

Nationalism and otherness in Trump's America

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Abstract

Because of the arrival to Trump's presidency in the USA, it becomes necessary to make a brief analysis of why certain nationalisms are resurfacing at an international level, since these attack against all that that appears as an another: otherness. Then the question about what frames of recognition and mechanisms they exist to recognize a life and scribble others it becomes necessary to dialogue, since in the current scenario, the language and the image (especially the meme) have been used like tool to erase to other.

Otherness, Trump, language, Insult, Meme

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Introduction

The Trump victory in the past elections of the USA, took for surprise to big sector of the world population. In spite of the fact that the surveys were made and of that the means with major renown indicated all the scenarios against them, the result was different. This caused that even the *Oxford* dictionary chose the word '*Post-Truth*' as that of major relevancy in this year. It is not a minor thing. The term points at the decision making motivated more by passional factors or belief than by hard data.

Technically the surveys gave victory to Hillary (was reliable information. What do true?) However, Trump won as consequence of a white nationalism that seems to receive every time major validity in different countries and that nevertheless, did not appear registered.

Even though many people were incredulous at the triumph of the candidate who had been characterized by strong, aggressive and racist comments, the international scenario, in abstract terms, already marked the possibility of this happening.

Roaming around the world was making it visible. There is a tendency every time bigger the resurgence of metaphysical projects that they claim nacionalisms, esencialisms.

That stops against multiculturalism, the mainstream and that advocates closing the doors in a kind of nostalgic look at the past: we see it with the campaign slogan of Trump "*Make America Great Again*" or in the posters of the francoists sleepless that on November 20 of the same year were manifested with banners that in English (why?) they said: "*Make Spain Great Again*" while they raised their hands on the road to that greeting that characterized national socialism, "a nostalgic return to an past imaginary of greatness"¹.

¹Cornel West. Goodbye, America neoliberalism. A new era is here. (Reino Unido: The Guardian, 2016), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/1>

A chimera. An oasis. A reality for those who advocate for that return, but in the end a dream that there is to fear and today escape. For as Deleuze mentioned in his conference, ¿What is the act of creation?:

“The dream has to do first of all with those who do not dream. The dreams of those who dream have to do with those who do not dream (...) because as soon as there is the dream of the other is endangered. To know that the dream of the people is always a dream devorante that can engulf us. And that the others dream is very dangerous, and that the dream is a terrible will of potency and that each one of us is more or less victim of the dream of the others, even when it comes to the most charming girl, she is a fearsome devourer, not by his soul, but by their dreams. Distrust the dream alien, because if you are trapped in the other's dream you're lost”²

Especially if it's a nightmare. What we see present is the reification of that delirium that threatens to devour us. A dream annihilating that pursues the other. That it exiles to the otherness to from a framework built in which curing a story originating where the primacy of the white race is the deserving of the earth, of the opportunities, of the dream.

Under that story construction, the white race is erected as the master while the other is the servant. Rescuing the words of Richard Spencer, spokesman of the movement Alt-Right, collective that is defines as an alternative right but leaving aside euphemisms, is actually a group that promotes the hegemony of the white man:

²[7/american-neoliberalism-cornel-west-2016-election \(25/11/2016\).](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dXOzcexu7Ks)

² Gilles Deleuze. ¿Qué es el acto de creación?. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dXOzcexu7Ks> (25/11/2016).

“America was, until the last generation, a country white designed to ourselves and our posterity (...) It is our creation, our inheritance and belongs to us”³.

The movement although it has been a discussion topic from different optics since the beginning of 2015, became visible internationally then that they greeting the now president elected with a '*Heil Trump*' at the time that in a speech they blame, with a German term used in the Nazi period '*Lügenpresse*' (press sold), to the international press of constructing a pejorative image of Trump (later will delve into the use that have made memes to discredit political postures, exclude the other and Create white identity).

The discourse of Spencer, denotes a badly calibrated vision, a distortion merely ideological that needs to create and establish an origin, a starting point that a priori we must consider falseable, well The "I" cannot tell the story of her own emergence nor the conditions of its own possibility without giving testimony of a state of things that one might not have witnessed, which is prior to its appearance as a subject capable of knowing”⁴.

The story fundacionista of all these groups of the extreme right in germ, is a sample of how the ideology can sometimes kidnap the thought and establish frames of intelligibility that they determine to other to the effacement and that they establish a scheme which made it impossible to recognize the face of the other where there is and it opens a question very important already raised by Butler:

³ Joseph Goldstein. Alt-Right Exults in Donald Trump's Election With a Salute: 'Heil Victory' (EEUU: The New York Times,2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/us/alt-right-salutes-donald-trump.html> (25/11/2016)

⁴ Judith Butler, Dar cuenta de sí mismo (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu editores, 2012), 56.

"In what conditions do some individuals acquire a face, a legible and visible face, and others not?"⁵

The question becomes necessary to dialogue at reason of the current political scenario, while during years some theorists claimed to live in a stable multiculturalism, far from the ideologies and where one should even speak of the post-feminism and the post-racism, Reality has been imposed on us to cancel all those propositions.

The ideologies are still there, the racism exists, the desire to return to close the doors and to build walls is not past but present and terrifyingly future. And everything seems to be the product of the same globalization that takes years in frank crisis.

This has not happened by spontaneous generation. It is something that has been kneaded as a result of the benefit that have obtained only some groups of power through the market. Nothing here is excluded. Everything is related and is symptomatic.

The groups of radical right had been there as embers waiting for oxygen that allowed fanning the flame. They unlike the world new age that has been characterized by everything *friendly* and by the culture *light*, by tolerance and political correctness, have created a unique and official history that validates and that the wrapped in a network of meanings in the world.

If as Butler indicates "in rigor, it is probable that to have an origin means precisely count with several possible versions of him (...) Any of these versions is a possible story, but none of them I can say with certainty that it is the only true."

⁵ Judith Butler, Dar cuenta de sí mismo, 47.

For these groups as *Alt-Right* the allegory is the official, the real. For them there is not a diversity of stories but theirs, where the white class is in danger.

The shitlords (since they make be called the members of this movement) are dominated by the fear of that the white people in the USA are dispossessed by the immigrants and by the multiculturalism.⁶

They, the 'barbarians' for us the 'Neoillustrados', those who take their beliefs too seriously, have built a sectarian dream: globalization of anti-globalization.

What happened in the USA, as much has been written, was only the continuation of Putin's rise to power, of the Syrian exodus, the Brexit and vote for the 'No' to peace in Colombia.

Those images of the Syrian exodus, were only the tip of the iceberg. And for adverse that the stage seems, should not be forgotten that this can still be worse. Does the fact that Trump, a misogynistic, racist, and politically incorrect candidate have won is not chilling? The nationalist loop was in the eyes of American citizenship. It is the triumph of the candidate who through the insult managed to unify passions.

Within politics, this event has been extremely perverse. It is no longer a speech built with great argument. It is the easy speech of hatred, of the exclusion that seeks to minimize the other and leave it unprotected.

The passionate speech that seeks the return to the Unreason. About this, just a few days ago Charles Kaiser, a writer who was trying to make a critique of Trump's speech on *CNN*, said in national chain the word "*nigger*" (the N word)⁷.

Immediately was censored by this. He apologized and said that this is not a word that he says in its day to day, however it was using it to reproduce something that now elect president had mentioned.

The situation is excessively obtuse and piteous on having analyzed it. Globalization tried to solidify the values of liberalism for the sake of a better market without actually worrying about minorities, precarious groups, by poverty, by the lives that are extinguished in individual terms, that is to say, disregarded speeches, held them above, never extinguished the root of the problem, that is why the discourse that mobilized the citizens was the vulgar that attacked marginal groups, minority or from before already excluded by certain schemes historical, since it is necessary to tint that "the proper terms that we use to account, and of those that we cost ourselves to become intelligible for us same and for others, there are no our work."⁸

The discourse of Trump, although more vile and cynical, is enunciable and sustained (although not-laughably-on television yes in its political acts) due to a terms network given from earlier against which SHISH one has tried to fight for years, skylight the struggle has come on the part of certain groups that are not the domineering power, the state.

⁶ Sarah Posner. Meet the Alt-Right 'Spokesman' Who's Thrilled With Trump's Rise (EEUU: The Rolling Stone Magazine, 2016), <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/features/meet-the-alt-right-spokesman-thrilled-by-trumps-rise-w443902> (26/11/2016).

⁷ Daniel Marans. White CNN Guest Says N****r On Live Television, (Reino Unido: The Huffington Post, 2016), http://www.huffingtonpost.com.mx/entry/cnn-racial-slur-video_us_5834a8d2e4b01ba68ac35270 (26/11/2016).

⁸ Judith Butler, *Dar cuenta de sí mismo*, 35.

We have to recognize the context. Even with all the liberal propaganda that continually incites us as citizens of the world and leaving behind closed categories, the orthodox discourse is still there. The struggle waged in pursuit of civilization seems to have not advanced as much as one wanted to believe and that was more than anything, a mirage.

This is not to say that there have been no changes. Of course there are in terms of the expansion of concepts that invite inclusion and participation. However, the bias is significant. Few have been integrated into these market dynamics. And it is clear, a difficulty by *Inteligir* – also – and recognizing all those who do not participate. This does not justify the aggression with which now claim some from an essentialist stance.

The worrying thing that Trump has won, is that he did so by means of the insult. He used the language to dismantle the other, to injure, rip, dislocate and frighten him: all those who are not white, seem, must be afraid, distrust, paralysis. The language is not only a means of expression, it is also condition of possibility of the subject speaker⁹ and as spine that holds the subject on its axis, is able to manage to dislocate the other of its center, which is why verbal insult. It is the best weapon to question someone.

As the discussion does not imply a balanced intersubjectivity at the same time that it does not open the possibility of an interpellation, at least not in this context.

That Trump has won the presidency, is a way in which insult acquires validity within the political discourse to cope and blur to the other. The insult was already there but to the weather.

Trump enables a whole structure that is of power. It is therefore absurd to see on CNN as Brooke Baldwin admonish to air Charles Kaiser by making use of the word 'nigger'. Since it was clear that only reproduced this in the form of criticism of the President-elect. Trump makes possible the whole structure that covers it with power. It is therefore absurd to see on CNN as Brooke Baldwin admonish to air Charles Kaiser by making use of the word 'nigger', since it was clear that only reproduced this in the form of criticism of the President-elect.

Thinking the above from its sinister aspect: nothing has served the game of the politically correct when you win a presidency with such a speech. Eradicating this word from the media, although important, has not made America less racist.

It has only kept racism under the rug, and if Trump's speech became relevant to a part of the population that was identified is because "the Racial insult is always mentioned from somewhere, and when speaking of him, one joins a chorus of racist [...] In this sense, the racist discourse does not originate with the subject, although it needs the subject for its efficacy, as it surely happens. Indeed, the racist discourse could not act as such if it were not a summons of itself."¹⁰

Trump is an empty place that has served as a refuge for this entire network of concepts that seek from hate subordinate to the other and that through the language re-signify relations. For after the speech of hatred, of the insult, there is something that changes in the relational form. The language of hatred is the closed language that dies. Politically it is necessary that it remains alive, that the relationship with the world remains active, full of resignifications that help to integrate more than to separate.

⁹ Judith Butler, *Lenguaje, poder e identidad*, (España: Editorial Síntesis, 2004), 54.

¹⁰ Judith Butler, *Lenguaje, poder e identidad*, 138.

If we are beings constituted by language and through it there is restraint, it should be given under a framework that protects integrity: "The resignification of language requires opening new contexts, speaking in ways that have not yet been legitimized, and therefore," Producing new and future forms of legitimation."¹¹ The urgent thing is to achieve this resignification that allows to expand certain social constructions that make it possible to constitute ontologically groups or people excluded historically, that is, to reconstitute them in a social structure.

However, the trend is contrary. And Trump's triumph over Hillary also symbolizes the triumph of hatred over reconciliation. The fall of the foundations of different bridges that had been tried to build.

Alt-Right, the white supremacists and the use of the meme as strategy for smudge to other.

Within all the machinery of exclusion that has worked to sustain the current hate speech, it is interesting to dwell on the techniques employed by the movement led by Spencer. The Alt-Right group has taken a sinister turn in the Trump campaign that has begun to expand on the internet.

While the movement dates from 2010 and began to win public stage with Trump, this was mainly because of its incursion into different forums and social networks through the use of memes used as a strategy to systematize a logic of erasing the other. His first anti normies memes appeared on the site 4chan. Its distinctive was the use of the famous Pepe the frog meme to cover it with a racial discourse.

Thus, memes began to appear where Pepe alluded to different situations of discrimination or appeared in uniform Nazi. But perhaps the crucial moment was when he started to link this frog to the candidate Trump.

Then *Pepe the frog*, now used a blond toupee that resembled the now President-elect of the USA. The reason was very evident even when the meme subtracted seriousness. The movement had found in Trump a representative and this was the way to back him up. Then the movement began to manifest itself in the social networks, jumped of the site 4chan to pages of Facebook or to political forums. The meme began to be used as a political tool that by laughing, subtracted seriousness to proposals.

The members of *Alt-Right* and all those who sympathize with the racism that this group promotes, they quickly understood the message and the mission. Their memes were everywhere where they discuss the election and became an enemy of the campaign of Hillary through the *trolling*. The foregoing, although ridiculous, recreated in reality a scenario worthy of the British series *Black Mirror*. The memes jumped to reality and in Trump's campaigns it was not unusual to observe *Pepe the frog* placards as a symbol of support. That in the opinion of several could be little thing, transcended and gained power in the masses, so much that the team Hillary advised her to play the theme during one of their event¹² because the use of the meme by *Alt-Right* was increasingly violent while generating adepts, because although a virtue of the meme is the simplicity with which you can share ideas or infuriating lentos through an image, which usually causes laughter, this time the use was ideological. Memes have become language.

¹¹ Judith Butler, *Lenguaje, poder e identidad*, 73.

¹² Maureen Dowd. *The Alt-Right is All Wrong* (EQUU: The New York Times, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/28/opinion/sunday/the-alt-right-is-all-wrong.html> (26/11/2016).

Appealing to the distinction that Joan Fontcuberta makes in her book *Pandora's Camera*, between analogue photography and digital, where indicated that while the analogue photo tends to mean phenomena and digital concepts, the meme keeps similarity with the latter in so much so that it inhabits the virtual world, that of the screens, that of the immediate. The meme is not a simple receiver of jokes, is a language still open that perverse Alt-Right knew how to manipulate with such of engaging a young audience that does not seek both speeches profound but something simple to understand. By this is that its strategy of attack on Hillary and support to Trump, also envisaged the use of aesthetics *vaporwave* in some videos in order to invest the candidate of a power simpleton but effective for the masses.

As properly writes TJ Brown on the Foundation for Economic Education site: "*Alt-Right* is a meme with mission." Are determined to do aside everything imposed and replace it with a nationalism of right (...) and they plan to achieve this through the growing appeal of the comic and daring memes aimed at the domination of the online political discourse"¹³.

That is to say, *Alt-Right* is oriented to the *millennials*, that although they are not really informed, they do follow news sites with political content. And that's where they deposit the memes. The meme is used as a visual strategy that discredit political speeches online and in turn, can generate identity from the comic. In one of the most viral memes, you could see *Pepe the frog* with toupee (Trump) Laugh of a Mexican couple who had been deported. The joke appears as a technique of exclusion that although it softens the message, propagates it and generates a logic of deletion.

¹³ TJ Brown. Hillary's Crusade against the "Alt-Right" and Meme Warfare (EEUU: Foundation for Economic Education, 2016), <https://fee.org/articles/hillary-s-crusade-against-the-alt-right-and-meme-warfare/> (26/11/2016).

Within the visual culture that we inhabit, the image plays an important discursive category as in the baroque. Cannot be separated the image of affection, nor forget that before the overpopulation of images, we inhabit the madness of the vision¹⁴ Where "the strength of the abundant and the quantity will decide the form of it is presence in the world, vis-a-vis the old regime of the singularities *sunturarias*, exclusive."¹⁵ And that is where the strength of the meme today. Not in it is auralty but in overcrowding, in it is distribution power.

We are facing a change of image, in front of a new use that is only possible through the internet and its new uses. Trump is considered the first candidate of 4chan, since big part of its power was generated in the social networks across a separatist speech with comic sheath. Laughter appears here as a technique that erases the other in abstract terms. It is erased from before seeing his face, in the distance, without having to confront it.

It is excluded from the virtuality and from there the insult is incubated. The image here is built from the perversity of reason in the way of objectifying the other and moving it from any intelligibility scheme. The meme has ceased to be just a habitacle of laughable ideas and is now language, concept, ideology capable of generating identity and policies of exclusion. So much so that today the meme of *Pepe the frog* has become politically incorrect to use even when it is not alluded to *Alt-Right*, and by the same use of it has accused to figures like Taylor Swift to be a representative of this movement that seeks to exalt man White in America and do an ethnic cleansing. In these times of virtual trenches, the meme is more important than what you want to accept and *Alt-Right* has shown.

¹⁴ Martin Jay, *Ojos abatidos* (España: Akal, 2007)

¹⁵ José Luis Brea, *Las tres eras de la imagen* (España: Akal, 2010), 48.

The effacement of otherness.

On this we have to rethink the political sphere and how this is affecting outside the virtuality. Hatred has not been overcrowded on the screens. And proof of this was all that could be observed in the so-called *Day 1 in Trump's America*. A compilation of tweets showing all the violent acts perpetuated in the United States on the first day of winning the Trump elections: The realm of the logic of one, the effacement of the alterity.

Once Trump is elected President, what there is an openness to reality, it opens the tunnel that allows the transition of that which lived in the virtual to the world. The insult is no longer contained in the screen to peek and pursue the other. What is only expressed by the language is stay at the physical.

The verbal violence is possible in material terms while it is sheltered by the one who represents the power of the state.

To what we witnessing is at the beginning of arbitrariness, to the plunder of the other without historical memory in the middle, without the ethical sensibility that it supposes had gained after the different conflicts that humanity has traversed.

The denial of the other is given by demanding its displacement of the public space, not with the reason but with the ideological passion. The logic is closed even when there is not a self but there is always an alterity.

In a kind of Hegelian site, to the extent that the other gives me the virtue of my limits I fight against him, because I do not accept this limitation, appealing to pop culture: "Only a Sith deals in absoluts."

The scenario that becomes, that is inaugurated is that of fright and anguish.

Fright before a situation that was historically considered impossible to repeat, is a "sort of subjective defeat, signa the victory of that economic factor because nothing has prepared the subject for this overflow, nothing could be symbolized or" presymbolized "by him."¹⁶

It is the subject overflowed in the face of surprise "because one has been taken where I did not expect."¹⁷

The *Post-Truth* has left me in a scenario that I had considered unlikely, I find myself dislocated, and the insult is now validated by the president elect. The danger that runs is unimaginable. That's why the horror. Anxiety did not here prevent this scenario.

Sensibly Butler writes this to the next day of the election: "Who are they, these people who voted for him, but who are we, who did not see his power, that we did not anticipate this in its entirety, that we could not fathom that people would vote for a man with a racist and xenophobic discourse, with a history of sexual offenses (...)"¹⁸

But now that after Trump's triumph has unleashed a wave of racial movements around the world (not only in the USA), it is now possible to be prevented, now there is space for the anguish that develops in attack, anguish as "a reaction opposite to the perception of an exterior danger, that is to say, of an awaited, due damage; [and that] is linked to the reflection of the flight, and it is licit to see in it a manifestation of the impulse of self-preservation.

¹⁶ Jean Laplanche, *La Angustía* (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu editores, 2012), 67.

¹⁷ Jean Laplanche, *La Angustía*, 66.

¹⁸ Judith Butler. A Statement from Judith Butler (EEUU: E-Flux conversations, 2016), <http://conversations.e-flux.com/t/a-statement-from-judith-butler/5215?u=anton> (26/11/2016).

In the face of nationalist outbreaks who advocate closing doors, the return to nationalism and the greetings of Hitler, there is nothing left but the foresight of all possible scenarios. Not only to be guided by what appears to be the truth but to reconsider even the less unlikely scenarios: to be prepared.

The offense of the other challenges us, opens us to the world to develop a sort of negotiation of the public sphere. The conflict is presented as the origin of the political.

All the signs of anger that can be expected will happen to certain groups of the population in the USA, they are a violent interpellation of the other, a persecution in the literal sense: "persecution is precisely what happens without the justification of any act on my part".¹⁹

The black, the Jew, the Latin American will begin to be evicted by means of the term of abuse that then will be validated under some politics, that in case of the migrants, will seek to throw them out of the country, that is, to plunge in one indetermination to the other by the dispossession of his house. There the ontological problems that crosses every exile: what he lacks is the rest place.

If as writes Deleuze on purpose of Proust: "To fall in love is to individualize someone by the signs that it causes or emits." Is to be sensitized against these signs (...) The loved one appears as a sign, a "soul": it expresses a world possible unknown to us. The beloved implies, envelops, imprisons a world to be deciphered, that is to say, to interpret."²⁰

What is being attended is a to anaesthetize in the face of otherness. If the love requires me to unveiling of another, in the hate the sign becomes irrelevant.

There is no desire to decipherment, but of effacement: "Whatever it may mean that is presented to me, I am not interested in knowing it and it is necessary to annihilate it, to persecute it, to devour it."

From the position of the other, the theory is abstract. Days before the election, Žižek gave a statement where he said that he would vote for Trump. His argument follows a similar position to that of the Committee Invisible: "any loss of control is preferable to any of the arguments that maintain control of the crisis".

For the Slovenian, Trump means to future a frank destabilization to the system that will make it restructured completely, while Hillary meant to perpetuate the crisis. Of course in theory is suggestive. The problem is to support this in real life, especially if it is the other.

There, where the speech of the white nationalist looking for a return to a place imaginary, a situation opens that the otherness did not choose.

The answer should not be a violent struggle, nor the flight, but the effective constitution of a new political model that inaugurates the ethical in the recognition of the other, in the responsibility not only of that but of me in relation with him: "This is a situation that we did not choose. It constitutes the horizon of the election and founds our responsibility.

In this sense, we are not responsible for her, but that situation creates the conditions in which we assume responsibility.

¹⁹ Judith Butler, *Dar cuenta de sí mismo*, 119.

²⁰ Gilles Deleuze, *Sobre Proust y los signos* (España: Anagrama, 1970), 15 -16

We have not created it, and therefore we must take it in mind.” Of course, this is in theory.

And the faces is from the position of the alternate, to be responsible even when this rests responsibility to the one who persecutes me. In this tenor, it is worth staying with the words of Cornel West about it: “for us in these times, even to have hope is too abstract, too far away, too expectant. In it is place we must be a hope, a participant and a force for good while we confront this catastrophe.”²¹ It can still be worse.

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²¹ Cornel West. Goodbye, America neoliberalism. A new era is here.