Non-Conceptual Negativity: Damaged Reflections on Turkey

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With all my production of literature, philosophy, music, and art since 1994, I have tried to conjure up various strategies to fight the rising tide of fascism and racism but especially the single-minded ways of being and thinking which have become the major trend in Turkey and all the world during the last four decades. This trend has grown into a particular case between 2002 and 2018 in Turkey with the aid of American and European manipulations which I have named “nano-fascism” and “Neanderthal capitalism” in my recent works. The idea of Neanderthal capitalism is the result of the proliferation of populist governments and leaders which has flourished all across Europe and America in the name of making these countries “strong again.” This common will which has been adopted by the masses has ended up in the election of the world’s most violent and greediest political leaders and is built on a limitless desire of a neanderthal violence structured on the endless appropriation of anything that stretches between oneself and the horizon. It is more than rendering everything to be identical with one’s own desire (as, say, in Adorno and Horkheimer’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment*) as the desire itself is now relocated and reidentified as the crypt of a long-lost atopacity within the psyche, thus making even the process of identification unnecessary. When identification once required at least the availability of two separate things, with the rise of the Neanderthal capitalism, the unity or the inseparability of the identifier and the identified is overdetermined at birth.
with the production of those subjects whose inclusion of all the universe within themselves as “one” will lead to a perennial violence and fight against the ones who do not obey this rule. This sounds like reverting back to primitive roots but only with the exception of what I have called “nano-fascism.” The latter could be invented only in the post-capitalist era as a result of a massive stupification of the in-dividual for whom there is no difference between the mediated and the media. The in-dividual of nano-fascism, in its difference from macro- and micro-fascism, has no notion of fascism as it steps into the world with chips of fascism integrated into it via socio-nano-technologies of the psyche and the body. The in-dividual of Neanderthal capitalism is born a fascist with all its cells infused with the minutest details of how to fight and destroy each other for an unquenchable desire to have the upper hand over one another with an eye to perfect integrity and discipline — the murder and death of anything that pertains to life, as it were. In contrast to Leibnizian monadology where each monad includes in itself all the universe, the nano-fascist thinks the whole universe is included only within itself and anything against this rule can be the initiator of the most violent acts, even against the rebellious nano structures within his own physical and psychological make-up.

Without doubt for this schema to be realised, the West had to wait for some results to be obtained from a laboratory country which is called Turkey. The Turkish political scene has always been designed by Western hands but the period between 2002 and 2018 deserves a special attention as Turkey has seen the rise of Neanderthal capitalism and nano-fascism to its fullest capacity. First, Islam. Among all the monotheist religions, Islam is the only one where the schizophrenic schema which is the base of all religions is denied to the extent of making not only the believer but also the deity the victim of a unity as one side of the same coin. The schizophrenic in the first place requires a space, a distance from the other with whom it will put itself into a relative relationship in a manner of rupture and worship. The transcendental must keep itself distant from the worshipper to yield either to belief or disbelief, but this distance is an
absolute necessity for the schizophrenic to come alive. In contrast, this distance is abolished in Islam and the believer and the believed or the worshipper and the worshipped are already identified with each other (in accordance with the neanderthal logic), and they occupy the same side of the coin, leaving the other side to be a place without an occupant, that is, a realm of the voice of the symbolic father, from the yoke of which neither Allah nor the worshipper is free: “Ikra” (or: Read!). Mohammed does not read but is read by this command — a perfect subject of enunciation. This very same side then turns into a place waiting for its occupant, that is, the place of the would-be dictator who will occupy it as the occupant with no place, as an empty transcendental. The dictator will thus ensure his power over the two by being both the occupant with no place and the resident of the place with no occupant by the displacement of the transcendental. Conceptually speaking, this is where nothing will transcend the conceptual unity of the worshipper and the worshipped except the voice of the dictator who will be incessantly reading and conceptualising the two. One side occupied by a transcendental which does not transcend and the other with an empty transcendental as an absolute transcender. Worshipper and the worshipped on one side, and the voice of the dictator, on the other. Having erased the schizophrenia of the me and the other with the unity of the worshipper and the worshipped, this is where the capitalism turns into Neanderthal capitalism. If the outcome of this project is nano-fascism — that is, the incorporation of the empty transcendental by the worshipper and the worshipped who do not know what identification is — such a moment also signals the birth of a special clinical case, namely, Cotard’s delusion. 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always been dead!” This is why the growing number of suicide bombers has invaded not only the Middle-East but will soon invade the whole world, given the growing tendency to appropriate the desire to erase the distinction between the identifier and the identified. Leibniz’s monad had no windows but the victim of the Cotard’s delusion does not even know what a window is.

The worshipper is thus doubly negated first by the Allah who refuses to separate itself from the worshipper and then by the voice of the dictator: “You are no one without me and I am no one without the dictator!” The result is no more the schizo of late capitalism but the doubly negated, and hence affirmed and integrated, nano-fascist of Neanderthal capitalism. “Everything must be included in me as unseparated and undifferentiated, otherwise I kill you and if not I kill myself.” Such is the motto of the nano-fascist under the aegis of Neanderthal capitalism.

It comes as no surprise, then, when the results obtained from a laboratory called Turkey are applied to the Western countries (among whom America is the prime example), the expectation is that it will yield to the same Cotard’s delusion as a total submission of the subject to the voice of the dictator in order to be negated. The novelty of nano-fascism is that it does not ask for obedience any more, but is more a matter of letting oneself be read and conceptually negated by the dictator, that is, agreeing to be dead. Yes, there is no Hitler today but in the absence of Nietzsche or Schlegel brothers, nobody in the West is ready to accept this (except, perhaps, the followers of Marquis De Sade) as a matter of fact. The sadist, as Deleuze put it, will never reach a full satisfaction unless everything in the world is destroyed. It is already there in Joy Division’s album cover “Closer” in 1980. All the tracks from “Still” (1981) are particular symptoms of approaching Cotard’s delusion: to be dead. The latter was once adopted as a strategical tool of the Punk: it was actually the core of Punk — how to enjoy the death disco under the deprived cir-

circumstances. However, within twenty years this strategy, adopted by Neanderthal capitalism, turned into how to make the masses know no difference between the identifier and the identified. The nano-fascist as a dead body is now devouring everything that lies outside his horizon, that is everything which raises the problem of identification. Everything should appear without appearing as something already identified and dead. The situation is no different than the one described by Roger Caillois: what was once considered a radical move is now reverted to the subjection of the masses to the desire of melting into the background, thus, forgetting the categories of time and space which were the sole conditions of the subject to appear as such. Neanderthal capitalism, backed up by Islamic dogma, is now the real enemy. How to appropriate the negative? A nonconceptual negativity is extremely difficult under these circumstances, but not impossible.

The nonconceptual in fact is the residue of Neanderthal capitalism because whatever it appropriates in the name of a monadology (which doesn’t even know what a window is) is prone to get lost within the atopology of the surface as the unmaintable. The nonconceptual therefore is not the opposite of the conceptual but that which is always already yet to come. Imagine, for example, Ian Curtis sang his songs always from within a coffin and when he committed suicide, he was already dead. The double negative at work here is not there to affirm the death-affirming voice of the Dictator but to negate radically what is being imposed on us as conceptual and affirmative.

Please don’t die.