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**POLITICS: WE ARE
STILL ALIVE?**

EUROPE THROUGH THE ORDEAL OF HATE (PART I)

Éric Laurent

Our previous European Forum took place in Brussels on 1 December 2018, under the title *Discourses That Kill*. On that day, in Paris, Act III of the Yellow Vest movement gave rise to scenes of violence and destruction unseen since 1968, damaging not only material goods, but also symbols such as the Arc de Triomphe. The forces of repression responded with an arsenal to match. In the third month of this movement, we have 2,000 people injured by grenades and stray bullets shot in defence, 1,800 convictions by the justice system, and 1,400 people awaiting trial. The first deaths occurred during improvised, heavy blockades, causing accidents with panicked drivers losing control of their vehicles. Fortunately, until now no deaths have been caused by direct action by law enforcement officials. A lost grenade, however, fatally injured an elderly woman while she was closing her windows.

On 14 February, the European Union (EU) intervened in this movement. In a resolution with 438 votes in favour, 78 against and 87 abstentions, MEPs “denounced the recourse to violent and disproportionate intervention by public authorities during peaceful protests and demonstrations.”¹ Italy also intervened. By interviewing one of the particularly virulent Yellow Vests on the occasion of Luigi Di Maio’s trip to meet them, the Italian Channel 7 contributed to raising awareness of the components of this movement in France.

What is the Yellow Vest movement about? The reference to Europe, under its two faces of angel and beast, as Marco Focchi said in the introduction to this Forum,² invites us to “not give in to the frenzy of analogy,

Text of the closing speech made at the European Forum *Love and Hate for Europe*, Milan, 16 February 2019.

1. “European Parliament resolution of 14 February on the right to peaceful protest and the proportionate use of force,” [Europarl.europa.eu](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2019-0127_EN.html), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2019-0127_EN.html.
2. *Love and Hate for Europe*, European Forum, Milan, 16 February 2019. Among the guests were Giulia Lami, Vittorio Morfino, Feruccio Capelli, Davide Tarizzo, Gianfranco Mormino, Carlo Favero, Mario Gilli, Carmine Pacente, Giuliano Spazzali, Irene Petronella and Attilio Cazzaniga, whose speeches are mentioned in this closing lecture. See <http://www.forumeuropeomilano.org/amour-et-haine-pour-leurope-forum-de-milan/>.

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3. Patrick Bou
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4. *Ibid.*
5. Pascal Ory,
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PE THROUGH HATE (PART 1)

Éric Laurent

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as if an insurrection could only repeat another, as if history was a heroic or dramatic series of reincarnations.”³ Especially in a country that tends to confuse its national history with universal history, speaking of Europe allows us to perceive in comparable European movements the “possible futures” of this insurrection.⁴ Umberto Eco liked to quote Benedetto Croce, according to whom “All history is contemporary history.”⁵ The contemporary aspect of these movements is incontestably Europe.

Since last December, Europe has not ceased to be crossed by movements that demonstrate notorious novelty and scale, in the West as in the East. Giulia Lami is right to emphasize this: Italy, Andalusia, Hungary, Poland, the Ukraine are linked. Beyond the “quarrel of interpretations” that these heterogeneous movements stir up,⁶ commentators emphasize one of the traits: violence.

In the east, the assassination of the mayor of Gdansk on Sunday, 13 January, by a disturbed person who stabbed him several times with a knife, marks a climactic point.⁷ This is an opportunity to remember that a week before the Brexit referendum in 2016, Labour MP Jo Cox was killed in similar circumstances. But:

What's new is this backdrop, is the canvas woven with hatred, anger, resentment, that stretches from West to East. It is found in Poland, in the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy, Hungary [...]. We find it in France where, when they meet for the Council of Ministers, the members of the government engage in a new ritual, that of comparing the refinement—or not—of the last death threats which were addressed to them.⁸

A centrist, trained commentator on French political life stresses this point well:

May 1968, to take only the most famous example, was much more violent than what is happening today [...]. The novelty, the difference, the specificity of the current period, is not

3. Patrick Boucheron, “De l'expérience et de ses passés disponibles,” *Entre-temps.net*, <http://entre-temps.net/de-lexperience-et-de-ses-passes-disponibles/>.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Pascal Ory, *Peuple souverain. De la révolution populaire à la radicalité populiste* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019), 243.

6. Joseph Confavreux, “‘Gilets jaunes’: la querelle des interprétations,” *Mediapart* (18 January 2019).

7. Cf. Sylvie Kauffmann, “Quel que soit le meurtrier du maire de Gdansk, c'est l'escalade de la haine dans la vie publique qui est en cause,” *Le Monde* (16 January 2019).

8. *Ibid.*

violence, but hatred and, worse, general hatred. Because hatred is found both in the contemptuous and caricatured words of those who govern, as in the invectives and threats of the Yellow Vests which are unleashed through social networks, and even engage in a kind of competition for who will be the most radical, the most excessive, the most provocative [...] Here, the banality of violence fades behind the virulence of hatred.⁹

It seems that Europe as an institution is far from the preoccupations of these movements, which assert themselves at the level of the state and readily take a nationalist turn in denouncing the rulers.

The EU seems far from these passions. It could rejoice in this. It would be a mistake. It is, in the backdrop, an object of negative passion present in the history and in the current events of these demonstrations where loathing and the populist will to resist the elites are expressed. A tentative Yellow Vest candidate list declares: "We no longer want to be subjected to the decisions of European authorities and the dictates of the caste of financiers and technocrats, who have forgotten the main thing: people, solidarity and the planet."¹⁰

The rejection of the European Constitution by referendums in France and Holland in May–June 2005, was—as G. Lami underlined—the start of the crisis of confidence of "people" in the European elites, and this was three years before the great subprime mortgage crisis. The opposition between the people and the elites produces a ravaging effect on confidence in those who are supposed to govern. And the EU, through its bureaucracy, and even its parliamentarians, somehow brings to its height the embodiment of a multinational elite.¹¹ In psychoanalytic terms, we would say that the populist rejection of the elite shakes the transference to the subject-supposed-to-know how to govern, which is the foundation of the European project.

Europe Was Loved as Subject-Supposed-to-Know

At the end of the first part of the great European civil war (the Second World War), Paul Valéry lucidly examined what Europe still meant. He

9. Alain Duhamel, "Le triomphe de la haine en politique," *Libération* (9 January 2019).

10. Aline Leclerc and Abel Mesre, "'Gilets jaunes' devraient présenter une liste aux européennes," *Le Monde* (25 January 2019).

11. In France, one of the figures of the Yellow Vests, Étienne Chouart, appeared in 2013–2014 with anti-Semitic plotters in Alain Soral's orbit, glorifying him as "resisting the European Union."

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12. Paul Valéry, *Varies*

13. *Ibid.*, 997.

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reduced his civilization to a strange physical property: “The other parts of the world have had admirable civilizations, poets of the first order, builders, and even scholars. But no part of the world has possessed this singular *physical* property: the most intense emissive power combined with the most intense absorptive.”¹² This “almost everything” is for Valéry essentially mathematics. Husserl, although a mathematician, placed philosophy first as a critical discipline invented by the West, as Vittorio Morfino noted. Valéry also formulates in mathematical terms his vision of *krisis*.¹³ To complete Valéry or Husserl, we would say that Europe has made it possible to invent the critical discipline of the forms of *jouissance* that is psychoanalysis.

The movement of desegregation, seen *in statu nascendi* by Valéry in his “fundamental theorem,” enabled, at the end of the second part of the great European civil war, the series of movements of emancipation and decolonization which would mark in counterpoint the reconstruction of Europe (the Trente Glorieuses) and its culmination, the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Feruccio Capelli showed us in a masterful way these developments, up to the current techno-digital panic. Yet the citizens of the nation states of Europe are unhappy; they feel this union as a *mild and sprawling* power which escapes democratic votes and wants to constrain them for their own good. They criticize the EU for being in fact a kind of state to the second power [x^2].

Alexis de Tocqueville, in a startling insight, exposed the necessary tendency of the democratic state to care for the well-being of everyone:

Above these [individuals] rises an immense and tutelary power, which is solely responsible for ensuring their *jouissance* and watching over their fate. It is absolute, detailed, steady, provident and mild. It would resemble paternal power if, like it, its purpose was to prepare men for the virile age; but, on the contrary, it only seeks to fix them irrevocably in childhood; it likes citizens to rejoice, provided they only think of rejoicing. It willingly works for their happiness; but it wants to be the sole agent and sole arbiter; it provides for their security, foresees and ensures their needs, facilitates their pleasures, conducts their principal businesses, directs their industry, regulates their successions, divides their inheritances; can it not entirely remove from them the trouble of thinking and the pain of living?¹⁴

¹² *Libération* (9 January 2019).
présenter une liste aux européennes,” *Le*

ne Chouart, appeared in 2013-2014 with
m as “resisting the European Union.”

12. Paul Valéry, *Variété* I–II (Paris: Garmond, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), 995.

13. *Ibid.*, 997.

14. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America Book II*, part 4, chapter VI, Gutenberg.org.

This description of the democratic nation state could perfectly apply to the grievances that citizens of European states make against the EU.

What Europe is reproached for is the logic of the emancipated, above-ground state. This is the Europe spoken of in the language of anti-Europe, as Gianfranco Mormino made us hear. We blame Europe for not being able to stop this relentless logic, block it or destroy it. It is hard to quit it—the example of the United Kingdom provides a pathetic soap opera. The EU remains, it is here to stay, and for this very reason becomes the object of even stronger passions.

The European object is no longer defined solely by a cognitive project, it has become the object of passions. The transformation was ignored as long as it was love that accompanied the transference of competences from the states to a bureaucracy supposed-to-know how to guide the future of the small nation states forming the European mosaic. Europe was the name of this subject-supposed-to-know how to remedy the threat of insignificance striking the survivors of the catastrophe which had defeated the European empire.

Alexandre Kojève tried to give a base to the transformation of the nation state by a super-state agent whom he wished for in the form of "Empire." For him, the standardization of lifestyles by scientific civilization could not be done without remainders. There would remain a differentiated way of life resistant to the procedures of the homogeneous and scientific universal state. Between this distant effective universal state and the end of nations, Kojève maintained that "the times belong to Empires," empires whose unity is based on a way of life. For him, the "Latin" way of life is opposed by that of "the Slavic-Soviet Empire" and that of the modern Anglo-Saxon states, to which, he thinks, Germany will very soon be added "because the Protestant inspiration of the Prussian-German State brings it closer to the modern Anglo-Saxon States, also born of the Reformation, and opposes it to the Slavic States of orthodox tradition."¹⁵ Europe today finds itself divided between the countries of the north and those of the south, according to a perspective that corresponds fairly well to Kojève's idea. As for the empire form, some have maintained that after the creation of the euro to the standards of the German mark (ordoliberalism and neoclassical economy),¹⁶ then with the Treaty of Nice in 2001 (prior to enlargement to 27 members) bringing the entire German hinterland of the Eastern European countries

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15. Alexandre Kojève, "L'Empire latin: Esquisse d'une doctrine de la politique française" (27 August, 1945) *La Règle du jeu*, no. 1 (1990): 96.

16. Jérôme Creel, Éloi Laurent, Jacques Le Cacheux, "The Euro at 20 and the futures of Europe," *Social Europe*, 12 December 2018.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Luc de Barochez, "Diss

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into the EU, the de facto leadership by the German chancellor for 14 years
only gave Europe the logic of a German empire. And this with the effect
of constantly increasing the disparities between the countries of the north
and those of the south, without it being possible to change the policy of a
super-state agent living itself as a veritable oxymoron, a German democratic
empire. Davide Tarizzo highlighted this perspective.

The current moment of the EU precisely marks the end of the era of
this de facto leadership, because this empire was rejected both by the Brexit
phenomenon and by the rise of a nationalist reaction in all the states of
the EU. Ferruccio Capelli has explained for us well the foundations of
this logic.

The State of the Libido of the Union Judged by Itself and Its Friends

Our Milan Forum takes place about a month before the election of the
European Parliament scheduled for 23-26 May 2019 in the different
member countries. Polls suggest that parties which are linked to nationalist
currents can win a quarter of the 705 seats to be filled compared to a fifth
today. These nationalist currents draw on the fact that the constitution of
the "big market" produced a paradoxical effect of territorial dislocation
within the states. The differences in economic development between rich
and poor regions in each state are now greater than the differences between
countries.¹⁷ These differences are experienced as an effect of globalization
and therefore of Europe. The economists who spoke during this Forum,
whether Carlo Favero, Mario Gilli, or Carmine Pacente, showed the contra-
dictions of the economic logics at work.

In addition, "the Europhobic push inside the Union is accompanied by
unprecedented challenges outside."¹⁸ On 15 July 2018, the President of the
United States raised the EU from the rank of ally to that of "adversary" and
Mike Pompeo, the US Secretary of State, was questioned on 4 December
last year in Brussels on the interest of European states to stay in the EU.
Mr. Pompeo is not Donald Trump. He graduated summa cum laude from
Harvard and also graduated from West Point. He's a tough guy, but
educated and coherent. He is followed by a whole section of the American
Republican elite, in particular with regard to the need to stop China and
put the EU in step.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Luc de Barochez, "Dissiper le brouillard européen," *Le Point* (7 January 2019).

Richard Haas, a Rhodes Scholar (as was Clinton), doctor of philosophy of Oxford, author of twelve books on foreign affairs, and president for sixteen years of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Republican think tank, describes “a Europe in political suffering, without leadership [...]. The future of democracy, peace and prosperity in Europe, if we stop at this precise moment in its history, seems at least uncertain.”¹⁹ He considers that the EU, “too distant, too bureaucratic, too inspired by the elites and for too long, has gradually lost all appeal in the imagination of its populations.” It is “politically and economically fragmented” between the walking north, the suffering south and the hesitant east. Alain Frachon, who quotes R. Haas, notes its inability “to agree on real big projects—systematic development of a unique cultural base, GAFA taxation, fiscal harmonization within the Twenty-Seven, preparation for the migratory waves of tomorrow, real European budget and investments in the economy of the future. There is no common libido for that.”²⁰ It is a question of broken-down desire, of vanished libido.

The reawakening of the common libido is compatible with the wish to preserve the level of competence of the states, where important decisions can be taken, while decisions at the level of the twenty-eight are so difficult to take. The new functioning which can reawaken libido must be compatible with the household disputes and the tensions between members. The libido and its conflicting vagaries are much more beneficial than the sole relentless competition maintained only at the level of the useful.

To regulate these different levels of conflict, the properly European positive law—in which Giuliano Spazzali places his hopes—will be necessary.

Repoliticizing the EU also means libidinizing it, while the subject-supposed-to-know has fallen. The testimonies of Irene Petronella and Attilio Cazzaniga, of the globalized, connected generation, Erasmus-euro, which took place here, show that this libido can be awakened. Can a new love take shape and give a new face to Europe, which they are calling for?

Translated by Bogdan Wolf

19. Richard Haas, quoted by Alain Frachon, “L’Union européenne est une joueuse de fond de cour” (“The European Union is a Short-distance Player”), *Le Monde* (27 December 2018).

20. Alain Frachon, “L’Union européenne est une joueuse de fond de cour,” *op. cit.*

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1. Cécile Ducourtieux, “L’Union européenne est une joueuse de fond de cour,” *Le Monde* (October 2018).
2. Stephen George, *The European Union: A History* (University Press, 1998).
3. Christian Lequesne, “L’Union européenne est une joueuse de fond de cour,” in Badie B. & Vidal (2018).

EUROPE THROUGH THE ORDEAL OF HATE (PART II)

Éric Laurent

The Argument of Love and the Question of Passions

Should we put love first? “*Amo Italia*” (“I love Italy”), asserted Jean-Claude Juncker during an interview with an Italian audiovisual media group on 16 October 2018, after Italy sent its provisional budget for 2019 to the European Commission; but, at the same time, “there is a gap between what was promised and what is presented today.”¹ He had already said that he loved Greece, but that accounts had to be put in order.

Love is a strange feeling which can manifest itself in a deferred manner and after attempts to break up (*rupture*). British public opinion, for example, has never really liked the European Union (EU) and the current passion for Remain is a very new kind of pragmatics of sentiment. The political scientist Stephen George spoke, in a formula that has remained famous, of an “uncooperative state.”² He also referred to British policy toward the EU as a “semi-detached policy” (like the houses), while former diplomat Stephan Wall called the UK a “strangeness in Europe.” Brexit therefore has its roots in a particular historical trajectory and not only in the recent rise of populism.³

On the other hand, in the same vein as the inventiveness of Beppe Grillo, the Salvinists in Italy were able to highlight hatred of the EU in a new way:

The parliamentarian Angelo Ciocca stands up. He walks towards the tribune, comes to stick to the side of the European commissioner Pierre Moscovici, seizes part of his notes, takes off his shoe,

1. Cécile Ducourtieux, “Budget italien: Bruxelles déterminée à tenir une ligne dure,” *Le Monde* (17 October 2018).
2. Stephen George, *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
3. Christian Lequesne, “Quitter l’Union européenne n’est plus possible: les dynamiques du Brexit,” in Badie B. & Vidal D. eds., *Le Retour des populismes. L’état du monde 2019* (Paris: La Découverte, 2018).

Translated by Bogdan Wolf

then rubs it vigorously on the sheaf of paper, as if he were crushing a cigarette butt or a harmful insect. This scene, exceptional in its buffoonery, unfolded on Tuesday 23 October within the walls of the Strasbourg parliament.⁴

Junker's *Ti amo* does not compare to this *mise-en-scène*. But should we simply regret the swing to hatred? Can we not have a use for it to operate in the properly political field? Don't psychoanalysts, who so often deal with negative transference, have anything to say about this? Davide Tarizzo encouraged us to reveal some secrets of the trade. The relationship to negative transference is one of them.

Hainamoration and the Primary Status of Hatred

Lacan immediately gave Freudian affects an ethical and not a psychological dimension. Beyond all the psychological characteristics of the one who is targeted by love and hatred, passions are addressed to a point beyond. From his first seminar, he made love and hatred *passions of being*.⁵ They are addressed to what, in the other, is his fundamental fault, to what he *does not have*, but what he *is*. Lacan's teaching, as it develops, more precisely defines his ontology. Lacan discards adherences with being to put forward the enjoying (*jouissante*) substance.⁶ In his last teaching, which begins with the seminar *Encore* in 1973, he reformulates Freudian affects from this *jouissance*, and will continue this reformulation in 1974 with the publication of *Television*.

The end of *Encore*, in June 1973, brings out the first consequence of this refocusing on *jouissance*. Hatred takes precedence over love for approaching the Other. Love is attached to semblants, whereas hateful passion aims at the real: "What is it that makes this Other so Other that one can hate it in its very being? This is *the hatred of the jouissance of the Other*. It is the most general form of modern racism that we witness. It is the hatred of the particular way in which the Other enjoys."⁷ For Freud, the father is on the horizon of the social bond through the first identification—distinguished by Freud as that of the father's love—and the Oedipus

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4. "Fasciste," 'crétin': Moscovici hausse le ton contre un eurodéputé italien d'extrême droite," *Le Monde* (29 October 2018).

5. Jacques Lacan, *Freud's Papers on Technique: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book I (1953-1954)*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. John Forester (New York: Norton, 1988) 271.

6. Jacques-Alain Miller, *L'Un-tout-seul*, 2010-2011, *L'orientation lacanienne* (annual course delivered within the framework of the Department of Psychoanalysis, The University of Paris VIII).

7. Jacques-Alain Miller, "Extimate Enemies," *The Lacanian Review*, no. 3 (Spring 2017): 38.

8. Freud spoke to Fliess in
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God, before the sublima
That provides food for
Vol. XIII (1955): x.

9. Jacques Lacan, *Le Séminaire*
10. Jacques-Alain Miller, "Z
(January 2018): 37.

11. Jacques Lacan, "L'insu
May 1977," *Ornicar* 2, 1

12. Éric Laurent, "L'étranger

13. Jacques Lacan, *Encore*, d

er, as if he were crushing
scene, exceptional in its
ober within the walls of

mise-en-scène. But should we
ot have a use for it to operate
analysts, who so often deal with
r about this? Davide Tarizzo
ade. The relationship to nega-

Status of Hatred

an ethical and not a psycho-
logical characteristics of the one
ons are addressed to a point
e and hatred *passions of being*.⁵
his fundamental fault, to what
eaching, as it develops, more
s adherences with being to put
.⁶ In his last teaching, which
reformulates Freudian affects
reformulation in 1974 with the

s out the first consequence of
tes precedence over love for
o semblants, whereas hateful
akes this Other so Other that
e hatred of the *jouissance* of the
n racism that we witness. It is
he Other enjoys.⁷ For Freud,
nd through the first identifica-
father's love—and the Oedipus

europé député italien d'extrême droite," *Le*
of Jacques Lacan, *Book I (1953-1954)*, ed.
orton, 1988) 271.
ation lacanienne (annual course delivered
lysis, The University of Paris VIII).
n Review, no. 3 (Spring 2017): 38.

complex leaves an indelible mark in emotional life.⁸ The convergence of love and hatred in the same person is the source of ambivalence conceived as the astonishing transformation of the feelings which tie and untie men in their social life. This ambivalence had allowed Freud to distance himself from the universal commandment of love of the neighbour.⁹ Lacan wants to go further.

He wishes to dispense with the fiction of the Name-of-the-Father to found the fundamental affect of the relation with the Other. He founds it directly on the relation with *jouissance* as a point of rejection, of expulsion of the Other which goes back to the *Ausstossung*, to the primordial expulsion that places the subject in front of the Other. Jacques-Alain Miller underlines, with regard to the Freudian opposition Eros/Thanatos: "The adversary of love [...] is not hate, it is death, Thanatos. It is here that we must differentiate violence and hatred. Hatred is on the same side as love. Hatred, like love, is on the side of Eros."¹⁰

It is against this backdrop that we must read the reformulation, in Lacan's last teaching, of the place of *feeling* that includes in his new definition hatred and love: "There is something of the One, and that means that there is still some feeling, this feeling that I called [...] hatred, in so far as this hatred is related to love."¹¹ This *hainamoration* is the consequence of separation from the *jouissance* of other Ones. Knowing this, knowing the aporias of love and of *jouissance* in the vicinity of the neighbor, does not condemn us to cynicism, nor to immobility, nor to simple observation of the irreducible presence of hatred or evil.¹² This primacy of hatred is above all a de-idealization of love as the primary affect. We see the fecundity of this approach in the reformulation of transference in Lacan's last teaching. The positive transference which was based on the fiction of the subject-supposed-to-know is, in the last teaching, second compared to the negative transference that does not need any hypothesis.¹³

8. Freud spoke to Fliess in 1897 about his first glimpses of his self-analysis. In his notes to the Standard Edition for *Totem and Taboo*, Strachey notes the letter to Fliess of 4 July 1901 where Freud, who reads the newspapers, comments on the discoveries of Knossos: "Have you read that the English have excavated an old palace in Crete (Knossos) which they declare is the authentic labyrinth of Minos? Zeus seems originally to have been a bull. It seems, too, that our own old God, before the sublimation instigated by the Persians took place, was also worshipped as a bull. That provides food for all sorts of thoughts which it is not yet time to set down on paper." SE, Vol. XIII (1955): x.

9. Jacques Lacan, *Le Séminaire*, livre XX, *Encore*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (Paris: Seuil, 1975): 84.

10. Jacques-Alain Miller, "Violent Children," trans. Joanne Conway, *The Lacanian Review*, no. 4 (January 2018): 37.

11. Jacques Lacan, "L'insu que sait de l'une bévée saïle à mourir: *Le Séminaire*, livre XXIV, lesson of 10 May 1977," *Ornicar ?*, nos. 17–18 (Paris: Navarin, 1979): 18.

12. Éric Laurent, "L'étranger extime, I," in *Lacan Quotidien*, no. 770 (22 March 2018), online publication.

13. Jacques Lacan, *Encore*, *op. cit.*, 17.

This perspective, distinct from that of Freud, over-encumbered with the father, accounts for the opposition between the populisms of the 1930s—vertical, centered on the unique leader, with a strong doctrine—and the new populisms supported by horizontal movements, connected by Facebook pages, polymorphic, atomized (such as M5S and the Yellow Vests), united by the hatred of the “elite” which can be summed up by a name (Macron, Soros) or by the hatred of exchangeable objects such as the Jew or migrant. Of course, we don’t forget Freud and his putting forward the leader as strong, but the current populist movements are compatible with the weak man (Luigi Di Maio) and the strongmen are not what they used to be—Salvini is not Mussolini and Trump is not Hitler.

Libidinization of Europe and the Movement of Hatred

Emmanuel Macron, in a series of speeches in Athens, in Paris at the Sorbonne, and in the Strasbourg Parliament, proposed a whole series of measures to make people love Europe—with an eloquence as lively as that of Carmine Pacente. However, something is not working. Probably because we have to pass through a more marked moment of hatred. And maybe give up on wanting love first. Then the actual challenges can be addressed. The affect in a strong sense toward the EU is likely to remain hatred in all its declensions and diversity for a long time. We’ll need politicians, men and women, able to make something out of it, and able to remain permanently on campaign, as Donald Trump and Recep Tayyip Erdogan do, always connected—yellow vests as well—or like Emmanuel Macron is doing again, and this 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

To give up conceiving the social bond under the disguised form of love is not the same as being fascinated by the power of hatred. It is to renounce the failure of love in order to rely on desire only.¹⁴ It is in the sustenance of this decided desire to reinvent our old democracies at the end of their tether that we will find the equivalent of what New Deal-like policies were. Forget the serotonin deficit—our politicians will have to invent *en acte* and sort, on the spur of the moment, among all the things that our academics’ and citizens’ debates propose as devices to bring a new participative democracy to life. The French, the Italians, the English, the Hungarians, the Poles, all parade, all are caught in diverse and very libidinal hatreds. At the level of the EU, it will be the same, it will be necessary to invent on the spur of the moment, in the very movement of crisis. Then the missing place of the

14. Jacques Lacan, *ibid.*, 133.

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Freud, over-encumbered with the populisms of the 1930s with a strong doctrine—national movements, connected by such as M5S and the Yellow Vests, which can be summed up by a changeable objects such as the Freud and his putting forward movements are compatible strongmen are not what they are. Trump is not Hitler.

Movement of Hatred

Freud in Athens, in Paris at the time, proposed a whole series of moves with an eloquence as lively as that of his not working. Probably because of the movement of hatred. And maybe the challenges can be addressed. It is likely to remain hatred in all forms. We'll need politicians, men of letters, and able to remain permanent. Recep Tayyip Erdogan do, like Emmanuel Macron is a week.

Under the disguised form of love and the movement of hatred. It is to renounce the movement. ¹⁴ It is in the sustenance of the movement at the end of their tether. Deal-like policies were. Forget the movement to invent *en acte* and sort, the movement that our academics' and the movement new participative democracy the Hungarians, the Poles, all the movement of hatreds. At the level of the movement to invent on the spur of the moment when the missing place of the

Europe that does not exist and whose non-existence is not experienced as a which Matteo Vegetti told us about—will have a chance to exist.

It will be necessary to further deepen the mutation represented by the necessary ecological transition, the response to the global climate crisis. Europe is the continent best placed to demonstrate how humanity could not take its own life. Elon Musk's dreams of colonizing space are very American. Europeans, by their history, know that migrations take place down below and that bodies do not evaporate.

This is where we should say no to Thanatos. The story that will be written in the coming years will be that of an invention, which will be constructed from the errors and impasses encountered in what has been constructed. It is homologous to what psychoanalytic experience proposes. It is not a question of applying pre-established protocols. Once the interest in Freudian phenomena has been established, once the belief in the unconscious has been posed, then one walks from obstacle to obstacle where, as Lacan says, it is about being able to construct solutions from the impasses.

Translated by Bogdan Wolf and revised by Nicolas Duchenne