

## What is to be done

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What is to be done?

Let us not dwell in illusions: what is to be done in order dern, even more deconstructivist like, and even more to escape the vicious circle of capitalism-critique and sies for orderliness. - return to the modern era and its bureaucratic phantaovercome it. Or whether we should - on the contrary anarchistic than the postmodern rationality in order to red: whether we should simply be even more postmofirst logical question in this context has been answelonger than one theoretical generation. Not even the unintentional system-optimization is a question the left-wing intellectuals have been asking themselves for

wing parties, minimum wages fixed by the government forms of organisations, such as labour unions, new leftreanimation of classic-modern, strictly hierarchical tions such as the Multitude, whereas others favour the flocks, phantom-like protest movements or abstrac-Some of us prefer forming globalized or virtual

the new Cinéma Vérité, the new political theatre and mic re-readings of Marx, the new New Journalism and punk, new anarchism, new social democracy, acadeoccupancy, confiscation and over-identification, new attempted. Communitarian mini-revolts, methods of since 1989, there is simply nothing that has not been When it comes to a detailed leftist phenomenology

avant-garde will manage the revolution on their own. conflict? No chance, as the members of the intellectual hedgehog at the finish line before revolt - the rabbit has up capitalism a little and - in the words of the wellsubstructures and special arrangements, which soften of economy and "economism" in general, the end of timized through election-hysteria, the end of primacy of Alain Badiou: the end of a never ending story legicould be called "politics of the truth" along the lines make it fairer. No, he destroys it, he implements what odour and does not deconstruct capitalism in order to the Punk-Lenin, who is emitting a liberating Browningsal of all democratic substitutes. This is the anarchistic, "find, fix, finish", the open confrontation and the refupolitical scientists such as Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto artists and intellectuals. is what he is admired for in the societies of left-wing apparent in What is to be done? and April Thesis -Lenin of the quasi-artistic political act, who becomes From reading Hegel directly to the power: it is the even started running. Education of the masses? Class known fairy tale - will always get capitalism to be the Laclau base their work on this Lenin who suggests the

New York University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology blished, I would like to suggest the PR-strategy of simon-analytical fiddling around. Should it ever be re-puin a quality difficult to exceed, an orgy of organisatiply post-modernising a couple of the words and different note in State and Revolution. The book, or at east its second part, is cybernetic wanking material nalogy to the young Marx - selling it as a utopian ear-Several months later Lenin certainly strikes a very

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tual congress-, art- and festival-octopus. industry and its little brother, the middle-class intellecce and were instantly sold off by the good old cultural pata or Simone Weill: all of these made their occurrenthe existing communism, such as those by Gramsci, Zalocal leftist traditions of theory or those overlooked by vement. Furthermore, there has been the utilization of Neosituationism, the new sobriety and the new invol-

ric humiliation of all its essential values in the 20ieth tems, how else could populism have endured the barbacrisis and all of the other crises of the capitalistic systhe truth. The same goes for political thinking. How into: one should not let a good story be destroyed by sachen" ("even worse for the facts") is often translated In marketing, Hegel's "umso schlimmer für die Tatcould the liberalism have overcome the financial

society became a current issue. the czar, when the development of the bourgeois civil this moment in 1917. The quasi binary Lenin emerged at precisely contrasting book State and Revolution, which he wrote and April Thesis (1917), but also the Lenin of the very the voluntaristic Lenin of What is to be done? (1902) This is exactly where Lenin comes back into play: directly after Kerenski's coup against

such as Alain Badiou and Jaques Rancière along with event and the jacobean tactics. Left-wing philosophers tion-analysis, both books are manifests of the utopian elite as it corresponds with the Weltgeist through ac-In What is to be done? and April Thesis he praises the

virtues. Because why should circumstances be criticithe critique, this most likeable of all petit-bourgeois have disappeared, then the whole state, and in the end begun: at first, the devices of political representation worker is on his own and from which the unfortunate global hall for production and discussion, in which each nin calls "the free association of producers" selfless dedication towards the perfection of what the most literal sense of the expression he is working in level-headed manner and wearing an engineer's coat. In ching the Browning, instead he is smiling in the most no longer approaches us as the enraged citizen clutold-style-humanism. Here, Plato's philosopher-king book-case, you should buy this Lenin, this utopia of the that is normally subsumed as post-politics in your termined to have the biggest possible hymn on anything ly work by Luhmann. Or in other words: if you are de zed if they can be changed much more quickly instead? awareness is banned. An excessive disappearance has future, assembled of cybernetic logics, economics and So, in early autumn of 1917, before the revoluti-

on be drawn by the terrorist-dissident line of valry of some sort. What is to be done? will from now of a medal, but instead they are in an undeclared riexist dialectically, in mutual dependence, as two sides porary communist thought. But they do not, however, the starting point of the two main schools of contementirely apolitical bureaucracy. This binary Lenin is politics: one of the radical political coup and one of mics, strategists, and creative artists - from the theory there already exist two forms of left-wing power

Occupy-methods and academic critics of post-politics.

State and Revolution is the starting point for the mostly the establishment of a new cultural centre or the discolution, bare of any power-political intention exceeding other hand, concentrated on a type of theatre of revofooleries of the populists. The anarchist group, on the trated on the redemption of the western social welfare to any utopian hidden agendas and henceforth concenand social justice. The bureaucratic group bid farewell is to be done? and State and Revolution, between revolt permanently dissolved the relationship between What preceded by the downfall of actual, existent socialism, detour, the second postmodern era which was directly the colleagues of the opposing side to take a dialectic until 1989 it was courteous to at least pro forma allow mental decision for one Lenin or the other. But while porated since Lenin, it always included a secret fundaof the economic order. Whatever being "leftist" incorpoliticians, who dream of a sustainable reconstruction bureaucratic drafts of labour union officials and party of permanent revolution to all kinds of Guerilla- and season in the postmodern choir of opinions. very of some new "minoritary" or "queer" voice of the state and on dealing with the unnerving postmodern It does indeed seem as if a secret, anti-dialectic di-

vision of labour has been established: the real-political positivity on one side, the anarchist negativity on the other. The craftsmen of wage settlements and intercultural discourse on one side, conceiving the capitalist system and the parliamentary democracy as a last rise

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our civilisation will collapse in the foreseeable future unless we can find an alternative to the current world order; everybody knows that a considerable part of the world population is living in absolute poverty thanks to globalisation and the free market; everybody has understood a long time ago that a superficially fairer and consequently more generalized unleashing of funds will simply accelerate this process – but *still* we keep going, critique included, of course.

The alternative to capitalist realism can therefore not be no realism; Even if postmodern rationality, in its naïve intention to destroy all "big narratives", has invented post-Fordism, the greatest narrative of all time—we will now have to come up with a new one, whether we like it or not. Because the well-known humanist argument—the things are only worth as much as "the value you give them"—is just untrue. "Giving a value to the things" is no more than an esoterically gilded consolation prize, the mark of Cain for all of capitalism's losers. What has a value and what does not, what deserves approval and what does not, what is seductive and what is not—none of these decisions are made by the one who is in charge. The decisions are made by the one who is in charge. The decisions are made by the one

Therefore can be stated: the totalitarian, system-oriented Lenin bites the tail of the anarchistic one – and they make the revolution happen together. This is because next to the real-political thesis, which is seen as economically good and justified, there has to exist

tions, plays bass guitar in a band with an ironic name, do, jamás sera vencido" in lame Spanish at demonstrastill stuck in his anarchist-trip, chants "El pueblo unithere is the sometimes slightly panicky brother who is money in sustainable educational trips to North Africa viders and green politicians and prefers investing his and difference-theoretically primitive. In this way the of systemic approaches as a priori uncool, totalitarian possible fairness; on the other side the situationist, of the real, which should be arranged with the highest into a symbolic legitimation-crisispark or London's shopping mall will send capitalism and is convinced that the occupation of Hamburg's city spends his time fighting basis-democratic word duels rather than in budget holiday trips. On the other side ministration, is versed in the matters of eco-power probrother on one side, who holds a degree in business addissimilar twins: the level-headed, slightly humourless postmodern rationality splits the binary Lenin into two who perceives real-political integrability and any kind

My simple thesis is as follows: leftist theory and Lenin only come in the binary form. Or to say it in Hegel's words: the "positive rationality" of realists and the competing "negative rationality" of anarchists must be joined into a "speculative rationality", a utopian dialectic. The point is no longer about either being realistic or critical, it is about being realistic in an unrealistic manner. The so-called capitalist realism in fact only works on a speculative basis, under the terms of "I know, but still...". Everybody knows that

its final statement being: the story of mankind is overtext message which informs us about the past 50 years, ld or simply a smiling emoticon at the end of a cruel time. Just another discussion about the end of the worsia against the immense utopian phantom pain of our matter, instead it could only be another local anaestheother cannot form resistance, not even analysis for that hysterical as his April Thesis. Because one without the nin's utopia in State and Revolution and as enraged and hioned and concrete, as humanistic-totalitarian as Leis a realism as radically deconstructive as it is old-fasstruction of an actual collective capacity. What we need greater seduction, when the deconstruction of "They" is tally different currency of happiness and approval, a its background is formed by the utopia of a fundamenbolic and factual revolution: it will only make sense if who ever will be going through with this equally symthe anti-thesis of destruction of its impediment. And accompanied by a construction of a new "We", the con-

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Milo Rau approximation and abbound designed by Nina Wolters/IIPM