

“TEMPS DE CRISE(S)”

A cura di Isabelle Aubert e Sabina Tortorella

Editoriale

p. 7 Isabelle Aubert & Sabina Tortorella, *Un présent en crise*
An Actual Crisis

Abstract: Media news as well as current analyses conducted by social and environmental sciences, political philosophy or economics – to name a few disciplines – reflect a recurring and unprecedented use of the term “crisis”. According to them, the characteristic feature of contemporary times would always be shaken by one or more crises(s). A sign, and even a symptom, of widespread uncertainty in a complex and interdependent world, the crisis or the possibility of its occurrence does not spare any domain today. The purpose of this dossier is to examine the relevance of the concept of crisis today and to put its various uses into perspective. The issue examines the meaning and scope of the concept of crisis by comparing its most recent uses with a historical-philosophical approach in the idea of uncovering the issues of this category, apparently trivial, for political philosophy and knowledge theory.

Keywords: Present; Crise; Genealogy; Convergence; Materialism

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Monografica (I) – Les crises du XXIème : des crises de société nouvelles ?

p. 19 Etienne Balibar, *Mi-temps de la crise. Expériences, questions, anticipations*
Interval of the Crisis. Experiences, Questions, Anticipations

Abstract: Written in the midst of the pandemic in 2020, this article aims to interrogate the current period of crisis and its challenges from the double meaning of the Greek term, thus highlighting the close links between medicine and politics. In the first part, the contribution focuses on the emergence of protests against state racism in the United States and on the “Black Lives Matter” movement, which is interpreted as a resurgence in nowadays politics and considered revolutionary in its radical non-violent character. The second part concentrates on public health services. In this context, the health crisis appears to be an

opportunity to question the need for a welfare state at the present time and reveals the tension between the vertical logic of the state and the horizontal logic of the commons. The article concludes with a reflection on the economic crisis and its social consequences with the purpose of questioning the future of neoliberal capitalism and the catastrophic effects of industrial civilisation on the environment.

Keywords: Pandemic; Politics; Public Service; Neoliberalism; State.

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p. 47 Elsa Bansard, *La pandémie de Covid-19 est-elle une « crise sanitaire » ?
Is the Covid-19 Pandemic a “Health Crisis”?*

Abstract: We will question the uses of the term “crisis” on the occasion of the Covid 19 pandemic. To do so, we will analyze the discourses of researchers in the Humanities and Social Sciences in the media in France, from March 1st 2020 to June 1st 2022. The aim is to understand how the SHS have deconstructed the qualification of the pandemic as a health crisis in order to propose the analysis of a global crisis that affects the relationships between individuals and collectives.

Keyword: Crisis; Pandemic; Capitalism; *Individu*; Humanities and Social Sciences.

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p. 69 Marie Goupy, *La signification des pouvoirs de crise économiques chez Eric
Posner et Adrian Vermeule : temporalité du droit et fin de l’histoire*

*The Meaning of Emergency Economic Powers in Eric Posner and Adrian Vermeule’s Theory:
Temporality of Law and End of History*

Abstract: This paper aims to question the transformation of the legal concept of crisis, through that of emergency powers, notably linked with their extension to new fields of application, in particular, to economy. To do so, it proposes to expose the analysis of two American jurists, Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule, who developed a reflection about emergency powers, after the great economic crisis of 2008. These proponents of the Economic analysis of law set up emergency powers at the heart of a history of liberal law and institutional order, that had to adapt to the accelerated temporality of the capitalist economy. I will attempt to show that crisis and emergency temporality allow jurists to submit all the normative production to a presentist normativity, that realizes the

heteronomy of law and economics, as the accomplishment of a strange “end of history”.

Keyword: Eric A. Posner; Adrian Vermeule; Carl Schmitt; Emergency Power; Temporality Crisis.

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Monografica (II) – Les crises du politique, menaces pour la démocratie

p. 93 Rainer Forst, *Zwei schlechte Hälften ergeben kein Ganzes. Zur Krise der Demokratie*

Two Bad Halves Don't Make a Whole. On the Crisis of Democracy

Abstract: This article argues that democracy is currently in a fundamental crisis, disintegrating into two halves that are both truncated and no longer able to form a whole. The first half is that of nationalist-majoritarian populism (in both right and left wing variants), which seeks to regain control of national finances as well as borders through nationalist policies. In this populist halving, especially on the right, democracy becomes an instrument of domination and the exclusion of minorities. Such perversions point to justification crises where the very meaning of democracy gets lost. Essentially, populism proposes a national solution to a global problem, which is doomed to fail. This is the heart of the current structural crisis of democracy: power relations, especially those related to capitalism, are global in nature, but our normative political frameworks have remained at the national level. A justification crisis results from perversions of democracy. The other half of democracy adheres to liberal-democratic principles, but it shares the latter problem: it resigns itself to what is still possible at the national level and therefore fails to fully realize democratic principles. The proper task of democracy as the political practice of justice, however, is to enable collective self-determination through public justification. Its future therefore depends on democracy regaining its power to effect social change, and this can only be achieved through national democracies becoming part of transnational democratic politics.

Keywords: Crisis of Democracy; Populism; Nationalism; Justification Crisis; Transnational Politics

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p. 105 Sabina Tortorella, *L'autorité en crise. Une confrontation entre Alexandre Kojève et Hannah Arendt*

Authority in Crisis: A Confrontation between Alexandre Kojève and Hannah Arendt

Abstract: Although at first glance the profiles of Hannah Arendt and Alexandre Kojève could not be more different from each other, the respective interests of the two philosophers converged around the same time on the notion of authority. In this article I aim to conduct a comparison between the two, emphasizing that their reflections find their starting point in a condition of the crisis of authority in the present, linked to political modernity and the loss of relationship with the past. In the first part I will show that, starting from the common purpose of diagnosing the present, they agree on the definition of what authority is. After presenting the four pure types of authority identified by Kojève and clarifying Arendt's conception of Roman authority, I will examine the relationship between tradition and modern revolutions. For both, this represents the framework from which to think about the crisis of authority. In this perspective, the focus will be on Montesquieu, to whom they both attribute an important role, but from an opposite point of view. In conclusion, I will emphasize that, despite their similarities, Arendt and Kojève differ markedly in the way they conceive politics, power and propaganda.

Keywords: Arendt; Kojève; Authority; Revolution; Modernity.

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Monografica (III) – Perspectives marxistes : de la crise du capitalisme à la crise environnementale

p. 129 Galatée De Larminat, *Gramsci, penseur de l'hégémonie en ses crises*

Gramsci : Reflections on Hegemony in Crisis

Abstract: This article seeks to explore Antonio Gramsci's analysis of history, developed in the 20th century between both World Wars, a period of critical importance and change, much like the one we are ourselves living through. This article chooses to interrogate the notion of modernity through that of crisis, the apparent highlight of modernity's failures. Hegemony, a central concept in the historical philosophy developed by Gramsci, is indissociable from the notion of crisis. This article argues that Gramsci's work holds both theoretical and practical interest for today's politics since the philosophy of praxis promoted by the author is at once conscious activity and active conception, and therefore merits a rereading. The nature of the crisis itself seems to be related to several concepts such as processuality, organicity and morbidity. It is through the analysis of the many forms the notion of crisis takes – organic crisis, integral State crisis, revolutionary crisis, crisis of capitalism, epochal crisis – that this article aims to inscribe reflections on crisis in realistic historicism, to go beyond abstract language and to reinforce the importance of real socio-

historical events.

Keywords: Crisis; Marxism; Gramsci; Modernity; Hegemony.

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p. 155 Franck Fischbach, *Critique sociale et crise écologique*

Social Criticism and Ecological Crisis

Abstract: In contrast to North American eco-Marxism, whose tendency is to go back to Marx, bypassing Critical Theory and minimising its contribution, we attempt here to defend the idea that theoretical and critical resources for confronting the ecological crisis do exist in the Frankfurt tradition and that they reside in the set of means with which it has equipped itself in order to elaborate in an original way the idea of a social relation to nature.

Keywords: Critical Theory; Ecological Crisis; Domination; Nature; Society; Dualism; Hybridism.

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Monografica (IV) – Epistémologies de la crise : entre modernité et post-modernité

p. 175 Nicolas Piqué, *Crise, discordance des temps et strate*

Crisis, Time Discordance and Stratum

Abstract: The analysis of the notion of crisis leads to an alternative: to recognize it as an unsurpassable characteristic reality of modern temporality or, on the contrary, to see it only as a moment of continuous temporality. From the works of historians, the notions of time discordance and rupture will be analyzed as symptoms of a discontinuous modern temporality, making the crisis a fundamental and unsurpassable characteristic. In this theoretical framework, the notion of stratum will appear as the outcome capable of accounting for the impossible unification of times to which the crisis testifies.

Keywords: Crisis; Discordance; Rupture; Stratum; Temporal Regimes.

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p. 195 Eugenia Gaia Esposito, *Un gioco di specchi: il “fantasma” della crisi nella Teoria dei sistemi sociali di Niklas Luhmann*

A Game of Mirrors: The 'Ghost' of Crisis in Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory

Abstract: The article reconstructs the articulations that the concept of crisis (not) assumes within Niklas Luhmann's Social systems theory. What is investigated is precisely the absence of a configuration of the phenomenon of crisis within the theory, which is the result of the general approach that Luhmann chooses to give it. In the first paragraph there is an analysis of the Social systems theory, where the notion of complexity is the pivotal concept. The discussion of the key concepts of Luhmann's theory is necessary in order to understand the reasons behind the gap. In the second paragraph the problem of the lack of the tematization is addressed: the theoretical void concerning the crisis comes directly from the tendency, which Luhmann recognizes in the social system, to operate obsessively in view of its own preservation, a condition that has prevented the analysis of those moments of rupture that derail from a usual order. These positions are explored by comparing Luhmann's model with other versions of systems theory, in particular that developed by the philosopher Edgar Morin. Such an approach makes it possible to identify the elements that have inhibited the probing of the problem of social crisis. In the last section the notion of reflexivity is examined, because this concept seems to be able to give a conclusive meaning to the discussion. The notion of reflexivity informs the whole of systemic theory and it is one of the main reasons why the crisis does not receive theoretical relevance within it: by interpreting social life through the criterion of reflexivity, Luhmann understands social reality itself as a linear concatenation of operations that exclusively pursues the aim of stability.

Keywords: Crisis; Niklas Luhmann; Social Systems Theory; Complexity; Stability.

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p. 215 Giulia Bergamaschi, *Nostalgie metafisiche: la crisi delle scienze nell'era postmoderna*

Metaphysical Nostalgia: the Crisis of the Sciences in the Postmodern Era

Abstract: By crisis of sciences we mean, on the one hand, the epistemological crisis faced after the aporias of logical neo-positivism and the crisis of foundations that invests hard sciences; on the other, the questioning of their role concerning the social contract. These two aspects intertwine and feed each other, and both are objects of the so-called 'postmodern' critique. In this essay we will try to describe and analyze the profound dismay this crisis entails in our society, investing it at the collective and individual levels. In this crisis, we will analyze what seems to us an anthropological resistance to the possibility that

there is no clearly bounded centre of knowledge, which we will describe as a sort of metaphysical nostalgia that fuels individual suffering, social debates, as well as academic disputes.

Keywords: Science crisis; Postmodern; Crisis; Knowledge; Public Discourse.

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Varia

p. 235 Guido Alimena, *La natura giuridica della cosa secondo il giovane Marx. Casualità, necessità e libertà negli articoli del 1842-1843*
The Legal Nature of the Thing according to the Young Marx. Casualty, Necessity and Freedom in the Articles of 1842-1843

Abstract: The concept of the nature of things is at the heart of the young Marx's philosophy of law. In his articles of 1842-1843, the expression *juristische Natur der Sache* alludes to an ontological and rational structure of law from which the legislator cannot deviate. The law will concretely be a universal and rational form when it reflects the nature of the thing, its essence, that is, man's freedom in each of its particular spheres. But for this to happen it is not enough to observe the development of the thing. Its inner essence must be realised in social life through the co-operation of men. And it is always the things nature that points this way. The concept under consideration can therefore be considered a central theme in the study of Marx's early thought.

Keywords: Nature of Things; Universal Form; Rational Form; Freedom; Species-being.

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p. 285 Federico Simoni, *Il rapporto sociale «che si presenta in una cosa». Legge del valore, carattere di feticcio e metodo della critica dell'economia politica: una lettura del primo capitolo del Capitale*
The social relationship «presenting itself in a thing». Law of value, fetish-character and the method of the Critique of political economy: an interpretation of the first chapter of Capital.

Abstract: The first chapter of Marx's *Capital* revolves around the connection between the criticism of commodity fetishism (arising from the non-illusory fetish-character of commodities and money) and the theory of its value. The latter seeks to explain the very commodity-form of the product of labour; the former, its distorted, naturalized and abstract manifestation at the cognitive 'surface' of modern market relations, as unconsciously

reproduced by 'bourgeois' economic science. Thus, that connection describes the 'objective' or 'thing-like' form taken by these relations, both as a deception and as a real structure of the relations themselves. These theoretical connections, as well as the relative method Marx invented and followed in his Critique of political economy, have been fully defined only by recent authors and studies.

Keywords: Fetish-character; Fetishism; Theory of value; Labour; Critique of political economy.

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Recensioni e segnalazioni

p. 305 Ubaldo Fadini, *Ordinamenti e sguardo antropologico. Su Ordoliberalismo di Adelino Zanini*

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p. 317 Roberto Finelli, *Recensione a Silvio Maresca, Socialtotalitarismo e La doppiezza dell'Occidente*

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p. 323 Paolo Murrone, *Recensione a Jacopo Nicola Bergamo, Marxismo ed Ecologia. Origine e sviluppo di un dibattito globale (ombre corte, Verona 2022)*

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