

# CULTURA

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL  
OF PHILOSOPHY OF CULTURE  
AND AXIOLOGY

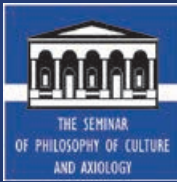
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# CULTURA

Founded in 2004, *Cultura. International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology* is a semiannual peer-reviewed journal devoted to philosophy of culture and the study of value. It aims to promote the exploration of different values and cultural phenomena in regional and international contexts. The editorial board encourages the submission of manuscripts based on original research that are judged to make a novel and important contribution to understanding the values and cultural phenomena in the contemporary world.

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## **Cultura. International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology**

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## Secularism: from Solidity to Liquidity

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**Abstract.** In contemporary Western and Arab cultural critique, secularism as a worldview is believed to have experienced inherent transformations from solid rational materialism (the emphasis on reason, science, progress, emancipation, industrialization, and nation building) to liquid non-rational materialism (the celebration of the body, sex, global markets and consumption). This paper explores the arguments of both Zygmunt Bauman and Abdelwahab Elmessiri who advocate this thesis in the light of the major manifestations of these transformations.

**Keywords:** secularism, materialism, liquid secularism, intellectual imperialism

### THE METAPHOR OF LIQUID SECULARISM

‘Liquid secularism,’ like ‘liquid modernity,’ is a new metaphor that underlines the fact that secularism can no longer be interpreted as the mere separation of religion and state. Rather comprehensive secularization has now gone beyond the solid nation/state as the source of authority and power to include human vision, behaviour and even dreams. The metaphor echoes Karl Marx’s metaphor “all that is solid melts into air,” which he used in the Communist Manifesto in reference to the self-confident modern spirit and its ambitions to change the so-called stagnant traditions. The same metaphor of liquidity was used in the early 1980s by Marshall Berman as the title of his well-known book *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity* (1982). Commenting on the cosmic scope and visionary grandeur of Marx’s image, Berman argues that the affinities between Karl Marx and the modernists will be clearer if the entire image is quoted: “all that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and men at last are forced to face with sober senses the real conditions of their lives and their relations with their fellow men.” The significance of this metaphor lies in the fact that Marx’s proclamation of the destruction of everything holy goes beyond the standard nineteenth-century materialist argument against the existence of God and foregrounds the absence of the very aura of holiness, affirming that it would

be very difficult for us to understand ourselves in the present unless we confront what is absent (Berman, 1982: 89).

Today the melting of solids, however, has acquired a new meaning, and such Marxist concepts and terminology as “bourgeois society,” “alienation,” “reification” and even “liquefaction” had been used in a completely different context and circumstances and for entirely different analytical purposes. Secular modernity’s call for melting all solids was feverishly sought “not in order to do away with the solids once and for all...but to clear the site for *new and improved solids* (Bauman, 2000: 3).

The utopian urge of solid secularism to establish a fully rational perfect world via enough knowledge and technology has not been fulfilled, and new conditions have been emerging in the Western world since the late nineteenth century. Understanding the nature of these new conditions can be grasped only if compared to the utopian ambitions of modernity. The basic assumption of *les philosophes* (the intellectuals of the Enlightenment) was that more education would necessarily entail more rationality, progress, emancipation, and tolerance. However, this assumption, according to Karen Armstrong, “proved to be as utopian as any of the messianic fantasies,” and secular ideologies “proved to be just as murderous as the old religious bigotry, as become clear in the Nazi Holocaust and the Soviet Gulag” (Armstrong, 2001: 134).

## BAUMAN AND THE END OF INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM

The new conditions of the liquid phase of secularism signal a new reality, since the intellectuals no longer play the role of the legislators and their position is reduced to the modest role of the “interpreters” and “semiotic brokers.” Though the intellectuals may remain loyal to their elevated and lofty ideals of freedom and justice, they have abandoned “the universalistic ambitions” of modernity. And even if they still maintain such ambitions, their opinions are set on the same level of any other ordinary citizens. The political state in the liquid phase of secularism is hardly in need of intellectual mobilization, and it relies instead on the rational techniques of coercion, panoptical control and the seduction of the market; and therefore, culture is no longer expected to be the intellectuals’ monopolistic domain of authority (Bauman, 1987: 124).

The postmodern world celebrates the “political dispossession of the intellectuals” and the end of their “intellectual imperialism” (Bauman,

1992: 104). Unlike the age of the Enlightenment and the era of solid modernity which represented a glorified image of *les philosophes*, liquid secularism conceives of the intellectuals as mere “semiotic brokers with the function of facilitating communication between communities and traditions” (Bauman, 1992: 42). This transformation is accompanied with the fact that the “universalist, imperialist, and assimilationist ambitions of the modern state are resented everywhere” (Bauman, 1997: 31). The role of the intellectuals becomes a target of ridicule in postmodern times because history has become nothing but scattered details and phenomena dominated by reign of relativity. Here the decline of the position of the intellectuals is eloquently described by Zygmunt Bauman in series of rhetorical questions:

How ridiculous it seems to try to change the direction of history when no powers give an inkling that they wish to give history direction. How empty seems the effort to show that what passes for truth is false when nothing has the courage and the stamina to declare itself as truth for everybody and for all times. How farcical it seems to fight for genuine art when one can no more drop anything incidentally without the dropped object being proclaimed art. How quixotic to debunk the distortion in the representation of reality once no reality claims to be more real than its representation. How idle it seems to exhort people to go there rather than somewhere else in a world in which everything goes. (Bauman, 1992: viii)

The dominant paradigms of solid secularism celebrated a shared vision of modern history as a movement with a direction by means of universalization, rationalization or systemization. None of those concepts can be upheld in the light of postmodern experience, and new metaphors are required to describe the newly emergent phenomena and their point of convergence with and divergence from the original project of modernity. It is necessary to discard the metaphor of progress and the conception of society as an organismic or mechanistic metaphor because all order that can be found is a local and transitory phenomenon whose nature can be grasped by a metaphor of a whirlpool appearing in the flow of a river, retaining its shape only for a relatively brief period and only at the expense constant renewal of content (Bauman 1992: 188–9).

According to this explanation, liquid secularism might be seen as a positive critique of culture rather than a new vision that entirely breaks with the ambitions of modernity and the faith in the achievements of the Enlightenment. More importantly, the radicalism of liquid secularism

shows perfectly in possible celebration of absolute relativism and the reign of subjectivity, relativism and nihilism. According to Richard Bernstein, it is true that the ambitions and the intentions of postmodernists are good, particularly their critiques of logo-centrism, Euro-centrism, humanism, and the Enlightenment legacy. They, however, are believed to be obsessed with a “relentless questing of any appeal to *archai* or foundations” (Bernstein, 1991: 7).

### BAUMAN AND THE NOTION OF LIQUID LIFE

The present mode of being can be defined as ‘liquid life’ dominated by a growing atmosphere of “uncertainty” and “fast-moving events,” a “succession of new beginnings” or “the swift and painless endings” (Bauman, 2005: 2). This liquid mode of existence is compared to a risky and fearful game of musical chairs that threatens to exclude the powerless, the poor, and all those who cannot or do not want to cope with the fast-changing liquid life. Progress is no longer a metaphor of “sweet dreams and expectations,” “radical optimism” and “promise of universally shared and lasting happiness” but a terrible nightmare and a sinister real “game of musical chairs” in which a second’s inattention results in irreversible defeat and exclusion (Bauman, 2005: 68).

Liquid secularism can do without a strong emphasis on the ideas of patriotism and the modern hero who expresses his willingness to die for the nation. Solid secularism created the modern hero who had been enlisted by the modern nation-state not for the sake of moral salvation but for the sake of securing the secular and “material immortality of the nation;” the latter task is confirmed by the erection of memorials that could stand as an ample evidence of the material gains and benefits gained by death on the battlefield (Bauman, 2005: 44).

In liquid secularism, the utopian imagination of heroism, martyrdom and sacrifice is severely ridiculed, stressing instead the primacy of the pleasure principle and the reign of individual freedom combined with a growing sense of uncertainty and insecurity. Liquid modernity is associated with “free reign of the pleasure principle in the realm of consumption” because reality is no longer the enemy of pleasure. On the contrary, “spending is a duty,” since it gives “symbolic rivalry” and monopolizes the “definition of good life” (Bauman, 1992: 50). Here Bauman’s thesis is set in a sharp contrast with Freud’s old lamentations because the reali-

ty principle “has today to defend itself in the court of justice in which the pleasure principle is the presiding judge” (Bauman, 1997: 2).

Consumerism has created a “body-centred” and “body-fascinated” individual addicted to the struggle for pleasure and fitness, which becomes “the lifelong, unwinnable jihad” (Bauman 2005: 94). Individuals in the liquid era are not just sensation seekers; they are obsessed with learning the art of enjoying and enhancing sensation, “sensual intensity,” “overwhelming sensation” and free floating eroticism; sex is no longer seen as an instrument of creating lasting social structures and it “serves as the first and foremost the process of the on-going atomization” (Bauman, 1992: 146).

#### ABDELWAHAB ELMESSIRI AND COMPREHENSIVE SECULARISM

The transformation of secularism from solidity and liquidity can also be traced in contemporary Arab critical discourse. The Arab intellectual Abdelwahab Elmessiri (1938–2008) has never conceived of postmodernity as an open system, arguing instead that it is a completely closed system as it excludes all external manifestations of transcendence. Elmessiri never saw postmodernity as a new horizon of emancipation, pluralism or tolerance of difference. On the contrary, he regarded it as a nihilistic and relativistic kind of philosophy with a highly sophisticated sense of pragmatism. In other words, the transition to a postmodern world of pluralism, multi-culturalism and alternative modernities is virtually absent, and it is merely a new phase that witnesses a radicalization or even a universalization of the consequences of modernity, one that has reached its climax, as Fredric Jameson suggests, in the “colonization and commercialization of the Unconscious” in the form of mass culture and the culture industry (Jameson, 2002: 12).

Elmessiri defines postmodernity as the “epistemological framework underlying the new world order. It is an outlook that denies the centre and does away with referentiality. It refuses to give history or humanity any meaning or centrality. It discards ideology, history and humanity. The world is in a state of perpetual flux” (Elmessiri, 1998). Postmodernity is seen as the transformation from solid modernity to liquid modernity because the project of modernity pronounced the “centrality of man and his ability to control Nature,” but it has culminated with the declaration

of the death of man in favour of such non-human categories as the machine, the state, the market and power or in favour of such one-dimensional categories as the body, sex and pleasure (Elmessiri, Fathi El-Tiriki, 2003: 15). Here Elmessiri underlines the significance of this paradigmatic transformation:

It helps us realize the difference between the English society in the mid-eighteenth century and the English society in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century; both are secular, yet they are entirely different. The first is dominated by partial secularism: the individual did not submit to the immanent materialist point of reference yet. As for the second, it is a society dominated by comprehensive secularism and fully controlled by materialist monism and later comprehensive liquidity. This is also the difference between the Egyptian society in the early 1950s and the Egyptian society in the late 1990s. (Elmessiri, 2002, vol I: 233)

In the phase of liquid non-rational materialism, almost all human beings have been turned into functional groups or *Mamluks*. We can say that the postmodern condition is the condition of, to borrow Ernest Gellner's phrase, *the universal Mamluk*, or to borrow Elmessiri, *the functional group*. The latter is the code of the age of comprehensive secularism, and it includes, in Elmessiri's view, immigrants in both the West and the Gulf countries, workers in the pleasure industry (prostitutes, secretaries, hostesses, movie stars, men and women of sport, models and sex queens), tourists, military elites, cultural and political elites and even functional or client states (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 286–93).

Elmessiri holds that the tourist has become the major metaphor and the paradigmatic secular figure of postmodernity *par excellence*. The emergence of the tourist as the major metaphor of liquid non-rational materialism, in Elmessiri's view, necessarily entails a revision of Weberian thesis of the "dis-enchantment of the world" because we are confronted again with 're-enchantment of the world' in its postmodern form. Here Elmessiri modifies Weber's image of rationalized society as a workshop, stressing that liquid non-rational materialism is a call for a one-dimensional earthly paradise based on the triangle: production, consumption and pleasure (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 17–8). Elmessiri sees this worldview as inconsistent with Islam as a value system and a universal humanistic ideology:

From an Islamic perspective, we did not come to this world to buy or sell but to enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Honesty and dignity have their weight in the mind of Muslims and the Islamic worldview cannot reduce a Muslim to the two major realms of economy and sexuality, thus rejecting the reduction of these realms to nature/matter. A Muslim is not the natural man (the one-dimensional man) but a complex human being whom God made a viceroy in nature [the earth] so as to tend it for himself and the coming generations. (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 228)

Though more dominant in western societies, the obsession with pleasure, according to Elmessiri, has become a universal condition in the era of comprehensive secularism. Elmessiri criticizes two types of Arab intellectuals. The first sees the modernization project within comprehensive secularism as primarily western; and therefore, modernization only requires the importation of western paradigms. The second holds that if the materialist rationalist and modernizing project is western, then we [Arabs and Muslims] with “our spirituality and our Islam” (thanks to God!) are immune to it (Elmessiri, 2002, vol 1: 233). Elmessiri comments on these naïve perceptions:

No one can deny that the comprehensive secularist, materialist, rational, and modernizing paradigm has obvious Western roots [special features of western cultural evolution: rational law, rational empirical science, a rational administrative state, men with rational conduct], and that reached its first historical realization in western civilization .... Then it moved from the Western world to the rest of the world and swept it for reasons special to western civilization.... But we believe that one of the most important reasons for the success [of comprehensive, secular and modernizing paradigm] is its immanent roots in human spirit itself; it is an expression of a recurrent pattern and a universal human tendency.... We must realize that secularism in this framework is not confined to western time and space. (Elmessiri, 2002, vol 1: 234)

It is hardly surprising that Elmessiri argues that religiosity itself can be secularized, especially in the form of spiritual pantheism or populist Sufism. The ultimate goal of this religious experience is only personal salvation; it is indifferent to others, to the world of politics, and to the achievement of justice on earth. Attention is given to the torture in the grave, to the calculation of the date of Doomsday, to the rituals of this journey, to the accumulation of *basanaat* (good deeds), to the calculation of its value or their exchange rate, and to the number of palaces in paradise and its maids, servants and wine. In short, religiosity becomes metaphysics without morals (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 122).

Arabs and Muslims are not immune to comprehensive secularization of dreams and mass media. News are presented now as unconnected facts for entertainment and consumption; it is instant news like instant coffee or instant or casual sex with fast-speaking and sexy announcers. The world of crimes in newspapers becomes also a source of entertainment and the desire to see violence and know the scandals of stars, their adventures and naked bodies in pictures. Life is transformed into a world of scandals and fame which become dream of every young men and women. One has also to consider the normalization of pornography and violence in journalism, TV, and film production. As for commercials, they are one of the most important mechanisms of the secularization of men and women from within, addressing their sexual desires and the need for consumption rather than national belonging or moral behaviour. The source of identity is reduced to sexual appeal, a luxurious house and a car. Not surprisingly, the end of the story in almost all commercials is always a happy materialist end: the woman who washes herself with a specific type of soap becomes a new woman and the centre of the desire of all; the woman who washes her clothes with a particular washing powder reaches the peak of whiteness and happy marriage; the young guy who uses a specific shaving or perfume becomes irresistible; he who drinks a certain type of tea enters the earthly paradise and is enclosed with perfect happiness!" (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 134–5).

One of the most interesting phenomena that have been comprehensively secularized and rationalized with the immanent materialist point of reference is wedding parties, a process which started in the West in the 1960s and in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world in the 1980s. "Rational" institutions organize this process within rituals without which perfect happiness cannot be achieved. The participants are turned into actors in front of the camera and rationalization reaches its peak with the emergence of the so-called director of wedding parties who instructs in advance the relatives of the bride and the bridegroom how to behave in front of the camera or who invents comic situations to be performed by the guests naturally and spontaneously. Within comprehensive liquid secularism, wedding parties – which are universal moments of solidarity and sociality – become a moment of showing off one's wealth, whether on the part of the guests or the hosts" (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 161).

Pleasure industries, in Elmessiri's view, "have infiltrated our dreams, have shaped our images of ourselves, and have controlled the very direc-

tion of our libidos” (Elmessiri, 1996: 138). This point is also underlined by John Esposito when he stresses that it is true that Christianity persisted in the consciousness of western man and provided him with ethics necessary to manage his personal and social life, but culture industry and state security have controlled man’s dreams and even the “direction of his libido” (Esposito, 2000: 53–7).

The celebration of sex is also accompanied with the liquefaction of the family and the emergence of new liquid signifiers. With the celebration of casual sex, or what Elmessiri usually refer to as “instant sex,” sex and value have been conspicuously separated and reduced a temporary physical relationship that aims at immediate gratification. Not surprisingly, prostitution, for example, becomes a merely “economic activity” and the linguistic sign “prostitute” is transformed into “sex worker,” a new sign with new signifier and signified, representing the prostitute as a labourer and an economic force in society (Elmessiri, 2006: 256–60).

The same process of liquefaction, according to Elmessiri, can be seen in the change of other signifiers such as “illegitimate children” who have become “children of unwed mother,” “children of single parent family,” “children out of wedlock,” “natural babies” and “love babies.” In short, they are the children of nature. Elmessiri argues that liquid postmodern sex or, to be more precise, the secularization as well as the desanctification of sex, deconstructs man as a “complex human being” (father/mother, husband/wife, male/female). In an ironic, yet serious, tone, Elmessiri argues that the “natural evolution” of the liquefaction of sex shows in the indifference to incest taboo, homosexuality and celebration of zoophilia (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 160–8). The interest in ‘philosophia’ (the love of wisdom) is now replaced with an interest in pedophilia and zoophilia (Elmessiri, 2005: 246.). The saddest irony is that sexual abnormality, which is an assault on human nature, is defended in the name of human rights. Human beings are reduced into mere flesh to be utilized and exploited as a source of sensual enjoyment (Elmessiri, 1994: 413).

## THE JEW AND COMPREHENSIVE SECULARISM

Elmessiri repudiates the assumption that the Jews can be seen as promoters of the tenets of postmodernity or liquid comprehensive secularism (nihilism, deconstruction, fragmentation, etc.) in an attempt to take

revenge from the civilization that persecuted them since early Christianity. This common belief, according to Elmessiri, expresses a racist ideology as it transforms the Jews into one of the terrifying and evil forces of darkness (Elmessiri, Fathi El-Tiriki, 2003: 140–3).

Elmessiri is not surprised at such demonization of the Jews, and he affirms that it is consistent with the western arsenal of racist discourse. Instead of viewing the Jew as an ordinary human being endowed with both good and evil, the West represents all the Jews as a symbol of either functionalism or nihilism. The writing of the history of Jewish communities is characterized, in Elmessiri's view, by an apparent dualism because it presents them as a totality i.e. as the "Jewry" or as the "Jewish chosen people," not as minorities belonging to different cultures and backgrounds. Jewish communities have been presented, paradoxically, as functional groups i.e. as traders, money lenders and human capital or, to borrow Elmessiri's term, as human utilized matter that can be transferred to serve the interests of others (Elmessiri, 2000).

With the transformation from solid materialism to liquid materialism, the cognitive mapping of the conceptual Jew has slightly changed, especially when the Jews are sanctified in post-Holocaust literature. Both demonization and sanctification of the Jews, however, throw them outside the contours of time and space (Elmessiri, Fathi El-Tiriki, 2003: 152).

Postmodern philosophy adopts *Auschwitz* as an allegory of the "tragic decline of the West" and the "absurdity of the political process of assimilation," and the Jew as "the victim and witness to this tragedy" (Silverman, 1999: 24). Elmessiri, however, sees this interpretation as an incomplete picture lacking in both details and explanations. It is precisely for this reason that Elmessiri attempted to relate postmodernity to Zionism.

Elmessiri argues that the West conceived of the world as a 'vacuum,' an 'instrumental matter for its own interest,' a barbaric wasteland, an empty space, waiting for the civilizing mission. Elmessiri always argues that Zionism is the legitimate offspring of European imperial legacy. Ruling out Arab and Islamic history, Zionists conceive of Palestine as 'a land without people', a geographical space without history and an empty space inhabited by scattered and divided people. Elmessiri argues that what is common between postmodernity and Zionism is a feverish attempt to separate the signifier from the signified so that the identities of

both Jews and Arabs can be easily deconstructed, reducing them to rootless objects that can be easily transferred to another place and endowed with a new identity. It comes as no surprise that the Jew becomes the Zionist settler; the Arab the Palestinian refugee; Palestine Israel; the West Bank (al-Diffa l-Gharbiyyah) Judea and Samaria and the Arab world the Middle East Market, consisting of ‘Turkish water’, ‘Arab Gulf capital’, ‘Egyptian labour’ and ‘Israeli know-how’ (Elmessiri, 1994: 415).

The concept of the region is very important as it is usually used to refer to the Middle East. It denotes a purely geographical reality without any reference to history, language and religion and thus pan-regionalism, as opposed to pan-Arabism or pan-Islamism, has been promoted by Europe and the United States. Within this vision, the whole Middle East, including Israel, could be integrated into the western globalized world. Like postmodernity, Zionism believes in absolute relativity and thus denies the notions of right and truth. It comes as no surprise then that violence becomes the ultimate pragmatic point of reference that decides the rules of the struggle game (Elmessiri, Fathi El-Tiriki, 2003: 155).

Like postmodernity, Zionism celebrates only small narratives rather than meta-narratives of human emancipation. Elmessiri observes:

Zionism is the ideology of small narratives which repudiate the belief in a human meta-narrative. A Zionist bases his vision of Jewish rights in Palestine on his eternal immemorable sense of Diaspora and longing to Zion; and therefore, he lives within the limits of his small narrative. And since the Palestinians’ attachment and existence in Palestine lies outside this narrative, their narrative has no legitimacy or even existence (Elmessiri, Fathi El-Tiriki, 2003: 156).

Elmessiri conceives of liquid secularism as the celebration of the end of both history and geography. Postmodernity, in this sense, is a universalization or a radicalization of modernity. Elmessiri holds that liquid modernity extends beyond the end of history to embrace the end of geography. To Elmessiri genocide is the product and the direct expression of western modernity which conceives of genocide as the final solution for its aggravating problems; and therefore, it is a recurrent motif in western paradigms that deny the right of the Other to existence. This is why the cognitive map of the West emphasizes the end of History as well as the end of Geography (Elmessiri, 2003b: 229).

Zionism is no exception from this imperial map because Zionist action is largely determined by the Zionist cognitive map which is based on

power, myths, hopes, fears and divine promises rather than on a direct response to the complex reality and the contradictions surrounding it. Elmessiri always argues that the Israel is not a Jewish state but a settler colonial de-populatory state that serves two major pragmatic and functional purposes: ridding Europe of its surplus Jews, and acting as a functional state to the interests of western imperialism (Elmessiri, 2008). Elmessiri uses the paradigm of ‘functional groups’ to refer to Jewish communities and the term ‘functional state’ to refer to Israel; the latter is nothing but a functional state serving the interests of the West in the Middle East.

The will to power becomes the “the highest secular logos” (Elmessiri, 2002, vol. 2: 136). The entertaining and nice cowboy movies are enjoyed by the audience, though they do not recognize the dominance of the will to power. The hero of such movies is the pioneer white man who goes out to the wilderness to discover the land and settle there with his pistol to rid the land of its natives; he is the one who defend his rich farm and the honour of his innocent white girl as absolute rights. Elmessiri comments on this perception and relates it to imperial Zionism:

We enjoy all this without realizing that the cowboy is in fact the Zionist pioneer (ha-lutz) and the imperial white man (colonizing settler) who humiliates us and plunders our countries and wealth; that the Indians (who were exterminated) are us – the Arabs and Palestinians; and the wilderness is in fact the entire third world, a land without people or a people seen by western man from his comprehensive imperial secular vision as an usable matter that could be instrumentalized for his interests. (Elmessiri, 2002, vol.2: 137)

In this context, Elmessiri defines postmodern liquid secularism as the ideology of the pragmatic acceptance, the surrender and the adaptation of the weak to the status quo; it is the free and unbounded play with reality instead of seriously dealing with its contradictions and changing it (Elmessiri, Fathi El-Tiriki, 2003: 93).

In conclusion, it might be argued that secularism is equated with modernity and capitalism. The transformation of solid modern secularism to liquid postmodern secularism is not seen as a way out of the contradictions of modernity but as a domination of late capitalism and its celebration radical individualism and pragmatism along with its obsession with the body, sex, global markets and the will to power. Thus the liquid phase of secularism did not put an end to colonization. Rather coloniza-

tion appeared in the form of internal colonization of people's desires as well as the emergence of functional states like Israel which represents a hybrid of colonization, one which places emphasis on the idea of nation-state along with the ideologies of the new world order and the end of History.

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