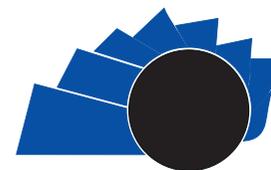




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## Visión Electrónica *Más que un estado sólido*

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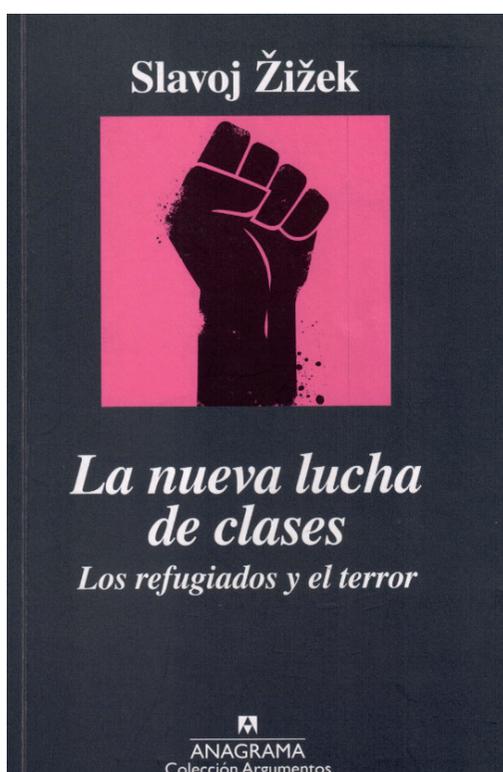


Visión Electrónica

A BIBLIOGRAPHY VISION

### S. Žižek. *Against the Double Blackmail. Refugees, Terror and Other Troubles with the Neighbours.* Bogotá: editorial Anagrama, 2016.

*Harvey Gómez Castillo<sup>1</sup>; Oswaldo Jaramillo Villamizar<sup>2</sup>*



The new class struggle constitutes a reflection of the current European situation that brings over of the immigration and problems of refugees, interesting analysis that it allows to glimpse the political tendency of the societies industrialized against this phenomenon, the position of the European left, the

political populist movements anti-immigration, as a large part of the society European native supports this latest trend, sectors of the population (Midwest) that before they're declared niches of the democratic party, little by little they were "captured" by the republican party, and they were decisive in the campaign and the results for the election of President Donald Trump, words more words less for that he was the candidate who best represented the interests of "the real American Christian, honest patriots and hardworking people against the decadent Liberals" [1]. The other side of the coin, which represents the "liberal" left in Europe (as it's known as Zizek) throughout the book, and their position of fear so not catalogued them racists, whenever they have to decide or confront the problem of racial and religious violence.

In this way, the aspects previously mentioned and added to a process of permanent exemplification with recent events in Europe, United States, Africa and Latin America, and it's timely and emphatic of the author at the time of point to the global capitalism, as the responsible of the destabilization, from the intervention by economic and military route in those countries. Wherefrom the refugees come, (Perspective that it contradicts, the different positions in the mass media that try to make see the issue of the refugees as a religious intolerance problem), it would be between others, those aspects more relevant that invite to the reading of the present book.

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The author Slavoj Žižek is a philosopher, a psychoanalyst and a theoretical cultural, general director of the Institute Birkbeck for the Humanities of the University of London, Researcher in the institute of sociology of Liubliana's university, professor at the European Graduate School, professor invited to several universities that include Columbia, University of Princeton, New School for Social Research in New York and University of Michigan among others, with more than forty books published, considered one of the more controversial philosophers at present, for some "the most dangerous of Western philosophers" (Adam Kirsch, New republic) is credited with taking out the philosophy of the University classroom, and to have turned its media and attractive to the public, with his examples extracted from the popular culture of the cinema, of the series of North American television, of the literature (Kafka, Shakespeare) with authors who are forgotten in these times as V. I. Lenin, Stalin and Robespierre, and from a perspective that integrates Lacan's psychoanalysis with dialectical materialism and post Marxist studies, it *addresses into* complex and thorny issues, that goes from the fundamentalism, the global capitalism, the racism, and the subjectivity.

An interview with Víctor Lenore in 2011, Žižek, makes it clear where to aim his criticism, "I am not in opposition to the capitalism in abstract. It is the most productive system in the history. I consider myself a Communist, although communism is no already the name of the solution, but the problem. I speak about the fight fierce by the common goods. The corporations try to privatize the natural resources, the biogenetic or the knowledge. The current capitalism moves towards a logic of apartheid, Where some few ones have rightly to everything and the majority they are excluded". [1]

The Academy for the distinctive features of Zizek; cult figure of media, pop's aura start, media strategies for the sale of his books, his bizarre performance as a speaker, all that generates suspicion in the academic world, and "it is not recognized by the university establishment of philosophy as a valid interlocutor, but rather as a trivial talker" [2], in this same direction linked to Žižek to a "satirical of the mocking humor and caricature tradition, rather than the academic tradition of philosophy, It would therefore be a provocateur someone who wants to defy not only the opinions established concerning the cultural values, but also the way the university practice philosophy" [2]

This controversial author that generates positions found, from a perspective that combines the materialism dialectic, Antonio Negri's scaffolding notion and the typologies on the subjectivities raised by Alain Badiou (among others), It will notice the situation arising inside of European societies, from the arrival of refugees from Middle East of Islamic culture. For such an end it divides into eleven paragraphs his reflection.

In "The double blackmail" first section of the book, Žižek, addresses the positions, to the inside of the society and the politicians of the European Community, it's been generated to approach the topic of the refugees, in this regard identifies, in the first instance the collective imagination that "only when there are attacks them reminds the world that is outside of the dome", Dome which is characterized in the words of Zizek by "developing an expanded inside [...] in a space ordered domestically and heated artificially" [2].

With respect to political postures, these revolve around two poles, left Liberals, that guide its discretion was, solidarity with refugees, and this is "to open the doors widely" [2]. This altruism of the left analyzes Zizek, is nothing but hypocrisy, because they know that it will never happen because "populist revolt lead to a snapshot in Europe" [2], they are however keen to maintain this position of "beautiful souls who feel superior to the corrupt world", "hypocrisy because They know that need this corrupt world, because it is in this area that they can exercise their moral superiority" [2]. The other pole is anti-immigrant populists, found at the other end, with the speech that must "protect our way of life, and let Africans and Arabs to solve their own problems". These two perspectives Zizek proposes, that the only alternative has to be the construction of a society on a basis such that "poverty is impossible" [2] but this not is achieved with outputs altruistic as those of the left, This is only achieved when tensions become "red hot not only in the countries of origin of refugees but also in Europe" [2].

In the second chapter the author discusses the current situation in Europe and its economic policy, he identifies that he is in the middle of two pressures, the Anglo-Saxon North American neoliberalism, and the "authoritarian capitalism with Asian values" [2], although the European internal policy debate between the Anglo-Saxon model oriented to modernization, and the Franco-German model of the welfare state. In this scenario,

makes a reflection about some organizations created to join the globalization, that is the case of the ACTI (transatlantic association for the Commerce and the investment), and his spokeswoman Cecilia Malström (surname variation of the Maelstrom the legendary Norwegian Eddy illustrated by Edgar Allan Poe in one of his short stories), that generates concern for Žižek and a called to the reflection, when says “my mandate not proceeds of the people” [2], staying in between saying the own European democracy, the situation for Europeans is at a crossroads between two economic models, With very strong pressures to restructure toward globalization. The question about the future of Europe, expressed clearly the concern of the reflection of Žižek “It will become Europe slowly in what was ancient Greece for imperial Rome: the preferred destination of Chinese and U.S. tourists a destination for cultural tourism nostalgic, without any relevance in the world” [2].

In “breaking the taboos of the left” it raises five postures that are characteristic of the liberal left Western to the interior of the current policy European and that are parts of its flag these are: an enemy is someone whose story you have not heard; any reference to Europa’s emancipating legacy is synonymous of cultural colonialism and of racism; defend the European way of life is a proto-fascist or racist; prohibit any criticism of Islam by Islam phobia, and finally equating the politicized religion and fanaticism by presenting to the Islamist as irrational fanatics pre-modern. For Žižek that proliferates in the liberal left is the fear of being labeled racist that only show its “inability to seriously confront the racial and religious violence” [2].

In the section entitled “The obscene underside of religions”, The author takes as examples, Rotherham’s case, where “1,400 girls were subjected to brutal sexual exploitation between 1997-2003[...] the research concluded that the criminals were Pakistani and them criminals is concerned to them victims as “trash white” They were white students” [2]; And that of the pedophilia in the catholic church, to say that these acts of violence have been learned externally “ritualized, That form “ part of the collective substance of a community “ [2]. In case of the catholic church it forms a part of the institution to defend itself and to be kept the secret “To identify with this secret side is a key component of the very same identity of a Christian priest” [2]; And in case of the Rotterdam’s Pakistani, his acts have to do with “violence against women is associated with subordination and exclusion from public life

in many countries and Muslim communities “ [2]. In conclusion the critical not only should be to the Islam but to the Christianity and to the Judaism, since our critical liberal-secular says Žižek “also is contaminated by the falsehood” [2].

In “divine violence “ Žižek critique of forceful form the absence of an emancipating radical politics in the political European panorama, since the stage political for the author is debate between the political secular pragmatic, And the religious fundamentalism. Taking Walter Benjamin’s notion of “divine violence”, and the justification making it Werner Kraft who says: “that is just the right serving the oppressed in the struggle of classes [...] justified violence is not a sanction [...] one can kill if it does so [...] the just war [...] the class struggle” [2], Žižek argues from analyze disturbances of Ferguson (2014) St. Louis United States Case of police violence to an Afro-American citizen and the autumns disturbances of 2005 in France, That it clarifies in the second case, that leaves clear in the second case, that the violence that came there not obey to any program, where the violence of the suburbs went exclusively to theirs, What causes frustration as the author is that a “blind rebellion” is generated in the land of freedom of choice [2], therefore proposes that it is time to “abandon the idea that there is something of emancipatory in the extreme experiences”, The divine violence is divine because it is “brutally unjust (...) And for his excessive destroyer “[2]. He concludes that the only way to go out of the crossroads that proposes the violence is “the economic and social concrete analysis” [2]

This X-ray brings in words of Žižek “ a new age of apartheid (...) Some parts of the world isolated of the world with abundance of food and energy were remaining separated from the chaotic exterior“ [2], in this sense the new landscape that opens segregation “is not an accident is a structural need for global capitalism”, the refugees are part of this dynamic. But be a refugee, is a form of rebellion against Europe, and including a right for the author, if it is understood that the immigrants on its horizon won’t have as purpose to understand Western culture, “they have no idea of the European values of their lifestyle and traditions of its multiculturalism and tolerance” [2], Perhaps living with a subsidy without seeking employment in Europe, as it is affirmed by the study realized by the academy of Russian science and the Institute of Oriental Matters in Moscow, But how says it Yevgeni Grishkovets cited by Žižek “These people are exhausted, angry and humiliated [...] they

will never follow European laws. Never feel gratitude toward the people in whose countries have gotten enter with all their problems, because those same countries turned to the Nations of them emigrants in a bath of blood" [2] This situation allows that the only possibility of revolt should be, to assume the refugee's condition.

In the chapter entitled "of the wars cultural to the struggle of classes... and vice versa" continuous Žižek with analysis of the refugees, and how the refugees want to go to Scandinavia, Germany or Anglo-Saxons, because in his imaginary one, it is in these countries where really one finds the well-being, to which the author names the paradox of the Utopia "When the people meet in the absolute misery the absolute Utopia arises" [2], another aspect that forms a part of the imaginary one of the refugees has to see with the belief in which to them a universal right shelters them, In two senses, with regard to the mobility promoted by the EU "freedom of movement for all" and the western welfare state. Continuous Žižek refugees "will have to learn to censor their dreams rather than pursue them in reality, should focus on changing the reality" [2]. In another side one finds the European left side, which in his imaginary one they think that the fight that the refugees support is a proletarian fight, cliché that in words of the author it must be overcome.

He concludes this chapter, affirming that at present the antagonisms of class register in a double way, they are movements with a claim specific (feminism, fundamentalism), but that in his dynamics of "relating with it itself relates to the otherness" [2], specifically relates to other struggles, a situation that exemplifies from how the struggles of the Taliban "fundamentalists perform revolts against the wealthy landowners by landless tenants" [2]

The author also demonstrates with a series of examples, in the section entitled where is the threat?, That the threat is not in the external cultures to the west, but the West itself, with the imposition of human rights, respect for cultural difference, such praiseworthy values for culture, have become the mainstay of the cultural battle against the west by some Muslim movements, as Mugabe (against those movements gay) Boko Haram (against the education female), the objective of these struggles is clear in the words of Žižek "what makes the liberal West something so unbearable in their eyes is that you practice not only exploitation and violent domination,

but for high presents a reality brutal disguised in it opposite of freedom, equality and democracy" [2].

In the section "Limits of the love of neighbour", Žižek, comes to examine the notion of "neighbor", whereas others for the majority of people produces an aggressive reaction, Directed to liberating ourselves of this annoying intruder. Supported on some Sloterdijk's considerations with regard to the beginning of communication and the attitude of one be understanding to other one, ends inferring that the concept of neighbor is incompatible with the universality, that the similar humanistic universality, for Žižek, universality is a universality of strangers, do not reach the neighbor from empathy, since this is the conception that there is to break, not from the conception of compassion for their suffering is necessary to understand the neighbor, in the case of the refugees we help them because it is "our ethical duty [...] If we want to continue being decent persons" [2], quoting Churchill concludes "sometimes to do good is not enough, even if it is the best thing you can do. Sometimes you have to do what is necessary" [2].

In "the odious ones thousand in Cologne", to analyze the form since it has been assumed, the topic of the refugees the author departs from the expositions on construction of subjectivities that has formed the global capitalism raised by Alain Badiou, which establishes three subjectivities: "The subject liberal democratic civilized western middle-class, the outside of the west with the desire of the west and the nihilists fascists" [2]. For Žižek, the fundamentalist violence, comes from frustration and envy that radicalized becomes cruel and self-destructive hatred towards the West, concluding that religion is not the reason for this form of violence", for Žižek, the fundamentalist violence, comes from frustration and envy that radicalized becomes cruel and self-destructive hatred towards the West, concluding that religion is not the reason for this form of violence, "The basic fact of the fundamentalist fascism is the envy" [2]. What does not share Žižek with Badiou and much of the European left is the fact that refugees are "a nomadic proletariat" [2], when in words of the author "the refugees are immigrants moved by the desire of west, more submitted to the hegemonic ideology and as such unwilling to identify with the proletariat" [2], for the author, his desire in any way is revolutionary, its purpose is to "integrate into the promised land of the west [...] and those who remain in their countries try to emulate the Western way of life" [2].

About the events on new year's Eve December 31, 2015, in the city of Cologne, Germany, in where on holidays, immigrants of North-African origin sexually harassed German women, Žižek thinks that it is not necessary to look at the act as racist propaganda, not as an act that comes from a group of savages, neither minimize the incident it is done by "the liberal politically correct left" [2], but understand that it is a strategy of "the lower classes [...] to disturb the decorum of the middle class" [2].

In *what to do?* Žižek concludes its reflection in three directions, proposals on refugees, recommendations for the European liberal left and the proposals on the social and economic change. In the first direction, in terms of the immediate, this coordinate and organize own territories of origin entry to Europe of the refugees, to a redistribution to possible settlements, work that the military must be performed by the infrastructure, is the proposal of Žižek. Situation and problems that generate refugees of Muslim origin on European territory, it is clear that Western principles collide with the way of life of the Muslims for such reason in the short time must be a set of cohort "Eurocentric" minimum standards governing coexistence such as "religious freedom, protection of individual freedom against the peer pressure rights of women" [2], insist on tolerance to the different ways of life, but go beyond tolerance, proposing "a universal project positive to share all the participants offer a common struggle" [2]. ISIS regarding consideration of the author is emphatic they are part of the same coin, "[are not] more than reverse islam-fascist European anti-immigrant racists" [2]

In regards to the recommendations for the liberal left, the author, insists on its stance that the problem of the refugees is caused by global capitalism, and not as they claim to see as a clash of cultures, For Žižek "the fundamental cause of the existence of refugees is the current global capitalism in itself and its geopolitical games" [2], Since the colonial expansion destroyed local communities around the world. Now well the aim of the contemporary left side should be find in the historical reality the antagonisms but essentially that one that does not lose his subversive load (The new forms of apartheid), And not to claim that with the refugees' arrival and the great abundance of them the company is destabilized, filling "the emptiness of the radical absent proletarians, importing them from the foreigner, in order that the revolution comes by means of a revolutionary agent imported" [2], when it is clear that the refugees do not have this subversive charge.

The proposals on social and economic change, part of the open and universal emancipatory struggle against global capitalism, and its different manifestations neocolonialism, fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, etc.; radical economic change that will eliminate the conditions that create refugees, from restoring the domain for the common good, "common good of culture, external nature and inner nature" [2]. With regard to the question about who made the change? the answer is emphatic, We, "wait is a way of rationalizing our inactivity" [2], the real value in the words of Žižek is not to imagine an alternative, but accept the consequence that there is no alternative, "It is to admit that it can be that the light at the end of the tunnel is a train in the opposite direction" [2], in this direction of what treats itself it is of recovering the class struggle "insisting on the global solidarity with the exploited ones and oppressed" and not this "pathetic solidarity with the victims of Paris [what they are not any more] that an obscenity pseudo ethical" [2], It concludes that "Perhaps the global solidarity is a utopia, but fought for them, then we are really missing and we deserve to be lost" [2]

It is to highlight the criticism made by Žižek to the position of the "European liberal left" on contemporary social movements, call it student movement, indigenous or immigrant, whose belief, allows them to assert that the social protest of these movements with specific objectives, It contains in its bosom "revolutionary" dynamics that inevitably leads to movements in struggles of social classes, perspective that only shows the myopia of some sectors of the left, there, here, and beyond, to believe that any movement of social protest is the breeding ground for the revolution. From this perspective it is not surprising that the discussions of the Left in France focused on immigrants as the real proletarians who are going to bring the revolution that for almost two hundred years have waited, because in that there is match with Žižek in the criticism of the position of the left, which has sat to wait and sees immigrants a chance, with a double moral speech gentrified legitimizing all the acts of the immigrants and of his governments of origin, that in Maalouf's words (2015) to due to a gesture of indulgence of the external observer "from that understanding sometimes derive towards indulgence. To those who have suffered the colonial arrogance, racism, xenophobia, forgive the excesses of their own nationalist arrogance, of their own racism and their own xenophobia, and precisely why we forget about the fate of their victims, at least until there are rivers of blood" [3]

Although the text is the current relevance of the topic, to do an x-ray of the European situation, it remains in the environment that the refugee issue for Žižek is not more than an excuse to make a settling of scores to the European liberal-left positions. Beyond this perception there stays of manifest a marked euro-central bias, which becomes evident in some new paragraphs, at least regarding the immigrants, and the typology of the subjectivities that has formed the global capitalism, to the moment to approach the world “of out” (the rest of the not European world), and their aspiration to that world, argues that all cultures and societies, current are in relationship with the West, and everyone wants to the West as its correlative, or but hate it, following the ideas of Alain Badiou in this regard “The subject liberal democratic middle-class civilized Western”; or they are outside trying to be Western (the outside of the West with the desire of the West), or envy corrodes them for not being as West (the nihilists fascists), the latter frustrated who became radicalized and turned his frustration into cruel hatred towards the West. This myopia that present Marxist analyzes by not taking into account the individual, do not allow to perceive the other reality, the human drama, the individual who had no other alternative but to leave their homeland, not that I would like to be west but because the situation so requires (decisions of life or death), Add the condition of immigrant on European soil the drama of being confronted with another culture, [3].

The first reflection is not to proclaim his difference, but slip by. The secret dream of the majority of the migrants is to imitate his hosts, thing that some of them obtain. But the majority not. On having had neither the correct accent, nor the tone adapted in the skin, nor the name and surname nor the papers that they would need, his stratagem remains prompt to the overdraft. Many know that it is worth trying it even, and appear, for pride, as

boast, more different than they are. It is even who—is it necessary to remember it?—They go further, and his frustration ends in a brutal answer “[3]

Pretend that all forwards to want to be like West or envy for failing to be so, is a marked Eurocentrism, to which must be added, a remarkable economic reductionism of origin Marxist, added to the end of the story should be the revolution and communism without taking into account the subjects, skews and limited social analysis. We cannot ignore the media force that have their philosophical reflections, which generate followers in the new European generations, reflections which at first sight seem quite original in the European context, but in the world of “out” they are not so new, probably if Žižek had a perspective beyond his native Eurocentrism, if his position really was allowing him to understand other offers that have been forged in this part of the world and his sociocultural context, It might enter dialog with other options from the left side, which there would feed really possibilities of social change, but believe that everything is cooked in the crucible of Europe is to think that the rest of the world is doomed to wait for the emergence of one or another European philosopher who orient the discussions to the problems facing our societies.

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