

意大利当局所煽动的仇恨将成为2019年对整个欧洲的威胁

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Marco Morosini, Zurich

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今天 12:03 来自 微博 weibo.com

发布了头条文章：《意大利当局所煽动的仇恨将成为2019年对整个欧洲的威胁》

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意大利当局所煽动的仇恨将成为2019年对整个欧洲的威胁

Morosini教授的新闻平台 发布于 2019-01-23 12:03:42

阅读数：93

意大利民粹主义政府的成立是2018年标志性事件，以史为鉴，曾经在意大利也诞生了法西斯主义。

作者：Marco Morosini

2018年，欧洲首个民粹主义政府在意大利成立，面向全球的首秀中，大获全胜的五星运动党与右翼政党联盟组成了一个联合政府。这意味着意大利重蹈覆辙，再次成为新兴政治现象的实验室，并有可能传播到其他国家。在意大利诞生的法西斯主义曾经一开始也被视为儿戏，然而最后一发不可收拾，造成全人类的悲剧。因此，目前在意大利的新兴政治应该被视为2019年对欧洲的不祥之兆。

几个世纪以来，意大利一直是崇尚爱与美的土地。现在，意大利却正在成为仇恨肆意蔓延的家园。意大利政府成员日常地站出来呼吁支持者唤醒自己的“野兽”本能，比如说，你可以感受一下，内政部长兼副总统马特奥·萨尔维尼（Matteo Salvini）喊出的口号：“释放你内心的野兽！”类似这种煽动性的言论竟然频繁出现在意大利执法部门负责人的劝诫中、执政联盟的官方在线杂志（由萨尔维尼创立）《Il populista》上以及其Facebook的主页上（如图，具有威慑力的黄色狼眼象征着被释放的野兽，副标题写着：“无畏，本能，失控”）。

最近，因拦截意大利附近海岸移民船只期间发生了绑架和非法逮捕，马特奥·萨尔维尼目前正面临**持续的调查和指控**。此时，右翼联盟党派的另一位议员**朱塞佩·贝拉乔马**（Giuseppe Bellachio）向调查萨尔维尼的法官说出了同样具有攻击性的话语：“**若你敢动队长（即萨尔维尼；编者注）一根汗毛，我们便会来接你回老家……好自为之！**”另一位副总理**路易吉·迪·迈耶**（Luigi Di Maio，五星运动党）的言论同样带有暴力的意味，他最近对意大利劳工市场的立法改革（称为“就业法案”）表示反对，并高调指责：“**提出就业法案的人是政治刺客。**”这令人不安的发言流露出他似乎试图向公众宣扬对马泰奥·伦齐（Matteo Renzi，前总理和就业法案的提出者）的仇恨。这些行为确实和意大利历史上臭名昭着的左翼恐怖组织“**红色旅（Red Brigades）**”有点似曾相识。

越来越严重的暴力种族主义

那些认为“会叫的狗就不咬人”的人是错的，记者Luigi Mastrodonato自从五星运动党政府上台的那一天开始就创建并更新一个互动地图：“**从2018年6月1日开始的种族主义袭击。**”来记录了意大利各地发生的每一起暴力事件的地点和信息来源。到目前为止（2019年1月21日），它一共记录了**105起**人身攻击，其中包括两起凶杀案。换言之，几乎每隔一天，至少有一个通常是非欧洲和皮肤黝黑的人会被拳头、铁棍和武器攻击，最为严重的事件发生在2018年6月11日卡塞塔（坎帕尼亚），被称为“**萨尔维尼的呐喊**”。在2月3日马尔凯地区的马切拉塔，2017年右翼联盟候选人卢卡·特雷尼（Luca Traini）**驾车中开枪打伤了6名黑人移民**。这些严重的情况导致了**联合国开始对意大利日益增长的种族主义袭击事件调查**。

史蒂夫·班农（Steve Bannon）的角色

特朗普政府的前战略家**史蒂夫·班农**说：“**五星-右翼联盟这个联合政府的实验如果成功的话将会改变全球政治。**”因此他多次来到意大利并会见了萨尔维尼和五星运动党的代表。就像他在白宫辅佐特朗普一样，班农的目的是帮助右翼民粹主义者征服欧盟，为此，班农成立了总部设在布鲁塞尔的**运动（The Movement）**组织。在意大利，班农目前筹划着在前身是修道院的Trisulti开设一个**欧洲民粹主义者的政治培训中心**，并说道：“**这将会是流芳百世的时刻。**”他的观点无可辩驳，因为对移民的政治反应只能从历史的角度来理解。

通往欧洲的竞速

欧盟既不能阻止也无法欢迎目前移民的涌入，而禁止这些移民就像去抵御洪水一样困难。在2050年，非洲的人口将会从今天的**12亿**增加到**25亿**，另一方面，欧洲人在2050年将只有**5亿**，与目前保持一致。就像热能总是从高温物体传递到低温物体一样，从非洲到欧洲的人口迁移似乎是不可避免的。因此，非洲和欧洲都需要制定政策来规范这一迫在眉睫的移民潮，并将其作为未来繁荣发展的基础而非暴力冲突的导火索。在这里应当要指出的是，目前的非洲移民并不是代表他们是最贫穷的阶层，通常他们是富有进取心的年轻人，他们有能力筹集资金来完成他们的“奥德赛”。因此，我们可以合理推算随着非洲人收入的增长，移民的数量也会相应增加，但鉴于非洲大陆因此失去对经济贡献最大的年轻人口，这又有可能减缓非洲的发展。

从公民到消费者

在导致非洲移民潮的原因中，我们经常归结于继承了殖民主义的新殖民主义、腐败、治理不善、独裁、冲突和气候变化。然而，最近一种激化非洲移民和侵蚀欧洲公民价值观的现象被低估了，那就是互联网时代的消费型社会。近年来，在互联网的帮助下，成百上千万的非洲人一直在羡慕着物质生活富足的欧洲，网络广告不断向非洲人展示琳琅满目的商品所带来的快乐，这是对现实生活的虚假讽刺。这些宣传不仅吸引了非洲人，而且潜移默化地改变欧洲人的价值观，媒体更多地将欧洲人称为“消费者”而不是“公民”。不幸的是，他们可能是对的，商业广告已经随处可见，每天都在渗透着我们所有的生活空间（比如说，现在视频广告进一步入侵公共场所）。越来越多的意大利人，特别是年轻人，对历史一无所知，对欧洲的共同价值观（自由，平等，博爱，民主，尊重和宽容）漠不关心。他们似乎更倾向于在商品和品牌中寻求自己的身份和满足感，而不是在这些价值观或面对面的人际关系中。正如最近去世的伟大电影导演**贝尔纳多·贝托鲁奇**（Bernardo Bertolucci）所说的那样，“西方唯一剩下的两个价值观就是购买和出售”。

消费者与被消费者

然而，在20世纪20年代和30年代的民族主义极端右翼的崛起与当前的形势相比，存在很大的差异。在过去，穷人对富人的怨恨导致了极权主义政党的掌权，而今天，情况正好相反。在全球范围内，富人（包括欧洲人）因对穷人的不满和敌意从而支持右翼极端政党。那些因被富人剥削自然资源 and 人力劳动

而贫困的人们，现在正试图加入富人，这是消费者对被消费者的敌意。对富人来说，害怕和担心那些比自己穷的人会来分享自己的荣华富贵是一种痛苦。这种思维是对“自由”观念（永远拥有一切的自由）的歪曲，并使平等和博爱的观念黯然失色。在不断增长的移民危机和其危及的政治影响中，消费主义的重要性不容忽视，许多人没有意识到它，就像鱼看不到他们在游的水一样。沉浸在消费的狂热中却视而不见其带来的危机，这种失明将会是致命的。

Translated by Jiaqi Lu

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Translated by Jiaqi Lu

Hate in power in Italy could threaten all of Europe in 2019

Marco Morosini¹, Zurich

2018 was marked by the formation of Europe's first populist government. Already a fateful Italian invention—fascism—was once mistaken for a charade before escalating into a tragedy for all humankind.

2018 was marked by the formation of the first populist government in Europe. In a worldwide *premiere*, the triumphing [Five-Star Movement](#) has formed a coalition with the right-wing political party the *League*. Italy is once again a laboratory of political phenomena that could be replicated elsewhere – as it happened several times in history. Already a fateful Italian invention, fascism was once mistaken for a farce before turning tragic for all of Europe and beyond. The present Italian political novelty should thus be heeded as an ominous warning for Europe in 2019.

For centuries, Italy was the land of love and beauty. Now, however, Italy is becoming home to hatred. Today, members of the Italian government regularly appeal, in their own words, to the "beast" instincts of their voters. Consider, for example, the slogan "Free the beast in you", which is the work of the Minister of the Interior and Vice-President [Matteo Salvini](#). A surprising exhortation from the head of law enforcement in the country, this incitement appears in the header of "[Il populista](#)", the official online magazine (founded by Salvini) of the League as well as on [its Facebook page](#). The beast to be unleashed is symbolized by the menacing yellow eyes of a wolf's snout. The subtitle states: "Bold, instinctive, out of control".

Matteo Salvini is currently facing an [ongoing investigation and allegations of kidnapping and illegal arrests](#) during the recent interception of a ship of migrants off the shores of Italy. Brandishing a similarly aggressive discourse, [Giuseppe Bellachioni](#), another parliamentary member of the right-wing party the League, wrote to the judges investigating Salvini: "[If you touch the captain \(i.e. Salvini; editor's note\), we will come and get you at your home... be careful!](#)". The words of the other Vice Prime Minister, [Luigi Di Maio](#) (Five-Star Movement), carry a similarly violent undertone. Voicing opposition to the recent legislative overhaul of Italy's labour market known as the "Jobs Act", he exclaimed "[The one who did the Jobs Act is a political assassin](#)". By this disturbing sentence, Di Maio seems to be attempting to nourish popular vindictiveness against Matteo Renzi (the former Prime Minister and author of the Jobs Act). Indeed, in Italy "political criminal" was the infamous trademark of the historical left-wing terrorist organisation, [Red Brigades](#), who used this term when designating their victims.

Increasingly violent racism

Those who think the "wolf who barks does not bite" are wrong. Journalist Luigi Mastrodonato has created and updates an interactive map "[Racist attacks from 1 June 2018](#)", the day the Five Star-League government took office. It records the locations and information sources about each episode of violence occurring across Italy. To date (January 21th), it documents 105 physical assaults—including two homicides. That is, almost every other day one or more people, often non-European and dark-skinned, are attacked with fists, iron bars, weapons and sometimes even with the [cry of "Salvini, Salvini", as in Caserta](#) (Campania) on June 11. In Macerata (in the Marche region), on February 3, Luca Traini, a League's candidate in 2017, [shot and wounded six black immigrants](#) while driving amok across the town. The situation is so serious that the [UN has opened an investigation](#) into the growing racist attacks in Italy.

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The role of Steve Bannon

The Five Star-League coalition is “an experiment that, if it works, [will change global politics](#)“, said [Steve Bannon](#), the former strategist of Donald Trump. That is why he came to Italy several times and met Salvini and the representatives of the Five-Star Movement. Just as he helped drive Trump to the White House, Bannon aims at helping right-wing populists conquer the European Union. For this purpose, Bannon founded the organization [The Movement](#), based in Brussels. In Italy, Bannon is now trying to open in the former monastery of Trisulti [a political training centre](#) for European populists. "[This is a moment in history that will be talked about for 100 years](#)," Bannon said. He is right. Political reactions to migration can only be understood in a historical perspective.

The race to Europe

The European Union can neither stop nor welcome the current flow of migrants. To imagine being able to prevent these migrations is to think that we can "prohibit" high tide after low tide. Already 1.2 billion today, Africans will increase to 2.5 billion in 2050. Europeans, on the other hand will number only 500 million in 2050, as it is now. As between two communicating vessels, a certain transfer of people from Africa to Europe seems inevitable. Policies are thus needed in both Africa and Europe to regulate this looming migration wave and seize this as a source of prosperity rather than conflict. It should be noted that current African migrants are not the poorest. Often, they are enterprising young people gifted with the ability to raise funds to finance their odyssey. It is therefore plausible that their number will increase as incomes in Africa increase. Given this continent is thus losing its most economically savvy young population, this situation risks to hamper future development.

From citizens to consumers

Among the causes of African migration, we know the colonial and neo-colonial heritage, corruption, bad governance, dictatorships, conflicts and climate change. However, a recent phenomenon, which stimulates both African emigration and the erosion of civic values in Europe, is underestimated—consumer society in the Internet age. Thanks to the Internet, in recent years millions of Africans have been admiring a Europe presented as a horn of plenty. The advertising continuously shows people made happy by all kinds of goods, a false caricature of our reality. This staging not only attracts Africans, but is responsible for the alteration of the scale of values in Europe. The media much more often describe us as "consumers" than "citizens". Unfortunately, they may be right. Advertising, already omnipresent, is increasingly infiltrating all our living spaces every day (today a further invasion is the proliferation of video advertising in public spaces). More and more Italians, especially the young, are ignorant of history and indifferent to Europe's common values: freedom, equality, fraternity, democracy, respect and tolerance. They seem more inclined to seek their identity and satisfaction in commodities and brands, rather than in these values or in face-to-face human relationships. As the recently passed away and great film director [Bernardo Bertolucci](#) said, "the only two values left in the West are buying and selling".

Consumers against the consumed

Between the rise of nationalist right-wing extremes in the 1920s and 1930s and the current trend, however, there is a big difference. The anger that brought the totalitarian parties to power was caused by the resentment of the poor towards the rich. Today, it is the opposite. The hostility that feeds the right-wing extremes is, on a global scale, the resentment of the rich (also we, the Europeans) against the global poor. The populations, whom we ourselves have contributed to impoverishing through our exploitation of their natural resources and human labour, are now trying to join us. It is the hostility of consumers against the consumed. It is the distress of those who fear that others, poorer than themselves, will come to claim their share of prosperity. It is the affirmation of a perverted idea of "freedom" (the freedom to have everything, forever) that eclipses ideas of equality and fraternity. In the growing immigration crisis and its threatening political consequences, consumerism is more important than it seems. Many do not see it, just as fish do not see the water in which they swim. It's a fatal blindness. Intoxicated by the scent of consumption, we do not smell the wild odour of the approaching wolves.