



UNIVERSITETI I TIRANËS
FAKULTETI I SHKENCAVE SOCIALE
DEPARTAMENTI SHKENCA POLITIKE

POLITIKJA

REVISTË SHKENCORE

NR. 2/2013

"POPULLI DHE POPULIZMI"

Botim i Departamentit të Shkencave Politike
Fakulteti i Shkencave Sociale
Universiteti i Tiranës

Kryeredaktor:

Dr. Klodiana Beshku (Universiteti i Tiranës)
Adresa e kontaktit: conferencapolitica@gmail.com

Bordi shkencor:

Prof. émérite Alain Brossat (Université Paris 8)
Prof. Ariane Landuyt (Università degli Studi di Siena)
Prof. Robert Bideleux (Swansea University)
Prof. Aleksandër Kocani (Universiteti i Tiranës)
Prof. As. Merita Xhumari (Universiteti i Tiranës)
Dr. Blendi Çeka (Universiteti i Tiranës)
Dr. Hysamedin Feraj (Universiteti i Tiranës)
Dr. Klodiana Beshku (Universiteti i Tiranës)
Arlind Qori (Doktorant, Universiteti i Tiranës)
Orinda Malltezi (Doktorante, Universiteti i Tiranës)

Nr. 2/2013

Populli dhe Populizmi

U realizua në Dhjetor 2013

Redaktor gjuhësor: Dr. Baviola Shatro

Korrektor letrare: Suela Hana

Faqesja: Albana Hudhri

ISSN 2225-6458

Shtypur në Shtypshkronjën e Shtipisë Botuese FLESH
Tiranë 2013

TREGUESI I LËNDËS

HYRJE	5
SHKRIM PËRSHËNDETËS	7
POPULIZMI NË EVROPË DHE STRATEGJITË E KOMUNIKIMIT TË BE-së	9
ARBA BEKTESHI	
NUK KA POPULL PA POPULIZËM	23
ARLIND QORI	
NIGERIAN POWER ELITE AND OBASANJO'S VIOLENT POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	31
ANI, KELECHI JOHNMARY	
HOW TO MEASURE "POPULISM" IN WESTERN PARTY SYSTEMS. A PRELIMINARY STUDY AND THE FORZA ITALIA/POPOLO DELLA LIBERTÀ CASE	47
DAVIDE VITTORI	
PËRTACIA NË ORIENTALIZMIN E INTELKTUALËVE SHQIPTARË NË VITET '20-'30	67
Dr. ENIS SULSTAROVA	
CAPITALIST DISCOURSE, TECHNIQUE AND POPULISM. A LACANIAN APPROACH	79
JORGE FOA TORRES	
POPULIZMI DHE KOMUNIKIMI POLITIK- NJË ANALIZË KRITIKE E LIGJËRIMIT POLITIK TË ALEANCËS KUQ E ZI NË RAPORT ME SISTEMIN E PARTIVE NË VEND	87
Dr. KLEJD KËLLIÇI BLERJANA BINO (Ph.D CANDIDATE)	

e njerëzve (Rifkin, 1995), ose se "ideologjia e punës si burim i të drejtave" (Gorz, 1999) është e gabuar dhe njerëzit duhet ta kërkojnë plotësimin e vetes në veprimtari të tjera. Sigurisht që këto janë teza të debatueshme, si në nivelin normativ, po ashtu edhe në atë empirik. Puna mbetet një veprimtari qendrore e jetës së njeriut modern, pavarësisht nëse kjo gjë gjykohet si pozitive apo negative. Prandaj, përtacia e apatia nuk mund të jenë tipare kombëtare, por tipizime të lidhura me kontekste, aktorë, interesa dhe marrëdhënie pushteti. Sikurse është e vërtetë tjetërkund dhe për të tjerë popuj, shumë shqiptarë në atdhe, ose jashtë tij, që punojnë shumë për të mbajtur veten dhe familjet e tyre dhe ndonjëherë në kushte të vështira, nuk do ta pranonin që dikush t'i quante dembelë.

Burimet

- Alatas, S. H. (1977) *The Myth of the Lazy Native*. London: Frank Cass.
- Dorey, P. (2010) "A Poverty of Imagination: Blaming the Poor for Inequality", *The Political Quarterly*, 81 (3): 333-343.
- Frashëri, M. (1997) *Kihimi i Mit'ut Frashërit*. Tiranë: Phoenix.
- Frashëri, M. (2008 [1924]) *Plagët tona*. Tiranë: Instituti i Dialogut dhe i Komunikimit.
- Frashëri, S. (1999 [1989]) *Shqipëria ç'ka qenë, ç'është e ç'do të bëhet*. Tiranë: Mësonjëtorja e Parë.
- Gorz, A. (1999) *Reclaiming Work: Beyond the Wage-Based Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jezernik, B. (2010) *Europa e egër*. Tiranë: Plejad.
- Koça, V. (1999) *Në udhën e shqiptarizimit*. Tiranë: Phoenix.
- Koliqi, E. (2003 [1932]) "Puna si burim i qytetnis e i përparimit të popujve", në Kulla, N. (përg.), *Antologji e mendimit shqiptar*. Tiranë: Plejad.
- Mala, Z. (2002) *Vox populi*. Tiranë: Lilo.
- Memmi, A. (1965) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rifkin, J. (1995) *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*. New York: Putnam Publishing Group.
- Russell, B. (1994 [1935]) *In Praise of Idleness*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Saad, E. W. (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sulstarova, E. (2011) "Ideja e përkatësisë europiane në Shqipërinë e viteve 20-30", *Studime historike*, 1-2: 223-232.
- Toto, I. (1997) *Bota e një djali kryengritës*. Tiranë, Toena.
- Zavalani, T. (1998) *Misioni i shek. XX*. Tiranë: Phoenix & Shtëpia e Librit dhe e Komunikimit.

JORGE FOA TORRES'
(National University of Villa Maria- National
University of Córdoba)

CAPITALIST DISCOURSE, TECHNIQUE AND POPULISM: A LACANIAN APPROACH

Abstract

This paper seeks to stress some theoretical consequences of the articulation between Lacanian notion of *capitalist discourse* and Heideggerian *technique* for analyzing populist issue. The difference between *populism* and *technique* resides on the ideological grip involved at each one. On the one hand, if populist's interpellation addresses to "the people", the technical interpellation addresses to what we can name as *the panic mass*. On the other hand, the *male populism* tends to close the symbolic-social field throughout the xenophobic appointing of the distortive element that keeps off the plenitude of the social. On the contrary, the *female populism* tends to keep on the contingent-unstable nature of hegemonic political articulation.

Key words: Debt, Panic mass, Lossless articulation, Female populism.

DISKURSI KAPITALIST, TEKNIKA DHE POPULIZMI: NJË QASJE LAKANIANE

Abstrakt

Ky studim synon të theksojë disa pasoja teorike të artikullimit ndërmjet nocionit Lacanian të *diskursit kapitalist* dhe *teknikës* Heideggeriane për të analizuar çështjet

¹ Autori është jurist nga Argentina, Ph.D në Political Science for the Centre of Advanced Studies (CEA) në National University of Córdoba (UNC-Argentina), Koordinator i Programit "South American Integration, Communication, Law and Society" (CEA-UNC), dhe profesor në National University of Villa Maria (UNVM). Adresa e tij është: jorgefoatorres@gmail.com.

The Author is a lawyer from Argentina. He has obtained a Ph.D in Political Science for the Centre of Advanced Studies (CEA) of the National University of Córdoba (UNC-Argentina). He is also a coordinator of the Program "South American Integration, Communication, Law and Society" (CEA-UNC) and a professor at National University of Villa Maria (UNVM). His e-mail address is: jorgefoatorres@gmail.com.

populiste. Dallimi mes populizmit dhe teknikës gjendet në kthetirat ideologjike të përfshira në secilën prej tyre. Nga njëra anë, në qoftë se interpelanca populiste i drejtohet "popullit", interpelanca teknike i drejtohet asaj që mund ta quajmë *paniku i masës*. Nga ana tjetër, populizmi *mashkullor* ka tendencë për të mbyllur fushën simboliko-sociale në të gjithë emërimin ksenofobik të elementit çrregullues, që mban jashtë bollëkun e sociale. Përkundrazi, populizmi *femëror* ka tendencë për të mbajtur kontigjentin e paqëndrueshëm të natyrës hegjemonike të artikulimit (vokacionit) politik.

Fjalë Kyçe: Detyrim, masë nën panik, artikulum i pavlerë, populizëm femëror.

Introduction

In the context of the recent debates around the populist issue, this paper seeks to explore some new theoretical articulations that emerge from the link between Lacanian notion of *capitalist discourse* and Heideggerian notion of *technique*.

In order to give answers to the main question: What is populism? The proposal of this article is not to give an exact definition, but to contribute to enhance the discussion around populism and promote the emergence of new questions about it.

In the following, it will show briefly some key elements of the articulation between Lacanian and Heideggerian concepts of thinking for the current political processes. The fusion among technique and capitalist discourse will be presented as the main political discourse of contemporaneity.

From this point of view, the paper will explain some key consequences for thinking the populism issue. First, the neoliberal *permission for oblivion* will be put as a foundational instance for the emergence and ascent of technique-capitalist discourse. From there, the capitalist debt matter will be able to be signified as a cruelest back from the occlusion of the human essence of totalitarian crime. Then, the paper will stress on the ideological nature of capitalist-technique discourse. The technical interpellation to the panic mass will be present as a key element of its political construction. In that sense, the technique will not be thought as a non-articulatory process, but as a lossless political articulation. Finally, the distinction between female populism and male populism stresses the intimate link between the last one and the capitalist-technique discourse.

Technique and capitalist discourse

At the end of his teaching, Jacques Lacan introduced the notion of *capitalist discourse* to account a different political-structural form. The Lacanian theory of the four discourses was altered by the introduction of a pseudo-discourse.

The discourse of the master, the discourse of the university, the discourse of the hysteric and the discourse of the analyst, has a similar structure in which always is implied a loss, a cut. In other words, the four discourses are marked by symbolical castration. But the capitalist discourse has a radical different structure

in which there is no impossibility. Like Jorge Alemán puts it: "The essence of the capitalist discourse is the rejection to the "impossible" mode of castration" (2010: 48). From this emerges a rhizomatic circuit that is shown always about to fill up the structural lack. In these terms, the capitalist discourse is a form of occlusion of The Real, in Lacanian terms.

The political consequences of the ascent of the capitalist discourse are immeasurable. But in its heart resides the call for the unlimited enjoyment-accumulation. The experience of the impossible is excluded from the horizon of the politically possible. From concentrated sectors of capital to every individual-citizen, the capitalist voice orders the unlimited enjoyment, facing death drive without symbolic mediation.

In this context, there is no "capitalist crisis" due to its rhizomatic circuit. On the contrary, the crisis resides on the institutions that should cut or limit the logic of the capital (Alemán, 2010).

In a similar sense, Martin Heidegger stresses that though *modern technique* is chronologically later than *modern science*, these captures it. The essence of modern science resides on its impotency to question itself about the *unembraceable-inaccessible* to science. As the Lacanian *Real*, the Heideggerian *unembraceable-inaccessible* shows a radical limit for any theorizing effort: the science is impotent to capture the whole reality. In other words, the science tends to repress the subject of the lack.

Nevertheless, technique tries to occlude The Real or the *unembraceable-inaccessible* for science. The technique is not reducible to the technological elements. It is a whole cultural, economic and political period. Also, it tends to fix the real to the constant. The technique shows itself like the final overcoming of civilization discontent, throughout the implementation of the management imperative of efficiency².

Following the conceptual articulation proposed by Jorge Alemán, there is a strict homology between capitalist discourse and technique. But going beyond, if modern technique revolutionized science (the discourse of the university), we can say that capitalist discourse revolutionized the discourse of the master, even the traditional capitalist mode of production, and raise it into a different political form³.

If the main discourse of the contemporaneity resides on the fusion between capitalist discourse and technique, we cannot reduce the current political processes to signifiers like post-democracy or neoliberalism. Those may include the economical-political neoliberal model or the popular emptiness of democracy, but exceed them widely.

2 Such as the case of environmental policies in Argentina and Latin America during the 90's, when the signifier "management" (in Spanish: *gestión*) took the place of politics (Foa Torres, 2014).

3 This hypothesis obviously needs major explanation but by promptly we must move forward.

In this context, how can we approach to the populism issue from that theoretical-epistemological positioning? For answering this question, the paper shows later on some elements as opened research lines.

The debt matter

A nodal point in the emergence of technique and capitalist discourse could be situated in what Michel Foucault named as *the permission for oblivion*. In "The Birth of Bio-Politics", when he analyses the German Neoliberalism, Foucault noted that:

"The breaking of history then can be lived and accepted as rupture of memory, insofar as that Germany put in place a new dimension of time that is no longer the history, but economic growth. Reversal of the time axis, permission for oblivion, economic growth: this is, I think, in the heart of the functioning of the German political system itself" (2012: 108).

From our epistemological-theoretical positioning we can say that the technique's permission for oblivion signifies the occlusion of the intimate relationship between science and totalitarianism or, in fact, the political displacement of the human essence of crime - even totalitarianism as social or collective crime - from the place of the founding myth of the social. The economic growing chronology serves to techniques to undertake a specific mode of construct and narrate the history: a time in which there will be no civilization's discontent.

However, it does not signify that there is nothing to duty in capitalist discourse. On the contrary, implies the emergence of a cruelest debt: the financial-technical debt that always calls for more and more in a circuit without cut⁴. The unlimited *jouissance* circuit of capitalist discourse does not only imply the imperative for the strongest concentrated market accumulation. Its obscene side resides on the *sacrificial enjoyment* that citizens must keep on as a horrific return from the occlusion of human nature of totalitarian crime.

Is it possible to cut that debt-blame capitalist circuit? Maybe an answer could be found in the Argentinean case: after decades of sacrificial debt enjoyment, which includes the state terrorism of civil-military-neoliberal dictatorship in 70's, in 2000's populist Kirchnerism has disputed *whom or to what we have to duty*. Since Néstor Kirchner's presidency the dispute around the meaning of dictatorship has a radical change: from reconciliation narrative of 90's to *The Politics of Memory*. The numerous judgments that are still in process -as policy programs and public discussion- are able to admit the duel of the horror of 70's. And it could be the opportunity for a real cut to the capitalist rhizomatic circuit.

4 In this regard see: Stavrakakis, 2013 and Katsambekis and Stavrakakis, 2013.

a. *The panic mass: ideology and technique*

If we accept that capitalist-technique discourse is not a populist one, we have to stress even that it is an affective-ideological construction. This point is so important to keep us away from approaches that often reduces the populism to irrational-emotional political expression. And also reduces the technique to a rational form.

From our point of view, the difference between populism and technique resides on the ideological grip involved at each one⁵. It means that technique is not an anti-popular logic, if popular refers to ideological dimension of politics. So if populist's interpellation addresses to "the people", the technical interpellation addresses to what we can name as *the panic mass*.

In "Group psychology and the analysis of the ego", Sigmund Freud distinguished among panic and danger. The first does not have necessary relationship with the budding risk.

The time of technique has its superego supplement on the panic profusion. The logic of the risk⁶ would imply the establishment of the panic mass. This is the obscene superego supplement of the technical control of the bodies: at the same time that the total-technical know has been announced, the panic scenarios -like the debt-punishment logic- serves as nodal point for the emergence of new forms of centralization of the capital. From this, the panic mass is a key condition for the expansion of the capitalist discourse and its unlimited accumulation circuit.

b. *The lossless articulation*

Finally, we have to stress another difference between capitalist discourse and populism. The last one often implies hegemonic political articulation that tends to bind different political identities. Each element of that articulation needs to suffer a loss or an alteration through the articulatory process. But capitalist discourse tends to show what we can name as *lossless articulation* that implies the interpellation to individuals and institutions so that they constitutes as images of the unlimited: a complete sacrifice to capitalist-technical imperative without the experimentation of the impossible.

Final words: traversing the capitalist-technique fantasy

Against Laclau we can say that the populism is not a graduate matter⁷ due to the fact that the distinction between populism and technique is principally ideological. However, we must include another distinction to clarify this point. If populism often is being classified on right-populism and left-populism, we distinguish between *female populism*⁸ and *male populism*. While the last one tends to close the symbolic

5 About the *ideological grip* see: Glynos, 2001.

6 Against the "Society of the Risk" of Ulrich Beck.

7 "... the proportion which the equivalential logics prevail over the differential ones" (2006: 58).

social field throughout the xenophobic appointing of the distortive element that keeps off the plenitude of the social, the female populism tends to keep on the contingent-unstable nature of hegemonic political articulation.

In that sense, male populism is not the route for traverse the technique-capitalist discourse fantasy. Technique and male populism share a similar grip to the cruelest superego imperative. Both tend to situate the exclusion into an imaginary field. But female populism tends to situate it, principally, into the symbolic field. For this reason the characteristically political constructions of female populism often imply a deconstructive effort. Even more the male populism may be the other side of the technique coin: from extreme social fragmentation to the fantasmatic exclusion of the other. From the capitalist mandate to the unlimited enjoyment of the market to the xenophobic extermination of the other.

Ultimately the matter of the form at the analysis of populism is not a secondary issue but primary. A not-all-form implies a female populism. This could include -paradoxically- an effort to conserve democratic elements revolutionized by the technique, like hegemony and State-Governmental decision. Meanwhile in male-populism-full-form there is no possible antagonistic expression to technique.

The recognition of the impossibility that resides on the political is the only way to traverse the cruel political impotency of the technique extremism. The female-populist⁸ bet to loss implied in the hegemonic articulation is able to help for construction of social antagonisms and, even, the subversion of technical fantasy.

Bibliography

- Alemán, Jorge (2010): *Para una izquierda lacaniana...*, Grama, Buenos Aires.
 Alemán, Jorge (2012): *Soledad: común. Políticas en Lacan*, Capital Intelectual, Buenos Aires.
 Foa Torres, Jorge (2014): *Lógica del riesgo y patrón de desarrollo sustentable en América Latina: políticas de gestión ambientalmente adecuada de residuos peligrosos en la ciudad de Córdoba*, Tesis Doctoral en Ciencia Política, por el Centro de Estudios Avanzados, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, unpublished.
 Foucault, Michel (2012): *Nacimiento de la biopolítica*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires.
 Freud, Sigmund (2008) *Psicología de las masas y análisis del yo*, El Ateneo, Bs. As.
 Glynn, Jason (2001): "The grip of ideology: a Lacanian approach to the theory of ideology", in: *Journal of Political Ideologies*, nº 6 (2), 191-214.
 Heidegger, Martin (2007): "La pregunta por la técnica", in: *Filosofía, ciencia*

⁸ The notion *female populism* belongs to Jorge Alemán who proposed it at a Conference named "For a Lacanian left..." (2011), at National University of San Martín (Buenos Aires, Argentina).

- y técnica, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago de Chile, 117-159.
 Lacan, Jacques (2012): *El Seminario, libro 17. El reverso del psicoanálisis* (text established for Jacques-Alain Miller), Paidós, Buenos Aires.
 Katsambekis, Giorgios and Stavrakakis, Yannis (2013): "Populism, anti-populism and european democracy: a view from the South", in: *OpenDemocracy*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/giorgos-katsambekis-yannis-stavrakakis/populism-anti-populism-and-european-democr>
 Laclau, Ernesto (2006): "La deriva populista y la centroizquierda latinoamericana", in: *Nueva Sociedad*, 205, 56-61.
 Stavrakakis, Yannis (2013): "Debt society: Greece and the future of post-democracy", in: *Radical Philosophy*, 181, <http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/article/debt-society>