



INSURGENT AND INTERCULTURAL CONTENT
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AN Original

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By Camila Massaro Cruz de Góes, Cristiano Gianolla

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Racismo no futebol além das quatro linhas

AN Original

2023-12-27

Por Marcos Silva

O racismo no futebol nas sociedades contemporâneas tem se manifestado por práticas racistas que inclui todos os atos, verbais, não verbais e para verbais (xingamentos, insultos racistas, ou algum tipo de sinal e ou/gestos) que resultam em consequências desfavoráveis para grupos racializado, principalmente negros (jogadores, comissão técnica, torcedores, etc.) nos estádios de futebol, quadra desportivas, entre outros recintos desportivos. Tais práticas racistas também têm se manifestadas por meio da internet e redes sociais, dirigidas à praticantes diretos ou indiretos das partidas de futebol. Em uma sociedade marcada pelo racismo, é preciso compreender como as tecnologias incorporaram as lógicas de discriminação. O preconceito, os atos discriminatórios com relação à raça precisam ser combatidos na internet. O combate ao racismo tem ganhado força na internet e nas redes sociais com denúncias dos casos de racismo, debates, informações e organizações de movimentos para discutir o racismo. Um exemplo disto é o movimento Black Lives Matter (Vidas Negras Importam) que ganhou grande visibilidade através da internet e redes sociais, onde ativistas têm combatido o racismo nas sociedades contemporâneas.

O caso do jogador de futebol Vinícius Júnior, brasileiro, e atuando no futebol espanhol, ganhou notoriedade na mídia e (re)acendeu um alerta em praticamente todo o mundo contra manifestações racistas contra atletas nos campos de futebol. Isto não exclui outros casos passados e presentes. De Lukaku a Vinícius. Os casos de racismo no futebol europeu e o que foi feito, traz um recorte de episódios de racismo no futebol com notícias de diversos países. Por exemplo, a Inglaterra mostra casos de racismo envolvendo treinadores, torcedores (além do estádio/redes sociais), que têm ampliado a (re)produção do racismo no futebol.

Um exemplo disto, foi o caso midiático da final do Campeonato Europeu de Futebol de 2020 (Euro 2020), quando ingleses e italianos disputavam o título. O jogo só ficou decidido nas penalidades e a seleção inglesa perdeu. Porém, alguns torcedores por meio da internet/redes sociais direcionaram ataques racistas nas redes sociais contra três jogadores ingleses que perderam seus pênaltis. Neste sentido, as investigações da polícia inglesa sobre os atos de racismo contra os três jogadores foram relatadas pela agência de notícias Reuters. É importante que autoridades, sociedade civil e organismos futebolísticos nas sociedades contemporâneas possam coibir esses atos racistas, por meios legais, (aplicação de legislações vigentes) e promovendo ações antirracistas.

Outro caso recente (nov.2023) envolvendo futebol, redes sociais e racismo, mostra que o jogador Rodrygo, brasileiro é vítima de racismo após um desentendimento com Messi na partida Brasil x Argentina pelas eliminatórias da copa do mundo de 2026 no estádio do Maracanã, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil . “Os racistas estão sempre de plantão. Minhas redes sociais foram invadidas com ofensas e todo tipo de absurdo. Está aí para todo mundo ver”. escreveu Rodrygo.

Na França, na final da copa do mundo de futebol de 2022, jogadores da seleção francesa foram alvo de insultos racistas após a final perdida para a Argentina. Na Itália, por exemplo, na partida entre a Juventus e o Inter de Milão, Romelu Lukaku também foi alvo de insultos racistas. O caso do atleta belga se tornou uma bandeira no futebol italiano contra o racismo no esporte, com direito a 171 torcedores da Juventus, que foram identificados pela polícia de Turim como participantes da manifestação discriminatória, sendo banidos dos estádios e multados pela Justiça italiana. Nos Países Baixos, iniciaram ações, como por exemplo, a utilização de tecnologia para combater casos de violência e racismo. Foram instalados equipamentos (câmaras e gravadores) de som nos estádios para que seja possível identificar os adeptos responsáveis por cânticos e insultos racistas.

Infelizmente entre uma partida e outra de futebol avolumam-se episódios de racismo no futebol, no mês de novembro de 2023, pudemos observar pela mídia que Futebolista português Chermiti denuncia racismo no desafio dos sub-20 com Itália; Argentina foi acusada de racismo contra funcionária do estádio do Maracanã na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Esses episódios racistas, mesmo havendo ações antirracistas, punições, sanções, multas aos envolvidos ainda tende a acontecer.



Foto do autor

O antirracismo é, primeiramente, uma luta coletiva de libertação que busca combater o racismo e desmantelar as estruturas de opressão racial e desumanização. Para Nilma Gomes, que tem vasta bibliografia sobre o tema do (anti)racismo “O antirracismo é uma reivindicação que sempre fez parte da luta do movimento negro e é o objetivo de uma sociedade cada vez mais democrática, no sentido de que nela tem que caber todas as pessoas e ter espaço para todas as lutas por emancipação”. Cabe as pessoas, as instituições passarem em revista todos os espaços sociais, culturais, desportivos, políticos, dentre outros, questionando qual a relação de cada um deles com o racismo, e em que medida contribuem para a superação do racismo ou para sua (re)produção.

Quando o foco é o futebol, [Marco Túlio de Souza \(portal Mais Futebol\)](#), chama a atenção para pontos importantes no que tange racismo no futebol: as consequências psicológicas, sociais e culturais que envolvem os jogadores negros; carreira e envolvimento com o racismo; efeitos do racismo sob os jogadores, clubes, torcedores, organizações desportivas; ações de combate ao racismo. Embora diversas ações antirracistas tenham sido implementadas no campo desportivo, ainda há muito a se fazer, ainda há diversos episódios de racismo que continuam a acontecer, e os jogadores negros, homens e mulheres, jovens ou veteranos, continuam sofrendo violência racista. É importante o desenvolvimento de ações para coibir os atos racistas; a criação de estratégias que não apenas apliquem penalidades, mas sim a promoção de ações antirracistas que [promovam uma cultura de igualdade e diversidade em todos os níveis do futebol](#).

Nesta direção, observamos iniciativas de ações antirracistas como por exemplo, a realização de oficinas com jovens de categorias de base de futebol, com diferentes categorias, como é o caso do Corinthians, no futebol brasileiro. [É preciso ser antirracista: Corinthians promove oficinas com jovens das categorias de base](#). O Santos FC, através do Comitê de Equidade, Diversidade e Inclusão, tem realizado uma série de palestras em homenagem ao Dia Nacional de Combate ao Racismo, voltada para os atletas e comissões técnicas das categorias de base e funcionários do Clube. [Base do Santos FC participa do evento "Racismo no Futebol" - #MuitoAlém do Futebol - YouTube](#). Outra iniciativa de combate ao racismo no futebol brasileiro tem sido discutida pelo Grupo de Trabalho de Combate ao Racismo e à Violência no Futebol. Este debate é importante, visto que [casos de preconceito contra atletas cresceram 40% nos estádios brasileiros em 2022](#).

O combate ao racismo no futebol é um tema cada vez mais recorrente, e é fundamental orientar novas gerações e adotar medidas práticas e concretas por meio da adoção e efetiva implementação de políticas de quadros jurídicos, políticas e programas de combate ao racismo.

Qual é o posicionamento de seu clube de futebol frente ao racismo?

Marcos Antonio Batista da Silva - Doutorado em Psicologia Social pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo. Pós-doutorado no Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra. (Projeto 725402 - POLITICS - ERC-2017-2023).



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(en) Reflection Original Anti-Capitalism Anti-Colonialism

Hindu Religious Populism Against Christians and Muslim minorities in India

AN Original

2023-12-24

By Amit Singh

Religion can be exploited for populist politics. Due to its multifaceted role, religion is easily manipulated by right-wing populist leaders to divide and alienate religious minorities in order to gain political power. Populism is majoritarian in nature and calls for majority rule at the expense of minorities. Consequently, the religion of minorities may be targeted by the majority, which could have serious human rights implications for them. Concerns over the rise of religious populism by the right-wing politicians and its negative impact on secular democracy and human rights in Western democracy is growing. Scholars such as Olivier Roy, Roger Brubaker, Nadia Marzuki, Duncan McDonnell have written extensively on religion and populism offering insights how in the West some views religion as a marker of identity, enabling populist parties to distinguish between the good 'us' and the bad 'them'; and how populist hijack Christian religion, to build a golden national past, 'othering' Islam (which is a religious minority in the West) as a foreign culture. In the views of Roy and Brubaker, the role of religion in populism seems to be almost entirely identitarian and negative. To certain extent, this could be seen in the Indian case.



In India, the employment of religion with populism in Hindu nationalism has aggravated a human rights crisis. Hindu religious populism is the use of Hindu nationalism and religion as a basis for populist politics. In secular democratic India, persecution of Christian and Muslim minorities has reached to a critical stage under the Hindu right-wing Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Cases of vandalization of churches, mosque, police harassment, mob lynching, public demonization of religious minorities by the Hindu nationalists are well documented. Rights groups record more than 300 attacks on Christians and their religious places in year 2021. Most of these attacks have been carried out by the ultra-nationalist right-wing Hindu groups such as '*Hindu Sangathan, Hindu Vadi Sanghatan, Hindu Yuva Vahini, Hindu Jagran Manch, members of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Bajrang Dal and Visha Hindu Parishad*'. These groups are linked to the ruling party, *Bhartiya Janta Party* (Indian Peoples Party) which uses the Hindu identity, culture and religion to polarize Hindu majority to exclude Christian and Muslim minorities from Indian citizenship in their pursuit to capture political power and transform India into a Hindu nation. Along with Christians, Indian Muslims are their primary target. They are on the verge of impending genocide.

Hindu nationalists under the current right-wing Prime Minister have created 'ontological insecurity' among the Hindu majority by making appearing Hindu identity threatened by foreign cultures, particularly Islamic and Christianity in India. And it seems, religion and nationalism are in a particularly advantageous position to supply these populist cultural master narratives of ontological insecurity to Hindu majority. Hindu nationalists spread the propaganda that Indian Muslims are taking over India by populating and capturing the economic resources, and Christians are converting Hindus to Christianity, and spreading the Christian culture thus presenting an imminent threat to Hindu religion and cultural identity. Hindu nationalist also targets Indian Constitution particularly Indian secularism which, in principle, protects the rights of religious minorities and their religious and cultural freedom.

By creating a 'divisive binary' and 'ontological insecurity' among Hindu majority, right wing Hindu religious populist, 'sacralise' the Hindu people by appealing to Hinduism thereby weakening secularism, which protects the rights of religious minorities and allows them to maintain their distinct religious rituals and heritage such as churches and mosques. Linking of populism to religion helps populists to turn religion into an instrument for consolidating power in societies in which religion already plays an important social role such as India. Religious symbols, feelings of belonging, difference and entitlement can be selectively used by populist politicians in their calls to 'the people' against 'elites' and 'outsiders'.

Indeed, religion in its various forms not only provides fertile ground to create a receptive audience 'the pure people' (Hindu majority in this case) of populists but it also provides relevant references (by choosing episodes of historical trauma and humiliation under the foreign religious rulers such as so called oppression of Hindus under the Muslim rulers in medieval age in India) that helps populists create dichotomies between 'us' and 'them' and, in perpetuating these divisive binaries leading the alienation of religious minorities by the Majority population. In the Indian context, Hindu religious populists often invoke historical vendettas to take physical revenge against Muslims and Christians, whom they accuse of defiling pure Hindu culture and the nation. The use of Hindu religious populism under the Prime Minister Modi, who once was banned from the West due to his complicity in the massacre of Muslims in 2002, has reached to a new height consequently increase in Hindu majority hostility towards religious minorities. As part of state-building, historical

architectures are being shaped in *Hinduness*, the identities of religious minorities are being erased, past events are being retold to create an 'official' Hindu state history. To make a populist appeal to the Hindu majority's nostalgia for ancient Hindu greatness, India is becoming 'Bharat'.

The hindu right-wing party, *Bhartiya Janta Party*, has 'hijacked' Hinduism; in the building of the fantasy narrative of the great Hindu nation while excluding Indian Muslims and Christians from Indian civilization as adherents of a foreign culture, similar to the argument put up by Roy in the western context. Hindu nationalist has singled out religious minorities, the 'others' as threat to the 'the Hindu people' and their culture. Hindu nationalists have made Hinduism into a 'thick ideology' which is used by Hindu populists in current Indian politics. Saleem noted that increase in Hindu populism in India has targeted towards the exclusion of religious minorities asserting the claims of 'authentic people' of the land by the Hindu nationalists. In general, elements of populism in Hindu religious populism, such as its 'anti-pluralistic' attitude towards religious diversity, and tendency to eliminate civil society, presents a true danger for secular Indian democracy and for the rights of religious minorities in India. If the influence of Hindu populist nationalist leader such as Narendra Modi, on the Hindu majority and the Hindu religion increases, the state of human rights, especially freedom of religious minorities, such as Christians and Muslims, is likely to decline.



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El Día Internacional de las Personas Migrantes en la encrucijada de la securitización y el odio

AN Original

2023-12-20

Por Ivana Belén Ruiz Estramil

Ha pasado el 18 de diciembre, Día Internacional de las Personas Migrantes, en un año marcado por la tragedia. La más notable en cuanto a magnitud y simbolismo fue sin duda el caso del naufragio en la Fosa de Calipso el pasado junio, en donde se estima que viajaban unas 700 personas, de las cuales la mayoría perdieron la vida intentando llegar a costas griegas cuando la embarcación en la que viajaban se hundió desvaneciendo la esperanza de recuperar a alguna persona con vida, o al menos sus restos. Tan solo cuatro días después y con la volatilidad que suele caracterizar a los medios de comunicación, cientos de vidas perdidas pasan a un segundo plano cuando el sumergible Titán perdió contacto con su base de operaciones. Esta expedición de 5 hombres adinerados (de los cuales conocemos sus nombres a diferencia del anterior naufragio del que no sabemos ni la cifra exacta de tripulantes) preocupados por la fortuna del Titanic, otro barco con una bodega repleta de viajeros de tercera clase, seguramente migrantes impulsados por el naciente mito del sueño americano, acaparó todas las portadas poniendo en evidencia una vez más cómo no todas las muertes cuentan igual. Las hay sin duelo, anónimas, desapercibidas y otras heroicas, tan solo mediadas por la posición en la que se ubiquen dentro de las relaciones de poder internacionales.



Wikimedia. Escultura que simboliza el arribo de los primeros inmigrantes italianos a la ciudad de Resistencia, Chaco, Argentina. La obra se encuentra emplazada en el cruce de las avenidas Lavalle y Ávalos, a 300 metros de la zona de desembarco sobre el río Negro.

Los meses han pasado y en Europa avanza la extrema derecha con un discurso marcadamente anti-inmigratorio que encubre la segregación como norma con conceptos como migrantes de segunda o tercera generación, y es que para ciertas visiones alguien sigue siendo migrante aunque haya nacido en el territorio al que sus progenitores emigraron, aunque su documento de identidad ponga “nacional” o aunque sea el lugar donde paga sus impuestos. Un determinado color de piel o una determinada religión, son para estas perspectivas del odio suficientes para enmarcar a alguien en la extranjeridad perpetua, mientras se refuerza el mito de una Europa homogénea o de diversidad controlada.

Los discursos anti-inmigración son cada vez más virulentos y las prácticas abogan por una mayor securitización, mientras las personas en movimiento emprenden rutas cada vez más peligrosas, como hemos visto este año con el renovado protagonismo de la ruta canaria ante un Mediterráneo cada vez más vigilado. Reino Unido sigue firme con la intención de enviar a los solicitantes de asilo a Ruanda, Italia firma un acuerdo con Albania para enviar a migrantes rescatados en el Mediterráneo a centros de acogida e identificación, en donde presentar una solicitud de asilo o en su caso repatriación. Albania responde que su compromiso con Italia es una deuda histórica en referencia al barco Vlora que en 1991 llegó a costas italianas, recibiendo también inicialmente la negativa de desembarcar en puerto italiano, hasta que finalmente, después de muchas horas sin alimento ni agua bajo el sol de agosto, el capitán entró a puerto, las órdenes policiales de entonces recomendaron que las personas

desembarcadas fueran enviadas a un estadio de futbol a espera de deportación. Aquellos que antaño fueron los que se embarcaban en busca de seguridad y un futuro son los que hoy actuarán de contención bajo la promesa de que algún día pertenecerán a la UE, porque aunque Edi Rama, primer ministro albanés, afirme que “Somos un Estado europeo, nos falta la U delante”, lo cierto es que no son la Unión Europea y ahora se convertirán en un espacio de externalización, situación que paradójicamente les aleja de una posible adhesión debido a la funcionalidad de externalizar en sus tierras lo que dentro de la UE estaría mal visto.

Como una broma de mal gusto, este Día Internacional de las Personas Migrantes ha coincidido con los que pretenden ser los debates finales del Nuevo Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo en la Unión Europea, un pacto en el que lleva trabajándose desde septiembre de 2020 y que se ha extendido en el tiempo por la falta de acuerdo entre los Estados miembros sobre las “responsabilidades” a asumir. Los debates que se han sucedido alrededor del Nuevo Pacto, pero sobre todo los acuerdos y medidas que se han visto aplicar en estos últimos dos años, han mostrado la capacidad de cooptar la terminología, de apropiarse de los significados. Hemos escuchado numerosas veces términos como “solidaridad”, “responsabilidad” o “protección”, pero virados hacia el interior de la Unión Europea. Solidaridad entre los Estados miembros, responsabilidad compartida, protección de los sistemas de protección. Y así se va perfilando un “otro” externo, una masa indistinguible, una amenaza sobre la que acordar un “reglamento relativo a las situaciones de crisis”, justamente el último de los reglamentos debatidos y que mayor debate ha causado.

Atendiendo a las cifras de los desplazamientos forzados a nivel internacional vemos como la tendencia muestra que estas seguirán en aumento, lo que ha llevado al giro discursivo de hacer hincapié en la dicotomía migrante/refugiado para obstaculizar el reconocimiento de una protección internacional a determinados colectivos o procedencias, cuando la realidad nos muestra que esa dicotomía está plagada de grises que claman por un enfoque más garantista, máxime en un contexto de crisis climática previsiblemente agravada en las próximas décadas. El sistema que reproduce las jerárquicas relaciones de poder ha encontrado nuevamente las respuestas antes de plantear las preguntas, encontrando en el comodín de lo “cultural” la posibilidad de filtrar sus responsabilidades. Lo vimos con la activación de la Directiva 2001/55/CE del Consejo, de 20 de julio de 2001, relativa a las normas mínimas para la concesión de protección temporal en caso de afluencia masiva de personas desplazadas y a medidas de fomento de un esfuerzo equitativo entre los Estados miembros para acoger a dichas personas y asumir las consecuencias de su acogida, para el caso de las personas desplazadas de Ucrania, una directiva existente desde el 2001 pero que no se había aplicado con anterioridad.

El viraje de los discursos anti-inmigración abiertamente racistas de la extrema derecha, han hecho florecer las estrategias de las posturas intermedias que reconocen la necesidad de la migración, tanto regular como irregularizada para reproducir el sistema de desigualdad sobre el que se cimenta la economía capitalista, recurriendo a los discursos de seguridad, control y lucha contra las mafias. Entre esas dos posturas, más complementarias que enfrentadas, se asienta el marco de disputa sellando una agenda regresiva en donde toda propuesta centrada en los derechos y garantías hacia las personas en movilidad ha de enfrentarse a una agenda ya pautada y encorsetada en la necesaria funcionalidad de la gestión migratoria en relación a las necesidades e intereses de las regiones receptoras y no de los derechos de las personas en movilidad.

El Día Internacional de las Personas Migrantes llega en un contexto de rutas cada vez más peligrosas en donde los cuerpos se enfrentan a la hostilidad de los territorios, hostilidades sociales y geográficas, desiertos, mares y selvas. Espacios a los que se viaja como turista si se tiene suficiente dinero para limar la hostilidad del entorno, en forma de safaris, cruceros o expediciones; o espacios por los que se transita huyendo de guerras o condiciones de insostenibilidad vitales. Puede que el poder adquisitivo no cambie por completo el paisaje por el que se transita, pero modifica sustancialmente la lectura del trayecto o el duelo ante un desenlace inesperado. De quienes perecieron en la Fosa de Calipso, así como en tantas otras zonas de muerte que se suceden en las rutas migratorias, no sabemos sus nombres, no sabemos a menudo la cifra exacta, son ausencia, cuerpos por relaciones de poder que los expulsa.

Ivana Belén Ruiz-Estramíl. Beneficiaria de Ayuda del Programa Posdoctoral, de Perfeccionamiento de Personal Investigador Doctor del Gobierno Vasco. Investigadora Postdoctoral Visitante en el Centro de Estudios Sociais (CES) de la Universidad de Coimbra; adscripta al Instituto Hegoa, Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.



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en Reflection Original Anti-Colonialism

Israel and the right of the self-defence

AN Original

2023-12-02

By Dimitris Kaltsonis

The main argument of Israeli government is the right of the self-defence against the Hamas attack. According to the art. 51 of the Charter of the United Nations «Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security».

However, this case is not so clear as the Israeli governments maintain illegal occupation. Israel has been occupying Palestine for many decades. That is, it violates the core of the principles which the UN is founded on. The foundations of international law are respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity, the peoples' right to self-determination, the principles of peaceful coexistence, good neighborliness, and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Therefore there can be no question of self-defense. For example, the operations of the German armed forces, during the Second World War when fighting against the rebel forces of the occupied countries, were not self-defense. Colonial troops in Africa or Asia did not exercise self-defense when fighting against armed anti-colonial movements.

For that reason, it is wrong and misleading to discuss whether Israel applies the international law of armed conflict. It's just not about defense. These are occupation consolidation operations. Instead, Israel should immediately commence peaceful negotiations and withdraw from all occupied territories without delay. Peace would come automatically.

Let me seize this opportunity to remind you that according to the interpretation of article 1 par. 2 of the Charter, which establishes the peoples' right to self-determination, the use of force is legalized until the goal of liberation from a foreign occupation is achieved. Therefore, based on

international law, the people of Palestine are generally legitimized to be armed and fight against the occupation forces.

On the other hand, the real facts oblige us to examine whether a real commission of crimes is taking place according to international law. Based on the Statute of the International Criminal Court it can be argued that the government of Israel is committing war crimes (art. 8). For example, let's mention:

1. the extensive destruction of property not justified by military necessity (art. 8 par. 2A (iv)),
2. the unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement (art. 8 par. 2A (vii)),
3. the intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking directly part in hostilities (art. 8 par. 2B (i)),
4. the intentionally directing attacks against civilian objects, that is, objects which are not military objectives (art. 8 par. 2B (ii)),
5. the intentionally directing attacks against personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles involved in humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping mission in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as long as they are entitled to the protection given to civilians or civilians objects under the international law of armed conflict (art. 8 par. 2B (iii)),
6. attacking or bombarding, by whatever means, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended and which are not military objectives (art. 8 par. 2B (v)),
7. declaring that no quarter will be given (art. 8 par. 2B (xii)).

Furthermore, based on Article 6, it can be argued that the government of Israel commits the crime of genocide since it is "intentionally imposing upon the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its natural destruction in whole or in part".

Based on Article 7, it also commits a crime against humanity with the extermination of the population in Gaza, i.e. "the intentional imposition of living conditions, including deprivation of access to food and medicine, calculated to bring about the destruction of part of the population".

The far-right government of Benjamin Netanyahu is responsible for all of the above. The Israeli people have every interest to live peacefully next to the Palestinian people, who must obtain their own free homeland, on the borders of 1967 with East Jerusalem as its capital, as mandated by the UN resolutions (for example the resolutions of the Security Council 242(1967), 338(1973), 446(1979), 452(1979), 465(1980) 476(1980), 478(1980) 1397(2002), 1515(2003), 1850(2008), 2334(2016)). Two states, one next to the other, two peoples united and free.

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Affects in political crises: towards hegemony through populism

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By Camila Massaro Cruz de Góes, Cristiano Gianolla

The current crisis of neoliberal hegemony, the proliferation of political formations understood as 'populist' and the radicalization of new social movements on a global scale are elements of a political conjuncture that challenge hegemonic political theories and institutions. This crisis, in the case of hegemony theories, follows the first two decades of the 21st century, when a group of theorists who identified hegemony as an idea of 'persuasion' and 'consensus', began to question it as political practice as well as its ability to produce realistic analyses. The rise of the far right over the last decades has strengthened the debate, a phenomenon often understood by its populist formations and hegemonic challenges to the neoliberal condition, not to mention the concept of 'consolidated democracy', a hitherto widely disseminated idea, until at least the 2016 election of President Donald Trump. In that regard, struggling with the difficult objectives of finding explanatory hypotheses, combating authoritarianism and renewing hopes for a democratic path, antiquated categories and study routes are frequently revisited. In order to understand why populism rises and succeeds or fails, it is important to set the framework in which it operates and to assess the substance of political crises which makes it thrive. This also helps explain how populism constructs a new hegemony, when the existing one is collapsing.

Ernesto Laclau and Stuart Hall have contributed to understanding the relationship between populism and emotion through their 'theories of hegemony'. Both the Argentine philosopher and the Jamaican sociologist developed their works in moments of paradigmatic political crises, which gave rise to neoliberal hegemony throughout the 1970s and 1980s. This timeframe is also characterised by the increasing relevance of 'identity' in defining struggles within 'the political'. To limit and clarify the domain of analysis it is important to outline the post-structuralist distinction between politics – governmentality or administration – and the political – the symbolic space of

hegemonic dispute. Chantal Mouffe has clearly made this distinction, whilst Jacques Rancière defines the first as police and the second as politics. In order to analyse hegemonic construction, Laclau and Hall turned to Antonio Gramsci. The authors did not simply apply Gramsci; they drew on some of his writings to develop their own understandings of hegemony, rooted in the social and political transformations of their time, as shown by Colpani.

The resumption of Laclau and Hall's research agenda and the prominence of the word 'hegemony' in the literature have mobilised a lively debate among theorists around the so-called 'post-hegemony' and its relevance (or not) for thinking about the contemporary world. According to one of its most influential intellectuals, Jon Beasley-Murray, post-hegemony combines a historical observation that the theory of hegemony – as advanced by Antonio Gramsci, more recently refined and developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and engaged by cultural studies in general – no longer helps explain the contemporary social order, with the more radical claim that it has only ever appeared to do so. In Peter Thomas' words, 'the need for this renovation of political conceptuality is claimed to consist either in the exhaustion of hegemony as a political practice and consequent transition to a "post-hegemonic condition" defining contemporary politics, or in the discovery of a theoretical failing at the heart of the concept of hegemony as such'.

There are, however, certain misconceptions in this debate, such as attributing the invention of the concept to Gramsci, as discussed by Peter Thomas, as well as crediting the Italian Marxist with a series of imputations that were actually elaborated by other intellectuals, with special emphasis on the space occupied by Laclau in this process of conceptual diffusion. Furthermore, readers of the Argentine's work noticed a process of conceptual rapprochement or even identification between the ideas of 'hegemony' and 'populism', which has since received critical evaluation.

According to Mazzolini, for example, 'what lies of the dissatisfaction with the excessive conceptual proximity between populism and hegemony in Laclau is that not all political projects that launch successful bids for power via the populist route manage to alter the conformism that lies at the basis of the social formation that they allegedly attempt to outdo'. To illustrate this point, Mazzolini recalls what became known as the 'pink wave' in Latin America in the 2000s and early 2010s. Despite the alleged hegemonic offensive against neoliberalism, the author considers that electoral success in countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Ecuador, alongside the clear change of leadership with regard to public policies, were not accompanied by a similar capacity to institutionalise their victories and radiate a different political culture in an expanded form. In this case, the populist moment failed to create a hegemonic narrative.

Andy Knott identifies such populist mobilisations as competitive attempts to dispute the hegemonic order, however only one of these populist mobilisations can constitute a new hegemony. Knott also shows to what extent populism emerges out of a political crisis, whilst Benjamin Moffit, Yannis Stavrakakis and colleagues have disentangled crises from its materiality, spelling out the way in which a symbolic dimension – affectively narrated in political discourse – is constructed. In this sense, for Knott, populism is counter-hegemonic, as it emerges in opposition to an existing hegemony that faces a material and performed crisis. Transition from populism to hegemony is however rare, Stuart Hall demonstrated that Margaret Thatcher operated a successful populist intervention building on the materiality of the crisis of the post-WWII welfare state, as generated by 1970s neoliberalism, to create a hegemony of neoliberal populism through the

symbolic resignification of British politics. This generated a new ‘common sense’ neoliberal, hegemonic discourse that was able to impose itself on the political culture of Great Britain (and spread elsewhere).

While populism would constructs an ephemeral political meaning that is mainly concerned with the total contestation of a political regime, hegemony would encompass a much subtler and diffusive form of political and social normativity, as already suggested by Mazzolini. Furthermore, hegemony would also define the ability to go beyond the superficial domain of ‘passion’ for a political project and reshape socio-political habitus. A new hegemonic order instils a molecular change that transforms subjectivities and stimulates far-reaching moral and ideological reform.

The place of *habitus* and affections in maintaining a social and political order has been one of the main lines of discussion among those who proclaim ‘post-hegemony’. They highlight the novelty of their elaborations as opposed to an insufficient version of hegemony. Jon Beasley-Murray reinforces that ‘post-hegemony’ would entail a shift from conscious discourse to unconscious affect. That is to say, a shift from a rhetoric of persuasion to a regime of affective investment in the social, if by affect we mean the order of bodies rather than the order of signification. It would require, therefore, another kind of methodology, one that would be appropriate to the understanding of affect. But these two approaches are not irreconcilable, particularly when reading the elaboration of (counter-)hegemony in a Laclauian sense, as generated by affects. For instance, Emilia Palonen has constructed a formula to identify the creation of us-them frontier on different ranges of affects.

Thomas has argued that it is a mistake to understand the ‘theory of hegemony’ as established by the debate of the 1970s and 80s, especially by the work of Laclau and Mouffe, as maximal development of Gramsci’s initial idea. According to Thomas’s critical view, the ‘post-hegemony’ perspective would simplify Gramsci’s idea of hegemony by identifying it with a ‘generic notion of ‘consensus’ conceived in terms of subjectivist consent to power, which is projected from the individual level to that of social classes and groups’. Rather than mistakenly criticising Gramscian writings for neglecting the role of affects, Thomas indicates what is really neglected by post-hegemony theorists is Gramsci’s extensive discussion in his Prison Notebooks of: the organization-disorganization function of common sense (Quaderno 11, §12); the impact of ‘molecular’ transformism on the person (Quaderno 15, §9) and; the integration of social, economic and affective organizations (for example, in the analysis of the novelty of Americanism: Quaderno 22, §11). It is based on the attention he gives to these themes that Gramsci correctly emphasized the need to conceive the political not in a limited, administrative/governmental sense, but in terms of a process of simultaneous and expansive ‘intellectual and moral reform’ (Quaderno 8, §21, Quaderno 12, §1). In Gramscian politics, there is no place for a dualistic vision that separates thought from feelings, since it is attentive not only to conjunctures, but also to the molecular transformations of actions, habits and affections, conceived all at once.

A new reading of Gramsci that emphasises the affective element of hegemonies, therefore attempts to overcome a binary framework based on habit and opinion, instead prioritising how affect and persuasion can contribute to the development of nuanced theorisation about populism and hegemony, which can also help develop a better understanding of the ‘emotion narratives’ structure that conduce them. This endeavour we aim to bring forward in forthcoming research.



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