The Dialectics of Resurrection and the Fascist Hypothesis

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Abstract:

In this paper I try to show that Badiou's 'giant confrontation with the dialectic' is in some sense over. I attempt to demonstrate, by an absurd counter example, that there exists a 'truth' whose appearing is Fear and that such 'truth' is topologically connected to the Truths of Love and Politics. The consequence of this conjecture is to imply that Badiou's bridging of dialectics and resurrection has succeeded in changing dialectics from a negating dialectics to an affirming dialectics. The consequence of this 'dialectics of resurrection' on the thought of Badiou is that it implies a non-trivial connection between metapolitics and political philosophy (of the kind proposed by Carl Schmitt). The result from these two consequences is what I have called the 'Fascist Hypothesis', which basically states that between materialist dialectics and dialectical materialism there is a third possibility: that of political theology.

Introduction

In his lecture *From Logic to Anthropology,* Badiou (2012) proposed that the biggest problem for philosophy today is to find a new dialectic, one which is not based on negation but which is based on affirmation. In this paper I will try to demonstrate that Badiou (2009) himself has already achieved this goal by creating a dialectics founded on the resurrection. His theory of resurrection begins with a faithful subject, i.e. the Faithful 1, who produces a present and who, simultaneously, is produced by the present he produced, i.e. Faithful 2.

However, this achievement produces an unexpected byproduct: the realization that there are two other ways besides the resurrection that allow a subject to live 'as an Immortal' (Badiou 2009: 40). It is possible to 'live as an Immortal' in the sense of: the immortality of the 'Leviathan' (Schmitt 2008); and the immortality of 'Liberalism' (Schmitt 1988: 22-23; Schmitt 2011: 34). This may be a reason for Badiou's insistence on the need to find a new dialectics, one which clearly eliminates the existence of such 'undead' forms of immortality. It is important to note that the latter two forms of immortality exist only as a 'plausibility argument', that is: there exists a Truth whose *mode of appearing* (Badiou 2009: 8) is Fear. This 'truth', I will try to demonstrate, is chiral symmetric to Love. The strategy here is to employ a proposition akin to the one made by Gerhard Frey: the suggestion that it would be possible to create an elliptic curve that would not be modular (i.e. known as the Frey curve).

In this paper I will offer the following 'plausibility argument': that it is possible for an *encounter* to be based on a *disjunction* which is not the *sexed disjunction* of Love (Badiou 2009: 77). What I am

offering is a *fictitious* solution to the theorization of politics. In other words, I am proposing that, Badiou's (2011) *metapolitics* and Schmitt's (2005) *political theology* have a common ground. If, as Badiou argues, there is a collective invention of a point where communism is 'forbidden to fail' (Badiou 2010: 40) and, if in the coming years a new Idea emerges making such point a concrete social reality, then it will be possible to say that we have 'rigorous proof' that there does not exist a 'Truth whose mode of appearing is Fear' (e.g. in an analogous sense which allows us to say that Frey curves do not exist). It is only because we are 'living in the End Times' (Žižek, 2012) that it is possible to conceive such a horrible beast.

Let me begin by making a conjecture: 'politics' and 'the political' are not entirely separate 'magisteria', i.e. they are both connected in a subtle but profound way. Following Badiou's (2009: 9) *didactic of eternal truths,* I will show that the work of Carl Schmitt can be understood and expressed in terms of the formal theory of the subject (Badiou 2009). Let me begin with three propositions of this conjecture.

The first proposition is Hobbesian: there is a 'truth' which goes by the name Fear. This 'truth' coexists with the eternal Truths of Politics and Love. The second proposition is conditional: if truths are non-empty sets that have at least one common element, then these sets are connected (with the element in question being the point of intersection). The third proposition is Schmittian: like Love, Fear has a chiral symmetric structure of *disjunction* (Badiou 2009, 73-74), one that is based on the Schmittian *friend-enemy distinction* (2007). From these three propositions I will follow Badiou's (2009) 'intellectual strategy' and attempt 'to show from the outset that which

is only fully intelligible at the end' (Badiou 2009: 45), namely: that Badiou has already discovered a new kind of dialectics.

The best way to start is with a digression. The example is the Taniyama-Shimura conjecture. Before 1956 most mathematicians thought that elliptic curves and modular forms existed as separate mathematical truths. Let us say that they existed as separate sets (Fig. 1). In 1956 Japanese mathematician Yutaka Taniyama proposed the idea that "perhaps, each modular form is an elliptic equation in disguise" (Singh 1998: 184).

**A.
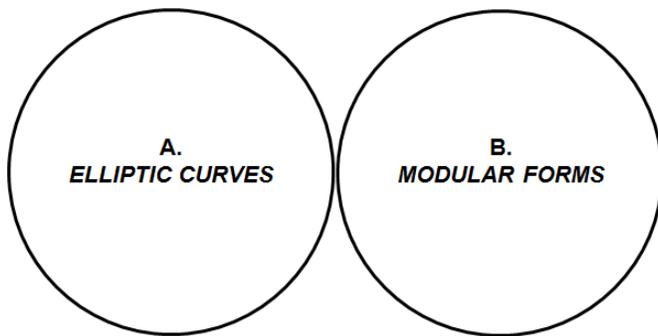ELLIPTIC CURVES**   **B.
MODULAR FORMS**

Fig. 1 (mathematics prior to Wiles)[1]

Wiles' 1995 proof of the conjecture, today known as the modularity theorem, created an intersection between these two separate worlds and now problems and insights proposed on the one world can be readily translated into problems and intuitions on the other world (Fig. 2). Modern mathematics is based on this connection.

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[1] All graphs are the design of the author and shared property of the author and the *IJBS*.
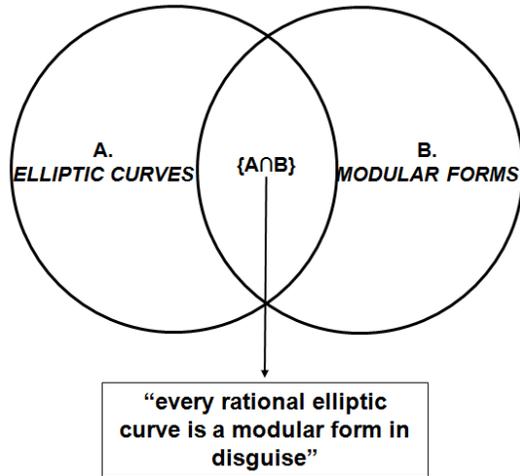
Fig. 2 (modern mathematics)

Following this analogy, our current situation in the philosophical field is one where Politics and Love are two separate sets (Badiou 2009). I would like to propose, following Schmitt (2007; 2008), that perhaps every Fear is a form of Love and a form of Politics in disguise. Modern philosophy, both that of Badiou and of political philosophy, states that: Politics, Fear, and Love are separate sets (Fig. 3).
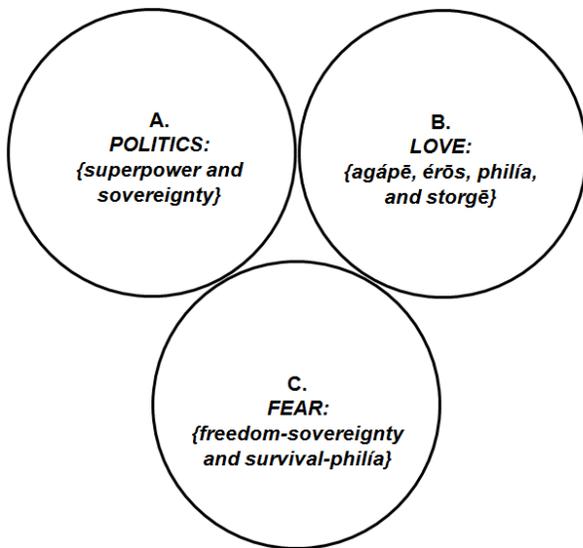

Fig. 3 (disconnected truths)

In principle, the proposition that Carl Schmitt's political theology can be formalized as metaphysics does not alter Badiou's claim regarding the separation between Political Truths and Amorous Truths (Fig. 4). It does, however, allow for a hypothetical connection between the "Horrific truths", i.e. Fear, with both Political and Amorous Truths. Formally it is possible to show this connection by "factorization", that is, by finding the "greatest common divisor" between these truths (Fig. 4).

Badiou (2009: 58-77) has suggested that Politics contains the elements 'superpower' and 'sovereignty', which agree with Schmitt's theory of sovereignty. Schmitt's definition of the sovereign, expressed in Agamben's statement "I, the sovereign, who am outside the law, declare that there is nothing outside the law" (Agamben 1998: 15) is clearly indicative of a power above, i.e. a superpower. However, the foundation of the state in Schmitt (2007) is different than it is in Badiou (2009): the former proposes the concept of the political as a *sine qua non* condition for the formation of the state, while the latter focuses on the question of presentation and representation (Badiou 2009: 77).

The postulating of "Horrific truths" stems from Hobbes' brilliant insight regarding the default condition of man, *qua* individual: in the absence of any consideration of good or evil, man naturally possess total freedom and equality (i.e. the capability to kill) that extends beyond the freedom and equality enjoyed by other animals to the point that a state of *bellum omnium contra omnes*, i.e. the war of all against all, is possible only to man. This is to say that the foundation of the state's superpower is based and sustained by the constant possibility of war.

The beauty of this theory is that it is a theory of the state in absolute form: there is no previous, stateless, condition since there is no human condition without Fear from which any and every state must arise. The original state of *homo homini lupus*, i.e. man-wolf of man, and another state of *homo homini deus*, i.e. man-god to man (Schmitt 2008: 91-101) is at the root of the formation of the 'Leviathan' and is the point where the sovereignty of the state legitimates itself. The element 'sovereignty' is, therefore, the "greatest common divisor" between Politics and Fear (Fig. 4).

On the other hand, Fear also contains an element of survival and friendship, which is described by Schmitt (2007) in the 'micro-politics' of the incessant friend-enemy interactions. Schmitt postulates that "the concept of the state presupposes the concept of the political" (Schmitt 2007: 19), and that "the political" cannot be defined as an antithesis "of the cultural, of the economic, of the legal, etc." (Schmitt 2007: 23). The political is, therefore, defined by its own internal "*philiac*" antithesis: the distinction of friend and enemy (Schmitt 2007: 35).

Now, we know that *philia* is one of the elements of the broad set we call Love (e.g. the other three being: agape, storge, and eros), and we know that the category of 'the enemy' is neither *inimicus* (disliked) nor *exthrós* (hateful), but one which should be feared. So it is possible to suggest that friendship, or *philia*, is the bridge or intersection that connects Love to Fear. Again we have a "greatest common divisor" between Love and Fear in the friend-enemy distinction (Fig. 4).

"every Politics is a form of Love in disguise"

A. POLITICS: (Badiou)

Agape: (Saint Paul) {A∩B}

B. LOVE: (Badiou)

MARKETS* {A∆B∆C}

{A∩C} Sovereignty: (Schmitt)

{B∩C} Philia: (Schmitt)

C. FEAR: (Hobbes)

"every Fear is a form of Politics in disguise"

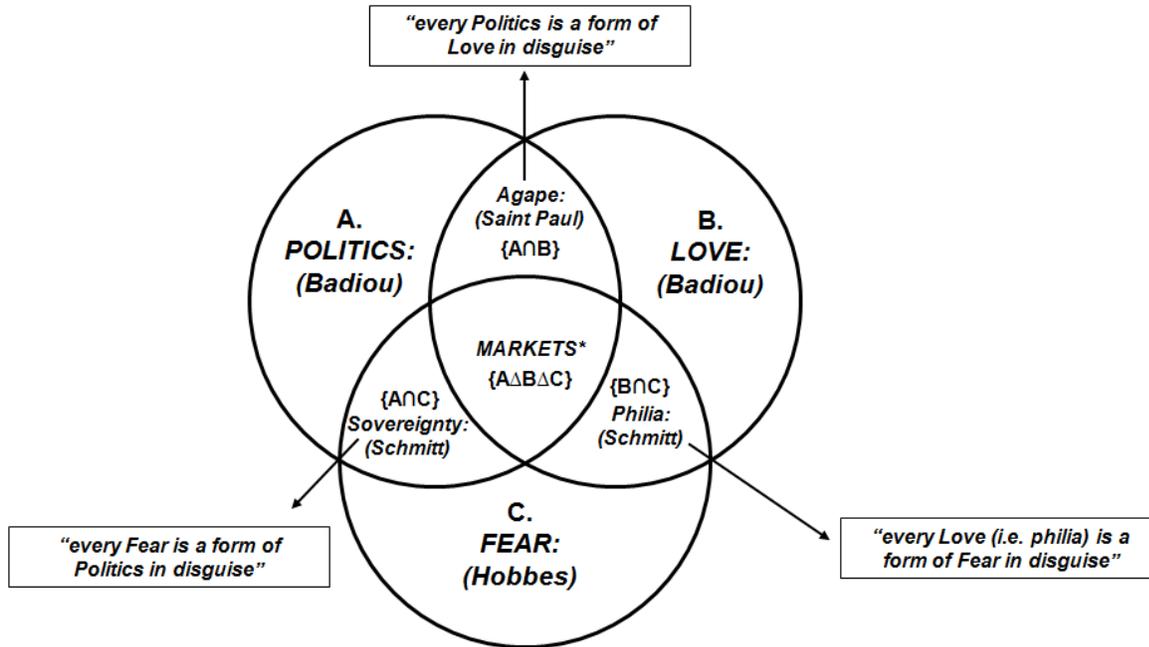"every Love (i.e. philia) is a form of Fear in disguise"

Fig. 4

Returning to our mathematical detour, these intersections are only meant to be taken as a conjecture (like the Taniyama-Shimura conjecture prior to its proof). I am not claiming that political theology is a form of metapolitics in disguise. I am only proposing a 'what if' possibility: what if Badiou and Schmitt could both be expressed formally through a metaphysical framework that incorporates Fear as a form, the appearance, of an eternal 'truth'? What would that imply?

Schematically (Fig. 4), we can already extract a deductive conclusion from the conjecture, that: if Fear is connected to both Politics and Love, and if there is no philosophical connection between Love and Politics (e.g. Badiou's thesis), then the only way of connecting all three categories in a ternary relationship is *via* economics. If Politics, Love, and Fear are connected worlds (this changes a little bit the original meaning of what a world is), then we can say that between these three truths there is a symmetric difference which exists in the phenomenon we call markets; the phenomenon which Aristotle called the 'household'.

Unlike Badiou, Aristotle (1992: 55-69) does suggest that there is a connection between Love and Politics through the 'family', which can be expressed as *storge*, the 'family life' or 'household love'. However, like Badiou, Aristotle makes it clear that there is no intersection between economics and politics and that politics supersedes economics in importance and relevance. It is this problem that 18th century philosophers solved by developing first the notion of political economy, i.e. a notion that is based on storge, which is the basis for the notion of modern markets: storge or Love cannot be part of a 'scientific economic theory', such that any economic theory must be based on indifference and self-interest. This solution is what experience today as modern markets, the embodiment of the principles of perfect competition and of perfect substitution (against Politics); of self-interest (against Love); and of indifference (against Fear). Markets represent that which is neither Love, nor Fear, nor Politics. This is why I had to represent the connection not as an 'intersection' but as a symmetric difference (Fig. 4).

This basic sketch is the starting point for a discussion of Badiou's affirmative dialectics. Once we accept that, at least in principle, it is possible to discuss both metapolitics and political philosophy under the same framework it will be possible to understand why this dialectics differs from Hegel's. This paper will have 3 additional sections. The next section will present a 'Schimittian subject', a subject comparable to the 'Resurrected subject' (e.g. Faithful 1 $\oplus$ Faithful 2) by following Badiou's (2009: 67) axiomatic exposition. The subsequent section will follow Badiou's exposition on 'destinations', which is precisely what I define as his 'affirmative dialectics'. The last section will bring some concluding remarks.

The Schmittian Subject

Proceeding from the exposition presented in *Book I* of *Logics of Worlds* (Badiou 2009), I will formally present the 'subject' theorized by Carl Schmitt (2007). The argument will follow the same exposition of Badiou (2009), so it is possible to think of the following presentation as a substitution in the terms of a function.

Let me begin by saying that, like Badiou, Schmitt rejects democratic materialism but rather than adopting a materialist dialectic (Badiou 2009: 4) proposes political theology (Schmitt 2005) that has no closure (Schmitt 2011). Following the work of Hobbes, Schmitt (2008; 2011) presents a political theology that can be reduced to a single statement: *there is only fear, politics, and love; except that there are languages and bodies*. It could be argued that this statement was already implicit in the work of many political philosophers from Herodotus to Thucydides, from Xenophon to Machiavelli, and from Hobbes onward. However, it was only Schmitt who managed to make such a statement explicit and formal.

Schmitt succeeded in formalizing the elusive concept of fear by identifying an element that was previously thought to exist only is the set of Love, namely: *philia*. The present paper only seeks to analyze Schmitt's (2007) concept of the political, i.e. the friend-enemy distinction, from the perspective of Badiou's formula of Love. Let us look at this mapping more closely.

Badiou (2009) correctly uses the word disjunction where Schmitt conceptualizes a distinction. Once we understand the concept of the political as a 'friend-enemy disjunction', it becomes

possible to formalize Schmitt's (2007) political philosophy in terms of meta-physics. The 'truth' of Fear can be expressed through its connection to *philia*, and through *philia's* connection to Love (Fig. 4). The first point is to present the Ontological Ground (*A*) of Fear, which can be called 'philia-disjunction': $f \perp e$, where f is "friend" and e is "enemy". To paraphrase from Badiou's (2009: 73-74) typology, the statement "there is no relation between the *sexes*" (Badiou 2009: 73) can be substituted by 'there is always a relation between *partisans*'; the event (e.g. the antagonistic encounter) is encapsulated by the fact that these two have something in common, a universal indeterminate object in which they both participate, but which in the case of Fear is not enigmatic (Badiou 2009: 74) nor indeterminate (Badiou 2009: 77); it is, in fact, the very familiar and determinate object we call war. For Schmitt (2008) this ground is called the political and is the "… inevitable and incessant friend-enemy disputes that embrace every sphere of human activity…" (Schmitt 2008: 18).

From the ontological ground (*A*) we move to the evental trace (***ε***), which is the (partisan) encounter: $(\exists w)$ $[f \geq w$ and $e \geq w]$, where w is war, f is friend, and e is enemy. Here the logic is straightforward: unlike the enigmatic u that ties the bi-sexed couple together and is something bigger than the two, the w that ties the couple is smaller than the two since the truth of war is fulfilled in an anti-social fashion (Badiou 2009, 74) of mutual annihilation. If, as expressed by Badiou, it is true that $m \oplus f < u$, then it is also true that $f \oplus e > w$. In terms of emergent phenomena, war presents us with an interesting case: in war, the sum is smaller than the collection of parts; war is what might be called a catabolic whole.

The Body (⊘), which originally is the bi-sexed couple, becomes a bi-partisan couple sustained by both *philia* and *phobia*, simultaneously. To describe what a bi-partisan couple might look like, one needs only to observer some recent debates between democrats and republicans. However, we can also turn to fiction and borrow an example (à la Žižek) from cinema. In Christopher Nolan's 2008 film *The Dark Knight*, there is an interrogation scene where Batman asks the Joker why he is trying to kill him, and the Joker replies, "I don't want to kill you! What would I do without you? No, no. You complete me!". It is this form of complement that characterizes the strange love-fear couple, which is implicit in Machiavelli's and Hobbes' political philosophy.

The (Local) Present, which is also a new existential intensity, produces the affect that may be called madness, rather than happiness. This madness has two meanings. The first comes from the Greek *μανία* (*mania*) and could be interpreted in the traditional sense of frenzy or rage that is the opposite of depression and represents a mental state of abnormally elevated or irritable mood, arousal, and/or energy levels. However, there is another manifestation of madness, which is expressed in the (Global) Present, π, not as the *enchantment* of the amorous relation but a *disenchantment* of the exhausting bellicose (or horrific) relationship. Again, à la Žižek, it is best expressed by 'the horror' described in *Apocalyse Now Redux* by Colonel Kurtz, or by 'the Roman Wilderness of Pain' background melody *The End*[2] playing in the same scene. What is important in this affect is that fear can turn into hatred under the right circumstances, which is why it is often hard for a liberal to distinguish the subtle difference between horror (e.g. the pagan carnival) and terror (e.g. the Christian materialism).

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[2] The Doors.

If Schmitt discovered a connection between Fear and Love through *philia*, he also discovered a connection between Fear and Politics through sovereignty. Instead of presentation and representation (Badiou 2009: 77), a condition where conflict or war is absent but where the class struggle remains, the friend-enemy distinction produces a condition where conflict and war exist at the ontic level. We have, therefore, not presentation and representation but the diametric opposites of absence and presence, where the *homo sacer*, the *zoē politikē* (Agamben 1998: 1-5), is the absence of politics. Politics only becomes present in the form of sovereignty, e.g. "I, the sovereign, who am outside the law, declare that there is nothing outside the law" (Agamben 1998: 15). This form of presence is peculiar in the sense that it is just a redoubling of the absence. It is this 're-absence' that needs to be formalized.

The starting point as always is the Ontological Ground (*A*), but in this case the ground is already the result of the workings of Fear and not derived from Politics itself. Rigorously, we should have to call it the 'Phenomenological Ground' of Politics[3]. This is a problem: if Fear is a Truth and if all Politics is based on Fear, then Politics itself cannot have an Ontological Ground. I do not know how to solve this problem so I will circumvent it by presenting a discrete topology that is a continuous function between the topological space of the friend-enemy distinction (i.e. Fear-Love) and the topological space of sovereignty (i.e. Politics-Fear). In other words, the space is not connected but it is path-connected.

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[3] Badiou (2003: 86-92) was also the first to propose the existence of a "phenomenological ground" by claiming that Saint Paul's creation of "love as a universal power" can be the foundation of a Politics not grounded on Fear but on Love. Needless to say, a Politics founded on Love would be totally foreign to what historically is understood as "political". In fact, it is not even philosophy but anti-philosophy (Badiou 2003: 108)

This hypothetical 'Ontological Ground' (A_w), where w is war, is already a negation of the original state of *bellum omnium contra omnes* and, of course, the soil from which Leviathan will grow. The formula 'State (i.e. absence and re-absence) and people (i.e. representation and presentation)' has, therefore, a chiral symmetry to Badiou's (2009: 77) own formulation: *A < St (A)*. Our chiral symmetric formula will be stated as: *A(w) < St (A_w)*.

This changes everything because now the fixation of the superpower of the state, i.e. the Evental Trace (ε), acquires a significantly different meaning. Basically, the only possible understanding for the fixation of the superpower of the state that resolves friend-enemy distinctions can only go by the name 'final solution'; it is: (1) either the 'total war' that completely and utterly obliterates the enemy to the point where we are only left with friends; (2) or the proposition of a liberal society, which simply disavows or represses the very existence of such friend-enemy distinctions. We have again a formula that is chiral symmetric to Badiou's (2009: 77): $\varepsilon \Rightarrow [$ $St(A_w) = f]$, with w standing for war and f standing for philia. Whether it is through disavowal (i.e. liberalism) or extermination (i.e. fascism), the evental trace, ε, is the disappearance of the category of the enemy. It is, therefore, the disappearance of the political as such since there is no such thing as a 'friend-friend' distinction.

The Body ($\not\subset$), which is the erasure of the state (*C*) of *bellum omnium contra omnes*, is the process of legalization, i.e. organization of the association of 'friends'. The (Local) Present is also in this sense a new egalitarian maxim expressed by the statements: *no one is above the law* and *everyone is equal under the law*; or if we switch to economics, *free markets always operate in equilibrium*. In any

case, the affect of this state is clearly not Enthusiasm, but something that is either Resentment or Apathy or some mixture of the two.

Finally, the activation of a *Cycle*, which is not the resurrection but the pagan proposition of reincarnation *ad nauseam*, substitutes what Badiou calls Sequence (Badiou 2009: 77). The Sequence eventually 'ends' with the resurrection in the (Global) Present, π. On the other hand, the Cycle of 'reincarnation' is what historians throughout the ages have been documenting. The Cycle manifests itself in claims such as: "Empires… are always with us" (Ferguson 2004: xii), or claims suggesting that history abhors… power vacuum[s]" (Ferguson 2004: xii).

However, the critical point here is that we have managed to propose a 'plausibility argument' that there exists a "greatest common divisor" between Fear, Politics, and Love. That Badiou (2003) demonstrated that by engaging in Paulinian anti-philosophy it is possible to establish a connection between Love and Politics through *agape*. To complete the 3-diagram we just connected Fear with both of these Truths. The problem arises when trying to establish the 'greatest common divisor' between all three sets: it cannot be achieved as an intersection, only through a symmetric difference.

This will become clear in the next section, but I will foreshadow the argument: denial of a "Fearful" subject, for example, can only be grounded in economics. Modern macroeconomic models distinguish between households, firms, and governments or central banks as the main types of agents in the economy. Each of these agents may play multiple roles in the economy, but in most models certain agents play certain roles more often. For example, households might

act as consumers, while firms and banks, respectively, take on the roles of investment and savings. The point, of course, is to show that there is no partisanship in the economy, no bi-sexed couple, and no presentation (i.e. the People). This denial of Politics, Love, and Fear is what Schmitt (1988) criticizes in his work, and is a denial that is also criticized by Keynes (1940; 2009), who implicitly blames the rise of Nazism and the outbreak of World War II on liberal policies.

One could have offered an alternative by ignoring Saint Paul and following instead Aristotle's *oikonomia* to suggest that there is an intersection between Love and Politics (i.e. household economics). The intersection of Politics and Love, in this case, would be the element called storge, which is the natural affection felt by parents for offspring, but which could also express the mere acceptance of a situation, as is the case of subjects 'loving' the tyrant (the kind of 'love' theorized by Machiavelli).

However, the point I am trying to make here about symmetric difference is one regarding the interpretation of economics. The two central differences between modern macroeconomic models and Aristotle's *oikonomia* are: (1) the household no longer counts with slaves, nor are women second class citizens (i.e. freedom is the natural condition); and (2) the central motive of all agents is not the love and bonding necessary for the proper working of the household or family economy, but a self-interest based on indifference. It is what Rand (1964) calls 'the virtue of selfishness'. In any case, economics does not generate a partisan distinction.

Similarly, the occultation of a Schmittian subject is grounded in democracy, which is based on the rule-of-law. Democracy is that which negates both economics and the state's manifestation as Leviathan. This kind of obscurantism is what Ferguson (2004) calls 'imperial denial', which ironically is what preserves empire today. Such imperial denial can be summed up in the following statements: (1) "It is… acceptable among American liberals to say that the United States is an empire – provided that you deplore the fact."; (2) "It is also permitted to say, when among conservatives, that American power is potentially beneficent – provided that you do not describe it as imperial."; and (3) "What is not allowed is to say that the United States is an empire *and* that this might not be wholly bad." (Ferguson 2004: vii-viii).

Liberal democracy can operate in these two poles of negation, e.g. denial and occultation, and what Schmitt tried to do in his theoretical work was to illustrate how only fascism can generate a modern subject. Therefore, my claim in this paper is that if there exists a connection between Love, Politics, and Fear then, unlike what Marx predicted, liberal-democratic-free-market-capitalism will not necessarily decay into communism: it may also decay into fascism (e.g. in any event, capitalism will never decay back into feudalism). Let's analyze this conclusion in more detail through an analysis of Badiou's dialectic of resurrection.

Badiou's Dialectic

Badiou's dialectic is presented in Book I of *Logics of Worlds*. In this section I will follow his exposition but change specific terminology to something more general and more closely

associated with the language of dialectics. In this spirit, I will substitute 'production', 'denial', and 'occultation' for 'affirmation', 'negation', and 'negation of negation', respectively.

To begin, we have as the central point of history, i.e. the construction of symbolic existence, something that Badiou masterfully calls 'present', π. History is no longer defined by the succession of ideological categories such as the past, the present, and the future. There is no such thing as what was, what is, and what will be, but only what is becoming and what can be (i.e. communism) versus what will never be because it could have been (i.e. capitalism)[4]. This distinction is crucial since it implies that there is no history without Politics and no politics without a Subject (e.g. the first point unites Badiou and Althusser, while the second point sets them apart).

This present is theorized by Badiou (2009), π, as the "(formal) theory of the subject" and is taken in the strong sense: "of the subject, there can only be a theory" (Badiou 2009: 47). The problem here is that I am trying to conceptualize a present that is founded on all three Badiouist (2009) categories, i.e. π, ⊤⊤, and ()/π, simultaneously operating as truths. This, of course, is the only way to conceive a truth which is founded on Fear. It is impossible to use the term subject in its strong sense when Fear is presented as a category of Truth.

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[4] Note that this description of time is remarkably consistent with (one of the two central) modern understandings of modern cosmology: that time is not a fundamental category of the universe because "all that exists cannot by definition evolve into anything else"; time is rather an emergent property (an approximation) that arises only in certain regimes, certain regions (or subsets) of the universe. See Sean Carroll (2012): http://blogs.discovermagazine.com/cosmicvariance/2012/04/28/a-universe-from-nothing/#.UVCJqhyG09w

Thus, the statement to be followed here is one of a formal theory of the subject in the weak sense: the subject existing as concept (not as theory) and as empirical fact (i.e. the subjectivity is a pragmatic truth of the state as it exists today). What Schmitt (2005; 2007; 2008) does to metaphysics is add to it an element of positivism by making the question of 'what should be?' irrelevant. It is important to note that admitting that subject is to be taken in weak form does not alter the fact that the presentation of the Schmittian subject will be presented in axiomatic form (Badiou 2009: 50).

The starting point is the production of truths and the identification of its form, i.e. the active and identifiable form of Fear (Badiou 2009: 50). More analytically, we have the trace of an event, which is a rupture or (potential) birth of a world from a pre-existing body. From a dialectical point of view, we may call this production the initial 'affirmation'[5]. Affirmation is, therefore, the "subject at the service of truth" (Badiou 2009: 50). But we also know from Badiou that there is the subject of 'the denial of truth' and also the subject of 'the occultation of truth', which represent two levels of the negation of the original affirmation.

The question is what is the production, or the affirmation, in the case of the Schmittian subject? Let us, for simplicity, suggest the statement: 'we who fear, we are continuously and eternally at war, and we want peace'. The denial of this affirmation, i.e. the negation, can be stated as: 'we who were never at war are continuously at peace…'. The ellipsis of this incomplete sentence could be something like an exception 'we were never at war except when there was war' and also expresses a lack of desire 'if we have always been at peace, what more could we want?', and

[5] For the diagram expressing this relationship please see page xx of Badiou (2009).

according to Schmitt (1988) is the core statement of the ideals of liberal democracy and its romantic view of politics: if the original condition is one of peace all that the subject needs to worry about is its own management. We have a weird situation where the initial production or affirmation is already a phenomenological property of denial: denial as 'ontological ground'.

Reiterating the process, we could also ask: what is the *production* or affirmation that obscures, that is the *occultation* of, the present? This is the affirmation of the Liberal subject, which is based on the negation of both the original affirmation (e.g. the Faithful) and of the reactive negation (e.g. the Schmittian), is summarized by the statement: 'markets, liberal democracy, and the rule-of-law are outside considerations of war or peace'. In any case, the structure of the destinations is graphically identical to the one presented by Badiou[6] (2009: 63-67).

Now, returning to the original strategy of our fictitious solution, we do not really know whether there exists a connection between Fear, Love, and Politics because there is no clear evidence that Fear even exists as a category of truth. Therefore, the dialectic that allows for a truth whose appearing is Fear must begin with Politics. In other words, we have to begin with the rejection of a production and then proceed to turn that rejection of the production into a production itself, i.e. an affirmation of a clearly acknowledged falsehood. In sum, we have to understand the concept of 'acceptance of denial'.

Let us return to Badiou's (2009: 51) example of Spartacus. Around 73 BC the slaves associated with Spartacus demonstrated that "it is possible, for a slave, no longer to be a slave" (Badiou

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[6] For the diagram expressing this relationship please see page xx of Badiou (2009).

2009: 51). This production or affirmation is the starting point, the creation of a new present (Badiou 2009: 51), which is simultaneously denied (e.g. kept in the unconscious of the reactive subject) and occulted (e.g. assimilated and obliterated by the obscure subject's unconscious). Because I have proposed that there is an intimate relationship between Politics and Fear, it is now possible to suggest that different destinations will be triggered, and that these destinations will lead to truths. The question to be asked is, therefore: what is the initial affirmation of the subject at the service of the truth of Fear? (Badiou 2009: 50)

By including Fear as a truth, it becomes possible for the subject to split its personality and simultaneously negate the present, π, to produce its own affirmation of the present, ᴨ̵. This operation is summarized by Peter Sloterdijk's formula: "I know what I am doing; nonetheless I am doing it" (Žižek 2003: 5). Now the reactive subject affirms through negation: it is not really that this subject denies the fact that "it is possible, for a slave, no longer to be a slave" (Badiou 2009: 51), but on the contrary that in an ontological condition of war (e.g. war is an anarchic state, so technically speaking, there is always a state) it is desirable to become a slave if that means survival and (more importantly) libidinal pleasures. The affirmation is, therefore: 'we who were free (to kill each other), we no longer wish to live with our freedom... and, therefore, consciously deny the revolution which reestablishes all freedoms'. This is the birth of *deus mortalis*, the *horologium* (Schmitt 2008: 91-92) commonly known as Leviathan (Fig. 5).

For all practical purposes this is an isomorphic configuration to Badiou's reactive novelties (2009: 54-55). The difference is a very subtle one related to the degree of consciousness of the reactive subject: if it is fully conscious, then we have a paradoxical situation of a 'subject who is

faithful to the denial itself': immortality, it seems, comes in many forms. However, this paradoxical subject only solves the question of a subject that produces the extinguished present, π. We are still left with the task of explaining the obscure subject of Fear. The question is what does it mean to deny both the production of a Truth and the truth based on the denial of a truth, while at the same time achieving immortality? What kind of initial affirmation is this? Badiou (2009) gives us a precise answer:

> "What relation can a patrician of ancient Rome entertain with the alarming news that beset him regarding the 'slaves' revolt? Or a Vendean bishop learning of the dethronement and imprisonment of the king? It cannot be a question, as in the case of the frightened slave or François Furet, of a simple reactive subjectivity, which denies the creative power of the event in favour of a deleted present. We are obviously required to conceive an abolition of the new present, considered in its entirety as malevolent and *de jure* inexistent. It is the present itself that falls under the bar and it does this as the effect of sovereign action…" (pp. 58-59).

However, there is a problem because now we are talking about the *de jure* inexistence of the state itself, or if one prefers the *de jure* existence of *bellum omnium contra omnes*. The abolition of the new present is, simultaneously, the abolition of the Faithful present and of the Reactive present; it is now a matter of 'subject who is faithful to the occultation itself'. This subject cannot be anything but an empty subject, subjectivity in its absent form.

We, therefore, no longer have the possibility of an intersection between truths but only symmetric difference and this impossibility is the condition for a kind of existence that is a

vacuum of the state: we are speaking, of course, about the virtual entity we call markets. Markets are fundamentally based on this kind of obscurity, one which Schmitt (1988) continuously addresses when speaking about romantic ideas of liberal parliamentary democracy.

Following Badiou's (2009: 59-60) structure but within Schmitt's (1988) philosophy we could say that the panic sown by the 20th century experiences with communism and fascism invokes the full and pure transcendent Body (Markets) that is also anti-evental but not seen as ahistorical since it does produce cycles (which becomes history itself – the history of capitalism is a history of crises). It forbids the real body from existing by simultaneously acknowledging the trace and acknowledging the fact that the event is a beautiful dream that will inevitably, despite all of its good intentions, lead to catastrophe.

The capitalist will say that it is better, therefore, to live in the least worst of worlds. Unlike the Roman notable (Badiou 2009: 60), a capitalist thinks that the slaves want to and can return home (after all, Marx explains that the capitalist understands and supports the condition of freedom) but that this return is precisely the end of freedom itself. It appears that Orwell's motto 'freedom is slavery' is the unspoken truth of capitalism. Again, to paraphrase Badiou (2009): "The army of Spartacus must therefore be [*tolerated*], [but should not been given the chance to succeed and] the [Markets] will see to it." (Badiou 2009: 60).

The crucial difference here is that the matheme that articulates this kind of occultation is always outside of the present; markets exist in a virtual time of their own and will not be subjected to history or politics of any kind. The atemporal fetish here exists in 'libidinal time', e.g. as a

libidinal fact or as a fact of 'psychic reality' (Žižek 2008: vii), which is a time that does not conform to a sequence (Badiou 2009: 77) only to the eternal *cycle* of reincarnation[7]. Therefore, the appearing of fear and its connection to the Truths of Love and Politics gives us three interconnected dialectics that operate both through 'affirmation' and 'negation' (Fig. 5).
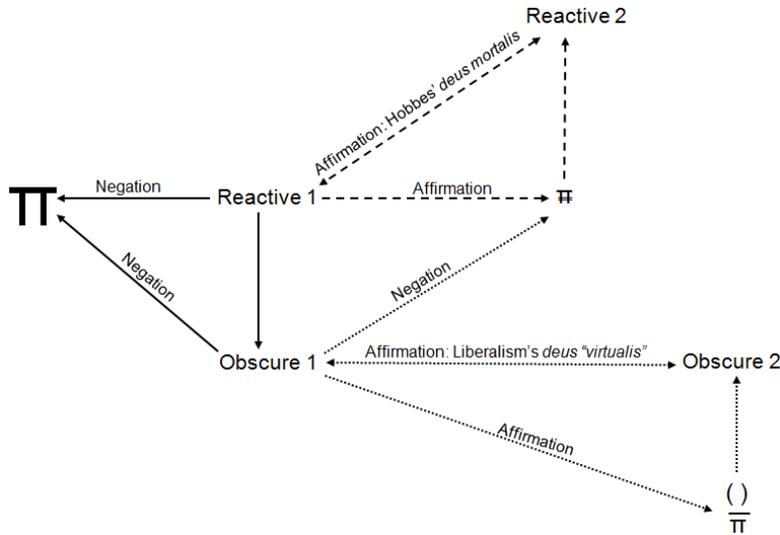

Fig. 5 (Dialectics of the Non-Present)

From the process described above we have two modes of immortality, e.g. two modes of dialectics, which are distinct from the one presented by Badiou (2009: 63-67) and represented by two triangles: (1) the dashed triangle (Reactive 1, Ŧ, Reactive 2) is the Schmittian subject; and (2) the dotted triangle [Obscure 1, Obscure 2, ( )/Ŧ] is the "Liberal-Democratic" subject. These two triangles, along with the two solid-lines that negate the Faithful present of the Christian

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[7] This, of course, is the second possibility presented by modern cosmology: that time is truly fundamental "the universe truly evolves [and] time cannot truly begin or end — it goes on forever" (Carroll, 2012). Perhaps, we will have to wait for a breakthrough in cosmology to find out whether or not Badiou's philosophy is correct.

Subject, end up forming three categories of dialectics that complement Hegel's dialectic of centered on the negation of negation.

Badiou (2009; 2010) and Schmitt (1988; 2005; 2007; 2008), therefore, offer us three other possibilities for dialectics (not based on negation of negation): (1) *affirmation of the affirmation*, i.e. the double acceptance embodied in the symbol we call resurrection; (2) affirmation of the affirmation of the negation, i.e. the *acceptance of denial*; and (3) negation of affirmation, i.e. the *negation of both acceptance and acceptance of denial*. This last category is, in its negation, a form of acceptance characteristic of the liberal empiricism advocated by the "four horsemen of new atheism"[8]. It elevates empirical science and inductive reasoning to the single category of truth and, simultaneously, rejects the possibility of the other modes of appearance, namely: Art, Fear, Love, and Politics. The contemporary form of obscurantism would, therefore, be liberal science itself.

Conclusion

By following Badiou's formal procedure of dealing with meta-physics, I have tried to show and define the possibility of a truth whose mode of appearance is Fear. This truth is contrary to Badiou's concept of resurrection since it negates any theological closure by claiming that the resurrection is a myth, a claim made by Carl Schmitt (Schmitt 2011). The negation of the resurrection, i.e. the rejection of a 'theological closure' (Schmitt 2011), is what authorizes Schmitt

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[8] Richard Dawkins, Daniel Dennett, Sam Harris, and Christopher Hitchens (e.g. the list has increased to include other names such as: Victor J. Stenger, Lawrence M. Krauss, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, and A.C. Grayling).

to present us with the 'Fascist Hypothesis'. Cain, not Christ, is the true form of immortality today (and has always been).

The Fascist Hypothesis, which represents an alternative to the Communist Hypothesis (Badiou 2010), is plausible from a formal standpoint of view and can be summarized in the following statement: there exists a time before and after the resurrection, that is a time before "the Christ's first coming" and after "the Christ's second coming" (Schmitt 2011, 42); cycle, not sequence, is what history is about. It is a theory that suggests that the presentation (i.e. A) is not the ontological ground of the State but that $A(w)$, i.e. war, is the true ground. This ground is, by definition, phenomenological because it is not a function of Politics itself but a function of the connection Politics-Fear.

It is true that the Fascist Hypothesis was proposed by a variety of thinkers before Schmitt and it is also true that Machiavelli, for example, already elaborated on the connection between Love, Fear, and Politics, but Schmitt was the first one to explicitly define the concepts of sovereignty and of the political, and it was because of his explicit formulation of these concepts that it was possible to propose a 'plausibility argument' which can help us to understand a new dialectics: one created and formalized by Alain Badiou. It may be possible that the political events of the 21st century can settle the issue of whether or not there exists a politics based on fear and, in the process, determine if the 'Spectre of Fascism' has been exorcised or not. In any event, from now on we must all speak 'Badiouese'.

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