies that the recognizing this only presupposes that Europe regains a sense of limits, a sense of uniqueness, which has also been that of its influence, and which has been that of lasting peace between opposing, lucid and organized interests.

## "The end of ideologies"

We have nothing but the Same before us. The contract puts an end to politics, the right to history, it will be necessary to return to the American owners the properties confiscated by the Castro revolution, and the market economy is the true homeland of the Venetians. This is the implicit promise of a way out of our political condition, one in which individuals come together in an autonomous collective in pursuit of a common project, and this is also the mother of all battles. For we have not come out of ideologies, we can only believe in them because of the hyperpower of the ideology of the moment, an ideology that makes the market our nature, an ideology that highly proclaims the end of ideologies in order to avoid having to define ourselves, give our reasons and say our password. If ideology is indeed the set of beliefs that gives meaning and scope to actions, the ideology of the market is indeed the regime that undertakes to succeed all the others, those of the authorities from above, whether religious or revolutionary, as well as those of political entities, Cities, Nations and Empires. If ideology is indeed the system that organizes reality and that interposes itself between reality and its followers, we must note the power of a market ideology that makes the world opaque to us, at The economy is a science, the market says the right prices, the law ensures justice, rights are universal, etc... The affirmation of ends - the end of history, the end of ideologies, the end of nations, etc... - is an opium that makes us poor in the world. And this is undoubtedly the primary factor in the concern about the situation of the European Union - no, of Europeans. We, those who went to evangelize Madagascar or Florès, those who visited the lepers in the Congo or Cameroon, or those who went to hunt whales on the Basque Coast, in Labrador, were rich in the world. Incredibly curious, driven ever more by the desire to see, understand and discover. Anesthetized by the ideology of globalization, by the myth of a standardized world, we give in to compassionate indifference and the brief impulses of solidarity with which the market society intends to replace politics and charity in order to stifle justice. The urgency is simple, and it is highly strategic; we must set out to rediscover the world. Not as a confident and haughty observer, never again as a convinced missionary or an avid settler; as a modest and discreet surveyor of the true diversity of the world, which is collective, of the infinite resistance of the world to the forces that intend to reduce it to unity, and as a furtive discoverer of this complicity. with the irreducible source of the different, with the One who will always be the Other and never the same, who as such is worthy of respect, attention, friendship, and even protection, while respecting the founding separations and the borders that safeguard[3].

3) Those who are curious will do well to read the story of King Philip, just as the Puritans approaching the coasts of New England named this Indian king. He helped them to survive the first harsh winters of their arrival, and as a reward was gradually expelled from his lands, his people massacred when he tried to resist the invasion. The American model was taking shape.

2) The mere fact that a Régis Debray publishes "In Praise of the Frontier"(Gallimard, October 2010 ) is significant.

3) To understand what is coming, especially in Europe, and to escape the trap of identity reduction, the reading of Emmanuel Levinas, the philosopher of otherness, provides a salutary viaticum .

Hervé JUVIN is a French writer, member of the Csfrs (Conseil supérieur de la formation et de la recherche stratégique) . in 2004), the life course of the French ("Le devoir de **gestion**", **1996**), the West and its culture ("L'Occident mondialisé", **with Gilles Lipovetsky, 2010**). Today, he devotes himself to describing the contemporary transformation of our human condition: "Le Renversement du **monde - politique de la crise**" (**Gallimard, October 2010**), from which the reflections in this article are derived, anticipates the political, social and moral consequences of the current power movements.

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