



BREXIT AND BEYOND

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THE MEANING OF “MAN”

‘With [the *Imago Dei*] as its point of departure, the anthropology of Christian theology, taking with it the ancient definition of “Man” [as a *zōon logon echon*, where that is interpreted to mean an *animal rationale*, something living that has reason], arrives at an interpretation of the entity which we call “Man”.’ (Heidegger, *Being and Time*, p. 74, 1962)

‘The epoch of the *logos*...belongs to...a history covering...the history of metaphysics, and in a more explicit and more systematically articulated way to the narrower epoch of Christian creationism [concerning the *Imago Dei*, SG]...when this appropriates the resources of Greek conceptuality [concerning the *zōon logon echon*, SG].’ (Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, pp.12-13, 1976)

EUROPE APPEARS

‘Europe appears within the world of this “narrower epoch”. There where the meaning of “Man” is understood as theomorphic rational animality, there *the entity that we ourselves are* (whatever it is that we are) interprets itself within the horizon of an *archeo-teleo-eschatological* world history; a human world history with an *origin* and *end* – with *Europe* at the front.

In the Europe that henceforth calls itself (to be) “modern”, this horizon is invariably conceived in terms of the history unfolding from the Fall from natural innocence to redemption in self-conscious, rational self-realisation. The history of the world conceived as the history of Man thus conforms to the covenant theology of Christian hope, the theology of God’s promise: that the history of Man after the Fall will finally be drawn together *for all humanity* under the provisions of the covenant of redemption. For all humanity – and yet as Derrida noted in a public lecture he gave at UNESCO in Paris in 1997, this philosophical history of Man is configured quite as if God “had assigned Europe” a special place in this history, with a “special mission” (p. 6).

What will call itself (to be) European humanity belongs to the culture of this special mission, of being the advance guard of humanity on the way to its proper end. And this “discourse of world history” has become, Derrida concludes, “the tradition of European modernity” (p. 7): God’s promise to Man inseparable from the promise of Europe. Here we reach a first conclusion for a philosophical sketch of Europe: the classic philosophical discourse of world history is a discourse of Europe’s exemplary modernity. It is a Eurocentric, cosmopolitical history of the end of Man.’ (Glendinning, *Europe: A Philosophical History*, Vol. 2, p. 36 (slightly modified))

KANT – EVER CLOSER UNION

Kant's extraordinary philosophical sketch of a universal history from a cosmopolitan perspective provided Derrida with a key to reading a distinctively European vision of the end of Man and History. And it is a Kantian text that would become the fundamental ground for the beautiful vague words at the heart of the contemporary political project of creating European unity and European citizenship: the project of attaining "ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". As Derrida notes, it is a Kantian text that belongs profoundly to the "narrower epoch" we have been tracing:

'[The] tradition of cosmopolitanism...comes to us from, on the one hand, *Greek* thought with the Stoics, who have a concept of the "citizen of the world". [But] you also have [in] St. Paul, in the *Christian* tradition, a certain call for a citizen of the world as, precisely, a brother. St. Paul says that we are all brothers, that is sons of God, so we are not foreigners, we belong to the world as citizens of the world; and it is this tradition that we could follow up until Kant...' (Derrida, 'Politics and Friendship', Lecture at Sussex University, 1997)

A UNITED EUROPE OF STATES

Let's recall once more Kant's extraordinary anticipation or prediction or projection or history-producing fiction of a *united Europe* that would "give the law" for a finally united world:

'The effects which an upheaval in any state [as a result of war with another state] produces upon all the others in our continent, where all are so closely linked by trade, are so perceptible that these other states are forced by their own insecurity to offer themselves as arbiters, albeit without legal authority, so that they indirectly prepare the way for a great political body of the future, without precedence in the past. Although this political body exists for the present only in the roughest of outlines, it nonetheless seems as if a feeling is beginning to stir in all its members, each of which has an interest in maintaining the whole. And this encourages the hope that, after many revolutions, the highest purpose of nature, a universal cosmopolitan existence, will at last be realized as the matrix within which all the original capacities of the human race may develop.' (Kant, p. 51)

BREXIT 2016 – SCOTLAND



BREXIT 2016 – ENGLAND

THREE AT IT

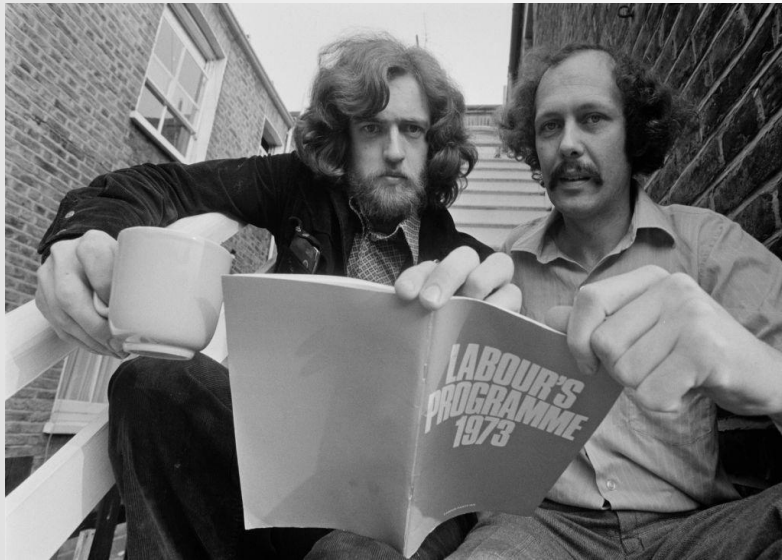


ONE SHORT



REFERENDUM IN 1975 – NO

“I DID VOTE AND I VOTED ‘NO’”



LABOUR LEFT AND TORY RIGHT



REFERENDUM 1975 - YES

NOT BLACK AND WHITE



BUT THE UK VOTES 'YES'



THE DRAFT...

SECTION C

SOVEREIGNTY

References in the Treaties and their preambles to the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe are primarily intended to signal that the Union's aim is to promote trust and understanding among peoples living in open and democratic societies sharing a common heritage of universal values. They are not an equivalent to the objective of political integration.

“EVER CLOSER UNION AMONG THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE”

The future of the EU remains inseparable from the sense and force attributed to these beautiful vague words:

Either: towards (as the British might put it) a “superstate”, or (as the Germans might put it) a “federal state”, or (as the French might put it) a “great Republic”. All in all, a “postnational” movement towards what Churchill called “*a kind of United States of Europe*”

Or: towards what leading British politicians have consistently argued for in the post-War years: namely, what Kant (200 years earlier) had called “a Federation of Free States” in Europe. This is the set-up of European unity that I have called “*a United Europe of States*”

J.S. MILL – EUROPE'S PROGRESS

What has hitherto preserved Europe from [becoming stationary]? Not any superior excellence in the [European family], which, when it exists, exists as the effect not as the cause; but their remarkable diversity of character and culture. Individuals, classes, nations, have been extremely unlike each other: they have struck out a great variety of paths, each leading to something valuable; and although at every period those who travelled in different paths have been extremely intolerant of one another, and each would have thought it an excellent thing if all the rest could have been compelled to travel *his* road, their attempts to thwart each other's development have rarely had any permanent success, and each has in time endured to receive the good which the others have offered. Europe is, in my judgement, wholly indebted to this plurality of paths for its progressive and many-sided development. (Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 71)

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK – A UNITED EUROPE

What unites everyone, left and right, all around the world? They all hate a *united Europe*. For example, Latin Americans claim Eurocentrism is the worst. Africa: you did slavery worst and first. (Here I learned from intelligent right-wingers: it's not true. You know that the Muslims got more slaves from East Africa than Americans from the West.) So, then Putin is against Europe. Everybody. China, and so on. Why is this happening when everyone is telling us “Europe is over” but at the same time Eurocentrism is presented as the ultimate enemy? No, I think history has already taken care of the “bad aspects” of Eurocentrism: they’re over. But what remains of Europe now? Here is one argument. Are we aware that even those who criticise the European legacy do so strictly in the terms which were articulated in that legacy? The civilisation of the European Enlightenment is the only civilisation that includes (and I will sound Stalinist here, but I don't mean it like that) that includes *self-criticism*. So, yeah, let's do all this standard whipping your own back European masochism; but after all that, sorry, Europe is still the only thing we have. So more than ever we have to say: Europe is our only hope. (Slavoj Žižek, *YouTube*, wording improved)