



**Desexil**

**Praxis  
Mémoire  
Archives**  
— 2020

Geneva, May 2021

Site access : [www.desexil.com](http://www.desexil.com)

Translation by Nicole Vogt-Ferrier (based on deep).

1

**PUBLIC DECLARATION 2021  
RESISTANCE AND *POLITICAL* HOSPITALITY  
Praxis-Memory-Archives Project**

This public Declaration, with the information gathered, elaborations, reflections (between 1968 and 2021) is addressed to the proletarian exiles<sup>2</sup> in desexile<sup>3</sup> in globalisation.

It is the result of a *Praxis-Mémoire-Archives* transmission project located in Switzerland (Geneva-Lausanne). The project consists of an important database, reflections and five proposals. The present declaration summarises the main lines of the work as a whole.

The 1000 materials collected come from various places, actions, experiences, events<sup>4</sup> Desexile is a notion discovered in the work. Desexil or fighting against exile can be read in the texts collected.: Geneva Group, *Violence and Asylum in Europe* (GGE), *Fortress Europ?* (Nicholas Busch), *European Asylum Conferences*

---

1

<sup>2</sup> See the definition of this term and its use in the essay, Caloz-Tschopp M.Cl., *La liberté politique de se mouvoir. Desexil et création : philosophie de la fuite*, Paris, Kimé, 2021, part II, p. 181-393. The essay can be found on the site and we thank the Kimé publishing house for authorising its online distribution.

<sup>3</sup> Desexile is a notion discovered in the work. Desexil or fighting against exile can be read in the texts collected.

<sup>4</sup> On this concept, see Hannah Arendt in particular.

(Lausanne, Brussels, Rome, Geneva), *Asylum Tribunal* (Berlin), philosophical and citizenship research (Geneva, Lausanne, Colombia, EU), *Desexil de l'exil programme (2010-2019)* of the Collège International de Philosophie (CIPh), meetings, activities, seminars, in Switzerland and in other countries (Chile, Turkey, Brazil, Italy) (see database).

The resistance of rupture in courageous praxis has been the (re)discovery of the richness of an Other Europe<sup>5</sup> open to the world, which has been invisibilised and criminalised. Resistance does exist, however. It is (most?) often the work of women. It is built step by step. Today, the contribution of the resistance deserves to be fully recognised.

We can learn that by becoming political, hospitality has a general and radical scope. In the 21st century, practising political hospitality means desiring, preserving and (re)constructing diversity and the quality of the links between humans and with nature.

Political hospitality is facing new dangers. It is stifled by the logics of apartheid, war and desert<sup>6</sup> in everyday life. It can be lost. Its affirmation, its safeguarding, its enlargement are a tragic challenge in a planet facing survival limits.

Two main postulates, analysed in the materials, are recalled here:

(1) there is a link woven by violence between history and the present, between the *Habeas Corpus* unleashed by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina in their struggle for the missing persons and the political Hospitality unleashed by the Resistance in the asylum movement;

(2) Resistance is the necessary condition for hospitality to become political.

Issues developed in the research are summarised below.

## **1. POSTULATE 1, HISTORY 13th - 21st century. HABEAS CORPUS AND POLITICAL HOSPITALITY**

State violence and violence of capitalism, the aporia of state-(nation) sovereignty, apartheid, the results of a militarised security 'model' of over-exploitation lead us

---

<sup>5</sup>See in particular, on the subject of Europe's colonial past and its consequences, two interviews conducted by Céline Lussato, (1) Mbembe Achille, " Sans les saignées esclavagistes, le rapport de force entre l'Afrique et l'Europe aurait été différent " ; (2) Michel Aurelia, " Pour le maître la disponibilité des esclaves est une invitation permanente à la transgression ", L'OBS, 14 avril 2021.

<sup>6</sup> See Arendt, "Of the Desert and the Oases", fragment4, What is Politics? Paris, Points-poche, 1995, p. 186-191.

to articulate the long history from the 17th century to the 21st century, taking into account conquest, colonialism, the imperialist turn and the short 20th century.

*Habeas corpus* and political Hospitality are two possible anchors for understanding domination and resistance in the 21st century. Rethinking them together by moving around, allows us to identify the relationships between migration, torture<sup>7</sup> and disappearance policies, where the aporias of violence and issues of incalculable scope crystallise. These two referents accompany the "right to have rights"<sup>8</sup>, formulated by Hannah Arendt in the twentieth century, which is part of the research and struggles.

## **2. POSTULATE 2. POLITICAL HOSPITALITY AND RADICAL RESISTANCE**

Without resistance, there is no political hospitality. There is necessarily a close link between political hospitality and anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-capitalist radical resistance. In our time, political hospitality is becoming visible, imaginable, through the destituent/constituent civic resistance

## **3. POLITICAL HOSPITALITY, WHOSE SOVEREIGNTY?**

Political hospitality cannot be a matter of the state exercising its sovereignty over a territory, and over "subjects" who are submissive, or even terrorised by violence. The public space is not reducible to territories fenced off by states. Where "subjects" are discriminable between "nationals" and "foreigners". The expulsive logic registered in passports is a recent invention

Sovereignty, public space and citizenship need to be rethought when they are reappropriated and reinvented by individuals, peoples<sup>9</sup>, minorities, stateless people<sup>10</sup>, the precarious, the expelled, etc. They are the proletarian exiles of a democratic citizenship that needs to be enlarged by decentring, decolonising and de-imperialising itself.

Crime of "solidarity". What crimes, committed by whom? The so-called crime of "solidarity" highlights state violence and its limits. Whereas the crime against

---

<sup>7</sup> One thinks of colonial and imperial wars, Latin American dictatorships, authoritarian regimes at war and Guantanamo. On the relationship between torture and migration, see Perocco Fabio, *Tortura e migrazioni. Torture and Migration*, Venice, ed. Ca'Foscari, 2019, ISSN 2610-9247, ISSN 2611 0040.

<sup>8</sup> In the 2000s, the circulation of the "right to have rights" (Hannah Arendt), following a thesis, was a means of mobilisation that counted. See, Caloz-Tschopp Marie-Claire, *Les sans-Etat dans la philosophie d'Hannah Arendt. Les humains superflus, le droit d'avoir des droits et la citoyenneté*, Lausanne, éd. Payot, 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Amongst an abundance of literature, we can mention a research in Switzerland, Schaffner Martin (emeritus professor of history at the University of Basel), *Furcht vor dem Volk*, Baseil, Schwabe Verlag, 2020, 186 p.

<sup>10</sup> Voir notamment, Lockak Danièle, « La figure de l'apatride immuable et changeante », revue *Plein droit*, Gisti, Paris, no. 128, mars 2021.

hospitality practiced by states is denied. It is a crime against diversity. The attacks against the politics of linkage, of exchange, of reciprocity, has reached a degree of seriousness that demands that concepts of international and domestic law such as "war crimes", "crimes against humanity", "genocide" be rethought

#### **4. HOSPITALITY, STATE, DEMOCRACY AT THE BORDERS.**

Hospitality is subject to the vagaries of bargaining, power struggles between sovereign states and the interests of predatory multinationals. Hospitality is called upon to invent itself as a *sovereign political relationship* of autonomy, exchange, inter-protection and reciprocal solidarity by working on the conflicts of democracy at multiple borders.

**5. POLITICAL HOSPITALITY GENERALIZABLE TO THE PLANET** A refoundation of political hospitality requires to get out of state thinking and utilitarian economy by widening the spaces, categories and forms of the hospitality tradition. It is not limited to *hostile-hospitable, hospitable-hostile* relationships (Benveniste), to victims, to the 'foreigner', to gridded territories, to 'subjects' pledging allegiance to State violence, to the borders of rich countries.

Through the resistance of rupture, hospitality becomes a generalisable political relationship in constant creation of **political freedom**<sup>11</sup>, « égaliberté » (Balibar), "inter-protection" of proletarian exiles on an entirely "discovered"<sup>12</sup>, colonised and plundered planet.

#### **6. POLITICAL HOSPITALITY: THE COMMON GOOD OF PROLETARIAN EXILES**

Hospitality becomes political, as soon as it becomes the practice of political freedom. It is a **common good** that can be generalised through struggles of resistance against apartheid (Them and Us in one sense), racism, sexism, class relations, destructive security and war violence.

Political hospitality is the refusal of a "de-civilisation" (Bozarslan)<sup>13</sup> of unpredictable war, of the "friend-enemy" relationship (Schmidt), of "foreigners", a

---

<sup>11</sup> A slave, Frederick Douglass, and a philosopher and political theorist, exiled Hannah Arendt, provide an interesting reflection on political freedom. See, Caloz-Tschopp M.C., *La liberté politique de se mouvoir. Des exil et création : philosophie du droit de fuite*, Paris, Kimé, 2019, p. 143-181.

<sup>12</sup> Kant makes this point in his essay on hospitality, where he shows that in his time there are no more places on the planet to expel undesirables. What would he say to the Nazis who imagined Madagascar as a place to expel Jews, to the English parliamentarian who proposed in the 1980s to find an island for undesirable refugees in Europe, and to Burma which confines the Rohingyas to an isolated island, etc. The imagination of absolute expulsion-separation is powerful!

<sup>13</sup> Bozarslan Hamit, *Crise, violence, dé-civilisation*, Paris, éd. CNRS, 2020.

corollary concept of sovereignty and security State violence. It is the struggle of every free human being in search of relationships of autonomy, exchange, "inter-protection", solidarity in daily life.

Hospitality becoming political cannot be reduced to generosity, charity, humanitarianism for mass victims locked up in camps, nor to an abstract principle.

Hospitality is a field of practices, of contradictions between "laws" and its translation<sup>14</sup> into rights (Derrida) with their gaps. Laws, a historical creation, needs to be recast, expanded, displaced in the light of what struggles show. The multiplicity of destituent/constituent struggles is the face of political hospitality.

Rethinking the aporias of sovereignty requires us to go beyond the categories of State violence and to identify the nodes of conflict in movements inherited from the history of revolutions and the relationship with systems of power, including in struggles. What are the unacceptable practices in the power struggles denounced by anti-colonial, North-South, feminist and environmental movements?

How, and under what conditions, can the asylum, right of asylum and migration movements establish links of cooperation and convergence with other struggles? What difficulties? Under what conditions could political hospitality be generalised between a great diversity of movements and actions (concerning women, the climate, covid, struggles against the plundering of resources, the links between humans, animals, nature, etc.)?

## **7. POLITICAL HOSPITALITY AND POLITICAL FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT<sup>15</sup>.**

There is an unthought about **political freedom of movement** and the relationship between political hospitality and **political freedom of movement, the right to flee**, which cannot be reduced to the political lies of Schengen/Dublin/Frontex about apartheid, 'free movement', 'mobility'. The unthought deserves to be explored in all policies (work, health, the North-South vaccination gap, training,

---

<sup>14</sup> Let us note a **difficulty of method** in working these years on several languages. Words such as hospitality, common good, movement, political freedom of movement, *liberté politique de se mouvoir*, *égaliberté*, etc. from French poses problems because these words would they be **untranslatable (intraduisibles)**, given their context, historical weight, debates, particularities and language constraints? And do not appear in most philosophy dictionaries and in particular in the *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies*, Paris, éd. du Seuil-Le Robert, 2004 (one of the tools of the Seminars and Teachings), which does not help philosophers to translate and think them... (see remarks in the database).

<sup>15</sup> Pour cette notion, voir Caloz-Tschopp Marie-Claire, *La liberté politique de se mouvoir. Desexil et création : philosophie du droit de fuite*, Paris, éd. Kimé, 2019.

public service, etc.) and not only in the so-called "immigration" policies, which have been turned into "laboratories" for policies of exception and expulsion<sup>°°°°</sup>

If you are interested in the project and in the possible follow-up of the 2021 Declaration on Political Hospitality:

For the project, click on...

For the website, click on ....

For the final text, click on..

The work and the public Declaration can be widely disseminated. It should be noted that the work is the result of commitments from individuals, publishers, institutions, etc. Translations of the public **Declaration** are in preparation and will soon be on the website

In part **X**, [click here](#), you will find the guidelines for the use of the project materials.

Translation of public Declaration in preparation into English, Spanish, Italian, etc.....

The French text is the basic text.

Done in Geneva, May 2021.

Praxis-Mémoires-Archives project website, desexil online journal, special issue:  
[www.desexil.com](http://www.desexil.com)

Contact address: [revue.desexil@gmail.ch](mailto:revue.desexil@gmail.ch)