

Omar Acha

A plenaries on 'After Marxism: the Case of Oscar Terán on Post-Marxism and the History of the Left'

The Argentine philosopher and historian Oscar Terán provides a relevant example of Latin American contemporary turn from a Marxist theoretical and political engagement to a Post-Marxist self-criticism in the Left. Author of a “classical” book on the Argentine sixties and the “tragic” path to violence, *Nuestros años sesentas*, Terán wrote what Beatriz Sarlo reviewed as “the book we all wanted to write”. The main claim of that book stated that Marxist Left during the period 1955-1966 (in other texts the period ends in 1969) mixed with other ideological streams of post-Cuban Revolution political scenario (like social Catholicism, national- populism) contributed to the tragic ending represented by the guerrilla politics and the military dictatorship of 1976-1983. This paper addresses, first, the peculiarities of Terán himself as a Marxist philosopher in the sixties. The Marxism of the young Terán was not a single one. It implied notions from Lukácsian, Guevarist and Leninist theories, not without aspects from alternative philosophical approaches including, for instance, Heideggerian rejection of Technology and Modernity. It was not a monolithic and simplistic system of theoretical truths. During the seventies, the Althusserian rewriting of Marxist theory was the last moment of Terán’s critical understanding of Marxism, a “scientific” reading of Marx soon replaced by a pluralist use of a Foucauldian-Nietzschean Post-Marxism. From the eighties onwards, Terán was a “Post-Marxist by pluralization” where Marxism remained as a particular theory of social and economic aspect of a reality that could not be thought as a Totality. The biographical trajectory of Terán’s movement from Marxism to Post-Marxism shows that his Marxism(s) were more complex than the historico-intellectual image he constructed in *Nuestros años sesentas* (about a “humanist” Marxism easily colonised by Guevarist ideology and the militarist understanding of revolution), the relevance of Althusserian Marxism as the last effort to maintain Marxist theory as a critique of society, and the possibilities of a survival of Marxism as a particular stream within the relativist and pluralist historiographical study of Argentine history. Terán’s politico-cultural trajectory presents a complex image of the history of Marxism during the sixties, seventies and even eighties in Latin American, an image hardly understandable from the historical representation provided by Terán himself in *Nuestros años sesentas*.

Almendra Aladro

The agenda of the feminist movement in Argentina against the international economic crisis

The National Women Encounter is a self-convene event that has taken place annually without interruption and self-managed for 30 years in Argentina. This event invites all women, regardless of their political or party membership, to diagram the main points of the national feminist agenda in a democratic and horizontal reaching consensus.

The way that the activities are organized consists of the division of the Encounter in workshops, which address different problem areas related to the reality of women and culminate with the joint drafting of a document. These conclusions are the space that synthesizes the struggles that the feminist movement has been developing from the various work or study insertion places where women are participating.

Due to the slogans established after the discussion in the workshops, it has been possible

to organize the National Campaigns which successfully succeeded in making a reality laws like Divorce Link; Shared parental rights; the ratification of the Treaty Against All Forms of Discrimination on Women; Female Cupo for elective office; the Sexual Health and Responsible Procreation; the Gender Violence; Against Human Trafficking in Persons; Equal Marriage; and Gender Identity.

Though systematic, the topics discussed during the meetings are not uniform with the course of time, what has been represented in increasing the number of scheduled workshops and the conclusions that arise thereof. The international economic crisis has not been an issue far from the women's movement in Argentina, to the point that it is one of the inevitable issues analyzed during the meeting coordinated workshops.

This article aims to examine the agenda of the feminist movement in Argentina and its variations over the past 10 years through the analysis of the conclusions of the workshop on "Women and Global Crisis" developed by women participating in the National Women Encounters, in order to determine the relationship between the international situation and the historical claims of Argentine women.

David Alderson

Queer Solidarity?

'It seems to me,' suggests Judith Butler recently, 'that queer has to be part of a broadening struggle.' The sentiment resounds through much, if not all, queer theory, and increasingly both the theory and the activism it has helped to inform have been preoccupied with the resistance to imperialism and neoliberalism. At the same time, however, that theory remains committed to the poststructuralist fetishization of difference and the idealization of movement through a positive valuation of all that is 'trans' (transnationalism, translation, transgression, transgender (especially in the sense derived from cyborg theory)). Queer's theoretical energies therefore draw – sometimes self-consciously – on the forces at work in capitalist globalization. A Left that emphasizes limits, by contrast, is stigmatized as humanist, essentialist and reactionary. The persistence of neoliberal economic crisis and the intensification of ecological dangers, however, must surely force queers to question their indebtedness to favoured tropes. This paper consequently offers some alternative propositions for conceiving of a solidarity grounded in the common resistance to what Marcuse described as 'the performance principle': growth through alienation and exploitation. By contrast with the drive for innovation, it is time to emphasize the erotic appeal of satisfaction and routine.

Johan Alfonsso

On-call employees – An alienated reserve army?

The purpose of the paper is to understand how employees, as a consequence of today's flexible labour market, can experience alienation towards others and oneself. The question of being alienated towards oneself have often been criticised of using an essentialistic view of man, as if man holds specific unhistorical and essential characteristics which one can be alienated from.

In the paper I argue that Marx in the Theses on Feuerbach abandons his previous essentialistic view of man as presented in the Economic and philosophical manuscripts of 1844. Instead Marx argues that what man is, is (trans)formed by society. The

consequence of this change is that what it means to be alienated from oneself is foremost an alienation from the social and society. This is the view of alienation I will use. I argue that alienation is a great concept to understand how employees are affected by the flexible working life of today. In the paper I try to understand how alienation towards oneself and others is experienced by one of the labour forces most flexible group, the on-call employees.

On-call employees is a group that works by the hour and is characterized by great mobility both within and between workplaces. Their working situation is a kaleidoscopic one, where they have to move between different workplaces to get a liveable salary. Because of their situation of underemployment and difficulties to get a liveable income they have to be on stand-by and are on a constant pursuit for working hours. The chase for income and the characteristics of the work contract affects their life to a great extent. Since they work few hours and often at many different workplaces the social relations to other employees are affected and they get alienated in relation to other employees. As a consequence of the characteristics of the employment they seldom know when they will work and for how many hours, and thus face great difficulties planning their economical and social life, which has a high impact on their everyday life. The division between leisure time and working time fades and the instrumentality in the employment relation is, because of their standby status, spilled over on their personal life. This causes alienation towards social relations outside the working life. Because of the economical precarious situation they have a hard time knowing if they will be able to pay their monthly bills, and sometimes even to buy food. This leads to a situation where they constantly have to make economical calculations of their future and the present, and plan their life accordingly. In this sense, they experience a reification of their life, a reification that also involves social relations. The paper is a part of my PhD-project and is based on analysis of 15 interviews with on-called employed youths in Sweden.

Ammar Ali Jan

"The Time Has Come..." M.N. Roy and the problem of anti-colonial Marxism

In the twentieth century, the primary question posed to communists from the non-European world was whether their societies were "ready" for communist politics, a suspicion arising out of the close tie between historical progress and revolutionary subjectivity in orthodox Marxist politics. If the victory of the Russian revolution opened a new sequence in which the disjunct between History and politics became a cause for propelling rather than constraining the revolution, the relationship between the two terms became even more tenuous in Marxism's encounter with the colonial world. Until the second congress of the Comintern, however, Marxism remained tied to older categories that could not identify a neatly defined sociological term that could carry out its "historical role" in the colonial situation.

In this paper, I look at the writings of M.N. Roy, an Indian Marxist who became one of the leading members of the Comintern, and the primary theoretician of the colonial question. I examine his interventions in the Comintern, including his spectacular disagreements with Lenin and leading intellectuals of the British communist party, on the place of anti-colonial movements in global communist thought. I show how the imperative to secure the colonial world as an equal ally in the fight against capitalism compelled Roy to address the relationship between orthodox Marxist theory, and its historical existence under colonial conditions. To grasp the rupture engendered by Roy within Marxist thought, we need to focus on his theorization of the revolutionary subject, especially since the traditional

category of the proletariat was an insignificant social force in the colonial world. This, I argue, will also require us to study his re-conceptualization of revolutionary temporality, with particular attention on his efforts to rethink the relationship between Marxism, anti-colonialism and History. Therefore, apart from the debates on the colonial question in the Comintern, I seek to engage broader themes such as the movement of ideas across global space, non-European Marxism and universalism.

Fiona Allen

The Dialectics of Untranslatability

From Walter Benjamin's writings on allegory to Pierre Macherey's analysis of textual absence, the decision to engage with literary theory has been a recurring theme throughout the history of art. In addition to providing a framework through which to explore the role of ideology, these tropes have also helped to define the structure of the avant-garde artwork and examine the socio-economic conditions of artistic production; a project epitomised by the emergence of the social history of art during the early 1970s. Taking its lead from these forms of art historical writing, this paper will seek to explore the critical potential of another literary concept: the untranslatable. On first encounter, the decision to pursue this line of enquiry might seem an unusual one. In its day-to-day usage, the term refers to words that either resist translation – such as *polis* and *praxis* – or possess multiple meanings. As a result, it has either been discussed in predominantly poststructuralist terms or used as a metaphor for the limits of travel, interdisciplinarity and cultural exchange. Rather than continuing to perpetuate these usages, this paper will engage with a recent body of scholarship – including work by Étienne Balibar, Barbara Cassin and Peter Osborne – that presents the untranslatable as an explicitly political and dialectical category. To give but one example, in his recent collaboration with Cassin and Alain de Libera, Balibar offers a perspective on the subject that foregrounds its translational history. In doing so, he departs from ideas of self-reflexive consciousness in order to reveal the presence of a second, contradictory narrative; one premised on questions of subjection and degradation. But what would it mean to think this material in visual terms? To what extent does it constitute a departure from the previous methodologies of Marxist art history? And what type of politics does it bring to the fore?

Omar Hesham AlShehabi

The origins of sectarianism, nationalism and absolutism in the Gulf Arab States: the case of Bahrain under British colonialism

This study argues that absolutism, nationalism, and ethnosectarianism in Bahrain is a modernist product of the contestations that occurred in the period of increasing British colonial involvement in the early twentieth century.

To do so, this article presents a new reading of that period, relying extensively on the use of two concepts. The first is the colonial 'ethnosectarian gaze', marked primarily by its underlying epistemology that saw ethnosectarian cleavages as the main epistemic units for analysing local actors, thus employing a systemic approach to colonial rule that approached issues of political power, practice, and discourse primarily through an ethnosectarian lens.

The second concept is 'contested and divided rule'. With the advent of Curzon's 'forward policy' of British expansion in the Gulf, Britain actively divided sovereignty between itself

and the local ruler, creating conflicting zones of sovereignty, with actors on the island faced with at least two possible sources of jurisdiction. The British viewed issues of jurisdiction primarily through an ethnosectarian lens, and increasingly, so did other actors, creating an inter-feeding dynamic between ethnosectarianism, nationalism, and divided rule.

Of the many different forms of political mobilization that emerged at the social level, the article emphasizes two different yet intermeshing forms. One would be political mobilization based on ethnosectarian identity-specific demands and grievances, with an equivocal, sometimes friendly view towards British involvement. There was strong overlap in terms of class, ethnicity, sect and experiences of repression for many, which would have provided strong breeding grounds for political mobilization based on ethnosectarian terms should a framework emerge that elevated such factors.

The other, largely ignored or misrepresented in the English literature, took an overtly nationalist, trans sectarian, anti-colonial tone, having its roots in the al-Nahda renaissance that swept the Arab world in the later nineteenth century, thus drawing inspiration from an alternative source of modernity than British colonialism. These two visions of modernity would intermesh and clash in 1920s Bahrain, with the contradictions and tensions unleashed at the popular mobilization level continuing to morph, collide, and cross-breed across Bahrain's twentieth century, with their lingering effects felt until today. Thus, modernity, colonialism, absolutism, ethnosectarianism, and nationalism went hand in hand in Bahrain, products of a similar period of divided rule.

Methodologically, the paper provides a geographic-historical-materialist reading of the early 20th century history of Bahrain and the Gulf, laced with a combination of socio-legal institutional analysis and close textual reading of colonial documents to critique the ethnosectarian gaze.

Carolina Alves Vestena, Guilherme Leite Gonçalves

Financial accumulation, soft law and development in Brazil

The financial accumulation is based on - national and transnational - regulatory interventions that are able to adjust non-commoditized spaces, allowing its commodification. In Brazil, this has meant the production of legal reforms as required by rules of the global market (soft law) and by neoliberal policies in order to facilitate the flow of finance capital. It is a dynamic interwoven in the institutions using either legitimating factors of speculative trends, or the explicit violence for the expropriation of social groups. The objective of our paper proposal is to analyze the development of this dynamic and its role in the financial accumulation in the Brazilian case. Therefore, it is to analyze the policies and legal designs implemented in the last decade in order to question to what extent the so-called Brazilian developmentalist policies were functional for the current phase of neoliberal accumulation.

Jamie Allinson

This roundtable will consist of brief outlines of four chapters in the new book *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée*, followed by a discussion among the five participants on the implications of uneven and combined development for world history and the prospect of a non-Eurocentric theory of history, in the Marxist tradition. Four contributors to the volume will briefly discuss their

chapters and what implications they have for Marxist historiography: Jamie Allinson will consider the transformations of the late Ottoman Empire and the 'Eastern Question' and their implications for debates on the use of uneven and combined development as a conceptual framework. Jessica Evans will consider the role of transatlantic migration and subject formation in the differential processes of nation building in the settler colonies. Drawing from these reflections, she will suggest that discussions surrounding the uneven and combined development of the global economy should consider, not only movements of finance and technology, but also the movement and combination of subjectivities as important 'technologies' of social transformation. Luke Cooper will reflect on what the story of the Mysorean rocket might suggest for wider debates on the nature of the 'global transformation'. Owen Miller will examine how to move beyond dichotomies of stagnation and progress in Korean history, using uneven and combined development alongside the broader concepts of historical divergence and convergence. He will emphasise how inherently uneven intersocietal relations were constitutive of 'internal' social structures that emerged through the struggle for surplus between local elites and states. Maia Pal of Oxford Brookes University will act as an additional discussant for this roundtable.

Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Duree

Jon Anderson

No Man Knows My Historiography: Joseph Smith's Utopian Vision

This paper sketches the development of early Mormon utopianism against the background of 19th century American history. It begins with an overview of the emergence of the Latter Day Saint movement as an element of the millenarian wave of the Second Great Awakening. Joseph Smith's insistence on enacting Biblical types, including the building of a geophysical Zion, forms the background to experiments in communal ownership during the movement's initial Midwestern phase. This also provided the ideological underpinning for the Saints' economic activities after the exodus to Utah. Collective action formed a practical necessity for developing an arid region, but was also favoured by the Brigham Young administration as a means of building a closed economy which would minimise gentile influence on the isolated pioneer society.

The paper will seek to illuminate the history of a minority group which today is stereotypically perceived as conservative, capitalist and super-patriotic; yet which was popularly seen for much of its history as subversive and un-American, as was demonstrated by the Reed Smoot Senate hearings in the early 20th century. Finally, it will show that the earlier phase – in particular the prosperity built up by collective action – provided the basis for the community to transition into the American mainstream in the second phase.

Kevin B. Anderson

Rethinking Socialist and Marxist Humanism

During the years 1945-75, varieties of socialist and Marxist humanism were hugely influential within the global left. Since then, antihumanist theories influenced by structuralism and -- even more so post-structuralism -- have critiqued these kinds of humanism, as well as liberal humanism, for their abstract universalism. This paper will argue that these critiques have a partial validity when one considers two of the most famous representatives of radical humanism during this period, Sartre and Fromm.

However, when one considers three lesser-known thinkers in the humanist vein -- Fanon, Kosík, and Dunayevskaya -- one finds in their work a rejection of the kind of abstract universalism that is often identified with the socialist humanist position by its critics on the left. Moreover, two of these humanist thinkers, Fanon and Dunayevskaya, placed the specificities of race and colonialism at the center of their dialectic, explicitly challenging what they considered to be the abstract universalism of Sartrean humanism. A return to some form of radical humanism today would help the left in conceptualizing an alternative to capitalism, offering the present anti-capitalist movement philosophical underpinning that helps point toward such an end goal.

Li Eriksson

Pushing the Perimeter of Private Property: A Marxist Perspective on the Expansion of Free Trade Agreements and the Concept of Indirect Expropriation

This paper focuses on the successive expansion of the area of “free trade” during the last decades, an expansion with not only spatial, but ideological implications. The paper is particularly concerned with the concept of “indirect expropriation”, which has become a core issue of modern free trade agreements such as the ones negotiated right now between EU and the US (TTIP) and EU and Canada (CETA).

The concept of indirect expropriation has its roots in the early 19th century, but was formally introduced into international trade treaties through the US BITs program (1980). This occurred at the same time as the GATT Uruguay round of negotiations between 1986 and 1994 significantly expanded the agenda of “free trade” in general, to include far more than the elimination of tariffs. Or, as Patomäki and Teivainen (2004) put it: “The successive expansion of the area of ‘free trade’ has constituted a movement from the classical international trade of material goods . . . to far-reaching liberalisation and deregulation and, subsequently, neoliberal re-regulation of the economy.”

While expropriation in its traditional sense is understood as a direct action, i.e. a seizing of private property, indirect expropriation is deemed to occur “when there is an interference by the state in the use, enjoyment, or benefits derived from a property even when the property is not seized and the legal title of the property is not affected” (as held by the Tribunal in the *Tippets v. Iran* case). This widening of the concept has led to cases such as *Vattenfall v. Germany*, where the company sued the state for €3,7 billion, when Germany decided on phasing out its nuclear power, thereby “indirectly expropriating” the expected profits of Vattenfall. Hence, by invoking indirect expropriation one could argue that the companies in turn perform an indirect expropriation of the states tax funds themselves. This paper discusses the inscription of this concept into modern trade agreements as a means of consolidating an understanding of representational government and private property in line with Lockean economic theories. Property for Locke is a fundamental right, and nobody therefore has the right to destroy or take away the property of another, which applies to the state as well. This is to be contrasted with a Marxist view, where laws created with the objective to protect property rights induces lawlessness for those dispossessed. A dispossession interlaced with another concept of expropriation: primitive accumulation, i.e. the transition where “self-earned private property ... is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others” (Marx, *Capital* vol. 1).

In order to ensure a constant increase in the accumulation of surplus value, Rosa

Luxemburg once stated (1913), capital relies on bringing non-capitalist spaces in to the capitalist social relations of production in an outward expansionary dynamic. The concept of indirect expropriation is one way of creating such a new space, pushing forward the borders of capital and capitalism, alongside with our understanding of private property, government and lawfulness as such.

Ricardo Antunes

Marx, Circulation and Value in the Service Sector Today

As we know, in Book II of Capital, Marx offers empirical and analytical clues to understanding and updating the theory of labour value today. But as the capital cannot be effective without some interactive mode between living labour and dead labour, it creates and re-creates, produces and destroys, generates new productive spaces, re-spatialize and also de-spatialize, intimately linked to the generation of added value.

With the machinic-informational-digital world developed intensively in recent decades, the production time was reduced and the spaces that generate more value were extended. If the surplus value is born in the production sphere (Capital, Book I), we know that production is also distribution, exchange/circulation and consumption.

In Book II, Marx comprehensively addressed the process of capital circulation. As the main objective of capital is its valuation, the reduction of circulation time becomes imperative.

Therefore, time of circulation, although necessary, becomes a limiter of the time of production. So, it is always urgent its reduction in order to shorten the total turnover time of capital (which is given by the time of production plus the time of circulation time).

Therefore, the more capital circulation time approaches zero, the higher its productivity is. There is no need to go very far to realize that we have a rich starting point to, contemporaneously, offer a better insight of the role of information technology (ICT), of the growing importance of service and of immaterial production in the process of value creation and valorisation of capital.

Marco Armiero

Occupy the Anthropocene! Counter-hegemonic narratives of violence and liberation

Environmental humanities scholars are practically in love with the Anthropocene. To them it seems the perfect narrative to finally prove that nature matters in human affairs and that even humanities scholars can say something about it. The Anthropocene is also a grand narrative; never the “We” has been more powerful in a historical narrative than now. Dipesh Chakrabaty has discussed how the Anthropocene determines the entering of humans as species into the historical discipline (Chakrabarty 2009).

The critics of the Anthropocene have clearly demonstrated that the Anthropocene naturalizes both humans and society, hiding the historical responsibilities of the ecological crisis and flattering the differences among classes.

As the Anthropocene is a universal and naturalizing narrative, environmental humanities scholars can cultivate place-based, embodied, and cultural thick counter-hegemonic narratives. The hegemony of capital is imposed not only with drones, loans, and cops, but also through a hegemonic narrative which aims to hide violence and inequalities, while decoupling nature and capitalism. The challenge for Marxist environmental humanities scholars is to provide counter hegemonic narratives which enable to see the violence of the Anthropocene as well as the possibilities for resistance and revolution.

In this paper I will employ my research on the Vajont dam disaster (Italy 1963, 2000 deaths) in order to reflect on the naturalization of capitalism, the expertification of risk perceptions, and the imposition of a mainstream depoliticized narrative of the event. On the Alps after WWII as well as everywhere today capitalism and science propose to geo-engineering the earth in the name of modernity and the common good. I argue that the struggle which was fought on the Vajont is an example of the violence embodied into the Anthropocene/Capitalocene and of the perspective of liberation.

Developing on this empirical case, I will discuss how a Marxist perspective can inform environmental humanities scholars to challenge the Anthropocene narrative and contribute to unearth a counter-hegemonic, place-based, and embodied narrative.

Peyrical Aurélia

After Mimesis and Aufklärung: an epistemological way-out capitalism? Benjamin and Adorno on how knowledge can transform social praxis.

The paper will focus on the defects of a type of knowledge that derive from capitalist social practices. It will do so through a detailed analysis of Benjamin's conception of imitation and Adorno's Utopie der Erkenntnis (Utopia of knowledge). Thus our goal is to justify the idea that other forms of knowledge are possible and wishable and to describe some of them briefly. Those might prove more adequate than earlier ones – namely Mimesis and Aufklärung – though they are not radically foreign to them, as Benjamin and Adorno advocate. They are an ideal but not idealistic. The aim will be to show how, according to them, norms and forms of scientific knowledge can have some impact on historical situations, even though they all three agree on the fact that forms of knowledge derive from economical, social and political human interactions. How is such a conception of knowledge, and of ideas in general, not to be accused of idealism? How can ideas be understood as possibly provoking a shift in collective Lebensform? Analyzing how the expression « utopia of knowledge » can be interpreted, we conclude that neither of our authors can be blamed for exaggerating the efficiency of ideas over social structures. Their profound despair and a their powerful rereading of Marx's concept of ideology, rather, leads them to articulate theory and practice anew.

Delal Aydin

The Unbearable: Devaluation of Human Lives as a Limit to Capital

This paper suggests a reading of Karl Marx's work through the lens of human life in capitalist relations where some lives appear to be less 'worthy' than others. I argue that capitalist mode of production makes devaluation of human lives inevitable by rendering human life as a relation of equivalency and this is a limit to capital since human life cannot be reduced to a thing that is comparable to other things. In his writings Marx's repeatedly points out two forms of reductions regarding human life which are immanent to capitalist mode of production: First, human activity (in the form of abstract labour and labour power) is reduced to a commodity, and secondly, human life is reduced to the means of subsistence. The worker sells her labour power to the capitalist as a commodity in order to reproduce her life. In this relationship, the worker becomes merely one of the elements of the production process and the necessity of subsistence of her life appears to be a hostile power, forcing her into this relationship with the capitalist. The capitalist, therefore, appropriates not only the life activity of the worker but also her available time to live. Thus,

while the life of the worker is reduced to nothing but work, the worker loses the control, and even possession, of her own activity and life. In this relationship based on the commodity form, moreover, a section of the workers are always rendered superfluous due to the machinery and large-scale industry. I borrow Etienne Balibar's (1996: 117) expression 'the unbearable' to refer to the actual limit to the process of transforming labor power into a commodity and reduction of human life to means of subsistence. The devaluation of human lives in capitalist relations is a limit to capital drawn by 'the unbearable'. I claim that this limit opens up a ground to discuss actual experience of difference and inequality in relation to the social reproduction. In other words, 'the unbearable' might speak to us about Marx's vital question of emancipation as an actual human experience in the structures of capitalist mode of production.

Grietje Baars

Queering Corporate Power

In *The Straight Mind*, French radical lesbian materialist feminist philosopher Monique Wittig famously proclaimed, "Lesbians are not women."* Wittig, perhaps a queer theorist avant la lettre, or, whose thinking gave birth to queer theory when articulated/transmitted by Judith Butler a generation later, understood that only by eradicating the category of sex, and the mark of gender (effectively lesbianizing the entire world), we shall be liberated. In Wittig's "queer" inversion, sex is gender, since the latter is only the socially defined means by which the former is imposed upon the human body as a "mark" to justify domination. The concepts of "male" and "female" were constructed by a totalitarian regime of heterosexuality, which exists with the specific goal of the appropriation by force of more or less half of humanity by the other, or to expropriate the labour of women for the benefit of men. This same system of exploitation is what gave rise to the concept of the corporation, with its more or less universal legal characteristics of profit motive/mandate, separate legal personality and limited liability: together the gender to the corporation's sex. While the category of sex & the mark of gender are not generally questioned, "not even by women", according to Wittig, the concept of the corporation derives the continuity of its power, its constant reproduction, from the near-universal failure to reject the concept of the corporation per se even by those (and that is most of us) who draw the short straw in corporate capitalism. In this work in progress I explore what use Queer Theory could be, as a mode of explanation and a tool for action, in resisting, subverting, or 'queering' corporate power. As a start, 'unthinking' the corporation, should be exercised in combination with the (existing, increasing) performance of radical alternatives to the organization of production (as lesbianism is to the heteropatriarchy). The notion of 'Queering corporate power' is further intended to illustrate and emphasise the manner in which all our liberation struggles (queer, feminist, ecological, anarchic, anti-capitalist) are bound up together, and when combined, reinforce each other.

Marcelo Badaró Mattos

Brazilian crisis: social struggles, economic recession and political instability

Political instability in Brazil is evident. By the time this summary is written a president of the Republic is "suspended" by impeachment proceedings. On the surface of political events we can note allegations of corruption, judicial and parliamentary maneuvers, ideological action of the media and growth of manifestations of reactionary right. The purpose of this communication is to go beyond the surface of political events in search of connection between them and the social interests of different sectors of the ruling class

installed in Brazil in a context of economic crisis and growing social struggles. Chronologically, the worsening of social conflicts became visible with the mass demonstrations that took place in the country in June 2013, and the economic crisis began to manifest itself more sharply from 2014. The hypothesis worked here is that the combination of these two processes took a growing share of the Brazilian ruling class to withdraw their support to the government of the Workers Party (PT), choosing from the end of 2015 the option of removal of Dilma Rousseff. This option of the main bourgeois fractions was made in spite of the PT government's efforts to carry out policies of austerity and containment of social struggles, making it clear that the class conciliation formulas represented by over 13 years of PT governments are no longer considered appropriate by the bourgeois sectors that previously supported them.

Peter Baker

The State and the Translation Machine: Readings of Gramsci in Bolivia

Within contemporary Bolivian Marxism, there is no doubt that the theory of Antonio Gramsci has been one of the most central references on the Bolivian left. The Gramscian approach first entered Bolivia through its reception in the work of the critical sociologist René Zavaleta Mercado, whose work has recently been translated into English. Today, two prominent figures in Bolivia continue to draw from this tradition to provide two very different accounts of the contemporary conjuncture: the current vice president Álvaro García Linera, and one of the current government's fiercest critics, Luis Tapia. This paper seeks to trace the uses of Gramscian theory between the two thinkers in order to outline the extent to which these different interpretations are not only the site of hermeneutic struggles, but are properly in their own right hegemonic struggles over the current directions of the Bolivian left which have wider implications. To this extent, the paper will draw from the notion of 'translation' as it is employed by Actor Network Theory (ANT), to argue that hegemonic power operates according to a similar principle by which inherently multiple systems must be brought into the translation process by creating a chain of equivalences among them.

Camille Barbagallo, Sigrid Vertommen,

The Invisible Hands of the Market: Reproductive Work and Female Labour

Since the reconfiguration of the capitalist world economy in the late seventies, the reproductive labours involved in care, nurturance and pleasure have increasingly been commodified and a global army of female workers including nannies, cleaners, surrogates and sex workers has developed in both the global North and South. Recent social scientific and feminist scholarship has therefore focused its attention to studying the immorality and exploitation behind the supposedly "new" sexual division of labour, with its exuberant marketization of bodies, intimacies and sexualities, while downplaying or even ignoring the structural inequalities of power (race, class, sex, gender) that underpin the unwaged forms of reproductive, affective and emotional labour, such as in sex, childbirth and housework.

In this presentation we would like to suggest that a feminist Marxist understanding of capitalist social relations requires a combined attention to and organisation of both forms of labour - namely, waged and unwaged reproductive labour. Through a critical analysis of recent debates on altruistic (unwaged) versus commercial (waged) surrogacy, we posit a feminist Marxist account of the politics of motherhood, care and reproduction that

transcends false dichotomies of waged-unwaged labour, gift-commodity, nature-social, market-non market.

Stefania Barca

The political in Environmental History

This paper interrogates the relevance and potentialities of Environmental History as a tool for examining the role of capitalism, as a historical social formation, in shaping the current ecological crisis. The paper is structured into two parts. Firstly, starting from some of the earliest contributions to the field, I will critically examine the theoretical possibilities offered by EH to the development of a Marxist approach to the Anthropocene.

In the second part of the paper, I will articulate my own contribution to a historical materialist Environmental History, focusing on two lines of investigation: that on the ecological contradictions of early industrial capitalism, as this emerges from class struggle – which I have mostly developed in my book *Enclosing Water*; and that on labor and working-class environmentalism – which I have been developing through more recent research on climate politics in international labor organizations and on environmental struggles in working-class communities in Italy and Brazil. I will finally offer a reflection on how Environmental History can contribute to a better understanding of the global climate crisis, by adopting a more clearly politicized approach, in the sense of paying attention to the role played by the working class in resisting and counteracting capitalist ecologies past and present.

Daniel Barrow

10:04: Everyday Life and The Novel as Late Capitalist Limit-Form

Ben Lerner's 2014 novel *10:04* confronts crisis – ecological, financial, political – as a crisis of narrative form. The novel's involuted narrative structure and experimental incorporation of multiple modes of narrative (poetry, visual collage, autobiography) attempts to grapple with a crisis of representation spurred by mutations in lived experience under late capitalism since the 2008 financial crisis. If the novel has historically been the territory of what becomes, in the bourgeois era, 'everyday life', as Henri Lefebvre defined it, and simultaneously a form for potentially imagining or registering social totality, what happens when the abstract compulsions and movement of capital are increasingly registered or figured as concrete and unavoidable? What is the result when lived time and the time of production draws to the edge of what Fredric Jameson has called 'the end of temporality', when time, after postmodernism, when the concrete lifeworld of the novel form seems to be pushed by the intensification of contradiction within capitalist accumulation to the point of entire disintegration? Drawing on work by Paul Virilio, Jonathan Crary, Michael Sayeau and Guy Debord, this paper will argue that in Lerner's novel the pastiche narrative elements of postmodern fiction are transformed and bricolaged into the experimental reconfiguration of a new 'cognitive mapping' of everyday life under late capitalism. The novel, as the belated and imploded form of narrative of capitalist modernity, finds its formal reconstitution, in *10:04*, in the temporal and spatial limits of capital's dominance over 'everyday life': a new set of formal boundaries and experiments with new forms of novelistic temporality.

Luca Basso

Marx and the Russian Commune

The question of Marx's analysis of Russia is both complex and extremely controversial, particularly in light of the events of the twentieth century. My interpretation of the relationship between Marx and Russia will distance itself from two opposed readings that, in my view, are both problematic. The first, proper to 'traditional' Marxism, consists of an underestimation of the role of Russia, and the insistence that it was substantially irrelevant to Marx, given that it was a peripheral country that was still not developed in a capitalist sense and was thus unable to reach communist revolution before the capitalist mode of production had fully been developed. On the contrary, in recent years other 'post-Marxist' approaches have integrated Marx's position with postcolonial studies in a perspective critical with regard to any Western 'grand narrative', pervaded with the spirit of colonialism. This outlook attributes particular importance to the Russian situation, in that this country had still not suffered the 'labour pains' of the birth of the capitalist mode of production. As such, it prefigured the possibility of a transition from the rural commune to communism without first having to go through the stages of capitalism. The interpretation that I propose is different from both such readings. Indeed, the former is based on an excessive dogmatism in its delineation of the transition from capitalism to communism: it thus risks conceiving the entire political scenario on the basis of a single schema deduced from the experiences of the most advanced capitalist countries. But if the first perspective has its limitations, the second is problematic, in that it surreptitiously characterises Marx as anti-modern, a supporter of the 'archaic'. For the purposes of examining this question, it is necessary, rather, to avoid a 'theoreticist' outlook based on some generalising schema: both a historicist and an anti-historicist reading would be abstract in character. Marx's study of Russia resounds in a dual register: on the one hand, theory must be rooted in history and in politics without, however, coinciding with these elements; on the other, politics cannot be immediately deduced from theory.

Jean Batou

The material and the mental in the birth and expansion of Islamic societies

Is there a definite relationship between the adoption of Islam as a dominant faith and given social formations? In the 1990s, Manuel Acién Almansa proposed the concept of "Islamic social relations", putting special emphasis on the peculiar significance of private property and its spatial embodiment in the Islamic city, where public area tends to take a back seat to the profits of market space and private shops.

More recently, S. Michalopoulos, A. Naghavi and G. Prarolo tried to empirically demonstrate the interaction between the surge of trade in the context of an uneven distribution of agricultural resources, and the shaping of the Islamic doctrine. They conjectured that its moral and economic principles were instrumental in finding an acceptable compromise between Middle-Eastern pastoral tribes and merchant cities, allowing them to build a centralized political authority.

Both approaches address the issue of the complex meshing and merging of the material and the mental in the historical development of social formations. My paper intends to underline the great interest of such efforts in the understanding of the birth and rapid expansion of the first Islamic societies from the 7th century C.E. Onwards.

Jonathan Beacham

Limiting the Anthropocene? 'Alternative' food production and living with the capitalist imperative

In this paper I offer a critique of the concept of the Anthropocene through an engagement with Marxian political geography and political ecology in the world of 'alternative' food production. Whilst the historical development of agriculture marks one of the main stepping stones towards entering our so called Anthropocentric age, we face at our current juncture various significant challenges around climate change and food security in being able to feed the global population. Differing ways of producing food - taking on this 'alternative' designation versus a hegemonic agro-industrial mainstream - have been argued to provide potential (if not full) solutions to these difficulties. However, maintaining this 'alternative' identity through a variety of organic, small scale, low input and 'sustainable' production methods is often challenged by the systemic logic of capitalism and it remains a liminal position. Reflecting upon a case study of alternative food production in Lancashire, England, I outline a number of strategies used by producers when faced with decisions that contradict their broad moral aims but are necessitated by the capitalist profit imperative. I suggest that these dilemmas provide a productive 'way in' to thinking through how material historical and economic forces are felt by lay actors on the ground. I argue that the concept of the Anthropocene has so far failed to stimulate humanity in reconsidering our place in the world, which in itself serves to disrupt and limit the analytical space available for understanding the powerful material forces at work in the process of creating what Jason Moore calls capitalism as a 'world-ecology'. I finish by suggesting that a Marxian perspective continues to provide a more successful standpoint by which to understand the issues we face and how we might move beyond a state of endemic global economic, environmental and ecological crises.

Crystal Stella Becerri

The Thirst is Real: On Bringing Back the Popular Avant-Garde & Drinking the Lemonade

The question of how pop culture and politics intersect in any capacity that can be harnessed to further Marxist inquiry is a complicated one which the left continues to struggle with. Nowhere is this clearer than in the way culture and identity have come to replace instead of inform politics, particularly when seeking to understand or explain skewed power relations in cultural production and exchange. Although rooted in a progressive, anti-racist instinct, these frameworks do little to help us understand how oppression or culture under capitalism—particularly under neoliberalism—actually work and are quite reactionary if the goal of these politics is collective emancipation.

When culture, the dynamics of its production, and exchange are plucked from our socio-economic reality, the process of analyzing these things gets thrown into a vacuum where moments of cultural production or exchange—be they negative or positive ones— have no choice but to devolve into individualistic (and by extension moralistic) defenses which yield little (if any) useful political insight. That's because cultural discourse which focuses on individual instances and dynamics of oppression rather than on the institutional or systemic ones, actually lets off the hook the real manufacturers of oppression, the capitalist class.

Furthermore, popular declarations by some that posit that cultural products and artifacts should only be produced, consumed, and even enjoyed by some—for example, arguments that albums like Beyoncé's *Lemonade* were made for Black women and should therefore only be enjoyed and discussed by Black women— inevitably give way to accusations of

cultural appropriation when non-Black women/people enjoy and engage it. These types of declarations and arguments have the ability to shut down necessary debate and discourse in one fell swoop, and are stifling at best and reactionary at worst. In this paper I will focus on the frameworks which have emerged out of the need for theory to help us understand our cultural products in a moment of political and ideological crisis and on why the popular avant-garde is the answer to growing our collective political and artistic consciousness.

The popular avant-garde which we hope to rescue and advance, takes up the questions of popular culture and revolutionary politics that have for decades been largely overlooked by the left, and challenges those reactionary politics which have filled that void. In *Notes on Deconstructing the Popular* the great Marxist cultural theorist Stuart Hall explained that "Capital had a stake in the culture of the popular classes because the constitution of a whole new social order around capital required a more or less, continuous, if intermittent, process of re-education." It is our task as Marxists then, to go back and answer the questions of how capital shapes, informs, and is informed by culture, and how we can make tools of those things which we create and which belong to us— art, music, dance, language— to grow our movements and advance our struggles.

Riccardo Bellofiore

The adventures of Vergesellschaftung

This paper engages in a dialogue with (and critique of) opposite approaches whose importance is that they take seriously the issues of what abstract labour is and what are the specificities of capitalist 'socialisation' (Vergesellschaftung). On the one side there is Michael Heinrich's view about the Marxian 'monetary theory of value', stressing the nachträgliche Vergesellschaftung, whereas abstract labour exists only in monetary circulation of commodities, hence in ex post 'socialisation', within a non-commodity money approach. On the other side, there is Roberto Finelli, insisting that labour is already immediately fully 'social'. This latter position is untenable in literal terms and is unilateral (actually erasing money from any essential role in value theory), but its merit is to show how unilateral is also the view of abstract labour within a perspective reducing Vergesellschaftung only to an a posteriori dimension. This limit results from the *Neue Marx-Lektüre's* almost exclusive focus on the first three chapters of *Capital* since its implicitly Adornian beginning in Reichelt and Backhaus, which will be briefly recalled and assessed. In fact, in Marx the nachträgliche Vergesellschaftung in universalised commodity circulation gives way in the later chapters to the unmittelbar Vergesellschaftung: the 'immediate socialisation' in the capitalist labour process, where abstract labor not only counts but actually is already abstract in production – a point not to be confused with a deskilling/deconcretisation perspective. Rubin and Napoleoni well saw, in different but complementary ways, that for Marx abstract labour already exists as (potential and latent) 'value/money in motion' in immediate production. Backhaus correctly writes: the pre-monetary value (which is actually an anticipated money value even before actual market exchanges!) is the ens realissimum governing capitalist totality in its centre. Abstract labour is a process. The problem is that breaking the mediation between value and labour through money as a commodity, as Heinrich and others do, capitalist reality risks to be splitted in two worlds: concrete/real in production versus abstract/monetary in circulation. Marx would be lost. The paper argues that the unilateralities are overcome and the difficulties are solved if we move towards a Marxian macro-monetary theory of capitalist production, within a fully endogenous money perspective. Its central focus is on capital as a [social] relation grounding the Konstitution of the Fetish-character of Capital as a Subject. The 'ex post socialisation' in commodity circulation and the 'immediate

socialisation' in immediate production must be preceded by an 'ex ante socialisation': the monetary imprinting of wage-labour ('ante-validation' of it as prospective living labour, looked in its turn as abstract labour δυνάμει) by banks as providers of finance to production. Money as the universal equivalent is deduced prior to capital, when commodities are presupposed: money as capital is however logically required to have commodities as posited results. This point, in different forms, was anticipated by de Brunhoff (ante-validation as pseudo-validation) and Graziani (finance to production). The capitalist monetary Kreislauf (circuit) is indeed the other side of the coin of the abstraction of labour as a process, from labour-power (initial finance) to living labour (production) to objectualised labour (ideal money) to the final validation (real money).

Eric Benjamin Blanc

The Rosa Luxemburg Myth

This paper challenges widespread uncritical portrayals of Rosa Luxemburg. By examining the politics and practices of Luxemburg and her SDKPiL party in Poland, I show that their commitment to proletarian emancipation was ultimately undermined by sectarian and doctrinaire tendencies that directly contributed to the defeat of Poland's workers' revolutions in 1905 and 1918–23. A critical analysis of their approaches to the national question, the Polish Socialist Party, the German Social Democracy, and the role of the revolutionary party, undermines the myth that Luxemburgism represents a democratic and undogmatic alternative to Social Democracy or Leninism. I argue that the Polish Socialist Party, Luxemburg's main political rival, posed a viable revolutionary Marxist alternative to Luxemburgism.

Tithi Bhattacharya

The Ontology of Labor Power: Producing and Social Reproducing Capital

The primary problematic of what is meant by the social reproduction of labor power is only a preliminary start to a definitional project for Social Reproduction Theory. Simply put, while labor puts the system of capitalist production in motion, Social Reproduction Theory points out that it is critical to remember that labor power itself is the sole commodity, the 'unique commodity' as Marx calls it, that is produced outside of the circuit of commodity-production. But this status of labor as a commodity that is simultaneously produced outside the 'normal' productive cycle of other commodities raises more questions than it answers. For instance, Marx is very clear that every commodity under capitalism has two manifestations: one as use value, and the other as value [exchange value]. Indeed, when the commodity appears in its social form we only encounter its second manifestation—because the capitalist production process, through an act of 'necromancy' turns use value into its direct opposite. But labor power becomes a 'commodity' (i.e. it becomes something that is not simply endowed with use value) without going through the same process of 'necromancy' as other commodities: which raises a question about the very ontology of labor power beyond the simple questions of its 'production' and 'reproduction'. If the totality of the capitalist system is shot through with this 'commodity' that is not produced in the manner of other commodities, what then are the points of determination and/or contradictions that must necessarily be constitutive (of the system) and yet must be overcome within it?

Bernardo Bianchi

Emancipation: the building of humanity

This research aims at building a theoretical framework, by which the concept of emancipation could be re-founded. Through the question of anthropogenesis, one of Marx's constantly neglected concepts can be reconsidered: the concept of *Selbstbetätigung* (self-activation). The Manuscripts of 1844 provide the image of the diminution of the power to act that cannot be understood under the formula of the exteriorization of the subject in objects, as suggested by the model of the philosophy of alienation, when it postulates the ideal of transparency against opacity. Instead of conceiving the problem of emancipation as a process of subjectivation (the becoming-human of the world), the *Selbstbetätigung* deals with the becoming-world of man. In this sense, the process of humanization takes place amid a plane of immanence, from which we could develop the idea of a practical transformation of the world as it is. Therefore, it can be said that in this statement there is an inversion of the traditional analysis of the imprisonment of the human power under the capitalist mode of production. Instead of condemning the objectivation of men as well as the objectivation of the social world, we can derive from Marx a problematic that culminates in the recrimination of the becoming-subject of men, in accordance with the process that involves the loss of their own objectivity. I would like to emphasize that men are not only modified by the circumstances, but that it is from the moment that they modify their own circumstances, in accordance with the expression of their own power to act, that men modify themselves. In that sense, based on Franck Fischbach (FISCHBACH, F., *Philosophies de Marx*, p. 41.), we could add that this position entails a double problem. On the one hand, it demonstrates that men modify themselves as they modify their circumstances. On the other hand, the change of the circumstances should, therefore, be regarded as inseparable from the change of men themselves. In these terms, as a revolutionary practice, the emancipation is the activity that unifies the change of the circumstances to the change of men.

Alexander Billet

For a 21st Century Popular Avant-Garde

This paper will take as its starting point the very first recorded use of the term "avant-garde" in relation to art: that of utopian socialist Olinde Rodrigues, who wrote in the 1820's that "artists serve as the people's avant-garde." Though arguably colored by some of the elitism of utopian socialism that often saw workers as inert masses to be acted upon rather than subjects of history, the quote reveals a hidden historical relationship between notions of avant-garde art and what we have come to refer to as "the popular" or "mass culture." Twentieth century cultural production – aided by the rise of the culture industry and the age of mechanical reproduction – increasingly pulled apart the popular and the avant-garde, often placing them at odds with each other. Left and Marxist culture critics from Theodor Adorno to Clement Greenberg to Dwight McDonald to Fred Ho have been preoccupied with this relationship.

Today, the avant-garde, the experimental, the "serious" is seen not only as organically disconnected from the popular but as a different realm entirely, as if the two aren't in the same genus let alone species. This impact's contemporary left arts criticism, on the one hand resulting in a kind of bland celebration of "the popular" without consideration for the machinations of the culture industry or the status of art as a commodity, and on the other resulting in hermetic dismissals of mass art in favor of the an experimentalism that can be deliberately indecipherable. Both suffer from a key weakness: a failure to recognize that artistic production plays a role in imagining a different world, and therefore that there is a

need for radical “fringe” ideas and philosophies to become “popular.” This dialectic has never disappeared, but it has been obscured. It deserves to be observed anew.

Using as a heuristic Marx’s twin contradictory statements that “the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves” and “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas,” this paper will trace how it is that artists, writers and musicians have joined employed popular tropes to aesthetically subversive and expansive ends. What’s more, it will insist that an avant-garde work of art can have its aesthetic experiment deepened, made more prescient, by its connection to popular concerns and struggles. Past examples will be used to exhibit this phenomenon: Bertolt Brecht, M.I.A., Rock Against Racism, and Frida Kahlo.

Jaswinder Blackwell-Pal

The Politics of Kanye

As one of the most iconic popular artists working today, Kanye West is notable for balancing unquestionable success with constant controversy, remaining a deeply polarizing figure without compromising his cultural dominance. For every measure of critical acclaim and popularity he achieves, Kanye inspires an equal portion of ridicule, anger and outrage. Ask many people what their dominant impression of him is and you are likely to hear the words 'arrogant', 'egotistical' and 'crazy' at least as many, if not more, time than you hear 'creative', 'genius' or 'groundbreaking'.

Kanye's conflicted position within the American culture industry, as someone both hugely profitable as well as loathed and discredited, is a direct result of the complex relationship between race, wealth and celebrity that he embodies. What Kanye offers in his work is a performance of black masculinity marked by in equal parts by emotional vulnerability and intense expressions of rage and political consciousness. This duality means he falls astray of the established archetypes that have been pre-designated for black men, and which have been reinforced within hip hop itself. He is neither 'gangster' or 'conscious' rapper, and therefore confuses and frustrates the preexisting roles available to black artists.

This paper will chart the political characteristics and dimensions to Kanye by examining his work from the four angles useful to us as Marxists:

- The content of his art itself; in this case his lyrical and visual output
- The form of his art; carefully considering his sonic evolution over the 3 distinct periods of his career and how these have aspired to a unity between form and content
- His relationship with the process of production; his innovation using the materials and techniques available to him at the current historical period.
- His status as celebrity; considering his public interventions as an important part of his canon.

I will argue that Kanye is one of the most interesting artists of our age, and one who best embodies the contradictions of the current period both through his explicit political statements and his relationship to the music industry in the era of electronic reproduction. In particular I will focus on his latest album, *The Life of Pablo*, which marks an innovation in album form. 'Pablo' is an evolving piece of work, with the music changing continuously as West continues to update and tinker with each song. It forces the audience into a process of curation and authorship, questioning the authenticity of the product and developing the means of production available to him.

Félix Boggio

Contemporary Political Economy as a Utopian Project

Most of contemporary debates on political economy among the revolutionary left have involved an overpoliticization of theoretical discussion. The most salient discussion in Marxist circles is of course about the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall (TRPF). The divide between underconsumptionist, sectoral unbalance and overaccumulation theories is deemed to be a debate between more authentically Marxist and revolutionary tendencies in economic theory. The adversary positions are irredeemably labeled as “keynesian”, meaning “reformist” and unmarxist in character.

By contrast, we wish to outline here a common thread in the field commonly known as “heterodox economics”. We will first assert that all heterodox currents are rooted in social et philosophical foundations which boil down to the concept of social relations of production. Three forms of separation, characterizing capitalist economies, will be sorted out, drawing from Balibar's seminal article in *Reading Capital* and Bettelheim's *Economic Calculation and Forms of Property: relations of property, relations of possession, and commodity relations*.

Our purpose is to show that each main current (either postkeynesian, marxist or institutionalist) has a specific understanding of those three forms of separation. What distinguishes one current from another is the status given to property, possession and commodity separations: one of them will be used as a device of economic modeling, the more mechanical notion of causal effects; another will be used in an interpretative narrative that underpins the choice of variables, actors and behaviors; and another one is a more fantomatic “cause of causes”, a structural constrain of all explanations. Our thrust will be to show that, through each of these “absent causes”, each current elaborate its own utopian project: a resolution of an irreducible contradiction in capitalism.

We will argue then that Political Economy does not need to be more or less “revolutionary”, but has to be understood as a cognitive mapping project, dialectically projecting utopian knowledge on the totality of the capitalist system of production.

Félix Boggio Éwanjé-Épée, Stella Magliani-Belkacem

Tout le monde déteste la police. French insurgency and new approaches to smashing the State

During the mass protests that erupted in France in response to a government bill to liberalize the labor market, new forms of conflictuality emerged on a large scale, with an unprecedented use of black bloc tactics. While these practices were classically ascribed to a marginal fringe of the extreme left (namely, autonomes and non-syndicalist anarchism), it appeared as a more and more organic strategy of the movement, positively interacting with the Nuit debout occupation of public space and with ranking file union members during demonstrations. The escalation of repression brought about a cohesive common sense among protesters that challenged governmental and media attempts at dividing them between casseurs (black bloc) and peaceful demonstrators.

This paper intends to draw lessons from the movement, and notably the rise of autonomist-influenced and radical antifascist practices. We hold that this emergence is

connected to a subterranean affinity between new terrains of struggle, dealing with space, logistics and the State on the one hand, and a set of ideas drawn from street-fighting antifascism and communization on the other hand.

How can the left learn from these evolutions while these currents have a strong anti-party component? How to build hegemony out of an anti-hegemonic stance? These questions are an enticement for the left to see with different lens classical problems of strategy related to the State. As the Poulantzas-influenced hypothesis of a prolonged dual power strategy is gaining prominence in intellectual areas, these new forms of conflictuality can be thought of as a crucial anti-State component of a dialectical strategy of breaking/transforming specific State apparatuses and sectors.

It is also to be claimed that race and imperialism bring a crucial tension in these new movements, and that retrieving radical anti-imperialist and antiracist legacies is a crucial complement to the proposed approach

Ashley Bohrer

The Coloniality of Capitalism: Intersectional Theories of Capitalism from Latin America

Theories of race, gender, national origin, and immigration status are frequently underthematized in analyses of capitalism. Moreover, when attempts to conceptualize these axes are made, they are too frequently taken exclusively from theorists located in the global north. This paper seeks to explain and conceptualize the relationship between race, gender, nationality, and capitalism as articulated by Latin American critics of capitalism. Using Anibal Quijano's analysis of the coloniality of power, I argue that capitalism is inextricably sutured to a concept of colonial race that forms its animating core. Drawing on Maria Lugones, I argue that capitalism is also infected by what she calls 'the colonial/modern gender system', weaving race, gender, and capitalism together in the legacy of the colonial conquest. Looking at Sylvia Wynter, I argue that capitalism is the fabric that weaves together intersectional oppression in the contemporary world and that it is this weaving together that constitutes the meaning of contemporary capitalist subjectivity.

Matt Bolton

Justice and the Separation of the 'Economic' and 'Political'

The demand for 'justice' in the face of state violence has been a central feature of numerous recent social movements, from the Hillsborough Justice Campaign to Black Lives Matter. This paper poses the question of the relation of such demands to both conceptions of class struggle and 'identity politics'.

The concept of justice, particularly with regard to law and the state, has long had an uneasy relationship with Marxist theory. Marx was often dismissive towards issues of formal legal equality, while commodity form theorists working in the wake of Pashukanis tend to view it as a derivation of the exchange relation. Analytical Marxism took up the question of justice as a central concern, but invariably ended up slipping back into liberal political philosophy. And while Political Marxists rightly focus on legally-mediated struggle during the transition to capitalism, once 'extra-economic coercion' has been separated from the 'economic', and the state differentiated from the market, questions of justice and equality (including 'extra-economic' distinctions of gender and 'race') are regarded as

hangovers from previous forms of social-property relations, with little relevance to capitalist class relations.

This paper will use the work of Heide Gerstenberger to contest the notion that capitalism is defined by non-violent 'economic coercion' alone. It will suggest that the distinction between the 'political' and 'economic' is not fixed but constantly remade by the state. The appearance of a 'class relation', understood as a legally free 'exchange of equivalents', is not an universal accompaniment to capitalism but a product of historically specific political struggles to push back the frontline of 'extra-economic' coercion. Such struggle were often motivated by demands for individual or collective dignity rather than economic gain.

The demand for justice today thereby emerges from the contested process(es) through which the 'economic' is (or is not) separated from the 'political'. This analysis attempts to problematise the distinction between 'class' and 'identity' by suggesting that the very definition of class as an 'economic' relation is itself a historically specific product of ongoing 'extra-economic' struggles, which cannot be relegated to 'pre-capitalist' or epiphenomenal status.

Patrick Bond

Red-Greening South Africa's next revolt?: Eco-socialist opportunities and nascent leadership

South African political ecology reflects what is amongst the world's most extreme cases of uneven and combined development, and as one crucial aspect of this condition, environmental degradation extends deep into the households and workplaces populated mainly by the country's black majority. The budding socialist movement will, in coming months and years, increasingly embrace this condition just as profoundly as it does the need to reindustrialise the economy under worker and social control, while restructuring the reproduction of labour power in a humane, rational manner. As that process unfolds, there are opportunities to 'red-green' the aspirational strategies of manufacturing-localisation, minerals-beneficiation, land reform, geographical restructuring (including urban repurposing, the cessation of migrant labour relations and shifts from private to public transport), and renewable energy generation that are supported in principle today by all social forces aside from the most dogmatic neoliberals.

But to ensure that these strategies are not tokenistic, that they do not fall prey to 'Green Economy' eco-capitalist manoeuvres, and that they have deepening eco-socialist orientations, the immediate challenge is to wrench power from corporations and their allied politicians and state officials. That will also mean coming to grips with international vulnerabilities associated with post-1994 neoliberalism, with South Africa's subimperial positioning in Africa, and most explicitly today, with the worsening failure of the BRICS project: the mistaken idea that alliance with Brazil, Russia, India and China would generate radically new global governance power relations that would successfully address economic, social, geopolitical and ecological crises from the top down.

In contrast, several bottom-up victories since the end of apartheid in 1994 offer examples of the decommodification, destratification and deglobalisation approaches that will be required to move forward the eco-socialist agenda: access to free HIV/AIDS medicines, the partial decommodification of municipal water and electricity services, and workplace health and safety class-action lawsuits (especially over silicosis). These are instances of struggle that bring home – to the scale of the body itself – some of the ecological

processes most damaged by capitalism. There are also some isolated but important cases of environmental justice victories over polluters that contribute to broader eco-socialist conceptions and movement-building. And a few institutions and visionary leaders have begun to emerge to carry forward the eco-socialist agenda across South Africa's rocky terrain.

Still, the most vital missing element in 2017 is a political party that generates an eco-socialist ideology deep within the society. All other ideologies currently in the mainstream of political discourse – especially nationalism, neoliberalism, petit-bourgeois radicalism, Black Consciousness and an ossified 'Marxist-Leninism' promoted by the official Communist Party, as well as half-hearted mainstream environmentalism – have failed to achieve the potential that a red-green political process offers. Even the best prospect for an eco-socialist ideology – the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) in alliance with the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) and a slow-maturing 'United Front' with social movements – has a great distance to travel before the merits of radical environmentalism are evident to the vanguard of workers and social movements.

Edna Bonhomme

Anti-colonialism, Afro-Arab solidarity, and the Politics of Liberation

Anti-colonial movements in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) intensified after World War II thus strengthening relations between colonized people. More specifically, Black people from sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean, and North America were inspired and collaborated with Arabs from MENA. Afro-Arab solidarity reflected a broader political shift whereby internationalism, liberation, and working class politics were central to the anti-colonial and resistance movements. Moreover, Afro-Arab solidarity happened along intellectual, cultural, and political lines that resulted in formal conventions and personal journeys. Some of the major sites of unity occurred during the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo (1957) and the Bandung Conference in the Soviet Union (1955). Between 1945 and 1965, Cairo was a major locus for Afro-Arab solidarity whereby Blacks such as Muhammad Ali, Maya Angelou, Kwame Nkrumah, and Malcolm X made grave efforts to strengthen their alliances with Arabs. These coalitions were particularly deep when Egyptian communist parties and trade unions were providing the ideological and material conditions to transcend ethnic and/or racial differences. I argue that Afro-Arab solidarity in Egypt was strongest during the early 1950s when there was a broader anticolonial and anti-capitalist struggle and diminished by the late 1960s when rank and file Egyptian leftists were systematically suppressed by the Egyptian state. Using archival materials, personal letters, and newspaper articles, I will show how the anti-colonial apex generated genuine leftist struggle whereby inter-ethnic conflict was rescinded and Afro-Arab unanimity was promoted. Thus, Afro-Arab liberation politics were strengthened when there were independent socialists inserted into mass movements in Egypt.

Carina Brand

Extraction and Social Reproduction, Affects and Aesthetics: Fracking, The Subsumption of Public Services, and Zika

This paper places the concept of extraction, and its aesthetics (Noys 2013), as central to capitalism (with and/or without limits). By looking at the relationship between extraction and social reproduction I argue we can use extraction as a useful tool in examining the

transfer or theft of value outside of the wage (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). While it can be argued that techniques and technologies for extraction have become increasingly complex, it is important to ask what limits we can identify in extracting from the natural environment and the sphere of social reproduction? I shall focus on what I see as the ongoing and intensifying extraction in and of the home. More labour takes place in the home through self-employment, digital labour, and working-from-home, and the sphere of social reproduction is increasingly becoming a site of extensive extraction, whose limits are becoming apparent.

I use Marxist Feminist writing on social reproduction (Mies, 1986; Fortunati, 1995; Vogel, 1983) and subsequent theorists' writing on primitive accumulation and the enclosure of the commons (Harvey, 2003; De Angelis, 2001; Perelman; 2000) to develop Marx's concept of surplus extraction (Marx, 1975). My predominant concern is what capital extracts for free and the costs to social reproduction, which affect women disproportionately. I will also consider how the aesthetic and visual forms extraction takes relate to the political economic function.

To illustrate the argument I will consider three examples, firstly the recent proliferation of fracking, as event and imaginary, which extracts energy from the commons, or from private land/homes. I will posit fracking as a contemporary enclosure of the commons and draw on Mies and Shiva's (1993) concept of ecofeminism to elucidate this event of extraction in our 'backyards'. Secondly I will discuss the privatisation of public service provision (Huws, 2012; Endnotes, 2013) and how this transformation affects community relationships and aesthetic experience, which affects the lives of women unequally. Finally I consider the current epidemic, and representation of Zika virus. Zika represents a collision between 'nature' and 'culture' but more importantly it can be seen as a by-product of the conditions of poverty that intensive extraction causes. Zika however only adversely affects women, consequently it is being used to stigmatise poor women as sexually deviant (Federici, 2003), enforcing celibacy, and therefore compromising women's role as 'reproducer' of labour power (Fortunati, 1995). Thus I ask: has capital limited its own reproduction?

Craig Brandist

The Dimensions of Hegemony: Language, Culture and Politics in Revolutionary Russia

Michael Bray

The Limits of Mental Labor: Class & Politics Today

Despite its intermittent recurrence in Marxist debates over class and transitions to socialism, the division between mental and manual labor retains an ambiguous status. If, as Sohn-Rethel suggested, that division is "another aspect of the same class antagonism" defined by exploitation, its status and effects remain unclear. Is it one amongst many ideological divisions fragmenting the working class? Or does it have a unique status, defining a "new petty bourgeoisie" or "professional-managerial" class? Or is it, as Jacques Bidet argues, a different factor of class, based in "organization," rather than "the market"?

This paper defends three claims in relation to these debates, to then sketch their political implications in "knowledge societies" where most new jobs are precarious and "unskilled" and the surplus population is expanding: 1) The division between mental and manual labor is a distinctive, constitutive aspect of class antagonism. It defines the political core of

capitalist class relations in labor processes directed towards increasing relative surplus value. This hierarchical core is embodied in the state and increasingly shapes struggles over social reproduction; 2) It does not define or delimit class groups within capitalist society; rather, it brings into question any project of “objectively” delimiting such groups at a general level, while articulating a principle of division spread across the social division of labor, crystallizing into specific institutional forms in a perpetually revised process. Class formations take shape politically in relation to that process; 3) Mental labor operates, like the political sphere it shapes, with a degree of autonomy, but is not a separable principle of class power. “Intellect” remains dependent upon capital: control over the latter – and over labor power and the reproduction of the working class under capital – grounds its powers.

Intellectuals are not thereby foredoomed to be ideologues. The political economy of working class social reproduction provides a potential basis for alternative practices of thinking. But every practice of mental labor not positioned consciously in relation to this division takes an unconscious side in the increasingly central political split between (privatized) “technocracy” and “populism.” Today, a renewed conception of and strategy regarding the latter is requisite.

David Broder

A country within a country: what exactly was the Italian road to socialism?

The recent revival of the radical Left in Europe has renewed interest in the history of the Italian Communist Party. From Alexis Tsipras’s repeated invocation of the legacy of Enrico Berlinguer to Podemos leaders’ references to Antonio Gramsci, the PCI’s history seems to offer a treasure-trove of guidance on socialist strategy today. The Party’s ‘Italian road to socialism’ is increasingly kindly looked upon as a democratic alternative to both Stalinism and social democracy, offering a more viable model for the Left today than the Soviet model.

In this paper I will question much of what has become received wisdom on PCI history, and in particular the notion of its historical novelty. Through a comparative history with pre-World War I social-democratic parties, I will argue that the major strategic choices and organisational forms associated with the PCI tradition (and often imputed to Gramsci) were historically common to reformist parties before they reached governmental office. Where pre-1914 German Social Democracy was kept out of government through a tiered (effectively rigged) voting system, from 1947-91 Cold War pressures were crucial to preventing the PCI entering office and thus preserving its aura of unfulfilled radical promise. In this sense the Party retained an indelible link to the USSR right up till 1991, with the West-East binary defining its fate even long after Berlinguer’s explicit disavowal of Moscow’s leadership.

Taking a historical perspective on the rise and impasse of the PCI’s ‘Italian road to socialism’ I will thus also argue against the view that the PCI is best understood as the Italian version of social democracy. Rather, I will portray it as a party that effectively ‘displaced’ social democracy, while remaining an idiosyncratic distance from that tradition due to its continuing connection to the Soviet Union.

Benjamin Bürbaumer

“We are worth better than this” – youth protests against the labour law in France

The struggle against the “loi travail” (labour law) in France has been triggered by what is called the youth movement in February 2016. Traditionally, youth protests are led by the strongly institutionalized and tightly organised students' union UNEF and its satellites - all of them are more or less directly linked to the French Socialist Party. In the past, this has been both the condition for mass youth involvement in demonstrations and strikes, but also a major obstacle that kept young people from going beyond certain political limits. However, this time these organisations couldn't get hold of the protests and new conceptions of activism spread, which ultimately contributed to set the stage for the development of a radical fraction at each demonstration, willing to physically attack the police and banks. The great majority of young people involved in the struggle systematically join it during demonstrations. Yet, the appearance of this radical fraction brought along new contradictions regarding the established far-left and union strategies. This paper aims at discussing the dynamics of the emergence and the role of this radical fraction within the struggle against the labour law. Thus, it questions the issues of organisation and spontaneity, which have especially been updated by the Invisible Committee.

Benjamin Bürbaumer

Structuring monopoly power through the back door of free trade negotiations: TTIP and international standardisation

This paper aims at discussing the contradictory unity between monopoly and competition, which is currently illustrated by the challenges of free-trade negotiations. As such, I put forward the hypothesis that the crucial issue of the TTIP negotiations – and more generally of actual trade negotiations between industrialised countries – isn't primarily the liberalisation of trade through the elimination of tariffs but the ability to set the rules (standards) of global competition under the growing concern for maximising shareholder value. In order to underscore this point, I'll draw on data regarding future trade perspectives expected by industrialised countries and to a lesser extent by international organisations, and relate them to the crisis of capitalism since 2008, and the resulting slowdown of international trade. In this context, the analysis of global value chains helps us to understand why the oligopolistic power of lead firms is likely to be fostered through supposedly free-trade regulations and standards. As economic activity is ultimately grounded in space (Harvey, 2014: 79) this tendency has a concrete impact on the spatial limits of capital. Consequently, my papers puts emphasis on how, despite the annihilation of space by time, privileged positions on a local scale and hierarchical arrangements are preserved in favour of certain firms. In Capital Volume III Marx states that „so long as things go well, competition effects an operating fraternity of the capitalist class. But as soon as it no longer is a question of sharing profits, [...] everyone tries to reduce his own share to a minimum and to shove it off upon another.“ Thus, in a situation of slowing international trade, this paper outlines on the one hand the relation between the (industrialised) state and the economy and gives on the other hand some indications regarding the tensions of inter-capitalist competition. Based on these contradictions, I'll develop some possible strategic axes for the struggle against free-trade treaties.

Raúl Burgos

The role of Gramscian thought in the renewal of the theoretical and political partimony of the Latin American left.

The article proposed starts from a brief discussion of certain limits experienced by Marxism in Latin America, in terms of theoretical and political influence; pointing out some internal reasons inside the Marxist theoretical field. Then, highlights the complexity of what is called "Latin American Marxism" which, on the one hand, should be able to be understood in its radical plurality of views and, on the other hand, it should be understood involving the production of a number of authors who have developed their thoughts outside (in territorially sense) of Latin America, such as Ernesto Laclau, Stuart Hall and Michel Löwy.

Following, are highlighted a number of essential issues on which to focus the Marxist debate, based on a radical tolerance among different interpretations: on the one hand, theoretical issues central to the tradition such as the question of "Marxist determinism"; the question of the "revolution" in obligatory relationship, in our times, with the concept of "hegemony "; the consequent question of the "subject of the revolutionary transformation"; the question of contemporary meaning of "socialism"; the issue of "state" etc.

On the other hand, new issues brought about by the political practice in Latin American territory, such as the issue of "indigenous emancipation"; the "environmental question" and its relation to the previous topic like "el buen vivir"; the issue of "solidarity economy", the question of the "emancipation of women" in the Latin American conditions, the question of the "emancipation of black people"; the criticism of the "war against drugs" and the anti-prohibitionist struggle; the "full recovery of the idea of democracy" to the socialist tradition, etc. The article concludes by showing how the dissemination of ideas of Antonio Gramsci established an adequate field for the theoretical exchange in turn of a solution for the mentioned theoretical and political problems and for the political articulation looking for the production of a new and original Latin American Marxism.

Alex Calheiros

The Cinema of Brasilia: an amputated society

Combining science fiction with social criticism, Adirley Queirós White out, black in (2014) , produces a film that transcends the traditional boundaries that define Brazilian cinema, that is, social documentary or realism in their various forms. The characters re-signify their status as social subjects , physically and socially mutilated in violent resistance against the domination of symbols present in the political capital of the country. , With regard to both gender and language, the director's films dare to deconstruct a certain standard model of American cinema, offering in its place a vision of cinema as critical tool. Taking advantage of some form of impossibility marked by the underdeveloped condition of the national cinema, he creates both a commercial film production and a fable of our social experience.

Gastón Caligaris

The Global Accumulation of Capital and the Classic International Division of Labour: Ground-Rent and 'Resource Rich' Countries

The paper provides fresh insight into the 'old' international division of labour and especially into the countries whose longstanding historical role has been to produce ground- rent-bearing, primary commodities. Building upon the notion of capital accumulation as being global in content and national in form, the paper challenges the dominant perspective that explains the specific characteristics of those countries as the result of domestic politics, foreign influence and domination, or unequal exchange. The paper instead advances an

original approach based on the recognition that ground- rent is essentially constituted by the surplus- value resulting from the valorisation of industrial capitals abroad and which flows into the countries supplying the raw materials. Empirical evidence from the case of Argentina will be used to illustrate the core argument.

Al Campbell

The Nature of Today's Ongoing Capitalist Crisis

It is broadly perceived (correctly or not), both by mouthpieces of capital and working people around the world, that capitalism today is doing unacceptably less well than it was doing under neoliberalism up to 2007, and than it was doing in postwar capitalism prior to neoliberalism. This panel will consider this politically crucial issue of today's ongoing "crisis of capitalism." Contributions will look to empirical evidence to presents theoretical explanations of the nature of the current ongoing crisis. The panel will consist of the following three contributions: *The Nature of Today's Ongoing Capitalist Crisis*. Al Campbell and Erdogan Bakir *Recessions, depressions and recoveries: theory and evidence*. Michael Roberts *Surplus Money Capital as Crisis Mechanism*. Jim Kincaid *What the authors consider a particularly valuable aspect to this panel is that the participants will start a process of interchanging thoughts and comments on each other's works 4 months before the panel, allowing a much deeper investigation of the ideas involved than from the usual (also valuable) "first confrontation" occurring in the panel itself.*

Samuel Carlshamre

Beyond the dichotomy of "Authenticity" and "Backwardness": Mahdi Amil on temporality and heritage

This paper focuses on the conception of time and history and heritage developed by Lebanese Marxist Mahdi Amil in the 1970s, in relationship to problems of traditionalism and nationalism.

In the period after the 1967 defeat of the Arab states against Israel, the Arab Marxist movement was forced to conduct a theoretical struggle on two fronts: on the one hand against the pan-arabist regimes, claiming to embody modernist, nationalist forces and deriving their legitimacy from the concept of "progress" (taqaddum); on the other hand, the struggle intensified against the rising reactionary and radically conservative regimes and movements which derived their legitimacy from the concept of "authenticity" (asala).

In his 1975 "Azmat al-Hadara al-Arabiyya am Azmat al-Burjuwiziyat al-Arabiyya?" ("A Crisis for the Arab Civilization or a Crisis for the Arab Bourgeoisies?") – a book-length commentary on the central contributions to the seminal 1974 Kuwait Conference on the question of cultural heritage – Mahdi Amil attempted to express a local Marxist answer to this challenge. Amil develops his argument based on a critique of what he terms the "Hegelian" logic, i.e. the privileging of the necessary unfolding of the internal principles driving self-subsistent historical entities, as well as the "Salafist" logic, based on direct referencing and presencing of canonical religious texts. As an alternative Amil, inspired by Althusser amongst others, proposes a conception of time and history which gives concepts such as rupture and conflictuality center stage, aiming to undermine salafist and nationalist claims to privileged access to their sources of authenticity: the authentic tradition and the unified national body, respectively.

To replace these metaphysical theoretical entities, Amil puts forth a series of suggestions for a radical understanding of the ways in which the Arab world, as a region characterized by what he dubs “The Colonial Mode of Production”, relates to its own past and present. It is necessary, he claims, to reject the idea of “underdevelopment” or “backwardness” - takhalluf - and instead understand how all aspects of thought and social structure form a unified, present whole, defined by global capitalism as well as local and regional class-dynamics. National liberation and the retrieval of the cultural heritage must be central concerns of the Marxist movement, but they can in themselves only be achieved through a radical break with the existing mode of production, a break which will then be both political and epistemological.

During the course of this theorizing, Amil thus unfolds a foundational critique of the dichotomy which arguably still today dominates the understanding of the Middle East: that between the pseudo-developmentalism of nationalist military regimes and their supporters, and the neo-traditionalism of fundamentalist religious regimes and movements. At a time of deep political crisis when these two alternative once more step forth as the only possible futures for the region, Amil's attempts to reach a revolutionary understanding of the problems and potentials of heritage, culture and struggle in the Arab world is doubtless more relevant than ever.

Thoms Carmichael

Reading Capital at Fifty: Aleatory Materialism at Forty-Five.

In the recent critical celebrations of Reading Capital that have marked the half-century since its publication, the notion that our readings of high Althusserianism are also and always readings of the pre-history of aleatory materialism has largely been overlooked. Though François Matheron long ago noted that the phrase ‘aleatory materialism’ appears just once in ‘The Underground Current of the Materialism of the Encounter,’ Étienne Balibar has astutely observed the close coincidence between Althusser’s use of the phrases ‘aleatory materialism’ and ‘materialism of the encounter,’ and similar turns of phrase in Derrida’s 1979 essay, ‘The Law of Genre’. Similarly, as G.M. Goshgarian and François Matheron and Yoshikado Ichida have pointed out, Althusser’s brief unpublished notes from 1966 on the theory of the conjuncture mention the theory of the encounter, Epicurus, the clinamen, genesis, and that some of these same terms reappear in his notes from the same period on Pierre Macherey’s For a Theory of Literary Production, where we also find phrases in Althusser’s that anticipate the dance of necessity and contingency in aleatory materialism: ‘free necessity’ and the ‘encounter of necessities’ [Translation mine], all suggestive of the ways in which Althusser’s final position in philosophy was long prepared.

My own discussion takes as its point of departure an unposted and undated letter to Franca Madonia not included in the published collection of their correspondence, but thought to have been written in the early 1970s when Althusser was working on his course on Machiavelli, and contained in a dossier of notes on Machiavelli. In the letter, Althusser observes that a researcher, a specialist, has told him that it has been recently discovered that Machiavelli copied by hand all of Lucretius’s The Nature of Things, an interest that would appear to confirm his own musings, or as he puts it, ‘I don’t know when I turned around in my head some Epicurean ideas in order to understand other Machiavellian ideas. He then describes his plans to consider Machiavelli in the context of the encounter, in terms which strikingly anticipate the rhetoric of ‘The Underground Current’: ‘In order to think the variable effect of the encounter I propose the concept of the ‘taking-hold’ (in the

sense in which one says that the ice-cream ‘takes’, the mayonnaise ‘takes,’ the jelly ‘takes,’ the graft ‘takes’ etc.)’[Translation Mine]. One must, he says, think of the ‘beginning’ and not of the ‘result,’ of a world crisscrossed by elements that never encounter each other, or of encounters that are brief and precarious, and we can think of the ‘taking-hold’ only on condition that we think at the same time the ‘not taking-hold’: ‘This is the only condition under which we can think in terms of the beginning; if not we fall into thinking in terms of origins’[Translation Mine]

This letter is in many ways a full-blown anticipation of the position he will set out a decade later in ‘The Underground Current,’ but the letter also raises a number of other questions that persistently haunt Althusser’s late formulations. Althusser was fond of quoting Mallarmé’s line, “A throw of the dice will never abolish chance,” and while the arbitrary and the random are central to the anti-foundationalist and anti-teleological theses of the materialism of the encounter, Althusser’s aleatory materialism is, I argue, governed by a specific logic of contingency and the encounter. Althusser warns repeatedly against thinking of the conjuncture other than in terms of tendential laws, visible only after the fact, after the taking hold, but my consideration of the pre-history of ‘The Underground Current of the Materialism attempts to demonstrate that there is in the genealogy of aleatory materialism something of a logic of taking hold, and that logic is central to Althusser’s late work.

Rebecca Carson

Fictitious Capital, Personal Power and Social Reproduction

This paper examines social reproduction within the contemporary division of labour through a reading of Marx’s use of the term ‘fictitious capital.’ Due to the neoliberal process of financialization, credit money has come to inform the economy and thus social life in new ways with an intensification of the function of the credit system or ‘fictitious capital.’ This intensification has changed the quality of how capital generates profit through exploitation and subjection of members of capitalist society. An intensification of industrial factory work and thus the proliferation labour-time functioning as a measure of value has taken place in countries that had been so far on the so-called periphery of globalized production, where due to the decreased bargaining power of labour-power wages are low. While in countries where capitalism is centrally constructed and reconstructed, industry has greatly depleted and has been replaced largely with unemployment, low paying service industry jobs and increased creation of value through the M-M relation of ‘fictitious capital.’ Following Trenkle, with the dominance of ‘fictitious capital’ the commodity has become a variable form while ‘fictitious capital’ functions as capital’s elementary form. This creates the conditions for the emergence of exploitation of reproductive aspects of social life outside of the confines of directly capitalist relations. That is, with ‘fictitious capital’ the presence of social pressures of personal power rather than impersonal power generally associated with power structures within capitalist societies, comes to the fore. Here we find power functioning from the point of view of outside of the production process re-emerges within the capitalist process itself under new structural relations. This is nothing new to those on the periphery from those subjected to unpaid reproductive labour to colonized peoples, as Shulamith Firestone rightly predicted with increasing technologization of the mode of production, “cybernation may aggravate the frustration that women already feel in their roles.” This paper will show how with the dominance of ‘fictitious capital’ social reproduction relies on an intensification of personal power.

Indigo Carson

Transborder Capital Flows and Imperialist Nationalisms in Serbia, 1860-1914: Finance, State Formation, and the Geopolitics of Irredentism

The origins of nationalism are necessarily transnational, emerging through interactions with, exclusions of, and comparisons with the other. Less often studied is how the internationalisation of capitalism materially influences the evolution of nationalism by transforming the strategies of reproduction available to elites both within and outside the state. This essay examines how international finance and the burgeoning arms trade became implicated in the articulation of Serbian nationalism in the decades leading up to the First World War. In illustrating how the reproduction and expansion of the Serbian state, and particularly its military establishment, came increasingly to be imbricated in transnational flows of credit and armaments, it complicates historical narratives that have prioritised the cultural and intellectual underpinnings of Serbian irredentism in the period before 1914 and after. Rather, as the nationalist mythology of 'Greater Serbia' became a device to unite and legitimate the dynastic-military axis of the state, this mythos compelled the state into greater reliance on external resources for its material reproduction and the realisation of the nationalist project, ultimately leading to the expansionism and domestic state crises that contributed to the outbreak of a general European war. By exploring the intersection between the material and ideological bases of state formation and reproduction in direct relation to the historic and transnational forces of capitalism, this research contributes to a theorisation of how the articulation of states and nationalisms in regional and global peripheries are moulded by globalisation.

Conall Cash

Marxism and the Holocaust in Cultural Memory and Critical Theory

This paper will consider the prominence of the Nazi Holocaust as an historical reference, in both mainstream culture and theoretical writings about modernity, in recent decades. Considering in particular the writings of Giorgio Agamben and Zygmunt Bauman, and the films and texts of Claude Lanzmann, I will argue that the Holocaust as a cultural object often serves the function of supporting a conception of 'history as nightmare,' which subtends what theorists such as François Hartog and Fredric Jameson have called the 'presentism' or 'waning of history' in the cultural imaginary of 'postmodern' or neoliberal societies. I will then briefly consider these writings in relation to notable philosophical considerations of the immediate post-war period, by Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, before turning to the larger question: can Marxism comprehend the Holocaust? Drawing on works of Enzo Traverso, Alex Callinicos, Ernest Mandel, and Arno Mayer, I will briefly outline the plausibility of a Marxist understanding of the Holocaust, one which grasps the irrationality at the core of capitalist rationality, in a manner that draws on elements of the social theory of Weber as well as that of Marx.

Bela Irina Passos Natário de Castro

The 4th industrial revolution or the rebranding of the crisis of capital?

On January 2016 the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting in Davos-Klosters has announced that we are entering the Fourth Industrial Revolution. However, while proclaiming that the new cyber-physical system revolution is based on different factors from the previous ones, namely in terms of velocity, scope, and systems impact, the world

leaders have recycled old narratives of risk, disaster and threats of world calamities and securitization to promote new markets and reshape social relations as well as labour. In fact, today's biggest defenders of basic income are based on Silicon Valley.

How will we manage to feed the growing populations? How will we create jobs for everyone? How will the world address future epidemics? One thing is sure, new technologies such as quantum computers, neuro-technological brain enhancements, 3D printers and genetic editing have the potential to shape not just labour and social relations but also our own biology and the nature of our-self. The question in here is how and by who?

In this paper I will deconstruct the arguments advocated in the Davos forum based on the perspectives of the New Feminist Engagements with Matter, anchoring my critics to the 4th industrial revolution in the concept of secular stagnation. I will also demonstrate that the fourth industrial revolution is not new and that the idea of a cyber-physics revolutions has in fact coexisted within emancipatory narratives since the beginning of the millennium, mostly through the metaphor of the cyborg. The New Materialist Feminism, in this sense, act as my prime framework for the analyses of the emerging narratives of the new industrial revolution. I also believe that the new feminism materialism redeems the lucidity of Marx's analysis of constant capital and variable capital without demonizing technology and allowing us to explore the emancipatory potentials on the technological development of third generations technologies.

Bela Irina Passos Natário de Castro, Sergio Martín Arguello

Putting capitalism in court: Between environmental justice and the construction of another law

The lessons learned in the 50 years of the existence of ethical-popular courts relates to how the neo-liberal constitutionalism has invaded the formal institutions of justice, either at the national or at international level. If on one hand we are witnessing through the ethical courts, the emergence of a new non-neoliberal constitutionality, promoter of the fundamental rights and of peoples, we also observed paradoxically the degeneration of national and international justice in terms of its breach of fundamental rights of the people, and the growing governance inability that prevents the construction of new ethical-national projects.

Relying on the concept of Kidnapped States these courts, which include the Permanent Court of Peoples, the Latin American Water Tribunal and the newly announced Monsanto Tribunal, are seeking to sentence the modern notion of State for diverting oneself power in fundamental rights matter, and for continuously privilege private corporate interests. At issue is the degeneration of justice with regard to economic, social, cultural and environmental, and the imposition of a neoliberal legal rationality, promoter of loopholes whose sole purpose is to protect the interests of national and international bourgeoisies.

In this paper, we propose an analysis of the Monsanto Tribunal, an international popular initiative launched in December 2015 and held in October 2016 in The Hague, Netherlands, which aims to assess the charges against the transnational company Monsanto. As in other similar cases, the company is currently accused of multiple violations of fundamental and peoples rights, which according to whom sustains it, include systematic unethical business practices, strategic concealment of relevant information for policy making, funding fraudulent scientific studies, press manipulation and threats to

independent scientists and journalists.

Monsanto Tribunal, as other international ethical-popular courts, is configuring as an alternative form of justice, whose legitimacy comes from the collective character of the moral of its resolutions.

Juan Sebastian Carbonell

What is to be done with Engels ? On the uses of The Origin of the Family in french marxist anthropology

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State by Friedrich Engels is among marxism's most read theoretical work. However, following French anthropologist Alain Testart, we can say it has had a particularly harmful effect on the posterity of marxist thought, not by Engels' fault, he says, but by those that followed him. Being as read as it is misunderstood, marxist intellectual tradition has either accepted it as politically true, or rejected it as scientifically outdated, mainly due to the provisional nature of its conclusions. The destalinization process in the sixties produced a wide range of new researches that, in contrast with Engels' secondary source material, were based on new ethnographical data coming mainly from African colonial societies. It was through the light shed by these results that a whole generation of marxists anthropologists discussed the validity of Engels' work.

We will discuss in this paper some of the uses of Engels' thesis developed in The Origin of The Family in the french marxist anthropology of the 1970's. We will see, on one hand, how marxist anthropology positioned itself regarding Engels by positioning itself relative to L. H. Morgan's methodology. It will particularly be the case regarding the scientific pertinence of social evolutionism, which will crystallize many of the oppositions in the anthropological renewal of marxism. On the other hand, we will try to understand what were the logics of scientific oppositions in the discussion around categories, such as mode of production, used to describe the dynamics of primitive societies and their relation to capitalism.

Oyku Safak Cubukcu

Agricultural Restructuring in Post-1980 Turkey and Persistent Primitive Accumulation

This paper revolves around the question of how the crises of capitalism contribute to the reproduction of the capital-relation, by focusing on the case of contemporary rural Turkey. Turkish agriculture went through a restructuring process, as part of the broader political and economic restructuring at the country level in post-1980 period. Implementation of neoliberal policies as a prescribed solution to the crisis of late 1970s found its reflections in the agricultural sector through the redefinition of role of the state. This provided a good opportunity –for capitalism- to enclose the commons from forage lands to water, to divorce the peasantry from their means of subsistence and force them to enter into wage relations already established elsewhere or to establish that relation in the rural areas. In the attempt to make sense of this process, the conceptualisation of primitive accumulation by Marx is used. This allows us not only to grasp the restructuring process in Turkey in a more comprehensive way through relating it to capitalist development, but also to underline the fact that it is capitalism per se, rather than a neoliberal form of it, that entails the process of separation of the masses from their means of existence. In this sense, following Bonefeld, it is argued that this very process is not a consequence of crises of capitalism, despite the

fact that crises contribute to it; it is the constitutive basis of the capital-relation. The agricultural transformation in Turkey exemplifies its persistence and underlines once again that the capital exists only through limiting human livelihood.

Giorgio Cesarale

Rousseau and Marx: An Evaluation of Della Volpe's Interpretation

As is well-known, Rousseau's heritage has been always strongly contested. Certainly, he much influenced the development of the bourgeois democratic tradition, especially in the 19th century. On the other hand, both liberalism and socialism have often criticized some key aspects of his conceptual and political lesson, although for different reasons. Putting liberalism aside, I would like to focus on the relation between Rousseau and Marxism, and, within the latter, on Della Volpe's reading of Rousseau. This reading is meaningful because it is inscribed within his attempt to reinterpret Marxism as "positive science". Indeed, Della Volpe's removal of any trace of "Idealism" from Marxism, along with the transformation of the latter into a moral science, brought with it a progressively more positive reading of the contributes offered by Rousseau to the birth of socialism. It is also very interesting to note the complex trajectory of Della Volpe's interpretation: he moved from a view, expressed at the beginning of the '40, according to which Rousseau would have been a pure representative of the bourgeoisie, to a view, expressed in particular in the book *Rousseau and Marx* (1957), according to which Rousseau's theory would be ambivalent. On the one hand it would still be linked to the bourgeois doctrine of natural law; on the other it would already contain some "socialist" elements, that Marxism should aim to exploit. In this conceptual context, I would pay particular attention to Della Volpe's claim that Rousseau would have anticipated in his *Discourse on Inequality* the "normative" principle of communism, namely "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Paromita Chakrabarti

The Indian State, Marxism and the Politics of Identity

Indian communist parties have largely failed adequately to negotiate the relationship between various forms of oppression and the struggle against the capitalist system. The complex relationship between the identity politics emerging from resistance against various forms of oppression and the Marxist contention that class is the central organising principle around which oppression and exploitation can be addressed has not been grasped. Movements against oppression have sometimes been dismissed because social movements addressing oppression of women, dark-skinned people, as well as sexual, caste and religious minorities have been seen as an alternative to class-based struggles. While some movements have maintained the belief that only those who experienced particular forms of oppression had the ability to define and resist it, there have been moments where Marxists have embraced identity politics critically, and the limitations of identity politics have been transcended.

This paper examines the ways in which the Indian state has used identity politics to divide people in order to maintain and perpetuate capitalism. The three pillars of identity that constitute divisive politics are religion, caste and gender. The three case studies that the paper will analyse are the politics of the beef ban in BJP-ruled states, the suicide of the dalit scholar Rohith Vemula at Hyderabad University and feminist activist Trupti Desai's campaign to enter temples which are forbidden to women and to people of lower castes.

This analysis will be undertaken against the backdrop of the students protest movement at JNU against rising authoritarianism, gagging of academic opinion and caste-based discrimination, and the subsequent arrests that have taken place. All the three cases point to the ways in which the intersectionality of religion, caste and gender complicate the Indian state's attempts to divide civil society along narrow identity lines. There are cases in which new alliances and coalitions that at once embrace and transcend identity politics have been formed, and these suggest ways in which distinct identities can retain their specificity while being incorporated into a movement for universal liberation.

Greig Charnock

The New International Division of Labour and the Critique of Political Economy Today

The introductory paper will explain the principal intellectual motivations for revisiting the new international labour (NIDL) thesis. It will provide a brief account of the 'biography' of the concept of the international division of labour in classical political economy, and of the roots of the NIDL in the seminal work by Fröbel et al in the 1970s. It will chart the rise and subsequent banalisation of the concept within international political economy and related literatures. It will then summarise the main contribution made by the Centre for Research as Practical Criticism (CICP), and in particular the work of the Argentine scholar Juan Iñigo Carrera, in developing a timely, critical rehabilitation of the NIDL thesis from a Marxian point of departure. In so doing, it lays the groundwork for the series of more focused contributions that follow.

Vassilis Charitsis, Alan Bradshaw

Selling your (digital) self

Contemporary information capitalism is premised on the appropriation and exploitation of users' data. To draw attention to this phenomenon, Jennifer Lyn Morone, a London based artist, decided to act in a manner of "extreme capitalism" as she became a human corporation that markets and sells her own data. But what may have seemed as extreme capitalism just a couple of years ago, is actually slowly becoming the norm as a number of platforms are emerging that not only promise to provide monetary compensation for users who agree to sell their data but promote the marketization of the digital self as an act of corporate resistance and user empowerment.

Focusing on this development, we provide a critical analysis of these emerging personal data markets. We maintain that instead of contesting it, these platforms embrace the prevailing neoliberal ethos that not only attests that all human activities should be subsumed by the market (Brown, 2015) but even more that user empowerment can only be achieved if they operate as enterprises, as entrepreneurs of themselves (Dardot and Laval, 2014). Revisiting discussions on Dallas Smythe's notion of the audience commodity (1977) as well as discussions about how the expanding reach of platforms render our engagement into forms of evermore exploitative immaterial labour, we seek to engage with Dyer-Witford's (1999) concept of the cyber proletariat alongside Dean's (2009) concept of communicative capitalism. In particular, in contrast to optimistic analyses of user platforms acting as harbingers for postcapitalism (Mason, 2015), we instead argue that our contribution to the world of big data increasingly takes on the form of exploitation, precarity, immaterial labour and dispossession all presented in discourses of consumer empowerment.

Kate Cherry

Marxism, Sexuality and Political Economy. Gender and The Transition Debate 1400-1600: Historicising Practices of Resistance and Persecution

Gender and The Transition Debate 1400-1600: Historicising Practices of Resistance and Persecution. The proposed area of research for the paper is gender relations' during the transition to capitalism. Specifically, the paper will examine the concept of social property relations and how socio-political conflict during the transition affected the construction of gender relations. Despite many critiques, Political Marxism represent a method for historicizing the transition to capitalism that attempts to avoid orthodox structuralism that 'scientific' Marxist methodology is often accused of. PM constitutes a contemporary methodology that aims to historicize agency without reliance upon grand narratives and functionalism. But whilst this method of historicizing is curious as to the specificity of agential outcomes of social struggle, it has paid little attention to the role of gender in the transition. The aim of the paper is to trace the ways in which practices of resistance and persecution during the transition gendered capitalist social property relations in Britain and France. To do this the research will look specifically at a comparative case study between France and Britain during the transition in order to scrutinize the divergences and connections in forms of inheritance rights and the impact this had on patriarchal social property relations.

Mark Cohen

The Disarmament of the Gentry: Pre-History to Japanese Capitalism

The nature of political and economic relations in Japan during the Tokugawa era (1600-1867) has been the subject of extensive debate among scholars, especially Marxists. While most accounts agree that a Japanese transition to capitalism occurred only after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, a few scholars have argued that there were beginnings of capitalist development as early as the eighteenth century. This paper argues that these latter accounts are incorrect, but they do bring to light important developments during the Tokugawa era that provided the groundwork for a transition to capitalism to occur once the feudal political order was overthrown. Specifically, the middle of the Tokugawa era saw the consolidation of a class of rural elites who typically combined landlordism with money lending and commercial ventures. These were not feudal landlords, because they were excluded from the personal possession and exercise of political power within the institutions of the Tokugawa-era order. However, neither did they possess the distinctively economic power of capitalists, due above all to the continued strength of peasant communal regulation of rural land and labor. Employing the theoretical concept of the "separation of the economic and the political" within capitalism, this paper argues that contingent features of the consolidation of the Tokugawa-era political order resulted in what could be called a "halfway" separation. A substantial stratum of rural power holders, who could accurately be labeled 'gentry', lost much of their capacity to directly wield extra-economic coercion, but the feudal state did not develop so as to defend their strictly economic claims to property. The result was that rural Japan was ripe for the development of capitalism once the new regime established by the Restoration put in place political institutions to enforce landlords' economic power.

Alex Colas, Liam Campling

Capitalism and the Maritime Frontier

The frontier as a geographical zone has historically been associated to the raiding practices of tributary modes of production or, more recently, to the outer confines of a settler-colonial capitalism. In Fredrick Jackson Turner's classic rendition, the westward land expansion of the American frontier shaped a particularly individualistic, dynamic and egalitarian form of democracy and, by extension, capitalism. We shift in this paper the location of the frontier to the sea, and backdate its modern influence to the long sixteenth-century, suggesting that the the maritime frontier has conditioned the dynamics of capitalism in very specific ways. By considering the seaborne dialectic of freedom and enslavement, innovation and tradition, social transformation and biophysical cycles, we seek to draw out some of the distinctive characteristics of the maritime frontier as it has affected exploitation, accumulation and regulation of capital and labour at sea.

Matthew Cole

Limited Value: Hospitality work and production in the UK

This paper will explore the precise way that value theory might conceptually link the fragmented experience of contemporary 'service' workers with the recent history of so-called 'deindustrialization.' More specifically, it will use the recent growth of the UK hospitality industry as a case study through which to discuss the production and circulation of value. As household incomes increased in advanced economies, certain types of domestic and reproductive labour processes were externalized in the drive to expand the circuit of industrial capital. There is an ongoing debate whether these labour processes were formally and really subsumed as productive components of the circuit of industrial capital, or if they persist as unproductive. There is also a rich history of Marxist feminist debate on the relation of domestic and reproductive labour to productive capital. However, these debates are not often put in conversation with contemporary empirical research on the labour process and employment relations. This paper claims that the question of value-productivity in the labour process is impossible to answer without empirical examples.

The UK hospitality industry is the fourth largest by employment and is arguably more economically and socially significant than manufacturing or extractive industries, especially in the UK. It is also one of the most poorly paid and least unionized sectors, with wage theft and abuse as the rule rather than the exception. There is little critical research attempting to grapple with the historical and conceptual issues that the growth of this sector poses for traditional Marxian approaches. However, standard industrial classifications and national accounts do more to obscure than secure answers. Thus, drawing on my fieldwork in London Hotels, the paper will address debates about the production and reproduction of value through concrete examples from the hospitality industry at both the micro and macro levels.

Simon Constantine

Social Abstraction and the Commodity Form in the Writings of Allan Sekula

From the 1970s until his death in 2013, the artist and critic Allan Sekula produced a series of influential essays on documentary photography, photographic humanism and the structures of photographic meaning. This paper will explore a lesser-known aspect of this body of literature: its interest in the commodity form and the concept of social abstraction; two themes which have become increasingly important to debates on contemporary art. Sekula's views upon these topics received their first major articulation in his 1981 essay

'The Traffic in Photographs'. Here, he sought to connect phenomena as diverse as formalist photography theory, symbolist photography and the belief that photography possesses a 'universal language' to 'the exchange abstraction which haunts the culture of capitalism'. However, notions of social abstraction would become a persistent point of reference in his later essays, including 'On Fish Story: The Coffin Learns to Dance' (1997) and 'Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea' (2002). It will be my claim that, when viewed through this lens, these writings have two main objectives: first, to derive various aspects of photographic practice from the commodity form. And secondly, to criticize art historical attempts to submit photographic practices to modes of equivalence. By analyzing these two lines of enquiry, I want to explore Sekula's debt to figures such as Marx, Braverman and Sohn-Rethel. In doing so, I will also attempt to draw out the methodological implications of his arguments for art history. How might reflections upon the commodity form contribute to the history of photography? What risks emerge from Sekula's understanding and application of this theme? To what extent do his ideas allow us to respond to the traditional criticisms of Marxist art history?

Luke Cooper

The Anglo-Mysorean Wars, the Global Transformation and the Long Nineteenth Century

Luke Cooper will reflect on what the Kingdom of Mysore's battles with the British Empire should tell us about the nature of the 'long nineteenth century'. Engaging recent debates in Historical Sociology on the global transformation seen in this period, he argues Mysore's initial victories of the British problematise eurocentric claims regarding the 'rise of the West'.

Luisa Lorenza Corna

Architecture and Realism

The history of architecture lacks a self-conscious realist movement equivalent to the one which emerged in the fields of art and literature in 19th century France. However, there have been several attempts to establish a realistic architectural aesthetic. These include, Socialist Realism in the 1930s Soviet Union, New Objectivity in 1950s Germany, Italian post-war Neo-Realism and 1980s Swiss-Italian La Tendenza, to name only the most obvious. This paper will examine the diverging interpretations of the term 'realism' devised by the above-mentioned 'movements'. In doing so, it will argue that the confusion surrounding the definition of realist architecture is connected to the non-representational nature of the discipline, before considering whether artistic and literary theories of realism can be applied to the field. In the second part of the paper we will consider a section of Lukács' Aesthetics; to date, one of the few attempts to devise a theory of architectural realism from a philosophical perspective. We will carefully examine how Lukács seeks to solve the apparent incompatibility between realism and architecture, shedding light on the pitfalls and the strengths of his argument.

Sophie Coudray

Theatre as Political Method: Reflections on the Theatre of the Oppressed

This paper aims to clarify the original Marxist project of Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, which could be defined as a poetics of the transfer of theatre's means of production to the people. The Theatre of the Oppressed is a set of dramatic techniques

whose purpose is to bring to light systemic exploitation and oppression within common situations and to allow spectators to become actors. Comprising historical, theoretical and aesthetic dimensions, the issue here is to understand the core of this political theatre by exposing its historical roots in the progressivist Brazil of the 1950s up until the military coup of 1964. Influenced by Marxism, Boal's project arose from agit-prop and popular theatre, joining radical pedagogy with an innovative aesthetic in order to break with the institutional bourgeois theatre and to perform for the people by creating plays that "adopt the viewpoint of the people in respect to the analysis of social phenomena". Boal developed a poetics of the oppressed as a method and a praxis. As an activist theatre, the Theatre of the Oppressed presented itself as a "rehearsal of revolution"; it encouraged the development of class-consciousness amongst the people, and theatrically elaborated collective strategies with a view to implementing in real life, in concrete political struggles, what was first attempted within the safety of a dramatic fiction. Similar to Brechtian Lehrstücke and intended for non-artists, this practice has clear links with Marx and Engels' dictum that "[t]he exclusive concentration of artistic talent in particular individuals, and its suppression in the broad mass which is bound up with this, is a consequence of division of labour." However, Boal's exile in Europe induced profound changes in the Theatre of the Oppressed. The French Socialist Party's urban policy and its promotion of liberal democracy in the 1980s led the first professional group of practitioners to evolve from a radical activism connected to trade unions, feminists and the radical left, to agents of liberal democracy, promoting a "théâtre citoyen". Moreover, Boal's legislative theatre – elaborated while he was a Brazilian Workers' Party MP – appears as a reconciliation with institutional politics. Ultimately, it seems that the political and ideological context for the development of this theatrical practice in western Europe entailed its evolution from a radical and marxist activist theatre to a humanistic and civic one.

Oyku Safak Cubukcu

Agricultural Restructuring in Post-1980 Turkey and Persistent Primitive Accumulation

This paper revolves around the question of how the crises of capitalism contribute to the reproduction of the capital-relation, by focusing on the case of contemporary rural Turkey. Turkish agriculture went through a restructuring process, as part of the broader political and economic restructuring at the country level in post-1980 period. Implementation of neoliberal policies as a prescribed solution to the crisis of late 1970s found its reflections in the agricultural sector through the redefinition of role of the state. This provided a good opportunity –for capitalism- to enclose the commons from forage lands to water, to divorce the peasantry from their means of subsistence and force them to enter into wage relations already established elsewhere or to establish that relation in the rural areas. In the attempt to make sense of this process, the conceptualisation of primitive accumulation by Marx is used. This allows us not only to grasp the restructuring process in Turkey in a more comprehensive way through relating it to capitalist development, but also to underline the fact that it is capitalism per se, rather than a neoliberal form of it, that entails the process of separation of the masses from their means of existence. In this sense, following Bonefeld, it is argued that this very process is not a consequence of crises of capitalism, despite the fact that crises contribute to it; it is the constitutive basis of the capital-relation. The agricultural transformation in Turkey exemplifies its persistence and underlines once again that the capital exists only through limiting human livelihood.

Ayca Cubukcu

The Humanity of Franz Fanon

This talk will examine different facets of what Fanon may have meant, in *The Wretched of the Earth*, when he urged his fellow comrades to “make the colonized into human beings.” Which concept of the human underwrites this humanist demand that Fanon issues, with what consequences for the task of decolonization?

Alexis Cukier

Can labor law actually limit exploitation? The French case

Should a serious marxist theoretically and practically engage in the defense of the kind of labour law the french labor movement has begun, in march 2016, to struggle for ? The question can be formulated by referring to the interpretation and reactualization one should propose in the contemporary french context to the assertion in the « Inaugural Adress of the International Working Men’s Association » (1864) according to which « the Ten Hours’ Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class ». To answer this question, this paper examines the relevancy of the three main positions marxism has elaborated concerning labor law : by applying the criticism of the formal rationality of bourgeois legality, asserting they in any case actually back exploitation ; analyzing how they provisionnaly limit the salary relation and exploitation ; supporting they constitute the juridical principle of a post-capitalist or mode of production in which workers would not be exploited any more.

This paper first proposes to reconstruct these three general positions (by referring to the classical analysis of Marx and Engels, Korsch (1922), Pasukanis (1924), Poulantzas (1965), etc), and then to confront them to recent analysis – notably in the fields of critical legal sciences and sociology, including non marxist authors (notably Alain Supiot, 1994, Gérard Lyon-Caen, 1997, Friot, 2012, Claude Didry, 2016) – of the relations between juridical subordination and economical exploitation in the french Labor Code, and of labor law and social and public service legislation. Finally, I will try to answer the question by discussing the relevancy of these three options in the broader context of the neoliberal project of dismantling labor laws (particularly engineered in Europe by the institutions of the European Union) on the one hand and the evolutions of economical and salarial practices of exploitation (examining specifically the case of the « online market place for work » of the website Amazon Mechanical Turk) on the other hand. In this respect, I will argue the french labor law but also the main demands of the french trade unions must be quite radically transformed if the labor movement is seriously to assume labor law can actually limit exploitation and, a fortiori, eventually favour workers democracy.

Jordy Cummings

Geopolitics of the Avant-Garde: Rethinking the Cultural Cold War

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, two distinct constellations of cultural producers, cultural critics and intellectuals enlisted, wittingly or unwittingly, in what has become known as the Cultural Cold War. While the Soviet Union and United States both were entering period of cultural conformity at home, their international stance led them into competition over who could lay claim to the international Avant-Garde. On the Soviet side, luminaries included Georg Lukacs and Pablo Picasso, while Americans counted Jackson Pollock and Dwight McDonald. The Soviet side included a healthy mix of sincere (and often dissident) communists as well as ‘fellow travelling’ liberals and a good chunk of continental

intellectual culture, while the Americans counted more than a few Trotskyists and other “non-communist” libertarian socialists like McDonald. Most accounts of the Cultural Cold War rely on a dichotomy, either castigating the latter for collaborating with the forces that would go on to with blood and fire, forge American Empire, or the latter for collaborating with the forces that embarked upon the Moscow purge trials, assassinated Leon Trotsky and repressed free thought at home.

This paper will attempt to move beyond the moralism of these debates, and examine the cultural production ‘on both sides’ as reflective of ongoing debates within the Left in regards to aesthetics and politics, for example, that between Ernst Bloch and the aforementioned Lukacs. Reframing the debate as to one within the Left itself and drawing on Boris Groys and Greil Marcus’s respective works on Soviet aesthetics and “Americana”, questions will be raised as to who was using whom. Were the great powers merely co-opting art and intellectual culture art for great power politics? On the other hand, were artists and critics making use of grants and international support to engage in progressive cultural practice? Does collaboration with a given state render the Avant-Garde toothless, or did artists maneuver their way through these muddy waters, like DaVinci with the Vatican? These are not easy questions to answer but a first step must involve moving beyond condemnation.

Jason Dawsey

Theorizing Capital's Limits: Anselm Jappe, the Microelectronics Revolution, and the Critique of Labor

This paper will attempt to relate the understudied work of Anselm Jappe to the broader Marxian debates about capital’s limits.

Jappe, still best known for his study of the Situationist Guy Debord, has emerged as one of the leading exponents of Wertkritik (the Critique of Value). As such, he has reflected on the history and development of the Critique of Value at much greater length and sophistication than its more familiar practitioners—the late Robert Kurz, Roswitha Scholz, and Norbert Trenkle. Jappe’s theoretical work, while maintaining a historically self-reflective perspective, advances and extends the arguments about crisis and capital’s limits proposed earlier by Kurz, Scholz, Trenkle, and others. My paper offers a critical analysis of Jappe’s conception of the limitations of capital as a heteronomous societal form. Crucial to this analysis will be a commentary on the importance accorded to the revolution in microelectronics in this argument. Looking at his *Die Abenteuer der Ware* (The Adventures of the Commodity), as well as several shorter pieces, I look at how Jappe’s variant of Marxian critique deals with the issue of technology in its depiction of capital’s limits and the degree to which technological revolution might hold promising, emancipatory tendencies.

It is my hope that this paper will provoke greater study of the writings of Jappe and his comrades in *Krisis/Exit*. In so doing, it also contributes to the further reconstitution of the Marxian critique of capitalism.

Brecht de Smet

The crisis of capitalism and the impossibility of hegemony in post-Mubarak Egypt

The moment of the 25 January uprising has been rightly framed within a longer process of

political protest and class struggle against the backdrop of 'neoliberal' economic reform since the 1990s. 'Neoliberal' policies have been designed to solve the enduring crisis of capital accumulation in Egypt. The crisis of 'neoliberalism' as the logic of the latest phase of capitalism reflects a crisis of capitalism in general. The revolutionary process in Egypt has thrown up demands for democratic reform and social justice that cannot be achieved within the framework of Egyptian dependent, financial capitalism. Elite coalitions striving for hegemony and vying for the consent of the activated masses are inherently instable as they stumble over the insolvable contradictions between, firstly, democratizing the state and repressing popular initiative from below, and, secondly, attracting private capital and guaranteeing social rights. Class rule becomes dictatorship as the top-down fragmentation, pacification, and repression of subaltern actors increasingly replaces the search for their active consent. Yet rather than the triumphant counter-revolution of 2013, the current return of daily, violent dictatorship signals the weakness of the current historical bloc, creating possibilities for militant trade unions and political activists to (re)organize themselves.

Natalia Delgado

Body and Labour Power. A Legal Dissociation.

This paper addresses the question of how modern Labour Law has been structured by a dissociation between the body of the worker and his/her labour power. This dissociation was inherited from ancient Roman law and helped Marx to explain capitalist surplus value.

Marx created the category of labour power as commodity, supported by legal fictions: free workers, labour power as property, seller and purchaser as equals in the eyes of the law. In the labour theory of value, Marx's categories of labour and labour power come from the explanation of the source of surplus value. He defined labour power as those mental and physical capabilities existing only in the living body, the living personality of a human being, capabilities which he sets in motion whenever he produces a use-value of any kind. Labour power is the unique commodity with the unique property of being able to create value.

These legal fictions remain a legacy of slavery in Antiquity. In ancient Rome, the productive capacity of slaves could not be named and thought independent of the body that performed it. However, according to the legal historian Yan Thomas, between the 1st century A.C. and the 3rd century D.C., Roman juridical operations, when dealing with the question of the location of the slave's work, arrived to distinguish the person of the worker being a slave and the product of his/her work. Thomas's work gives attention to the market of slave work via the contract *locatio operarum*, a contract between a slave owner and a slave tenant. Roman lawyers broke up the legal concept of property as bare ownership, use and fruits, to isolate a category of work as a market value separate from the body of the slave.

Modern labour law continues attached to its slave origins. Alain Supiot argues that the history of labour law is a progressive discovery of the personal dimension of labour, and with him the body of workers. He states that human labour finds itself locked in the binomial: object of law –commodity- / subject of rights –workers-. On the one hand, abstract labour as a legal fiction erases the body of workers behind the patrimonial universe of contracts. The person is not the core of the juridical labour relation but, rather, the wage in the contract, the price of his/her workforce that conceptually absorbs the person and the body. On the other hand, the law does not hesitate to state that the human

body has a supra-patrimonial nature, that it is not a commodity and is unavailable for trade. Nevertheless, the body is the place, is the mandatory passage required for the realization of the contractual obligations of the worker. A physical mastery, a muscular and mental energy is present in an inseparable manner.

Thus, in times of deregulation of classical labour legislation in favour of a precarious working life, roman legal fictions and our bodies remain. I argue that Labour Law should move beyond this dissociation and consider the inseparability of body and labour power. In contemporary society this is needed more than ever.

Pat Devine

Ecosocialism for a New Era

We may be entering a new era. Multiple interlocking crises are calling into question the continuing viability of capitalism, re-posing Rosa Luxemburg's warning: '(Eco)-socialism or barbarism'. The global economy is experiencing major structural change and displaying signs of relative stagnation. Social cohesion is increasingly undermined as inequality reaches new levels. Failed states, terrorism and large scale refugee movement are creating widespread human tragedy and social disruption. Democracy is under threat and authoritarian tendencies are gaining strength. And perhaps above all, climate change and declining biodiversity pose unprecedented challenges that capitalism is intrinsically incapable of meeting. Yet there are encouraging signs of worldwide resistance and prefigurative action. However, what is largely missing from these movements is a credible vision of a post-capitalist ecosocialist world and a political strategy for moving towards it. Drawing on the insights of Karl Marx, Karl Polanyi and Antonio Gramsci, this paper outlines the institutional architecture and processes on which an ecosocialist society might be based – social ownership, negotiated coordination and subsidiarity, and suggests a strategy for transition built around Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

Susan Dianne Brophy

Law as Fetter, Law as Fodder: Toward an Uneven and Combined Development Theory of Law

As vestiges of previous methods of production carry over and conflict with new productive means, so too do laws of the past combine with new laws. Granted, that various legal orders preside in any one jurisdiction has long been seen as evidence of legal pluralism; however, this approach lacks a systematic understanding of history in general, and as such, tells us little about the inner machinations of law's relation to capitalist development in particular. What is needed instead is a dialectical materialist approach to legal development; for this reason, I tender an uneven and combined development (UCD) theory of law.

Law flexes in concert with ever-changing social relations, or more plainly, law evolves in an uneven and combined manner. This flexibility is essential to capital being able to negotiate its barriers, which supports my broader claim that law is socially necessary for the growth of capitalism. Specific legal conditions are intrinsic to turning land, labour, and capital into commodities, such transformations that are necessary to found the capitalist mode of production as we understand it today. More than being mired in the contradictions that are the driving force of the UCD of capitalism, however, law also boasts its own set of contradictions that, if carefully accounted for, helps distinguish the historical evolution of

capitalism as a social totality.

Juan Mario Diaz

Subversion, Historic Dialectic and Ideology Critique: The Marxist origins of Participatory Action-Research (PAR)

Although PAR was in its origins totally embedded in historic dialectic, ideology critique and structural social class analysis, it is difficult to find any trace of its Marxist foundations in the subsequent developments. PAR co-founder, the sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda, carried out not only the most important experience of Action-Research in the Colombian setting (and perhaps in Latin America) during the early 1970 but also a significant contribution to Marxism with his approach based on critical examination of local realities. Indeed, Fals-Borda's critical analysis was praxis in a complex way: critical and historical thinking confronted with practice in the field which, in turn, was the object of analysis and self-criticism with the aim to return to the realm of action. However, even more complex (and innovative) was the fact that this spiral of criticism and action was not confined to the individual realm of the social researcher. PAR was conceived in fact as the methodology of awakening people's transformative potential and achieving self-empowerment. In so doing, Fals-Borda reinterpreted Marx's XI Thesis on Feuerbach: his standpoint was that critical interpretation of the world with the people (not only for the people), and particularly with the destitute, was an actual way to change it. Surprisingly, the study of both the Marxist roots and theoretical collaboration to Marxism have been hitherto neglected. This paper is therefore an attempt to recover these two underlying aspects of PAR origins.

Thodoris Dimitrakos

Beyond Naive Realism and Social Constructivism

Marxism is a complex system of beliefs, which covers the domains of science, philosophy, politics, culture and economics. This vast network of beliefs does not always form an unproblematic and coherent unity. For instance, as far as concerns the theory of science, Marxism seems to find itself between two contradictory conceptions on scientific truth. On the one hand, in the works of the classics of Marxism, we can detect the explicit commitment to the idea that science has the ability to depict objective reality – the world in itself. Marx, Engels and Lenin were explicitly committed to what we may call scientific realism.

On the other hand, the Marxist conception of social consciousness does not conform to the traditional views of scientific realism easily. If the various forms of social consciousness, which constitute the legal, political and intellectual superstructure, are conditioned by the economic structure and, if science is a specific kind of social consciousness, then we can be led to the assumption that the content of scientific theories is determined by the social relations rather than the objective structure of the world. But this would be a version of social constructivism, which is not only incompatible with scientific realism, but quite the opposite of it.

In this paper, I argue that a Marxist or a Marxism-inspired theory of science goes beyond both naïve realism and social constructivism. As I shall attempt to show the way to achieve this is to reject the empiricist pre-conceptions of scientific knowledge that naïve realism and social constructivism share.

William Dixon

The Rise and Fall of Money

The history of money has been brief but significant. The problems money posed on its appearance, undermining traditional relationships, were also those that allowed the spread of trade and an associated division of labour through which a global economy developed. The history of money may be seen in terms of how the problems it posed were dealt with and how the controls themselves could not withstand the implications and results of money. There have been three distinct phases responding to money. Each phase represents a manner of controlling/employing money and so a response to the commodity within the space set out by the commodity. Each also rests on assumptions about the nature and potential of people. They are: 1. The development of philosophy, Plato and Aristotle, that supported the hierarchical response to the freedom posed by money 2. The next phase, political economy, developed in response to hierarchical claims on wealth- 'old corruption'. To this the political economists posed, impersonal markets and democracy as a means of subduing money claims and enabling moral conduct. 3. Economics developed in response to problems of reproduction in political economy by focussing instead on allocation, hence maximising, and looking to the product to solve all problems. Money-making would eventually destroy banking and money management at the pinnacle of this new allocative culture. Eventually money undermines money itself.

Havva Ezgi Dogru

Limits of Limits to Capital: Understanding the Rise of Real Estate Sector in the Late Comer Context on its Own Dynamism

Historical-materialist geography has made a remarkable contribution to the ways in which the real estate market and its relation to capital accumulation is theorized. Importantly, the concept of the 'production of space' has shown how the temporary crises of the capitalism could be resolved through a capital switching approach. Capital switching was one of Harvey's path-breaking theoretical intervention, which claimed that the tendency toward over-accumulation within the primary circuit is temporally solved by switching capital flows into the secondary circuit. This major tendency became a source of inspiration for various Marxian geographers to formulate different concepts in order to develop bridges between capital accumulation and production of urban space; ideas such as 'creative destruction' (Harvey 2006), 'spatial fix' (Glassman 2007), 'scalar fix' (Brenner 1998), 'uneven development' (Smith 1990), 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2003).

These conceptual frameworks have become dominant tool kits to explain the contemporary rise of the real estate sector in the global South. Although these contributions are ground breaking in terms of holistically approaching capital accumulation in general and real estate in particular, I claim that they set limits to understand the increasing dominance of the real estate sector in the global South. As long as the housing sector in the late comers is approached in relation with the over-accumulation crises of the global north, the authoritarian increase in the dominance of real estate sector emerges as just an epiphenomenal result of the capital accumulation rhythms of the developed countries.

In order to understand the mysterious rise of the real estate sector in the context of late comer countries, this paper does not search for a cyclical relationship between two different circuits even though it accepts the structural relationship between the built

environment and capital accumulation, in general. Instead, based on the theory of the primacy of inner relations (Poulantzas 1976), I am approaching the formation of the relatively autonomous national housing market and the state's different institutional forms in relation with different phases of capital accumulation in the Turkish context. In order to accomplish that aim, the formation of the housing as a commodity with its three circuits is analyzed in relation with Turkish state's institutional intervention into the sector. Based on my eight months of fieldwork in Turkey, the main fractions of the housing sector and their mutually constitutive and contradictory relationship with the Turkish state is mapped out to rescue the expansion of the real estate sector as an epiphenomenon of the over-accumulation crises of the North and to approach the issue in relation with its dynamic and destructive interactions with the transformation of the social relations as a whole.

Yohann Douet

The Politics of Identity and the Problem of Subalternity: on Laclau/Mouffe's Solution

A recurrent criticism raised against the identity politics is their incapacity to go beyond particular revendications, to promote a global alternative to the existing state of affairs. And insofar as the identities are defined by this established social order, they seem unable to evade subalternity (in the sense of Gramsci : the social groups in question are subjected to the initiatives of others, since they are not defined in their own terms).

Laclau and Mouffe, in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985), tried to resolve this problem. They elaborated the concept of « antagonism » in order to understand identity as constructed in the conflict, by way of the opposition against a political enemy (which plays the role of a "constituting outside"). As such, identities are not fixed, and are conceived in terms of relations to other identities. When they share a common antagonist, it is thus possible for different identities to be articulated in a political unity (and to be transformed by this articulation). The collective will thus formed seems to encompass a multiplicity of different demands, and to be able to advocate for another social order. But does such a politics really evade subalternity?

Drawing on Gramsci, I would like to show that it is not the case, because there is no space in Laclau/Mouffe's post-Marxism for the notion of structure (which can not be reduced to a contingent articulation of subject positions) : they can not conceive properly the structural assignation of identities, particularly when it is rooted in the experience of exploitation or oppression. That is why they can not see clearly what an « hegemonic » project should look like : for example, there is no reflexion about what political program is required, and no reflexion about institutionalized power and how to overthrow it. For these reasons, even if we admit they have highlighted some significant elements concerning collective subject formation, we can not learn much from their theory about the transformation of the objective structures of exploitation and oppression.

Peter Drucker

Shifting Boundaries: Europe, heteronationalism and homonationalism in political economy and history

The spread of European imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th century was accompanied by the export of European heteronormativity, in the form of laws against 'sodomy', homonormative medicine and cultural taboos that still exist today in much of Africa and Asia. By analogy with Jasbir Puar's concept of 'homonationalism', we can

describe this linkage between imperial ideology and institutionalized heterosexuality as 'heteronationalism'. Examples of this heteronationalism include the suppression of homosexual practices in 19th-century, Christianized Greece following Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire, early 20th-century campaigns against same-sex practices among Moroccan Jews in the interests of their assimilation into the culture of French colonizers, and the Dutch colonial identification of Islam in the early 20th-century East Indies with unbridled native sexuality. With the 20th-century transition in Western Europe from the gender and sexual orders of classic imperialism to those of Fordism and then of neoliberal globalization, heteronationalism has given way to homonationalism: the instrumentalization of LGBT rights as evidence of Western European cultural and political advancement. Heteronationalism is now more often linked to African authoritarian populism, Islamic fundamentalism or the Eastern European far right, or attributed to communities of immigrant origin in Western Europe. This paper outlines the political economy underlying this transformation of sexual cultures.

Arthur Duhe

Tensions Implied by the Concept of 'Indignation' in Spinozist Marxism

Frédéric Lord's work belongs to an on-going tradition that reads Marx and Spinoza altogether. But this rapprochement yet fertile also creates tensions and, perhaps, contradictions. To analyse how Spinozist Marxists deal with these tensions, I will therefore focus on an example and consider the difficulties produced by the analysis of 'indignation', this Spinozist affect at the root of any revolt or revolution, in Frédéric Lordon's *Willing Slaves of Capital* and in Toni Negri & Michael Hardt's *Commonwealth*. Finally, I will argue that the former resolves the tension by enhancing the Spinozist pole, whereas the latter underline the Marxist one.

Bill Dunn

Towards a theory of unemployment

Marx and Engels, and subsequent generations of Marxists, have written an enormous amount about unemployment but this paper argues that there is a lack of a convincing Marxist theory of unemployment. It identifies three sets of relations as the basis for such a theory.

Firstly, capital needs labour as a source of value and surplus value. It also needs (but in a weaker sense) non-labour, unemployment, both to discipline workers and as a reserve from which it can expand. This need for unemployment is weaker in that the disciplining aspects can be affected by other means and that even as the 'limit' is approached, the effects are disruptive rather than frankly incompatible with capital accumulation. (History records periods of very low unemployment and successful growth.) Moreover, to functional explanation based on the need for unemployment, it is necessary also to identify mechanisms by which this is created and perpetuated.

Secondly, capital accumulates, expanding the need for new workers. At the same time, as Engels in particular stressed, capital accumulation involves the introduction of labour-displacing technologies. These opposing forces potentially establish the basis for a dialectic of workers' recruitment and expulsion. However, while this provides a useful background, Marxism is not fundamentally an equilibrium approach so this is insufficient to explain either the limits or the concrete variation in levels of unemployment.

Thirdly, capital (and social relations more generally) are understood in terms of a dynamic relation between structure and agency. A (legitimate) defence of the priority of social structures has militated against an engagement with questions of agency, in particular with the variability of employer motivations beyond those impelling competitive accumulation. Keynesian insights remain reified and apologetic unless resituated within a context of dynamic change and class struggle but when this is done they can add to our understanding of capitalism's heterogeneity, inefficiency and instability to help explain the persistence of unemployment and the often restricted character of accumulation.

Miguel García Duch

Neoliberalism as governmentality: towards a materialist conceptualization

This article constitutes a contribution to the debate around the theoretical status of neoliberalism, an academic trending catchphrase. Beyond the usual Marxian and neo-Gramscian perspectives which relates neoliberalism to a finance-led accumulation and its privileged subject, the financial fraction of capital, this article proposes a materialist perspective focusing on complex structuration, strategy, discourse and relational overdetermination between agency and structure. Within this framework, the Foucauldian notion of governmentality offers a powerful analytical skeleton to understand neoliberalism beyond humanist idealizations. However, this topic has been scarcely covered, especially in explicit relation to a general Marxist framework.

Thus, this work develops a new approach to the capitalist social field structuration by bridging the well-known notions of mode of regulation and regime of accumulation with two Foucauldian analytical tools: regime of truth and governmentality. These four power nodes immanent of capitalist reproduction are subsequently interrelated through the development of the classical notion of historical (dialectical) structure –originally proposed by Cox- into a (strategical) grid of intelligibility.

As a consequence, neoliberalism is defined as a historical set of dominant strategic-discursive practices exercised by decentered, socially constituted subjects. These social, collective and individual agencies operate through a specific materialization of the social capitalist field: the post-Fordist regime of accumulation, the global market-based mode of regulation and its associated entrepreneurial regime of truth.

Nick Dyer-Witford

You May Not Be Interested in Cyber-War: Towards a Marxist Theorization of Militarized Networks

In an era when Marxist maxims have fallen into disrepute, one has escaped the oblivion of capitalism's memory-hole; Leon Trotsky's alleged (actually mis-attributed) aphorism "You may not be interested in war, but war is interested in you" is today not only widely cited, but frequently given a fashionable high-tech gloss: "You may not be interested in cyber-war, but cyber-war is interested in you." Drawing both on classic Marxian theories relating war to capital, class and revolution, and more recent formulations by Etienne Balibar, Paul Virilio and Benjamin Noys, this paper proposes conceptual categories through which to theorize the militarization of digital networks. This apparatus is then set in motion to trace the relation between capitalist techno-industry, national security apparatuses and social movements from the Cold War origins of the Internet, through Zapatistas in cyberspace,

9/11 and the war on terror, the so-called Facebook revolutions of 2011, to recent conflicts in Syria and the Ukraine. Today, the network of networks is a site where many different types of cyber-war are waged simultaneously, as nascent military confrontation between rival geopolitical blocs of global capital, social insurgencies (progressive and reactionary), and neoliberal security state social controls collide and combine with one another. This superimposition of multiple cyber-wars forges an environment in which surveillance and sous-surveillance, viral information and disinformation, encryption, anonymization, authentication, propagandizing chatbots, weaponized malware and the automation of war become inescapable factors of political practice. It is because militarized networks are shaping the present and future conditions of social struggle that we should be interested in cyber-war, even if it is, to dredge another sometime slogan from the archive of the left, in order to wage “krieg dem krieg”, “war on war”—or in this case, “cyber-war on cyber-war.”

Flora Eder

The Eclipse of Gender and Reason

In my lecture I want to outline the epistemological implications of capitalism and gender on the base of the Critical Theory of Theodor W. Adorno and the Wert-Abspaltungskritik of Roswitha Scholz.

Focusing on three for this topic core texts of Adorno – The Dialectics of enlightenment, Zu Subjekt und Objekt and Zum Verhältnis von Soziologie und Psychologie - I will start my presentation showing the two aspects of Adornos understanding of the meaning of the term subject: Subject in the sense of the subordinated individual and subject in the sense of the perceptive individual. Both these meanings refer to key-questions of the conference: What does ‘the environment’ mean for marxist feminism in the 21st century? And can there be a differentiation between a natural environment and human life or does capital increasingly achieve its gains by overcoming precisely this distinction?

Answering these questions on the theoretical base of Adorno I also want to point out the snares of an idealistic term of subject in the tradition of G.W.F. Hegel, to whom Adorno refers. Nevertheless, Adorno develops in critical continuation to his reference to Hegel a materialist meaning of subject. I will show that both these meanings (subject as the subordinated individual and as the perceptive individual) of subject have different, but in a dialectical sense related, implications on the questions of the relation of sex, gender and epistemology.

To show more specifically, what the constitution of a female subject in terms of capitalism means, I refer to Roswitha Scholz’ “Wert-Abspaltungskritik”. So in the last step of my presentation I will combine the two related definitions of Adorno of the term subject with the Wert-Abspaltungskritik to show what the epistemological implications of the Wert-Abspaltungskritik could be. As I will argue, the work of Adorno is a very rank theoretical base for a materialist-feminist epistemology. Referring to Max Horkheimers Eclipse of Reason („Kritik der instrumentellen Vernunft“) I want to develop on the base of the Wert-Abspaltungskritik a „Kritik der vergeschlechtlichten Vernunft“ – which could be translated as „Eclipse of gender and reason“.

Caroline Edwards

Uncovering a New Marxist Cosmology through Natural Historical Time

In *Atheism in Christianity* (1968) Ernst Bloch argues that the logos myth underpinning orthodox Biblical exegesis militates against the Cosmos. Bloch's discussion in this text uncovers a rich reading of natural historical time in which Nature cannot merely be figured as the backdrop to, or raw material of, human history. Despite the Church's appropriation of various pagan-astral myths (such as Stoicism and Gnosticism's engagements with the nature-religions of the Egyptian and Babylonian states), as well as the pagan origins behind Christmas and Easter, Bloch demonstrates how Nature is largely feared and demonised in the Bible. However, these residual pagan nature-myth elements remain useful for Bloch because they contain a productive conception of nature that is post-anthropocentric, furnishing "deep-reaching memories which still enable nature to be seen not just as a cold shoulder, or a source of terror, or a mere receptacle for the past" (AC 191).

Bloch's utopian reading of Nature in *Atheism in Christianity* and his subsequent text *A Philosophy of the Future* (1970) introduces one of his most radical critiques of both Judeo-Christian theology and dialectical materialism. In this paper I will consider Bloch's conceptualisation of natural historical time and suggest its relevance for our own 21st-century re-evaluations of the role of Nature within contemporary ecocriticism and environmental humanities debates. My reading of Bloch's natural historical time will consider this "new Marxist cosmology" in a comparative analysis of Jürgen Moltmann's contemporaneous theorisation in 1965 of eschatological cosmology in *Theology of Hope*. Nature thus offers Bloch a concrete alternative to the logos myth; whose transcendent understanding of divine temporality precludes what Michael Löwy refers to as the time of "messianic activism" – which I will suggest can be figured as an eschatological intervention within the present moment. Through such a "greening of eschatology," I hope to demonstrate that Bloch's idea of natural historical time and natural futurity – or, ecoeschatology – can help us to rethink the times of Nature. This has implications for theology's complicity with progressivist linear time (the hyper-industrialization of the planet's ecological diversity) and also enriches our understanding of the beleaguered environment at a time of looming ecocatastrophe.

Hester Eisenstein

Hegemonic feminism, neo-liberalism and womenomics: "empowerment" instead of liberation?

In this essay I reflect on a sample of a relatively new literature that has emerged in recent years on the growth of "womenomics" and what Adrienne Roberts has called "transnational business feminism." Are these developments a triumph for the influence of feminist activists around the globe? Or do we see them as yet another classic attempt by the agents of capitalist globalization to contain the energies of women and turn them to the advantage of the bottom line? I look at some examples of TBF on the part of Goldman Sachs, Unilever, Levi-Strauss, and the Nike Foundation; at the debate among feminist scholars over whether neoliberal feminism is "really" feminism; at the rise of the concept of "empowerment;" and finally, at some elements that TBF leaves out of the picture, including the neoliberal assault on social reproduction; the extreme exploitation of women workers, from Walmart to Export Processing Zones; the retreat from class analysis under neoliberalism; and the continuing effects of "structural adjustment" on countries in the North like Greece subject to the ravages of the international financial order. I conclude with a call to the international male left to be as welcoming and as creative toward the ideas and the activism of the international women's movement as their corporate adversaries.

Anders Ekeland

The strategies of the climate movement – a critical evaluation after COP21 and “Ende Gelände”

The paper starts out with a discussion of the limits of capitalism in light of Marx thesis that an area of social change begins when the relations of production changes from “From forms of development of the productive forces” into “fetters” on their development. The history of capitalism has shown that unlike slavery, feudalism and the bureaucratic command economies, capitalism is an eternal and relentless developer of new technologies, saving both paid labour time and reproduction labour time. This has led to a situation where capitalism in its best varieties delivers a comfortable, “American” way of life for a majority workers in the developed countries, instead of the proletariat sinking deeper and deeper into poverty as outlined in the communist Manifesto, This has meant that reformism was possible and almost always had the political hegemony in the working class. But today we cannot not “flatter ourselves” with our technological victories over nature, because “nature takes her revenge” (Engels) in the form of climate change and other environmental disasters. This poses sharply the question of the historic role of the working class related to system change if that is what is needed to save the climate and the environment. Consequently the paper analyses the contributions of leading eco-socialists like Richard Smith, Daniel Tanuro, Michael Löwy, James O'Connor, John Bellamy Foster, Alain Lipietz and left-wing activist, Naomi Klein from that perspective. The analysis focus on the relation the “first” contradiction of capitalism (capital vs. workers) and the “second” contradiction, capitalism vs. nature, given the fundamental non-sustainability of capitalism “as we know it” (Altvater).

The paper argues that it is obvious that the working class has a clear interest in avoiding climate change. There is no jobs on a dead planet, but also that workers care about nature “as such”. The problem is not that the middle, “talking” class is more sensitive to the threat of climate change and nature than the “working” class. For both these non-ruling classes the main problem is to align the short term material interests (employment) with our long term existential interest in a stable climate. “Everybody knows” (L. Cohen) that most of fossil fuel must be kept in the ground – but how to deal with big, “green” inflation resulting from a drastic cut in the supply of fossil fuels?

The final part of the paper discusses to what degree the eco-socialist intellectuals mentioned above are able to formulate strategies geared towards aligning ordinary people's short term and long term material interests – and concludes that in most cases the answer is that they do not. This is exemplified by the fact that there was no common concrete demands put forward by the climate movement to the world's rulers in Paris in December 2015. It is also indicated by the lack of concrete alternative policies (transitional demands) from authors of “green capitalism is impossible” articles and books, like Smith and Tanuro.

The paper is also critical to the Blockadia and Ende Gelände strategy advocated by Naomi Klein, the 350.org and many other climate justice organisations. In the case of “Ende Gelände” action, it was condemned by both the Branderburger SPD and Die Linke both condemned the action. Clashed with the “back-ward” parts of the labour movement are of course unavoidable, but is only a tactical problem if the climate movement has an overall strategy aligning short term and long term interests, but that is not the case of “Ende Gelände”. John Bellamy Foster's endorsement of a socially just carbon tax is so far the most positive element in a rather bleak overall picture when it comes to concrete

(transitional) policies.

Michael Ekers, Alex Loftus

Concrete Natures; Concrete Possibilities

In this paper we consider the political possibilities in thinking more concretely about the production of space and nature. While recent debates have emphasised Marx's critique of the violence of abstraction, we wish to consider the concrete as the product of many determinations. We will do this through revisiting Neil Smith's discussion of the production of nature, considering the ways in which the second nature that Smith argues is produced through capitalist social relations mirrors Sohn Rethel's discussion of the process of real abstraction. Nevertheless, in developing such a framework, Smith loses the historical and geographical depth and specificity that is necessary for thinking through alternatives to the capitalist production of nature. Turning to Diane Elson's discussion of the value theory of labour we see possibilities for reconsidering how the "political problem is to bring together...private, concrete and social aspects of labour without the mediation of the value forms, so as to create particular, conscious collective activity directed against exploitation". An environmental politics that moves beyond the abstractions of the Anthropocene and the Capitalocene needs an understanding of such concrete possibilities at its heart.

Soraya El Kahlaou

In the name of modernity: When urban expansion is synonymous with land grabbing in Morocco

Being committed to modernisation, Morocco is experiencing a high rate of urbanisation, like any other country in the Maghreb. The city, erected as a showcase of modernity, is taking shape under the auspices of international standards that are used as a pretext in order to privatise non-regulated land reserves i.e. slums, informal or communal habitats such as collective land. In this paper, I will start by the example of the privatisation of the Guich land that is situated in the Moroccan capital, Rabat, in order to show how the modernity rhetoric underpins an extension of colonial logics of grabbing and privatising communal agricultural spaces. The lands of Guich Loudaya tribe are collective agricultural lands that were initially estimated at more than 400 cultivable hectares. And today, there is nothing left. Coveted as a land reserve, their status has been made vulnerable with the arrival of colonial rule that dispossessed the Guich Loudaya tribe from their owner status, by reducing them to simple usufructuaries. Now that the bare ownership has been placed in the hands of the Ministry of Interior, the process of privatising the lands has been made easier. The Guich lands, which have been relinquished at nominal prices to private developers linked to the ruling elite, have been used since the 1980s to extend the city of Rabat, and particularly to erect one of the poshest neighbourhoods in the city: Hay Ryad. The tribal inhabitants found themselves dispossessed of their lands, under-compensated and relocated to social housing in the outer peripheries. Despite the various struggles that shaped the resistance led by the Guich Loudaya tribe, today their lands have entirely become concrete surface, erasing therefore any trace left of the existence of this peasant community. By analysing the mechanisms of dispossession put in place by the State, this paper seeks to show how the colonial logic - reconfigured through the discourse of modernity - has implemented a dichotomy between progress and nature, a dichotomy that contributed to and founded the process of destruction of communal agricultural spaces, in the service of defending the interests of the ruling class.

Carolyn Elerding

The Chemical and the Digital: Automation and Social Reproduction

Most of the time, even in the U.S. where dozens of chemical agents that are restricted in other countries remain unregulated and widely in use, the ubiquitous but often invisible operation of toxic substances passes unnoticed. It is accepted as a cultural norm and as a necessity for the maintenance of austere and antiseptic life on the cheap. Increasingly, domestic labor, waged and unwaged, directly or indirectly market-mediated, relies on the agency of chemicals to maintain a socially average level of cleanliness mandated by cultural understandings of health. In the home, increasing amounts of time are needed for the communicative, administrative, creative, and emotional high-tech immaterial labor performed by relatively privileged caregivers and their assistants, and also for the multiple part-time jobs needed by the growing layer of the feminized and racialized abject workforce and standing reserve, the development and stratification of which is greatly amplified by the digitalization of all sectors. Much of this crucial time is liberated by means of chemical reactions that clean independently of the embodied physical effort of scrubbing, replacing material labor with invisible chemical automation that releases carcinogens and other toxins into spaces of life and work, as well as into the environment. Using social reproduction theory, concepts developed by the Endnotes Collective, and Marxist and other materialist feminist approaches to analyzing cultures of media and of domestic labor, this essay focuses on current labor-organizing efforts among domestic workers to illuminate how two broad categories of ambiguous or ambivalently material technology, the chemical and the digital, are shaping biopolitical economies of life and the environment. The conclusion sketches possibilities for using “cultural design” to reconfigure these systems of indirect and barely perceivable profit extraction into alternative systems for the maintenance of healthful life.

Baraneh Emadian

The State as an Internal and External Limit

Addressing the crisis of Marxism in 1979, Nicos Poulantzas stated that when it comes to the theorization of the state, ‘creative Marxism has advanced satisfactorily’ (‘Is There a Crisis in Marxism?’). It has been frequently attested that the state remained undertheorized in Marx’s corpus, and despite Poulantzas’s reassurance some thinkers believed that a Marxist theory of the state continued to be lacking (Louis Althusser, ‘The Crisis of Marxism’). The quandary of the state persists up to this day, a problem that cannot be properly dealt with through analyses in which everything boils down to capital. Although capital violently synchronizes everything under the sun from reproduction to religion and patriarchy, re-articulating them and putting them to work, these forms are not immanent to it and must not be reduced to its logic, or ontologized. Even though Marx never found a chance to expound an elaborate theory of state, he was cognizant of the fact that it is mainly through the force of the state that capital can digest differences or forms independent from its own life-process and subsume them. The monopoly of the state over organized violence (via army and police) is not merely the ubiquitous reality of life in the ‘Third-World’; it also haunts the ‘First World’ in the wake of the least dissensus, or so-called ‘security threat.’

Emancipation in theory and praxis therefore demands a thoroughgoing reflection on the state form, a reflection simultaneously wary of the pitfalls of a state-centered position. Through a constellation of theories, this paper attempts to rethink the category of the state

as both an internal and external limit for Marxist thought. It maps out the transcendent limit in a category of the state as the decision of the sovereign (Carl Schmitt), and the immanent limit in the state as a social relation (Nicos Poulantzas) and the state as a form of exchange grounded on 'plunder and redistribution' (Kojin Karatani). Any horizon beyond the commodity form has to first grasp the process through which the state becomes a silent partner to capital, synchronizing and re-configuring independent forms of life.

Frank Engster

Fetishism and Quantification – On the Problem of Measuring Relations

The aim of a radical critique in the tradition of Kant, Hegel, and Marx is to find the connection between objectivity and subjectivity through their mutual social and specifically capitalist mediation. By constituting a specific capitalist objectivity alongside a specific capitalist subjectivity, this mediation not only provides the unity of social and epistemological critique, but also establishes their necessary correspondence.

However, what we can witness is that while in capitalism productivity receives an enormous increase through the quantification and valorisation of social relations, there is no correspondence between emancipatory consciousness and social progress.

What is at stake in Marx' notion of fetishism is an epistemological critique in the tradition of Kant and Hegel that is oriented towards the natural sciences. Marx shows that social mediation, by quantifying its relations, constitutes an objectivity analogous to that of the natural sciences, which also determines the relations of nature by quantifying them. In both cases the measuring process is decisive. In the natural sciences, the standard of measure is a specific quantum, while in capitalist society, the money-commodity stands for a pure unit that is apparently valorised by the social relation of the commodities. As Marx shows, however, it is a necessary, but false appearance. This is because both commodities and money get their quantitative determination by the valorisation of labour and capital on the one hand, and by the capital-form of money on the other.

This paper seeks to point out the crucial point of fetishism, namely that money realises the same social relations that it both withdraws and provides in the form of value objectivity ("Wertgegenständlichkeit"). This curious form of objectivity will be reviewed against the notion of objectivity in the natural sciences to highlight both their common features and crucial differences.

Ertan Erol

Subimperialism reconsidered: the rise and crisis of the Mexican subimperialism and the neoliberal rescaling in Central America

This work aims to reconsider and reconceptualise Ruy Mauro Marini's renowned concept of subimperialism in the contemporary context of neoliberal re-territorialisation of the south-southeast region of Mexico and the Central American region. Studying the conditions of Brazilian dependency and relative autonomy in its foreign and commercial relations during 1960s, Marini categorised the country as a subimperialist power which extends the existing conditions of global capitalism towards its surrounding area and enjoying a degree of superiority without radically altering its structural dependency to the industrialised centre. In his conceptualisation, Marini successfully anticipated the contemporary neoliberal restructuring of the international division of labour and paved way

to study the changing conditions of the modern dependency and subimperialism. Therefore, the concept of subimperialism still possess a great significance in understanding the global expansion of the neoliberal capitalism on an intermediary scale even though it is necessary to reconceptualise its ever changing aspects. In this vein, this work reframes the concept of subimperialism in terms of to the neoliberal rescaling of capitalism regarding to Mexico's role in the re-territorialisation of Central America. In the last three decades Mexico had been the champion of trade liberalisation and neoliberal reorganisation in the region and initiated several programmes of economic integration and development. These processes need to be located within the wider framework of reproduction of the conditions of the dependency and subimperialism. Nevertheless, these processes inevitably received serious challenges, thus, it is also important to assess the state of the crisis of Mexican subimperialism.

Isabel Estevez

The economic-theoretical underpinnings of Latin American 'pink tide': a Marxist critique

The failures of the governments of the 'pink tide' are generally attributed to insufficient political will or to the 'correlation of forces', nebulously defined. In this paper, however, we argue that a neglected, yet important, contributing factor can be found in the way these governments have conceptually problematized 'economic development' and the strategies of achieving it. Furthermore, we argue that these conceptual limitations are largely due to the inherent theoretical-methodological shortcomings of existing approaches to 'economic development': from structuralism and dependency theory to neoclassical growth theory and institutional economics — all of which have profoundly shaped the 'pink tide' policies. We argue that all of these approaches, including those most closely related to Marxist theory (structuralism and dependency theory) fail to capture the nature and extent of the challenges (and opportunities) for economic transformation in peripheral states for two reasons: (i) they largely neglect the role of power dynamics — especially geopolitical power dynamics — both, as a factor conditioning the agency of peripheral states and as a tool of economic strategy; (ii) they insufficiently consider how peripheral states fit within the global tendencies in the dynamics of capital accumulation, and the extent to which they have the capacity to modify these tendencies.

Using insights from Marx, Lenin and Luxemburg, this paper begins by presenting a critique of existing approaches to 'economic development' (structuralism, dependency theory, neoclassical growth theory, and institutional economics). On the basis of this critique, the second section presents an alternative framework for problematizing economic transformation. In the third section, we focus on the case of Ecuador under the Correa administration. We show how the economic-theoretical underpinnings of the project have limited its 'productive transformation strategy' and show how our alternative framework could have been used to approach the problem of 'economic transformation' in a more effective way.

Jessica Evans

Liberal Subjectivity and the Constitution of Race in Settler Colonies

The tendency of Marxist theories to conceptualize racism as a product of capitalist divide and conquer techniques, to impose race superficially on top of the basic divisions of class society, has rarely if ever been an adequate reflection of the historical record. In this paper, I argue that the relationship between capitalism and racism is far more nuanced

and variable than the conventional explanation. I locate the genesis of fixed categories of race, equating phenotype to socio-economic, mental and moral qualities, in the attempt to reproduce 'liberal subjectivity' in spaces markedly different from those in which such subjectivity was initially constituted (namely Britain). I argue that racialization emerges as a fixed category of differentiation, first, in the settler colonies, and this owing to the international dissemination and uneven and combined development of the social technologies aimed at fomenting a liberal subject population. As has been aptly demonstrated in numerous works of historiography, simple dispossession has rarely, if ever, been adequate to convert individuals into the 'ideal market citizen'. Such constitution has always required a myriad of social technologies (for example the Poor Law Reform, vagrancy laws, workhouses, etc.). My argument is that the transposition and combination of these technologies into spaces characterized by markedly different social property relations resulted in the need to produce a 'national liberal citizenry' through the demarcation of the 'barbaric, racialized outsider'.

Annunziata Faes

Trans Liberation: a movement whose time had passed

While there has been a recent increase in the visibility of transgender lifestyles, the behaviors associated with this visibility -- transvestitism, transgenderism, transexualism -- are themselves a relatively new iteration of a cross cultural phenomenon which, nonetheless, has a historically specific, modern character. In modernity, these behaviors have challenged the biological basis of gender and the fixed nature of sexual identity to procreation within traditional family structures. This separation of procreative sex from gender has depended on an ability to lead life outside of the traditional family. This opportunity has been historically presented by both wage labor, which has allowed for a private life formed by the exchange of one's wages, and by the movement for an international socialist revolution, which had fought for advances in legislation and scientific research and had fomented the genesis of concepts we often take for granted today such as transvestite and transsexual. Advancements in sexual science and reforms for both the SPD and sexual reformers were conceived of as a means of achieving a larger goal of revolution. However, in taking the November Revolution as the realization of this goal, the *raison d'être* of trans liberation shifted to one of existential conformity which resembles the goals of the movement today, viz. that simply being or embodying a trans identity within society as it already exists is a political or revolutionary activity in and of itself. Today the movement for trans liberation has focused on the opposition between capitalism and transgender individuals, which has elided the constitutive character of both wage labor and the political party, and advocates a redistribution of wealth achieved through increasing medical coverage, legal protections and public representation. Instead, I would recommend a historical approach to understanding the trans phenomenon, which has its roots in Germany as a function of the homosexual emancipation movement. It was here that the fundamental aspects of contemporary transition -- including the distinction between homosexuality, transvestitism and transexualism -- were formulated and institutionalized. Hopefully, in doing so, the struggle for the emancipation of gender can be understood as a part of the broader history of the struggle for freedom, not opposed to it.

Jules Falquet

The "straight combinatory" : the political economy of sex, race and class A lesbian feminist contribution to materialist and decolonial analysis

This (theoretical) proposal is based on the contributions of the french-speaking stream of feminist materialism which appeared at the end of the 70 around the *Question féministes* review. Using both Sociology and Anthropology, I will try to take further the analysis made by Gayle Rubin and Monique Wittig in the late 70.

I will first present the contributions of Colette Guillaumin, Monique Wittig, Paola Tabet and Nicole-Claude Mathieu. Each of them has deeply transformed the very concept of "work" that is central to both marxism and materialist feminist analysis. Guillaumin made the core contribution, theorizing the individual and collective appropriation of the women's body (in somewhat the same ways as the slaves' bodies were appropriated), as "work-force-producing machines", through the structural social relations of sex [rapports de sexage]. Tabet demonstrated that women's sexuality can generally be understood as a form of work, intimately connected to the structural social relations of sex. Mathieu and Tabet also deeply de-naturalized maternity. Tabet proved that procreation could be analyzed as work, more or less alienated depending on who decides of its organisation, rythm, quantity, quality and who is considered to be the owner of the final product.

Second, I will propose the concept of "straight combinatory" (drawn from Wittig's "straight ideology") as a new tool to understand the logics of both the matrimonial alliance and of procreation-filiation. Straight combinatory includes all the institutions and rules that together organize matrimonial alliance and procreation-filiation, according to simultaneous logics of sex, class and race. The straight combinatory is the key to the continuous production and classification of "work-force-producing machines" (namely : bodies, human beings) and groups. For this reason, the straight combinatory organizes the simultaneous and historical dynamics of structural social relations of sex, race and class. Therefore, it is a powerful tool to analyze social reproduction, and moreover, to re-consider the historical development of capitalism as well as the neoliberal present. I will also explain how it meets part of the reflexions of the latin-american and caribbean decolonial feminism, especially about "racial interbreeding" through the rape and forced unions imposed to colonized women.

Alexandre Feron

Dialectics of Nature and Ecology : the Debate in Post-War French Philosophy

The object of my presentation is to see to what extent the idea of a dialectics of nature can be useful for a Marxist perspective on ecology. Firstly I will propose a critical approach of the way a large part of "Western Marxism" refused the existence of a dialectics of nature. I will focus more particularly on the debate which took place in France in the Post-war period between figures like Kojève, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty or Tran Duc Thao. By establishing an absolute difference between nature (which follows a strict determinism) and society, where social determinisms are in part relativised by human agency, these thinkers were able to affirm the absolute value of Man against a stalinised Marxism. However, because of this absolute separation, it becomes difficult to understand the relation of Man with nature both in him and outside of him, and therefore to integrate ecological problems in a Marxist frame.

I will then come back to Engels's project of elaborating a "dialectics of nature". One of the most interesting aspects of his project is his will to articulate natural dialectics and social dialectics, in order to reach a better understanding not only of the articulation between nature et culture, but also of the complex relation between nature et society. Finally, I will see how Sartre and Merleau-Ponty's, in their evolution, tend to reconsider the absolute

separation that existential Marxist introduced between nature and society.

Irina Feldman

Let us be free, for the rest does not matter”: state-sponsored emancipatory cultural politics in Argentina.

The programming of the public television in Argentina over the last decade has been an admirable example of emancipatory cultural politics. The Kirschner government-sponsored channel Encuentro and Pakapaka have produced an array of programs geared towards the population of all ages, with a strongly anti-imperialist vision that cultivates historical memory and the awareness of the basic rights of the citizenry and of children in particular. This paper will focus on the children's channel Pakapaka, and specifically on the historical series “La asombrosa excursión de Zamba”.

In this series, Zamba, a 21st century boy from Corrientes province, travels in time and participates in the key events of the Argentinean and world history, with his friends Jose de San Martin, Manuel Belgrano, Juana Azurduy, Simon Bolivar and Karl Marx, among others. The motto repeated throughout the series is the famous ditto attributed to San Martin: “¡Seamos libres, que lo demas no importa nada!” The national sovereignty is underlined as the main value for the young citizens, as the series portrays the struggle against the Spanish colonizers, against the British claims for the Malvinas islands, and in the 21st century through the right to launch the Argentinean telecommunication satellites. One of the first actions executed by the newly-installed Macri government was to logistically dissolve the Encuentro and Pakapaka channels, and to physically destroy TecnoPolis, the public theme park that featured the Zamba characters. Why such a vigorous deployment of censorship and even repressive state apparatus against cartoons? This repression shows the fear of the neoliberal government of the power of the mass media when it teaches the values of sovereignty and state responsibility. In the 19-20th centuries the Latin American intellectuals believed in the power of literature and its capacity to directly bring about social change (Rodo, Marti, Mariategui). Today, the repressive powers of the right recognize the capacity for real social change of mass media. Even though the economic measures of Macri government have been devastating, the effects of civic education carried through the public television will be hard to erase.

Romain Felli

The Great Adaptation: climate and capitalism

In this paper I will discuss how the strategy of "adaptation" to climate change has long predated that of "mitigation" and greenhouse gases reduction. Adaptation has in particular been promoted by US based state and research institutions, as well as by various multinational corporations from the 1970s and it was picked up by neoliberal economists from the 1980s.

Jorge Enrique Forero

Gramsci in Ecuador: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Latin American 'Pink Tide'

In a short fragment of his first prison notebook, Italian socialist Antonio Gramsci attempted an interpretation of the political dynamics in Latin American countries, inspired by his reading of the biography of 19th Century Ecuadorian president, Gabriel Garcia Moreno, a

prominent member of Catholic Action. The fragment included serious inaccuracies —due to the lack of access to the direct source— even confusing Ecuador with another Andean country, Venezuela. Nevertheless, he was able to identify some of the main nodes of conflict in the constitution of the Ecuadorian State: the role of the catholic church, the tensions with the coastal bourgeoisie and the political potential of the indigenous population. The accuracy of those insights could not rest, of course, on his knowledge of the particularities of the case, but rather in the way that what he read fit into the broader problematic of peripheral states, to which he devoted many years of his intellectual life.

We use this fragment as a point of departure to explore how Gramscian and neo-Gramscian approaches can contribute to a better understanding of the so-called Ecuadorian ‘Citizens’ Revolution’, a case within the now-declining Latin American ‘pink tide’. It would specifically address the potential of the use of two categories, hegemony and passive revolution, to understand both, the relationship between national politics and the global context, and the way in which the incomplete constitution of a national state constrains the potential to develop radical and anti-capitalist political projects, or even reformist social democratic ones like the ‘Citizen’s Revolution.’

Susan Ferguson

The Child, the Market, and Capitalism: a Social Reproduction Perspective on Children’s Subjectivities

A social reproduction approach begins from the premise that capital needs children to be socially reproduced but does not directly oversee their reproduction (while it also dispossesses children and their caretakers of the means for that reproduction). This is an inescapable fact which structures childhoods. That is, the contradictory relation between production of value on the one hand, and the social reproduction of the present and future producers of that value on the other, sets real limits to the forms childhood takes in any given place and time. This paper proposes that, as subjects and objects of social reproductive processes and institutions, children are constantly negotiating a conflict between a playful, transformative relationship to the world and the more instrumental, disembodied state of alienation required to become labourers for capital.

Roderick A. Ferguson

Black Marxism and the Promise of Other Orders

In the “Preface to the 2000 Edition” of *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, Cedric Robinson opens with a consideration of how various critical traditions relate to those orders of humanity that occupy the lowest rungs. As the preface states, “Solon, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle...all could not entirely conceal or effectively dismiss the moral challenges of the poor (demos), slaves, and women.” While such writers could not help but confront the challenges explicated or implied by these groups, Robinson identifies an ambivalence at the heart of Western philosophical and critical traditions, their interest in and attention to minoritized communities, on the one hand and their underestimation of the epistemological provocations of those communities, on the other. As he states, “Among these writers were some of the most clever weavers of aristocratic flummery. So it is not surprising that if the moral authority spawned in the quest for freedom confounded their gifts for eloquent argument, the same would be repeated over the next two thousand years in the works of their seemingly inexhaustible line of heirs.” *Black Marxism* and the black radical tradition, we might say, represent for Robinson

an alternative to dominant Western critical traditions' penchant for underestimation where minoritized communities are concerned. Working out a methodology and reading practice for that alternative, Robinson argued, "And half a millennium later, though the sheer volume of three centuries of legislation, literature, and state force in support of slavery in Africa and the New World might have appeared daunting, history proves otherwise—the liberationist agenda of anti-slavery triumphed." The 2000 preface, thus, provides a kind of key not only to reading Black Marxism but also for understanding the black radical tradition. Using the preface, my talk explores how the book identifies the black radical tradition as a search for the orders of humanity that can both innovate and challenge critical formations. In this way, black Marxism and the black radical tradition must be understood as an investigation of the varieties of human experience and the various ways of responding to relations of force. As Black Marxism sought to place liberation struggles in the new world with various struggles in the old, the book was also an attempt to bring historical formations and orders of humanity that were disconnected into a kind of critical association with one another, formations and orders that were often deemed insufficiently human. Reading the book somewhat against its own grain, the talk uses the histories of those "diverse other social movements" as not-quite-human to raise the question of the finitude of the human and its place within a history that is not simply its own but one that belongs to other orders of species-life as well. As such the black radical tradition opens itself to a search for the varieties of species-being and their impact on how we imagine and theorize freedom.

Fruela Fernández

Translating hegemony: uses of Gramsci in Spain

This paper will contextualise the reception of Antonio Gramsci in Spain and its impact on the evolution of different currents within the Spanish Left. Gramsci's first wave of reception took place during the 1960s within the Catalan Communist circles, and was notably represented by the conflictual approaches of Manuel Sacristan and Jordi Sole Tura; the completely divergent trajectories of both authors –while Sole Tura would eventually become minister with the socialdemocratic PSOE, Sacristan would join the non-party, independent movements- frames the first image of the Italian thinker. The second phase of Gramsci's reception is still ongoing and needs to be understood in the context of the current social and economic crisis, in which the recently created party Podemos –led by Inigo Errejón and Pablo Iglesias, two political scientists with substantial political experience in Latin America- has placed a Laclauian reading of Gramsci at the core of its political strategy.

Priscila Figueiredo

A phenomenology of fatigue under capitalism in Kafka, Carolina de Jesus and Linda Tirado

The paper aims to establish a comparison –from the perspective what I call a "phenomenology of fatigue" --among the first Kafka's novel, *Amerika*, written between 1912 and 1914, the narrative of the domestic maid Carolina Jesus "Quarto de despejo" ("The garbage room"), work of great success in the 1960s, as well as the essay-testimony developed on a blog, "Hand to mouth", already called "essay on poverty," written by Linda Tirado, an American ex-homeless. In *Amerika*, this "kind of a big company where redemption is to get a job", working relations are at the forefront, organizing the picaresque course of Karl, a course upside down, for he slips through several layers of society

towards the lumpenproletariat and what seems in a first glance an enigmatically redeemer, Oklahoma Theater, whose configuration remained unfinished in an also unfinished novel. In what direction would go Karl? Always tired since dispatched first by the bourgeois parents in Germany and after by the capitalist uncle in New York — inevitably over-exploited, he meets a kind of double in the student who occupies the balcony of an apartment next door. Prevented from sleeping on his long journey between the post of seller in a department store during the day and the studies in course of the night and until the dawn —no having the hope that indeed he would be able to go beyond the position where he is--, indefectibly equipped by a bottle of coffee, the youngman provides Karl an image of your own situation, although worsened because the protagonist is once again unemployed, grappling with an informal occupation, uncertain and deeply oppressive, and having as bosses a prostitute and a thief. A leitmotif of the book is the mention of Karls' wish to rest, just get some sleep, which is being gradually denied him.

In other such books, the experience of fatigue is narrated in the first case by a domestic — an occupation which is a clear symptom of imperfect overcoming of slavery in Brazil. The account was published in a context of of the gradually growing in the country class struggle, which the military coup of 1964 would suppress. In the other case, it is the testimony of a young married woman and mother, homeless on the occasion, one of the castaways of the 2008 crisis, torn between minijobs and evictions. In despite of diverse literary status of works or at least not equally stable —and even Kafka's novel is diverse within the set of his work, being less allegorical and very close to Dickens--, it seems to underlie all of them an experience that no doubt is more continuous than discontinuous under capitalism in several configurations that it can take, monopolist, peripheral or neoliberal. This experience is represented by the already mentioned phenomenology of fatigue, which in fact includes what Jonathan Crary has called in the context of late capitalism "the end of sleep".

David Fishman

Value Forms and the Structure of the Capitalist System

There is no practical framework for the determination of prices in economics and finance. This stems directly from the lack of a value foundation in these fields, rightly termed vulgar economics by Marx. Marx characterised vulgar economics as being only concerned with appearances and hence there is no impetus to do anything other than describe these appearances, there is no understanding, just crass empiricism and empty theorising. Equally, there is no chronicle, gauge or map of capital or of capital accumulation — capital is measured numerically and without this the system is not properly known. Marx rightly characterised the system as being unplanned at the system level and that this is a necessary corollary of private ownership. The concentration of much of the system into interlocking chains dominated by large companies does mean that considerable planning does go on, but nonetheless, the system overall is unplanned. Notwithstanding this, the data available about the economy is growing exponentially which opens up the possibility to have an oversight of the total system, in other words to chart and map it. This then relates directly to depicting capital accumulation.

This paper extends the value analysis of Marx by including the time dimension of the future. The triads of value and time will then be complete: value linked to the past, exchange-value to the present and use-value that ties to the future. This formulation deepens the understanding and characterisation of the value form under capitalism and leads to the development of concepts and backing techniques that strip away the mystique

of the categories and practices of contemporary capitalism. Estimates will be made of the value elements both in aggregate and individually: both of individual capitals but also of total social capital.

Two examples will be outlined to illustrate the analysis:

1) The fishing industry in Chile from the 1950s to the present: Chile was one of the leading national supplier of fish worldwide in the mid 1990s with an annual catch of 8 million tonnes until overfishing severely depleted stocks and annual catch fell to 2.3 million tonnes in 2013

2) The recent history of the oil and gas industry: the global impact of the shale boom, and the oil price boom (and bust) against the backdrop of climate change. The dynamics and consequences of the shale and price boom will be presented along with the implications for the reduction of GHGs.

The resulting framework will be used to present the numerical outline of the actual structure of the capitalist system.

Alejandro Luis Fitzsimons, Sebastián Luis Guevara

Transnational Corporations and the 'Restructuring' of the Argentine Automotive Industry: Change or Continuity?

Revisiting the historical development of the Argentine automotive industry from the mid-1950s to the present, this paper challenges the dominant point of view that the development of the new international division of labour led to its qualitative restructuring during the 1990s. Instead, it shows that low scales of production, obsolete technology and a resulting low global competitiveness characterised the local auto industry throughout the period. Based on empirical analysis and the international comparison of wages and prices, the paper argues that transnational automotive-manufacturers compensated for their 'backwardness' with the appropriation of a portion of the relatively abundant ground-rent available in Argentina. The NIDL therefore did not replace the old form of industrialisation related to the 'classic' international division of labour.

Elmar Flatschart

Value-dissociation, Crisis and Society-Nature Relationship

German value-form Marxism in general and the school of Wertkritik or Wert-Abspaltungskritik in particular receive more and more attention in the anglophone materialist debate. Besides questions around value-theory and the broader understanding of Marx' work, theory of crisis is a central focus of value-critique. Other than most Marxist crisis-theorems, fundamental value-critique seeks to theorize crisis from a multi-dimensional perspective. It is not only economy that is in crisis, but societal totality itself (and only inasmuch as it is gov-erned by the value-form, crisis-phenomena surface as economic crises).

The value-critical crisis theory is however all but finished. Roswitha Scholz' major contribution to the tradition – the incorporation of feminist thought – has so far had little impact on crisis-theory. The paper will argue that this has to do with the fact that its foundational core – the relation of first and second nature as patriarchy to capitalism – has not been sufficiently applied to questions of crisis. Value-dissociation makes important contributions to a general critical theory of society-nature relations as gendered relations. This 'ideal

average' of capital-ist patriarchy however needs historization as the crisis of its totality is unfolding. For this endeavour, it will be crucial to approach crisis from both a 'formal' and 'substantial' vantage point, just as it is fundamentally necessary to see the gendered character of the underlying society-nature relations. Thus read, a critical appropriation of the logic of value-dissociation will be helpful to analyse not only the societal, but also the ecological crisis as a fundamentally gendered dynamic.

Lorenzo Fusaro

The 'Development of Underdevelopment' beyond and before Dependency Theory and Political Marxism: Re-reading Marx's General Law of Capitalist Accumulation

The paper will critically engage with the two main Marxist strands that attempted to characterise unevenness within the world economy: Dependency Theory and Political Marxism. It argues that the former, while accurately grasping the contradictory character of capitalist modernity (see Frank, Cueva, Marini, Dos Santos), too strongly focuses on unequal exchange when attempting to explain the "development of underdevelopment." Concerning political Marxism, the paper objects Robert Brenner's explanation based on the absence of capitalist relations of production for explaining underdevelopment. Attempting to provide a different perspective, the paper returns to a neglected, or, perhaps, misread Chapter of Marx's Capital, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', arguing that it represents an insightful analytical tool for contributing to understand the uneven and contradictory development of capitalism, centre-periphery relations as well as the different forms of existence of what Gramsci calls "subalterns", while also shedding light on the nature of their struggles. Hence following Marx's Chapter (and as Quijano's early work, similarly, also suggested), it is argued that the worldwide, often violent, diffusion of capitalism and its specific relations of production ("the tragedy") turned into a "farce" for the many: as dispossessed, and now dependent on capital for their survival, a very large fraction of the world population (often located in the so-called periphery, but not exclusively) remained and remains excluded from the direct involvement in the capitalist production process. Finally, dwelling on the form of existence of subalterns in Latin America, included in capitalism, but excluded from the direct production process that represents their mean for survival, the paper argues that many forms of struggles are about "entering" capitalist production, rather than breaking with capitalism.

Eirini Gaitanou

Forms and characteristics of the social movement in Greece in the context of the economic and political crisis: Political participation and consciousness transformation

This paper aims at presenting the main points of the research which has led to my doctoral thesis. The object of this research consists in the various forms and features of social movements that have emerged in Greece during the current period of crisis, all evaluated as part of "the social movement as a whole". The studied period spans from April 2010 to October 2011, and includes the emergence of all different forms of mobilization, including strikes and the «movement of the squares». The focus is placed on the forms of political participation and the transformation of the actors' consciousness in relation to their participation and experience, in connection with (1) the objective conditions; (2) their own social position in society; and (3) their own conceptualization of the "political". The development of new relations between people and politics as well as of various forms of political representation (existing and/or new ones) have been given special attention. Methodologically, this research has focused on two key points. The first concerns the

theoretical context of social movements literature, its relevance to the Greek case, the detailed study of the Greek social and political formation, its class structure and the crisis, and it will not be approached in detail in this paper. The second point concerns the specific study of the social movement in Greece, including field research, mainly through 40 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with people with little or no prior relationship with politics and activism. Since the focus is on the consciousness of participation and engagement as developed by the participants themselves, and the transformative effects of action upon them, the theoretical conclusions discuss the issue of subjectivity and class consciousness within specific conditions, in relation to the popular perception of the political. This research aims at contributing in a deeper understanding of the social and political processes and the new situation arising in Greece, in a times when things seem far from stabilizing into a new coherent political project. Thus, the evaluation of its outcomes will insist on the current situation in Greece and its connection to the movements of 2010-2011.

Maryanne Galvão

Small hydroelectric power plants, indigenous communities and dispossession: the case study of the Juruena Project and the Enawene Nawe population in Mato Grosso, Brazil

This article presents part of the research developed in the author's PhD thesis entitled, Small hydroelectric power plants, indigenous communities and dispossession: the Juruena Project and the Enawene Nawe in Mato Grosso, defended in March 2016. In the first part of the article, the author presents a social environmental conflict that occurred during the 2000s in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso, central-west region of the country, a state that is part of the Amazon Legal area. The conflict was between the Enawene Nawe indigenous people and a consortium of entrepreneurs (the Juruena Project), over the construction of a series of small hydroelectric power plants on the Juruena river, an important tributary that forms part of the Tapajós river basin. In the second part of the paper, the author reflects on the conflict through a Marxist theoretical framework focusing on Marx fundamental analysis of primitive accumulation. David Harvey's theory of accumulation by dispossession is also outlined to analyze the transformations on the indigenous population's lives and in the natural environment, as a consequence of the geographical expansion of capital, or in another words, the continued accumulation by dispossession.

Mike Geddes

Megaprojects, states and social movements in Latin America

Megaprojects are a prominent and fiercely contested element in contemporary neoliberal patterns of development, not least in Latin America.

Such projects – including dams, airports, roads, high speed railways, canals, new towns – are widely promoted by governments and just as widely contested by local populations and social movements. Their attractiveness to capital is clear, but the limited scope for democratic and participatory involvement in the decision processes surrounding such projects, as well as their ecological and environmental impacts and economic and social value for money, are frequently criticised.

This paper draws on a range of examples across Latin America to address two main questions. First, megaprojects are not new. But does their current prominence mean that

they are particularly associated with neoliberalism, and if so in what ways? How can a Marxist perspective illuminate the role of megaprojects in the contemporary economy? Secondly, what can be learned from an analysis of the many oppositional struggles against megaprojects? In particular, megaprojects have been promoted not only by governments espousing neoliberalism, but by more progressive, 'pink tide' governments. Does this imply that there are types of megaprojects which should be supported by those on the left, or does the opposition to them question the progressive claims of such governments?

Christakis Georgiou

British capitalism and European unification, from Ottawa to the Brexit referendum

British capital has from the very beginning entertained an ambivalent relationship with the process of European unification. But that ambivalence has gone through different stages and since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008 a new, conflictual, stage in that relationship has begun. This is the essential backdrop against which the Brexit referendum should be understood. This paper surveys four stages in the post-war relationship of British capitalism with the European Union and offers some thoughts on what lies ahead.

Bulent Gokay

Race and national identity in Turkey, from Ataturk to Erdogan (and back again)

Many citizens of Turkey, including its political leaders, do not accept that there is racism in Turkey and will state that they are proud of their traditional hospitality and generosity towards foreigners. Mainstream accounts generally point to the assumption that Turkish nationalism is not an ethnic, or cultural, nationalism; rather, it is an inclusive civic nationalism. In this article, I intend to directly challenge this conviction by revealing the dark side of Turkish nationalism. I argue that even though the official discourse stresses that Turkish nationalism is inclusive and civic there is clear evidence of the existence of an ethnic and racial discourse which shaped Turkish nationalism in the early years of the republic and which is significant in defining modern Turkish nationalism in 21st century. My intention in this paper is to focus on how 'race' has been a central tenet in the definition of Turkish identity. Discussions of racism take on added importance with the recent influx of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Turkish nationalism, like other nationalisms, has many different forms that have evolved over time and been influenced by internal and external conditions. According to even official pro-government reports, levels of harassment and racist attacks against Syrian refugees in Turkey are rising sharply, and many observers are complaining about the compassion deficit. Because the dominant group (the Sunni Turks in Turkey) built and dominate all significant institutions, often at the expense of and on the uncompensated work of other groups, their interests are embedded in the foundation of Turkish state and society. While many individual members of the dominant group may not be racist and even act against racism in their personal life, they still benefit from the unfair distribution of resources controlled by their group. This in-built systemic and institutional control allows many members of the dominant group who are Sunni Turks, Turkey's 'whites', to live in a social and political environment that protects and insulates them from race-based stress. Because modern Turkey was established on one of the essential principles of the 1920s' nation-states, i.e. white supremacy and division of the world into 'superior' and 'inferior' races, and never attempted to question this foundation critically, there is persevering and widespread racism at all levels of Turkish state and society.

Mike Gonzalez

A revolution brought to its knees

History may tell us that in 2016 the Bolivarian Revolution ended. The 'pink tide' – ill-named for its political ambiguity – is ebbing at dizzying speed. But this tragic outcome has been met by the global movement that was so inspired by it, with two responses. There is silence – the sudden disappearance of Venezuela from the debates on the left - in Spain, for example; or there is a refusal to acknowledge what is happening, and a call for 'solidarity' with a revolution under siege. But solidarity with whom? The right wing electoral victory in December's elections in Venezuela was met with disbelief by the government, and then it was simply ignored. But how was it possible that a process that enjoyed such consistent support under Chavez should have fallen apart in such short order after his death in 2013? The theory of an "economic war" waged against the Maduro government is a partial explanation. But it pales beside the internal erosion of chavismo. The devastating economic crisis, the astronomical inflation rates, the corruption of the regime itself, the emergence of a ruling bureaucracy whose manipulation of the symbolism of the Bolivarian revolution veiled a level of embezzlement of public funds of staggering proportions, demand explanation. The central issue for the future, and for the political movements that will re-emerge in Venezuela, is why and how this happened? The disarming and demobilization of the social movement that triumphantly overwhelmed the political and economic coups of 2002-3 is both cause and effect of the current crisis. This presentation will explore why and how this was possible and how a new bureaucracy emerged from revolution, appropriated it for its own purposes, and ultimately destroyed it. And as events unfold across the region, it is clear that the Venezuelan experience is exemplary, as progressive governments face a newly confident right itself mired in allegations of corruption.

Jamie Gough

A lacuna David Harvey: the valorisation of property and fictitious capital by value production

David Harvey's work has been at the centre of the development of Marxist geography in the last forty years. Harvey has, however, given relatively little attention to direct capital-labour relations and the creation of surplus value within production. Rather, his focus has been on capitalist investment flows and speculation in fictitious capital. I will argue that the latter cannot be understood without attending to the creation of surplus value, and that capital-labour relations should anyway be at the centre of Marxist analysis and politics. I make this argument with regard to two influential theorisations of Harvey:-

(i) Harvey's theory of neoliberalism as 'accumulation by dispossession'. Private appropriation of assets is an important aspect of neoliberalism. But the valorisation of these assets depends on the exploitation of labour power. The central process of neoliberalism is the intensification of this exploitation in order to raise the rate of surplus value.

(ii) Harvey's theory of the 'secondary circuit of capital', property. I argue that this gives insufficient attention to analysing rent/ building prices, and how these originate in locationally-constrained surplus value production and consumption from wages.

Konstantinos Gousis

Bolivarian Messages in Greek Bottles – How are the developments in Venezuela “translated” in the Greek debate on the crisis?

“We want to become the Venezuela of the Mediterranean; communal power, nationalizations, workers' control, popular sovereignty”, “Those who ask for an exit from the Eurozone want Greece to become like Venezuela; endless queues, empty supermarkets, bankruptcy”. These are two competing narratives embedded within the Greek debate on the crisis. There is always a tendency to locate political and social situations existing in the same historical period and present them as paradigms of alternative or disaster in order to strengthen a political or ideological position. Neoliberal narratives globally “use” Venezuela as an asset in the TINA (There is No Alternative) strategy. What is interesting politically in the Greek case is that Greece's ruling Syriza party has been elected as an anti-neoliberal party and at the end of the day has replicated a left version of the TINA strategy. After the implementation of the memorandums by SYRIZA, government officials have even reproduced the neoliberal arguments against the bolivarian project in order to justify more austerity measures. In the first part of this presentation I'll focus on the question if there is a common ground of parallelism between Venezuela and Greece based on the different structure of production, class formation and geopolitical position between them. In the second part, I'll examine the various interpretations of the political developments in Venezuela and their limits by different tendencies of the communist and radical left in Greece. While the “idealization – underestimation” dipole in the left analysis can be met all over world, in the Greek case emphasis will be put on the following questions: How important is the role of Greek social movements' solidarity to the Bolivarian project against imperialist attacks and vice versa? What would a “radical chavismo” project mean in Greece? In conclusion, I will emphasize on the ways that the views of the Greek left on Venezuela affects their positions on an alternative road for Greece.

Ali Yalçın Göymen

Reading Karl Marx's Theory of Alienation as a Theory of Subjectivity

Alienation constitutes the most effective weapon in capitalism's arsenal when it comes to surpass the natural and social limits. Not only does it enable the creation of profit, but it also creates the necessary relations for the reproduction of capital by turning our subjectivity into a reified existence. Still, Marx's theory of alienation has come to be regarded either as a long forgotten theory of the past or as a false conception stemming from his immature works. And its almost diminished impact exists mainly as a negative one. It is taken by contemporary radical thinkers* as a significant example of essentialist thinking, thus degraded to an outdated and fallacious theory. There are some recent works, however, which claim that the theory of alienation is still valid for criticising capitalism.** Following this line of works, my presentation will aim to demonstrate that Marx's theory of alienation is the key to analyse human subjectivity in capitalist society. It will have a twofold structure: a) I will argue that Marx's usage of human nature in his theory is quite different from what it has been criticised for. What has been identified as human nature by Marx is the casting out of the human potential – the objective activity – within specific social relations. For Marx, this potential is determined by material powers and needs, and it is actualised within a historical context, within concrete social relations. Therefore it is not a universal - metaphysical concept which can be aligned as good or bad. b) It has been argued by the critiques of the theory that subjectivity is produced by different social relations and this fact renders any claim on consistency of human nature

and on the theory of alienation invalid. I will demonstrate that recognising that our subjectivity is produced should bring light on the need for a theory of alienation. For only this theory can make visible the gap between what is extracted from us (what our nature has been turned into) and what we become as produced subjects as a result of alienated social relations. In conclusion I will suggest that by examining the two key elements -the two elements (human nature and production of subjectivity) which also turn the theory of alienation into a theory of subjectivity- can we reach a theoretical position where we can confront the arguments of its critics as well as exposing the engines run by capitalism to negate our capability to emancipate ourselves from its limits.

Peter Green

Reclaiming Forgotten Theories of Disproportionality and Crisis

This presentation will cover the first part of a longer article whose full title could be "Reconsidering Marxist Theories of Disproportionality as theories of systemic cyclical and global imbalances". It constitutes a response to a speaker at last year's conference who claimed that there was no support among contemporary Marxists for disproportionality theories of crisis and will articulate dissatisfaction with the polarisation of recent debate between varieties of underconsumptionism on the one hand and secular falling rate of profit theories on the other. This presentation will however focus on contributions in the Marxist tradition (eg from Hilferding, Lenin, Maksakovsky, Preobazhensky and Trotsky) and the interwar debate summarised in Richard Day's unjustly neglected survey "The Crisis and the Crash" - thereby preparing the ground for reflections on their contemporary relevance. The question of capital's capacity to overcome limits to its expansion will feature.

Jorge Grespan

Subject in Modernity: representation forms and social conscience

Capital is the "subject" of the processes of valorization, accumulation and progress of productive forces, called "modernization". But capital is, according to Marx, an "automatic" subject. Social agents who realize the above mentioned processes are, in opposition to capital, conscious of these processes. They are, in the first place, concurrent capitalists; in the second place, through the extension of competition to all spheres of bourgeois sociability, even workers fighting for jobs enter into this category. As far as self-valorization and modernization occur through the social forms developed by capital, they engender representations determining the conscience e conditioning the practice of social agents (despite the fact that practice also occur for reasons beyond conscience – "They do this without being aware of it"). Fetishism is the partial perception of the process; it is the image of competition limited to circulation, which actually, however, puts into effect the exploitation of labor power. Agents don't have to know everything in order to act, because each one of them believes he is acting only for his own sake; but doing so, they act together for the sake of capital. From these general definitions, my paper will develop some of the main steps of this representation, engendered by capitalist practice in the perception and action of individuals and social groups.

Isabelle Gribomont

Innovative use of arts in Latin American radical movements: lessons from Zapatismo

The encounter between Marxism and traditional Indigenous cosmology is the foundational

moment of the Zapatista movement, and perhaps its most solid and ever-present characteristic. Inheriting from those two traditions, the Zapatista discursive practice, through its literary aspects – e.g. poetic language, humour, metatextual interplays and literary references of all sorts – undermines neoliberal capitalism via deconstructed and translated Western and Indigenous epistemologies.

On February 29 2016, the Zapatistas revealed that they will, for the first time, organise an art festival in the second half of July. This event is unprecedented for the movement, but probably for the whole leftist guerrilla tradition as well. This paper will be an attempt to link the experience of the festival with the literary aspects of the Zapatista communiqués. This festival will be a unique opportunity to exchange with Zapatista artists, and therefore understand the role of the creative process and the public encounter between different artistic mediums and representations in the Zapatista struggle and political strategy. The Zapatista imagery, as exposed in the murals painted in the Caracoles, ranges from Frida Khalo or the Mexican revolution to Maya cosmology and Western artists such as Matisse. This diversity in the imaginary world of the movement ties in with the communiqués, which also impress by the scope of their referents. Both the literariness of the communiqués and Zapatista art contribute into creating a bridge that narrows the distance between art-making and the production of social thought. A joint analysis of the artistic aspect of the Zapatista discourse and the first Zapatista art festival promises to provide insights on the role of imagination and creativity in Zapatismo, but also about the potential of the arts in the creation of novel forms of creative political discourses and practices in Latin America.

Agnès Grivaux

Exploitation and domination of nature : Adorno's reflections on the Marxian critique of the capitalist exploitation of nature

It is now widely accepted that the Marxian approach to the exploitation of nature is by no means unilateral. Far from having neglected the deleterious consequences of the capitalistic exploitation of nature, Marx has developed, since his early writings, concepts aiming at seizing the complexity of this phenomenon and criticizing it. Consequently, even if the exact nature of this approach is still a matter of debate, it is no longer possible to argue that Marx has only a Promethean attitude towards nature.

This point seems to render impertinent the critique put forward by the Frankfurt School, and especially by Adorno, against the Marxian way of thinking the exploitation of nature. This critique consists in denouncing the non-critical manner in which Marxism thinks the exploitation of nature. It seems that this critique of Marxism suffers, if not from bias, at least from superficiality.

However, we would like to show that this critique is indeed pertinent, especially for our present conjuncture, provided that we understand that Adorno is aware of the fact that the exploitation of nature is indeed criticized in the Marxian approach, but that for him this critique is not entirely satisfactory.

According to Adorno, domination of nature (Naturbeherrschung) and exploitation of nature (Naturausbeutung) do not signify the same thing; however, they are often used as synonyms, in an unthought and confused manner, and this in turn affects the Marxian reflections on nature. This unthought element is related to the fact that in Marxism, the capitalist exploitation of nature is often thought in merely economical sense, whereas in

fact there are certain ideological aspects of this capitalist exploitation of nature which are not reducible to its economical logic. For Adorno, it would be equally necessary to reconstruct the ideological substructure of the exploitation of nature as domination. We would therefore try to show that with the help of psychoanalysis, Adorno has managed to develop a conceptual framework capable of problematizing those aspects of the capitalist exploitation of nature which are often overlooked within the Marxian approach, and how taking these into account may improve our understanding of capitalism.

Paul Guillibert

The ecology of global capitalism

The studies of imperialism have been influenced since thirty years by ecological narratives elaborated mostly in the field of environmental history (A. W. Crosby, R. Grove, Ra. Guha, J. Diamond). Most of this studies developps constructivist perspectives (Grove, Guha) or new forms of social darwinism (Crosby, Diamond). In reaction, the marxists (Foster, Clark) or post-marxist (Hornborg) theories elaborated a concept of « ecological imperialism » which take into account the relation between ecological degradations and the domination of the periphery by the center. Their analysis based on world-system analysis and theory of unequal exchange are problematic in two ways. On one hand, they miss the permanent play of the historical divorce of workers and means of production and reproduction. On an other hand, they didn't take into account the centrality of international rivalries in the definition of imperialism. This presentation argue that the ecological perspective of imperialism can produce a new theoretical and empirical understanding of the dialectic between the territorial logic of states and the logic of capitalist accumulation (Harvey) which explains the globalisation of capital.

Christopher Gunderson

Reading Lenin in the Jungle: The Marxist Roots of Zapatismo

Subcomandante Marcos describes the distinctive politics of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) as the result of the “defeat” of the supposedly orthodox Marxism of a small non-indigenous guerrilla group, the National Liberation Forces (FLN), by the traditions of resistance of the indigenous Mayan communities of Chiapas that the FLN had sought to organize. This paper will examine the adequacy of that account and argue that by the time they came into contact with the FLN that the politics of the indigenous communities had already been significantly influenced by several currents of Marxist and Marxist-influenced theory and practice. These went at least as far back as the 1920s when the Socialist Party of Chiapas (PSdCh) agitated and built a base of support among migrant workers brought from highland Tzotzil villages to pick coffee in the plantations of coastal Soconusco. I will show how, in the intervening decades, the indigenous communities of Chiapas would come into contact with the Mexican Communist Party, the Marxist-influenced liberationist Christianity of the Catholic Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, several Maoist organizations, and an assortment of smaller Trotskyist and other left-wing groups before the FLN, itself inspired by the examples of the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions, began to win recruits to its project of building a rebel army in the Lacandon Jungle. The paper will argue that the Marxism of the FLN was not as orthodox as Marcos claims and that the distinctive politics of Zapatismo cannot be understood without reference to debates within 20th century revolutionary Marxism on agrarian, indigenous and national questions that had already influenced the radical wing of the indigenous peasant movement before they rallied to the FLN and the EZLN.

Nicolas Lema Habash

The Problem of Space in Mariátegui's "Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality"

In the "Author's Note" to his *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality*, Mariátegui writes that "I have served my best apprenticeship in Europe and I believe the only salvation for Indo-America lies in European and Western science and thought." These words show, from the outset of his most famous work, Mariátegui's acute consciousness about the problem of space. Research on Mariátegui has often—and fruitfully—analyzed his oeuvre from the perspective of time; a perspective that considers Mariátegui's transformation of the notion of history as stemming from thinkers such as Marx, Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche (see, for example, Quijano, 2007). In this paper I propose to focus on Mariátegui's treatment of space and geography, rather than on his view of time. I argue that Mariátegui's notion of space is a key issue for understanding the *Seven Interpretative Essays* and the precise nature of his Marxism. The problem of space can be analyzed at two levels. First, it is one element among others that shows how Mariátegui was aware of his "location" as a theoretician. This "locational awareness," I contend, plays a critical role in the need of transforming European thought. Second, space becomes an analytical category that serves, not simply as a passive background for analyzing Peruvian reality, but as an element playing an active role for molding and shaping economic and social realities. In this sense, the historical unity of Latin America in general, and that of Peru in particular, is not given by a series of events happening one after another in a chronological timeline (that is, as an event in time), but rather because its inhabitants share and inhabit a territory. By focusing on the material changes of the Latin American territory, Mariátegui was able to analyze people's lived experience, beyond the conceptual straightjackets imposed by European conceptual apparatuses.

Robin Halpin

The Absolute Inner Limit to Capital and the Theory of Breakdown

This paper examines the work of the late Robert Kurz on the theory of capitalist breakdown. Kurz argues, especially in a recent work, "The Substance of Capital", that the driving out of living labour from the production process as a consequence of the third industrial revolution of microelectronics has resulted in massive a shrinkage of the value available for the expanded reproduction of capital. Money then ceases to be the expression of value in its pure form and so becomes ever less capable of mediating the social synthesis, becoming money without value. Marx defines abstract labour as the 'expenditure of brain, nerves, muscles' without regard to the specificity of the productive activity and bases his entire analysis in *Capital* on its status as the real substance of capital. Unlike theories based upon the tendential fall in the profit rate that lead to cyclical processes of expansion and contraction, Kurz's argument shows that the dwindling of abstract labour pumped out is leading to a complete breakdown of the capital relation. Kurz's position challenges traditional Marxism in refusing to accept that it is on the political level that the question of capital's future will be settled. Capital is determining its own future in the sense that it is self-destructing, even though it faces no real challenges from the political. Kurz discusses the treatment of breakdown in earlier Marxists such as Luxemburg and Grossmann, arguing that they assumed without further examination that there would always be an expanding mass of surplus-value available to capital, and that it is precisely this that no longer holds.

Daniel Hartley

For a Marxist Theory of the Impersonal

This paper argues that there is an intrinsic relation between modernist impersonality and the subject of communism. Beginning with a brief history of the concept of the 'person' from the 'persona' of Roman law and theatre, through the 'personality' at the heart of the Bildungsroman and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the politico-aesthetic 'impersonality' developed by T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound (among others), the paper will trace a subterranean current of reflections on the 'person' within the Marxist tradition itself. Focusing especially on Marx's "On the Jewish Question" and Capital, Gramsci's writings on persona and Badiou's conception of the (impersonal) 'generic', the paper will sketch out the coordinates for a Marxist theory of the 'impersonal'. It will conclude with a brief comparison of this Marxist conception of the impersonal and that developed by Roberto Esposito in such works as Third Person and Two. The preliminary hypothesis of the paper is that the Marxist conception places more emphasis on the determinate role of the state.

Paul Heideman

New Evidence on the Origins of American Education Reform

Educational policy in the United States has undergone a wrenching transformation in the past few decades. It has culminated in an all-out assault on public education, advanced through channels as diverse as privatization, deskilling of teachers, and a frightening new authoritarianism in the classroom. While commentary abounds on the various horrors of this new policy regime, its origins are still poorly understood. Its ascent is ascribed variously to a nebulous neoliberal ideology, the ascent of Reaganism, a desire to break the teachers unions, or the simple pillage of one of the United States' few encompassing public institutions.

Drawing on a new dataset of the early wave of educational reform in the late 1970s and early 1980s, this paper systematically investigates the relationship between socioeconomic changes in the American states in these years and their adoptions of reform policies. In particular, it examines the relationship between the devolution of economic policy from the federal to the state level that was occurring in these years, and its relationship with the ascent of education reform as a tool of economic competitiveness.

Chris Hesketh

Is Gramsci dead in Latin America?

For critical theorists of various persuasions, the concept of hegemony as developed by Antonio Gramsci has proved to be an important one for understanding not only past and present forms of social order in Latin America, but also for articulating resistance and imagining alternatives. However, over the past two decades there have been a number of theoretical and practical challenges to this 'hegemony of hegemony'. These challenges are complex and multifarious, but can be reduced to two basic contentions. The first is that hegemony - understood as a consent-based form of domination - is a myth. Rather outright violence or habitual acquiescence are posited as rival explanations for the maintenance of political order. The second strand draws influence from post-structuralist theory as well as concrete activism by some of the continent's most excluded members. It posits that hegemony as a style of politics has been (and normatively needs to be)

eclipsed, by more minoritarian articulations that acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of Latin American society whilst also questioning the wider role of state power as a form of social exclusion. In light of these developments, this paper seeks to explore whether Gramscian concepts and politics are thus irrelevant for theorising about Latin America in the 21st century, or conversely whether rumours regarding the death of Gramsci's influence have been greatly exaggerated.

Chris Hesketh

Territory, rights and class: the scale of an environmental problem

This paper focuses on the struggle of the Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Juchitán, a municipality of Oaxaca in Southern Mexico. In recent decades Juchitán has been a prime target for the development of wind-farm projects by multinational corporations linked to the Clean Development Mechanism set out in the Kyoto Protocol. However, opposing the idea that wind farms represent a form of clean, environmentally-friendly energy production, indigenous groups have highlighted local issues of contamination of fishing stocks as well as couching the term 'environment' in wider terms related to their access to communal land and have sought to resist this development. Such resistance is articulated here - and indeed throughout the state of Oaxaca - as a form of territorially-based politics. Linked to the International Labour Organization's (ILO) convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal People, their legal right to consultation and self-determination are strenuously asserted in contrast to the Mexican state's claim to the right to the subsoil and air enshrined in the national constitution. In this sense, the conflict is transformed into a class struggle to dictate who controls the production of space and the wider environment. This paper seeks to explore the contradictions of this struggle which simultaneously gains strength from but is limited by its place-based specificity. It furthermore seeks to disentangle the politics of scale at which resistance movements must now operate.

Andy Higginbottom

'False Social Value': The debate on rent in Argentina and its consequences

Argentine theorist Iñigo Carrera has brought Marx's analysis of land rent to the fore in his analysis of value relations. Iñigo Carrera emphasises Marx's notion of 'false social value' to argue that there is a transfer of value from industrial sectors to agriculture via commodity prices higher than the price of production. This line of argument has been taken up by several authors and is now crossing over into the English language literature. Fellow Argentine Marxist Astarita has critiqued Iñigo Carrera's theory. This paper will review their debate.

I will further argue that Marx's claim that mid-nineteenth century England was the classical case to study capitalist agriculture is misleading. In fact England had strong particularities in terms of social relations in agriculture and a high proportion of imports, both of which were consequences of its colonial or semi-colonial relations leading to exceptional privileges that do not obtain in Latin America. This puts further doubt on the applicability of 'false social value' in the way used by Iñigo Carrera, but his contribution opens up a vital field of theoretical clarification given its importance for analysis of extractivism.

The paper identifies other key Latin American Marxist contributions to Marxist rent theory and concludes that these need to be made available to understand the richness and depth of debate.

Mariana Hirsch

The “Increasing Misery” Debate revisited. An alternative approach

The article presents a critical analysis on the origin and development of Marxist debate regarding to the “Increasing Misery of the working class” Doctrine. It is argued that the debate arises from the critique Eduard Bernstein performed on the interpretation of capitalist breakdown, dominant among the German Social Democratic Party’s members in the late nineteenth century. According to this position, the collapse of capitalism was a consequence of the increasing impoverishment suffered by workers with the development of capital accumulation. Bernstein, on his behalf, argued that empirical evidence of rising wages decisively questioned that connection. Ever since, Marxists have sought to argue Bernstein's assertions, trying to demonstrate that even if wages rise, working class tends to be more and more miserable, remaining, therefore, the *raison d'être* of capitalist breakdown intact. The article claims that Marxists’ arguments have failed to respond the question originally performed by Bernstein. In doing so, they left unsolved the apparent contradiction between the improvement in living conditions of the active working class and the need of it to become the subject who puts end to the capitalist mode of production. It is argued that the cause of the mentioned failure rests, first, on the absence of a clear conception regarding the trend and the determination of the level of wages received by the working class. Secondly, it rests on the lack of a consistent explanation about the supposed “necessary” connection between the increasing misery of the working class and capitalist breakdown. Based on some recent research, the article presents an alternative approach to both, trend and determination of the level of wages that shows to be consistent with the need to overcome the capitalist mode of production.

Ralf Hoffrogge

Syndicalism and trade unionism in the interwar years: Britain, Germany and the US 1. The Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) in Great Britain 1920-1935

The Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU), often simply referred to as the engineers, was one of the biggest trade unions in Britain during the interwar years. It was formed as a new model union in 1851 and in 1920 amalgamated with a number of smaller unions that united 450,000 members, most of them skilled workers such as fitters and turners. The new union rulebook of 1920 was inspired by the syndicalist shop stewards movement of WWI and characterized by an unprecedented degree of grassroots democracy: all full-time officials were elected by their local or regional union branches, president and Executive Council of the AEU had to report to an annual meeting of lay members working in the trade, the resolutions of this „National Committee“ where binding to the leadership. The AEU’s democratic constitution was part of an optimistic peak of the British working-class movement, inspired by domestic protest as well as the revolutions on the continent between 1917-1919. But the interwar years were a period of severe economic and political crisis that almost broke the young AEU: a severe depression in the engineering industry starting in 1921 caused half its members to leave the union, the aborted General Strike in 1926 ended hopes for a working-class offensive. Since 1930 the great depression had its grip on the engineering-industry – the AEU, where both communist and socialist currents had been strong, went into a conservative mode of hibernation. This paper will re-read contemporary voices from the union’s „Monthly Journal“ to discuss the relationship of economic crisis and political conservatism within trade unions.

Bruno Hofig

A Marxist analysis of personal debt securities and risk

The recent development of securitized personal debt and the emergence of risk as a thing-like entity have been cited by many social scientists as important factors in the rise of financialised (or neoliberal) capitalism. Yet, such phenomena tend to be regarded by scholars as absolutely contingent, and even as anomalous – and thus also as something whose sustainability is doubtful. This paper presents an alternative analysis of personal debt securities and risk. Based on Marx's work, it shows that, by creating the socially objective illusion that any independent expression of a sum of value is naturally capable of generating interests, capitalist sociability also causes wages to appear as a type of interest. By doing so, such form of sociability underpins the development of a type of fictitious capital that results from the capitalization of (expected) future wages. As will be seen, personal debt securities are the concrete mode of existence of such type of fictitious capital. The paper also argues that, by creating the socially objective illusion that every capital is naturally capable of generating by itself an income of a given magnitude, capitalist sociability makes any deviation from the normal magnitude appear as an accident that could only have been caused by some exterior event(s). In doing so, it gives rise to a process of real abstraction through which all possible future events are stripped of their singularity and regarded as one and the same type of "thing": risk. In this sense, risk is a social form immanent to the capitalist mode of production: as risks, events are given a form of objectivity that expresses their capacity to affect capital's supposedly natural ability to periodically produce cash flows of a given magnitude. The paper concludes by arguing that the logical derivation of the forms of personal debt security and risk from the most basic determinations of the capitalist mode of production shows that the historical emergence of such social forms should not be regarded as an absolutely contingent, much less as an anomalous phenomenon.

Carmen Teeple Hopkins

Islamophobic disciplining of Muslim women in public space: a social reproduction approach

In recent years, geographers have identified the exclusion of Muslims from public space as a significant and growing concern (Falah and Nagel 2005; Hopkins 2009; Dwyer 2000). Some countries have contributed to these exclusions through national legislation. In 2004 the government of France, for example, passed a law that prohibits religious dress from public schools and in 2010 it established a law that bans face veils from public space. These laws were based on the belief that religion should not overlap with the state, *laïcité*, and such laws have negatively impacted the experiences of veiled Muslim women in public space (Hancock 2015; Amnesty International 2012; Teeple Hopkins 2015). Although research in Sweden demonstrates that many veiled women who have been harassed or attacked were with children (Listerborn 2013), this phenomenon has not been explicitly linked to feminist geographies of social reproduction. For instance, a few days after the November 13 Paris attacks, a Muslim woman in Toronto allegedly was attacked while she was picking up her children from school and the attackers told the woman to "go back to your country" (Nielsen, Shum, and Miller 2015). The safety and ability of Muslims to perform daily tasks illustrates the need to examine social reproduction within public space. While the increasing violence that Muslims experience in public space opens the door to Foucauldian analyses of anti-veil legislation where citizens absorb the state-sanctioned racism of these laws by regulating and disciplining Muslim women in public space, this

paper argues that Foucauldian analyses of biopower are insufficient to analyze the socio-spatial realities of Muslim women. This paper proposes a Marxist social reproduction lens to analyze islamophobic violence in public space. First, the paper outlines the discrimination in public space that Muslim women experience in Canada and France. Second, it considers how one might approach this topic from a Foucauldian perspective and then outlines the weaknesses of this approach. Finally, the paper demonstrates how a Marxist social reproduction approach is necessary to capture the both socio-economic positioning and islamophobic disciplining of working class Muslim women in public space in France and Canada.

Cagri Idiman

Transition: The Formation of the Capitalist World-Ecology through the Age of Manufacture (1450-1750)

In this paper, I aim to develop a world-ecological perspective on the question of transition to capitalism. During the High Middle Ages (950-1450), two feudal world-economies occupied Northern and Southern Europe simultaneously. Although merchant's and usurer's capitals existed within these socio-ecological formations, industrial capital had not taken over production. Production was, instead, characterized by either serfdom or guilds, which conditioned definite socio-ecological patterns of expansion and contraction. During the expansionary phase, population rose, arable land expanded vis-à-vis forests, and land productivity decreased due to the fragmentation of means of production. Feudal relations and forces of production thus ultimately checked expansion and initiated contraction. Deforestation and soil exhaustion led to malnutrition, famine and epidemics. The feudal motion biseculaire resulted in a total socio-ecological collapse in the 14th century. In response to this collapse, the capitalist world-economy blew into existence through the Age of Manufacture (1450-1750). The prime-mover of capitalist development was the concentration of means of production as 'industrial capital' and the reorganization of the mode of appropriation of nature on the basis of multiple forms of surplus-value-producing labor: ship-building and shipping in Italy, Iberia and the Netherlands; mining in German-Hungarian lands, New Spain, Potosi and Sweden; forestry in Dalmatia, Madeira and Norway; tenant-farming in Northern France, Netherlands and England; and sugar plantations in the Mediterranean, Atlantic, Caribbean islands and the American littoral. This set in motion distinct socio-ecological development patterns. To guarantee expanded reproduction and increase labor productivity, capitalists concentrated means of production and laborers through 'spatio-temporal fixes.' Expanded reproduction, however, led to local resource depletion, soil exhaustion, deforestation, and consequently, falling labor productivity and profit rates i.e. over-accumulation. Through states and financial institutions, over-accumulated capital was displaced temporarily through long-term infrastructural investment and spatially through state- and war-making activities, which increased labor productivity and profit rates by providing access to cheaper raw materials and labor-power. Hence, novel spatio-temporal fixes were created on an ever-greater scale in order to overcome the problem of over-accumulation. In summary, I argue that the origin of the crisis of feudalism and transition to capitalism is to be found in the sphere of production.

Paul Ingram

Adorno's Philistine: The Other of Art and Aesthetics

This paper takes as its point of departure the so-called “philistine controversy” of the 1990s. Dave Beech and John Roberts’ “Spectres of the Aesthetic” and Malcolm Bull’s “The Ecstasy of Philistinism” both seek to work through the insight that, within the discourse of art and aesthetics, the typological figure of the philistine functions as the other of art, or as the ideal embodiment of everything that the (bourgeois) aesthetic subject is not. Theodor Adorno is identified as the source of this insight, but it is claimed that he fails to develop it sufficiently in “Aesthetic Theory”. My research surveys his oeuvre for references to the philistine (“Philister”, “Banause”, “Spießbürger/Spießler”), finding a more sophisticated version of this concept than acknowledged by either Beech and Roberts or Bull.

Adorno’s model of advanced art is negatively delimited by “the philistinism of art with a cause” and “the philistinism of art for enjoyment”, which are the extremes of the dialectic of the aesthetic and the social. The philistinism of art with a cause, represented by committed art, reduces the aesthetic to the social, whereas for him the social import of the work of art consists in aesthetic autonomy. The philistinism of art for enjoyment, represented by *l’art pour l’art*, excludes the social from the aesthetic, whereas he recognises that aesthetic autonomy is itself a social fact. Adorno’s philistine is further defined in relation to its counterpart the connoisseur, with the interplay between these figures delineating his preferred approach to aesthetics, in which an affinity for art and alienness to it are combined dialectically.

Adorno’s seemingly straightforward derogatory comments about philistines must therefore be read in conjunction with the instances in which he affirms the critical potential of the concept to counter the ideological character of art and aesthetics. He deploys philistinism to secure the borders of his own discourse, while self-reflexively disclosing the complicity of the term with domination. The philistine is a rhetorical container for contradiction, combining irreconcilable aspects of a truth that he believes can only be expressed negatively under capitalism.

Chris Isett

The Contingent Origins of Taiwanese Capitalism

If the appearance of capitalism is understood as the unintended outcome of class struggle in fifteenth century England, as Brenner argued, how do we best account for its subsequent appearances? Can we and should we allow for the same degree of indeterminacy?

Proponents of the Asian Model give pride of place to the developmental state and so emphasize the intentional, planned, and guided character of capitalism in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. While recognizing the importance of this literature—especially its identification of the particular institutional arrangements between the state and private actors that characterize the Asian manufacturing behemoths—it is clear that the developmental state alone cannot explain the origins of East Asian capitalism insofar as it took form as capitalist expansion was *already* underway. In other words, insofar as the emergence of developmental state is key to the rapid pace of growth, what is required is an account of the origins of that state and the conditions that made capitalism possible in the first instance.

Drawing on the work of Robert Brenner, I argue for the highly contingent and therefore unintended manner of the developmental state’s appearance on Taiwan. The paper highlights 1. the importance of the U.S. centered post-war boom and demand for

manufactured goods, 2. Taiwan's strategic function in US Cold War thinking, 3. the existential crisis of the KMT following its defeat in the Chinese Civil War and 4. the initial autonomy enjoyed by the state in the aftermath of the KMT's retreat to Taiwan.

Maria N Ivanova

The Limits of Unconventional Monetary Policy

From the summer of 2007 onward, the United States' economy went through a monetary panic, financial crisis, and a severe economic downturn – a 'Great Recession' – followed by a sluggish recovery. The biggest credit for averting another Great Depression is typically given to the unconventional monetary policy of the Federal Reserve (Fed) initiated under Ben Bernanke. In terms of design, impact, and implications, this policy represented a significant departure from the reigning conventional wisdom about the typical tools and targets of monetary policy. In many respects, it also marked a departure from what used to be considered the traditional role of the central bank. The Fed's interventions unfolded over two periods which can be distinguished with regards to the particular tools employed and goals pursued. The overarching purpose during the first period was to prevent the collapse of financial intermediation and alleviate the credit crunch. During that period, monetary policy was conducted predominantly through changes in the composition of the Fed's assets without eliciting any significant changes in the size of its balance sheet. During the second period of unconventional action beginning in September 2008, monetary policy was conducted not only through the continued shift in the composition of the central bank's assets towards riskier and less liquid assets but through a huge expansion of the size of the Fed's balance sheet which almost quintupled between August 2008 and October 2014 following three consecutive rounds of quantitative easing, also known as large scale asset purchases. The overarching purpose of unconventional monetary policy during the second period was to stimulate aggregate demand in the conditions of an effective zero lower bound of the nominal short-term policy rate. Starting with an overview of the two distinct periods in the conduct of monetary policy, which correspond to the two phases of the financial crisis and its aftermath, this paper aims to explore the theoretical justifications and the practical implications of unconventional monetary policy. A key argument is that while the Fed's policy eventually managed to alleviate credit shortages and restoring the functionality of financial markets, it has had relatively little success in stimulating domestic investment and employment. In fact, tendencies that predated the Great Recession have only grown stronger. Domestic investment has failed to recover let alone grow. The US capital stock has been shrinking as evidenced by the collapse and subsequent stagnation of net private domestic investment. Moreover, the impressive decline in the unemployment rate is to a large extent due to the significant fall in the employment-population ratio and the labor force participation rate along with the continued reorientation of the US employment structure towards predominantly low-wage, often part-time, service-sector employment. We conclude that the effects of unconventional monetary policy have been most acutely felt not in a revival of domestic investment and employment but in the staggering distortions in asset prices domestically and globally.

Robert Jackson

Between the living and the dead: Gramsci, mummification and common sense

I examine the language of 'life' and its semantic field in Gramsci's prison writings, exploring the relationship between Gramsci's vision of the "constitutive social and political

over-determination of la persona” (Peter Thomas, *The Gramscian Moment*, 2009, 450), and the theme of the ‘living’ and the ‘dead’ in his work. I concentrate on Bergsonian themes in Gramsci, as well as on apparently distant but related elements of his conceptual apparatus (mummification, culture, ideology). In particular, I will focus on the notions of a coherent person and of personality that are elaborated by Gramsci in these later writings, and the formation of a *modus vivendi* associated with the discordant layers of the composition of the consciousness of subaltern groups.

The paper investigates both the development and the discontinuities between this Bergsonian/Sorelian impulse and Gramsci’s conception of the mummification of culture that is employed in the *Prison Notebooks*. Gramsci’s notion of mummification provides a way of describing the embalming process through which certain forms of culture, which were something positive and legitimate when created, become pejorative and degenerate through a process of repetition in changed circumstances (Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 1975, Q8§28, 958). The paper argues that a study of the formation of these categories illuminates the relationship between philosophy and common sense in Gramsci’s thought. I further locate the obstructive consequences of the mummification of culture for the renovation of common sense, and the role of philosophy in the *Prison Notebooks* in overcoming this.

On this basis, the paper will evaluate some recent debates on the relationship between philosophy and ideology in the *Prison Notebooks*. In particular, I will consider the reading advanced by Jan Rehmann, who argues that Gramsci’s perspective of rendering common sense more coherent contains a strong ideologico-critical element (Jan Rehmann, “Philosophy of Praxis...”, *HM* 22.2, 2014, 103). Contrasting this with Thomas’ argument that “ideology is conceived in a neutral sense” in its most significant formulation in the *Notebooks* (Thomas 2009, 281), this paper will consider the contribution that an examination of Gramsci’s conception of the mummification of culture might make to this discussion.

Heesang Jeon

A value theory of intellectual property rights

Based on an abstract logical theory on the relation between value and knowledge, more concrete and complex, and constructive, theories of knowledge can be built in accordance with Marx’s method of moving from the abstract to the concrete. Some of the important aspects of such an undertaking can be summarised as follows: First, a value theory of knowledge, not a use value theory, is offered. This is not to deny the importance of the dimension of use value, given that use value is the precondition for value. However, in capitalism, production is, above all, for capital accumulation (surplus value production), with use value production and its growth only being the by-product of value production. The roles of knowledge in value production and their consequences for capital accumulation have to be clarified before the relations between knowledge and use value production can be satisfactorily studied. Second, as the analysis incorporates more concrete and complex elements, so should the distinction between knowledge and commodities be developed and reproduced at more concrete and complex levels. For example, whilst intellectual property rights allow for, and facilitate, the commodification of knowledge, it should not be seen as blurring the distinction between knowledge and commodities in any way, but as a historical and concrete form of the distinction. Third, intellectual property rights are brought into the analysis at relatively concrete and complex levels, where the distribution of surplus profit and the capitalisation of intellectual property

are discussed. Fourth, however, this should not be taken as limiting the role of intellectual property rights to appropriating (part of) surplus profit arising from knowledge. The effects of intellectual property rights on capital accumulation across the circuits of capital should be identified and analysed, especially to show how they both accelerate and decelerate capital accumulation, without collapsing different levels of abstraction. Fifth, there can be no general theory of intellectual property rights, because they have different roles and effects in different industries. For example, copyright is essential in the recorded music industry and patents in the pharmaceutical industry to the extent that the existence of these industries relies on intellectual property rights, although patents play at best a minor role in the aircraft industry, especially with respect to competition within the industry. It is, then, crucial for an analysis of intellectual property rights in an industry to examine how intellectual property rights and competition interact with each other.

Anneleen Kenis

Politicising spatial injustice: the struggle against urban air pollution in Antwerp

Air pollution is becoming an increasingly visible and politicised issue in a number of cities throughout the world. Concerns about spatial (in)justice seem to play a crucial role in this context. The uneven distribution of air, and the resulting forms of socio-ecological injustice, appear to be key factors pushing people to take action.

Over the last ten years, air pollution has been a hot issue on the political agenda in Antwerp (Belgium), due to the planned construction of a new part of the ring road in Flanders' biggest city. The decade-long campaign against this project included mobilisations of tens of thousands of people, a referendum which critical social movements imposed and won, and a series of court cases which have blocked the government's plans. Based on a document analysis and interviews with key actors, this paper presents an analysis of how and why air pollution in Antwerp has been turned into an issue of political contestation and debate, and which role is played by the perception of spatial injustice.

To this aim, the paper develops an urban political ecological perspective on air pollution, combining key insights of critical/marxist geography and post-foundational political theory. The paper starts from the observation that polluted air is not just 'nature', but socially produced nature or hybrid nature, modified and co-produced through power, knowledge and conflict. The focus is on the way in which the uneven development, distribution and circulation of this 'social-natural artefact' can trigger processes of politicisation. The assumption is that symbolically constructing air in a spatially differentiated or uneven way plays a crucial role in this perspective. In other words, the focus is on the spatial imaginaries underpinning the discourses of new social movements which put air on the public agenda and turn it into an object of contestation and debate.

Sara Kermanian

International Order and Limits of an Alternative: A study on the limits of democratic confederalism in Rojava

Taking Rojava resistance -the resistance of Kurds in the north of Syria- as its focal point, this paper argues how the Kantian logic of the imposition of peace accords that dominates international relations confines the horizons of the possibility of the alternative modes of politics through the dissolution of their structural particularities to material differences that

fit into the all-encompassing capitalist and nation-state based structure of the world. It also contends how in theories of Abdullah Öcalan, the theoretical leader of Rojava resistance, the moment of the encounter of the horizons of possibilities of Rojava with the boundaries of the international orders limits the potentials of the resistance; and how these confinements can be overcome through the reconceptualization of boundaries of local and global and the development of a parallel structure instead of struggling with the current one.

To do so, I will argue that local and alternative modes of governance are trapped in a Kantian dilemma: a structure in which self-determination only illusively comes from within but actually gets its recognition from without. This dependency of self-determination on external recognition is best exemplified in the moment of the imposition of peace accords in which the territorial borders of a newly born political entity is being legitimized mostly to the expense of the assimilation of its alternative mode of politics to international norms. That is why the question of alternatives must be posited not on the modes of governance but on the boundaries and the moment of the connection of the entity with the international order; which is the case in Rojava and Öcalan's political theory. Thus, my objective is to show in what ways the international order limits the alternative mode of politics Rojava struggles for and how the theoretical framework that underpins Rojava has responded to these limits.

Sami Khatib

The Age of Space and the Time of Capital

This paper starts from the assumption that world capitalism in its "age" after the end of history has not abolished the idea of teleological progress; it has only changed its staging ground: progress is translated into space. Time is stripped off its historical dimension and reduced to a sequential marker of dehistoricized space. The seemingly eternal presence of the world market knows different local temporalities; but these temporalities are always already mapped in spatial terms. The rise of "area studies" as a major academic discipline (which substitutes the historical science of sociology) is symptomatic of this conjuncture. If the postmodern mode of spatialization is driven by "the will to use and to subject time to the service of space" (Fredric Jameson, 1991), today we realize that this postmodern will has created a world after its own image. The capitalist posthistoire knows no history, only the pre-history of its own con-temporaneous space. Since modernization is no longer bound to historical teleologies, postmodern modernization is measured by the accessibility of space(s) to global capital investment, production and reproduction. Once space is mapped, measured and defined as a specific place, it can be evaluated, ranked and valorized by global capital. The results of this development range from neo-colonial land-grabs and legalized expropriations to the dynamic of gentrification in global cities. Capital simply asks: how does a certain place perform within the global space of the capitalist world market? How far is a place developed? From this perspective any form of political and social resistance appears as impediment to "development." Consequently, in the global space of capitalism, counter-historical struggles of "The Wretched of the Earth" (Frantz Fanon) or the "Tradition of the Oppressed" (Walter Benjamin) are fought as battles of local places against global space. However, not every form of anti-capitalist resistance is emancipatory. It all hinges on the political capacity to translate local struggles into a universal struggle that cannot be mapped by capital. In other words, the political struggle of the present has to revisit the terrain of universalism and history in order to formulate a universal, yet local strategy of de-spatialization as de-commodification.

Jim Kincaid

Surplus Money Capital as Crisis Mechanism

Profits are at the heart of the chain of crises which started in 2007. But this is not because the rate of profit has fallen in the major economies, as in the crisis of the 1970s. Since around 2000, the combination of a rising mass and rate of profit and lagging rates of investment has led to a global surplus of money capital. This has been a crisis of a particular type of disproportionality. Levels of surplus value extraction have been higher than the capacity of the system to absorb them. As a consequence - excess capital in the money form.

The tendency of the rate of profit to fall, which Marx correctly identified, has been reversed in the recent period by the strength of a range of countertendencies. Investment levels in the major economies have lagged in money terms, as the value and price of investment goods has fallen. Corporate strategies in the productive and financial sectors have shifted over the past three decades to defensive and aggressive operations in the market for corporate control, to the maintenance of high share-prices. These objectives require large war-chests of money capital, and a careful rationing of investment expenditure. Generous levels of capitalist consumption by executives and shareholders have also been a priority. As the rising surge of surplus loanable capital was transferred to the banks and financial markets from 2000 onwards, the consequences were contradictory. Large profits initially in the financial sector, but on-going difficulty in finding a large enough supply of safe assets and reliable borrowers. Disaster hit in 2007 after more than \$1 trillion dollars had been lent in unsustainable subprime mortgages in the US, and securities based on these mortgages had been sold on a huge scale to banks in the US and Europe. Severe strains arose after Northern European banks had lent lavishly to finance unsustainable booms in the peripheral economies. And since then, a seemingly intractable combination of ultra-low interest rates, demand deficiency, and faltering growth in key sectors of the world economy.

Marxist political economy can explain the causes, logics, and consequences of such a crisis of surplus money capital. But some changes in our angle-of-vision - and in ways of reading Marx - are required. Especially, a greater emphasis on the mass as well as the rate of profit. Attention not just to the instabilities of high debt levels, but to the risks and dangers the financial sector faces in finding enough safe assets to match very large inflows of loanable capital. The patient tracing of the channels through which excess accumulations of money capital build up - and their sources in underlying modes of surplus-value extraction.

Stefan Kipfer

(De-)constructing public housing: how much more than a housing question?

This paper outlines some conclusions from long-standing research projects on public housing redevelopment and place-based policy in Greater Paris and the City of Toronto. From a Marxist perspective, these questions are typically seen as manifestations of what Engels called the Housing Question. Engels also reminds us, however, housing is never just about housing; it also mediates class formation and links up to broader dynamics of capitalist development. This line of argument has been taken up in various strands of neo-marxist research that links housing questions to the problem of state intervention, collective consumption and social movements (Castells), land-rent dynamics in the urban

process (Harvey and Smith), the presence of 'city trenches' in urban politics (Katznelson), and the character of state space (Brenner). From these perspectives, public housing redevelopment and place-based policy (rightly) appear as a combination of welfare state restructuring, competitive state rescaling and dispossessive gentrification. However, these approaches overlook not only the problem of everyday to which the urban question refers but also the (neo-)colonial dynamics that shape urban policy and public housing redevelopment. Drawing on the works of Henri Lefebvre, Frantz Fanon, Antonio Gramsci and Nicos Poulantzas, I will focus on the implications the (neo-) colonial dimensions of multi-scalar urban policy have for theorizing the urban and the state in imperial heartlands. The political urgency of such theorizing is difficult to overestimate, for the territorialization of social relations wrought by urban policy continues to help disorganize both subaltern forces and oppositional politics today, preparing the ground both liberal and right-populist hegemonic projects.

Joost Kircz

4 way of dealing with Science and Maxism

In order to start the long overdue discussion of science and Marxism, in order to understand the actual energy crisis and global warming we have to delineate the problem into 4 categories

- 1) The role of science in society as a productive force.
 - 2) The role of the scientists in society (Bernal discussion, Military research, "experts")
 - 3) Monism or plurality. The discussion on methodological monism, Bogdanov, Pannekoek, Mach, Diamat
 - 4) The dynamics of human understanding as social activity in shaping a world view
- The presentation will be programmatic approach to a new research programme

Joost Kircz

Science: model, icon, and the subjective factor

In the long tradition of Marxism, the central aim was, and is, to develop a theory that enables the emancipating subject to understand the why and how of the present in order to set out a policy for a better, human, future.

Against all kinds of romantic utopian phantasies of the early socialists, Marx & Engels started a research programma to guide the striving for human emancipation from its social chains and in understanding human nature in relationship with the non-human nature . In this process they expressed keen interest in the exploding developments in all sciences, from agriculture to chemistry, and from biology to physics. And in particular the successes of their applications in the economic fabric of their time.

Later, the weak spot became the idea that the dialectical unity of social practice and scientific developments can be put under one umbrella term: dialectical materialism as an encompassing methodological term for the science of historical materialism. This methodological monism is seen as a self perpetual approach that enables to cater for all new research findings. In the long tradition of research in the role of science (as it is) and scientists (as they are) in emancipatory politics, exemplified by Bernalism and its offsprings, the understanding of the very notion "science" as human endeavour is often left out in the equation. In this presentation the approaches of astronomer council communist Anton Pannekoek and CP Crystallographer J. Desmond Bernal are compared. They both

take dialectical materialism as the science of the proletariat but they take a different approach to the role of science, the role of dialectics, the subjective factor, as well as the role of the intellectual.

Chris Knight

War research, student unrest in the 1960s and Noam Chomsky's science

Noam Chomsky's scientific linguistics was shaped in part by his commitment to pursue research in an Electronics Laboratory funded by the Pentagon while joining with students in opposing the war in Vietnam and, at the same time, scrupulously avoiding practical collusion with military aims. Chomsky's need to balance between these opposing moral and institutional commitments led him to assert the radical autonomy of science with respect to politics and politics with respect to science.

Rhonda Koch

Performativity and Social Structure: Thinking Butler and Voloshinov Together

Beyond Marxist feminism and social reproduction feminism, the majority of feminist and gender-theoretical deliberations are based on the theories of Judith Butler. A central concept here is the notion that gendered hierarchies are constructed via so-called performative acts, usually performative speech acts. So-called "subjectification" occurs within the practical (re-)construction of heteronormative discourses. This theory is both correct as well as productive, for it allows for subjectification as conceived by Butler and co-thinkers to be embedded into a Marxist-feminist – praxis-theoretical – model of society and thereby expand it around important questions. On the other hand, this incorporation requires criticism exploring the linguistic focus of performative acts. The thesis of this paper is thus: the concept of performativity bears potential for Marxist-feminist deliberations, but first must be subjected to a criticism of Butler's language-philosophical assumptions. Rather than proceeding from the subject itself, this paper seeks to expand the Butlerian concept of performative speech acts through social contextualisation; i.e. the process of subject constitution will be embedded into broader social relations. This internal expansion draws upon the materialist philosophy of language developed by Valentin N. Voloshinov, which seeks above all to embed speech acts in a social context. The paper will also demonstrate how the incorporation of subjectification processes – understood socio-linguistically – raises questions challenging the socio-ontological premises of a Marxist-feminist theory of society as a whole.

Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros

Remarks on the necessity of an absent dialogue: The tragedy of the Greek left and the Latin American experience

Our aim in this paper is to critically approach the strategic deficiencies of the Greek Left under the light of the Latin American experience(s). Emphasis will be placed on the trajectory of the popular movements in Venezuela and Bolivia, where, albeit in different forms, an idiosyncratic strategy of a democratic road to socialism was elaborated and tested. It is our contention that aside from the obvious limits of this strategy, these experimentations have to offer rich insights with regard to issues crucial for the elaboration of a counter-hegemonic political strategy such as the structure and durability of imperialist nexuses, the depth of bourgeoisie dominance within the state apparatus, the processes

and limits of popular mobilization and its relation with the political subjects of the Left. We strongly believe that these experiences can not only illuminate some of the root causes of SYRIZA's capitulation but also to provide valuable lessons for the political re-organization of the forces of the radical Left that now face a strategic impasse with far reaching consequences. Different social formations and historical conjunctures necessitate of course the elaboration of different strategic responses; the unwillingness though of the Greek Left both in its reformist and supposedly revolutionary-anticapitalist variants to seriously engage with the experience(s) of the Latin American movements was and still is a sign of the defensive ideological closures that 1989 has inscribed on them. In that context we thus hope to contribute to a long overdue debate that will enable the Greek (and more broadly the European) radical left to confront its ideological and strategic entrapment via a critical re-evaluation of the Latin American Marxist experience both in its theoretical and practical, in terms of concrete strategies in the political field, manifestations.

Dimitra Kotouza

Affect in Crisis Racism and Sexism, and the Concept of Abjection

How are we to understand the present concurrency between crisis, the production of high levels of unemployment and declining wages and conditions, the heavier policing of migrant populations, and the accompanying rise in racist and sexist discourse and violence? The old leftist notion that this is a strategy of the state and capital to divide the working class explains little about why such a significant section of the working class becomes attached to such discourses. While contemporary Marxist analyses of social reproduction and biopolitical critiques of governmental practice help us understand some of the economic logics, rational interests and power relations reproduced through these tendencies, they often bracket a discussion of their affective dynamic. Perhaps, however, paying attention also to the affective dimensions of crisis tendencies, governmental practices and popular politics we can begin to produce an analysis of how these dynamics operate intersectionally. The literature for such a discussion begins with the attempts of the early Frankfurt School to combine Marxism and Psychoanalysis in understanding fascism psychosocially, but their discussion of gendered and sexual underlying dynamics was definitely of its time. In more recent work, we encounter the concept of abjection (based on the work of Julia Kristeva) as a tool to examine racism, misogyny and homophobia. However, the concept has been used in this way mostly either in literary studies, which do not explicitly offer an analysis of contemporary politics, or in sociological work and theory that eschews the psychoanalytic, and thus sexual and gendered, implications of the concept (Tyler, Endnotes). I reconsider whether the concept of abjection is an analytical tool that can be combined with Marxist analyses and is able to offer an intersectional analysis of the affective – and thus ideologically powerful – interlinked dynamics of class, gendered and racialised forms of oppression.

Memphis Krickeberg

Security, risk and capitalism

How does security relate to capitalism ? Is the concept of “security” analytically operational to conceive of the way capitalism preserves itself from the threats and risks it faces ? Can one isolate a relatively coherent modality through which security processes contribute to the reproduction of capitalism ? I will attempt to bring elements of response to these questions and draw the outlines of a new materialist framework for analyzing security and

risk.

Critical security studies have tended to neglect the relation between security, capitalism and class domination by focusing too narrowly on the social construction of security and isolating security practices from the social totality in which they are embedded. On the other hand, Marxist accounts of security practices, mobilizing notably the concept of “pacification”, have stressed the coercive construction of bourgeois order without however reflecting on the specificity of the relation between security and capital.

I will argue here that security should be conceived of as a social relation and form of power which is specific and inherent to capitalism. Reducing the concept of security to a legitimization of class domination and violence does not allow us to see the historical specificity and distinctive character of security processes. While security undeniably implies coercion, it cannot be reduced to an instrument of class domination but must be re-conceptualized in regard to the impersonal character of capital. Drawing both on Foucault's work on governmentality and the tradition of the German state derivation debate, I will argue that security corresponds to a specific way of organizing and managing societies on the basis of risk calculation in order to ensure the movement of capital and guarantee the general conditions of possibility of capitalist accumulation.

Lauren Langman

Identity and Hegemony: The Implicit Social Psychology of Gramsci

As an activist, Gramsci had little occasion to read Freud. As a prisoner of Mussolini, he neither had access to an analyst nor Freud's books. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest, that insofar as hegemony, fosters willing assent, it becomes necessary to interrogate why that assent is willing, and why in the course of assenting to domination, individuals reproduce the conditions of their life that reproduce the essential domination of capitalist society. Gramsci well understood, the importance of experience in disposing the embrace of hegemonic ideologies. What he did not incorporate however was the psychological basis of collective identities, shaped by hegemonic ideologies, that were based upon internalization, especially internalization of values that necessarily and inevitably dispose people to subjugation and in the process thwarted their own self-fulfillment, the realization of community, realms of creative agency, and their unique human characteristics – what Marx called “species being”. If however we were to go back to Marx's 1844 Paris manuscripts, we might duly note that within those manuscripts is an implicit theory of human nature, albeit denied, in which Marx rested his critique of alienation upon a philosophical anthropology replete with a theory of desire beginning of course with an implicit theory of identity based upon the most basic of human desires – attachments to others. But so too does Marx suggest people need realms of agency, recognition, and meaning. Thus within Marx there is a vague understanding of what later psychoanalysts such as Eric Fromm, David Winnicott and John Bowlby would develop into comprehensive theories of character and desire. By considering such perspectives, it becomes evident how people choose to embrace hegemonic ideologies and willingly assent to a ruling classes deem “common sense.” Not only are such values internalized as part and parcel of early socialization processes of identity form largely acquired through family, schools, church, and mass media, but so too is the fear of the psychological consequences of dissent from ruling class ideologies. Thus for Gramsci was clear that when the priests warned workers and/or peasants that joining the party and/or the union would result in excommunication, what was triggered, was not so much fear of spending eternity in hell, but separation anxiety, eg the withdrawal of friends and family leaving people all alone,

without connection, without recognition and without the tolerable ways of self-fulfillment. The insights of Gramsci, when joined with an understanding of the formation and functions of identity-undergirded by powerful desires as well as defenses, for example motivated reasoning and denial help us understand the politics of today shaped by neoliberalism. Conservatives, facing economic strains, also find their identities being thwarted undermined and disdained and like cornered animals, fight to maintain a sense of dignity in the face of marginalized others- and participation in various right wing movements does just that. Radicals however, whose identities are more shaped by hope and vision seek to transform a society that provides greater inclusion, democracy, realms of fulfillment and meaning.

Sean Larson

The KPD Cadre Schools in the German Revolution

In the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, the Social Democratic Party of Germany became renowned for the expansive “cradle-to-the-grave” life-world it built for its members. While many of its constituent bodies and institutions were designed to service the immediate needs of its members, the SPD also offered a Party School for its cadre in Berlin, made famous by one of its prominent teachers, Rosa Luxemburg. What is less well-known today is that this tradition of targeted cadre development continued in the Communist Party of Germany after the November Revolution of 1918, and intensified as the revolution continued.

In this paper I will elaborate the evolution of the KPD educational department headed by Hermann Duncker and Edwin Hoernle, as well as its cadre schools that recurred even throughout the years of crisis and upheaval 1918-23. While situating these educational efforts in the context of the Revolution, I will present new translations of archival documents detailing the KPD educational philosophy and programme. This will also be an opportunity to present some of the recent German-language scholarship on this incredible undertaking of the fledgling KPD to an English-speaking audience. The talk will cover the structure and practice of the KPD cadre schools as well as their organizational and methodological guidelines. KPD education will also be situated with reference to the broader discussion of these issues in the Comintern as a whole.

Nick Lawrence

Uncanny Valleys: Neoliberal Ecotones in Recent US/Mexican Border Fictions

Among the landscapes of world-ecology’s uneven and combined development – the gated suburb, the mega-slum, the post-industrial wasteland, the island paradise, the depopulated hinterland, the class-striated districts and immigrant quarters of industrial cities – border zones pose some of the starkest questions concerning the limits to capital’s production of nature. Here the contradictions of free capital flows and policed human passage converge in the constitution of new political ecotones, geographies of exploitation and sink spaces structured by the disposability of human and extra-human populations alike. At the same time, these sacrifice zones highlight especially clearly the question of what Jason Moore calls the *oikeios* of capitalism-in- nature, the mutually constitutive relation of uneven development and uneven natures. As with the heat-shimmer of desert mirages, such contradictions also produce an objective surrealism of place, disruptive forms of literary and cultural representation that challenge the norms of realism. This paper examines the co-production of weird nature and weird culture in literary engagements with the

US/Mexican border, taking in a range of texts that explore the natures of capitalist crisis: from the sinkhole that engulfs a man at the opening of Yuri Herrera's *Signs Preceding the End of the World*, set in a mining town "riddled with bullet holes and tunnels bored from five centuries of voracious silver lust," to the Sonoran 'desert of horror' that provides the setting of the fourth section of Roberto Bolaño's epic novel *2666*, to the acqua-terrorized Tijuana setting of Alex Rivera's scifi film *Sleep Dealer*, in which migrant workers are replaced by remote-controlled robots and technology has both sealed and deleted the border. These and related cultural responses to neoliberal damage along the Rio Grande are at the same time profoundly ecological in their focus, prompting the question of how we might read culture itself as a (world-) ecological force.

Emanuele Leonardi

The value-nature nexus. Andre Gorz between Marxism and Degrowth

In recent years, a new social movement called Degrowth has appeared on the European radical scene. In general, such movement is based on anti-consumerism (over-consumption is regarded as the root-cause of social inequalities), and on ecological economics (since the reduction of throughput – the quantity of matter and energy which traverses the productive sphere – is considered the most viable solution to environmental issues). Degrowthers claim that reducing consumption does not necessarily entail a sacrificial renouncement to wealth and pleasurable lifestyles. However, their theory also presents problematic shortcomings. In particular, the insistence on the physical limits to growth has led to an underestimation of the role played by the social limits of capital in the very production of the ecological crisis.

My hypothesis is that such reliance on physical limits should be historicized against the background of an ecological critique of political economy. To sketch such brief history of the value-nature nexus I discuss the contribution of French thinker André Gorz who, in his 1977 *Écologie et liberté*, proposed the compatibility between Marx and Georgescu-Roegen – between the tendency of the rate of profit to fall (crisis of overproduction) and the physical limits-hypothesis (crisis of reproduction).

The basic argument of the paper is that such compatibility was valid in the 1970s but has become problematic once the green economy (i.e. nature as a driver of value) has become hegemonic. In fact, whereas in the late 1960s – when the environmental crisis emerged as a fully political issue – its management used to be seen as a costly but unproductive necessity, in more recent years the corporate community has elaborated a new mindset according to which ecological criticality is to be approached as a profitable business opportunity rather than an unavoidable nuisance. Originally perceived as a crisis of capitalism (the industry-caused crossing of the immutable threshold represented by the physical limits of the planet), ecological deterioration is now considered as a crisis for capitalism, as a new instance of creative destruction.

It is my conviction that on the basis of such a (still embryonic) ecological critique of political economy it would be possible to create a common space for dialogue between heterodox Marxists and critical Degrowthers.

Zeno Leoni

Marxist theories of imperialism and US "pivot" to Asia: the making of the Trans-Pacific Partnership

The global relations of space and power have changed dramatically with the entrance into the post-2008 era, to the extent Barack Obama called it a moment of transition in the NSS 2010. The uneven development of capitalism has shaken the balance between states and produced structural changes that outweigh those of 1989 or 9/11. Major novelties in the 21st century world order are the rise of Asia as an economic powerhouse and market on the one hand, and the increasing old-fashioned geopolitical assertiveness of China in the Asia-Pacific on the other hand. This paper investigates the drivers of the Obama administration's participation in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a mega-regional trade agreement signed by 12 Asia-Pacific countries in February 2016 after seven years of negotiations. The contribution of the paper is two-fold. Theoretically, the paper adopts a Marxist perspective on state-capitalist ruling class relations exploring the interactions between industry representatives and policymakers and how the latter group filters socio-economic pressures in pursuing long term national security interests. This is also part of a contribution to the recent debate on imperialism and the attempts to recover the classical Marxist thesis. Empirically, the paper explains why the Obama administration invested much of its political capital in finalizing the TPP. It concludes that US commitment to the agreement sheds light of the intertwining of security and economic logics at play in the "pivot" to Asia. It shows how the revolving door between businesses and government officials, lobbying efforts by IP and information technology companies, and a general will to overcome the Doha Round inconclusiveness have shaped the administration's economic considerations in the TPP. In its security dimension, the agreement is driven by China's expansionism, which US policy makers seek to temper by maintaining a Western-fashioned rule of law in Asia-Pacific and by fighting China both on classical spaces of rivalry – territory – and on new spaces of rivalry- cybersecurity.

Alex Levant

Posthuman Subjectivities: A Cultural-Historical Activity Theory Critique of New Materialist Philosophy

In recent years, 'new materialism' has emerged as a challenge to both the 'poststructural generation' and to Western Marxism. Taking aim at the textual focus of the linguistic turn and the apparent humanism of Marxism, new materialism claims to offer an embodied and posthuman conception of the subject. Rosi Braidotti, who coined the term new materialism, describes it as "a method, a conceptual frame and a political stand, which refuses the linguistic paradigm, stressing instead the concrete yet complex materiality of bodies immersed in social relations of power" (Braidotti, 2012). Additionally, she also stresses, "What is targeted is the implicit Humanism of Marxism, more specifically the humanistic arrogance of continuing to place Man at the centre of world history" (Braidotti 2013, 23). However, a lesser-known theoretical tradition, Activity Theory (AT), which developed alongside of, but in relative isolation from, Western Marxism, poststructuralism, and new materialism, suggests another materialist conception of the subject. Emerging on the margins of the Soviet academe (associated with names such as Leontiev, Ilyenkov, Vygotsky, Meshcheryakov, and others) AT offers a distinctive theory of the subject that is likewise post-Cartesian. Similar to new materialism, AT draws on Spinoza's monism, however, unlike new materialism, it is rooted in the dialectical tradition. This paper explores affinities and tensions between AT and new materialism. It argues that similar to new materialism, AT is likewise critical of dualist and essentialist conceptions of the human subject. However, in contrast to new materialism, AT does not return to a monist conception of the subject. Rather, AT invites us to rethink Cartesian dualism not by subjectifying objects, but by recasting subjects and objects as moments embedded in

social practices.

Holly Lewis

What Are The Foundational Questions of a Unitary Queer Marxist Theory?

My recent book--The Politics of Everybody: Feminism, Queer Theory, and Marxism at the Intersection--makes the case that there can be a non-reductive unitary Marxist theory of gender and sexuality and that such a unitary theory is preferable to a 'multiple systems' or 'post-systems' approach. The book touches on questions of how such a theory may take shape by applying Lise Vogel's analysis of social reproduction to queer politics. My paper last year at HM London focused on the problem of identifying 'normativity' as a key issue for queer Marxist politics. Recently, at HM Toronto, I gave a paper expanding on my work in the latter part of the book which suggests that Barbara Fields' Gramscian understanding of ideology can provide a materialist clarification to Judith Butler's (Derridean) theory of iterability and its relationship to the production of gender [expression].

However, what I find to be an ongoing problem in the development of queer Marxist analysis—or at least my own work—is that it seems like we are often setting out to answer questions that we never explicitly pose. What I would like to do, instead of answering a question or describing a problem in queer Marxism, is to write a paper that makes a claim about what questions are foundational to a Marxist analysis of gender and sexuality. I am particularly interested in the disciplinary relationships (and disjuncts) between queer Marxist analysis and Marxist-feminism. The resources I will use to make this claim are Susan Stryker's analysis of the "subparts" of gender in her book Transgender History. I will also attempt to mine historical and contemporary queer political analysis and, as a counterpoint, delve into questions posed (and rejected by) Marxist-feminist theory.

My hope is that the paper will stimulate productive debate within the Sexuality and Political Economy Network.

Krista Lillemets

Reproduction of Capital and Labour Regimes in the Global Periphery: Reading in the light of the Brazilian Marxist Thought

The belief that peasant family labour and peonage are anomalies in a capitalist system and their abolition mark the transition to capitalism, followed by the shift to wage labour, has dominated Western scholarly tradition. However, what can be observed in capitalist periphery, specifically in contemporary Brazil, is that in the agrarian world simultaneously coexist diverse labour regimes: wage labour, peonage and peasant family labour. Contrary to the prevalent perspective, it will be argued that by putting wage labour against non-wage labour or against peasant family labour obscures the uneven and contradictory logic of capitalist development. Hence, I propose to understand this logic by drawing from Latin American Marxist structuralist perspective, especially from two Brazilian Marxist thinkers such as José de Souza Martins and Ruy Mauro Marini. First, by following Martins's argument, it will be maintained that in capitalist mode of production there is a process of capital reproduction through the non-capitalist relations of production, and the key here is the subsumption of land rent to capital. Secondly, it will be sustained that in the course of capitalist territorial expansion, aforementioned labour forms are subsumed to capital in the condition of overexploitation, as borrowed from Marini, through the mechanism of primitive accumulation. This dynamic will be illustrated with three examples from the Brazilian

agrarian reality. Whereas in the pioneer frontiers of sugarcane and soybean production, capital, by expropriating peasants, produces wage labour as well as its extreme variation, peonage, prevalent in the agricultural frontier in Amazonia, then in the sector of staple food production capital reproduces peasant family labour relations by extracting the land rent. The analysis of contradictory coexistence of these distinct labour regimes contributes to the understanding of the formation of modern capitalist periphery's working class.

Pedro Lima, Josué Medeiros

Struggling within populism's straightjacket: limits and repetitions of Marxist readings on the Brazilian crises (from 1964 to 2016)

In the troubled political scene of the 1960's in Brazil, a prolific trend of Marxist authors adopted "populism" as a main conceptual axis of their interpretations on the country's crisis. At that time, the Marxist refusal of national-developmentalism led to criticism on the alleged theoretical and practical insufficiencies of the political actors identified with the communist and labourist parties. According to that reading, common to many relevant authors (Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Caio Prado Jr., Francisco Weffort, amongst many others), the 1964' coup d'état and the military dictatorship have epitomized populism's collapse and the exhaustion of a political structure based on class interests' compromise. Within that analytical framework, many of the social, economic and political conquests obtained in the democratic period (1946-1964) would come to mean nothing but false populist promises, ill-founded on populism's thin limits and inevitable breakdown. This paper identifies continuities between that discourse and certain Marxist analysis of Brazilian contemporary crisis (by Paulo Arantes, Vladimir Safatle, Armando Boito, amongst others). A priori depreciation of political practices through the concept of populism; oversight of formal democracy and the potential bond between political form and social conquests; critique of a "class conciliation" politics and search for a deeper and truthful class struggle dimension; exhaustion of the "conciliatory model" as historical necessity; immediate identification between State and emancipatory movements' oppression – all of these features constitute an analysis that replicates in 2016 the meaning of those 1964' readings. It transfers to PT, Lula and "Lulismo" similar sins as those attributed to communists of early 1960's and to João Goulart's labourism. Our purposes in this paper are to pinpoint those analytical and conceptual ties and to open up the possibility of an alternative Marxist interpretation of the 2016' coup d'état in Brazil. Its potentialities would lie in a properly dialectical understanding of the tensions and contradictions that emerged after a leftist party have risen to power in a peripheral emerging country.

Cristian Lo Lacono

Flexiqueerity: or, in the realm of "real subsumption", the perfect labourer is queer

Queer critique of capitalism is often associated with the denunciation of commoditized gay, lesbian, and trans* lifestyles. On the other hand, LGBT agenda is dominated by claims of recognition, often related to equal redistributive issues (benefits, taxes regimes, etc.). The weakest aspect of LGBTQ+ criticism pertains the sphere of production. Flexiqueerity as the disorganized and ambivalent economic and social resources that can be isolated in the positions of the queer subject in order to be directly exploited in the process of capital's valorization. More concretely, flexiqueerity is the condition – real or presumed – of queer subjects' adequacy to the changed labour market context, and all the welfare measures they can invent or claim for at the margin, and beyond, this context. The more the affiliations, memberships, and other productive ties with other social spheres are reshaped

(e.g. family, religious, ethnical, national, community duties, regional or national, etc.), the more we assist at an overlapping of queer subjects with the perfect labour-power sellers. Does this position give us any privileged point of view by which to analyze the current “generalized” relation of dependence upon exchange of commodities (first and foremost upon the wage dependence)? What kind of “freedom” (in the sense of Capital described above) do we have, since we are independent from other social ties? Does the concrete elements descending from queer “eccentricity” allow us to exclude that this “absolute” dependence cannot tip over in the breakage of dependence itself, according to the classical thesis of the reversal (Umschlagen) that the young Marx prophesized for the proletariat? Is, on the contrary, ambivalence the new epistemological and political paradigm of social and economic antagonisms?

Sebastian Løken

Natural history and the commodity form

In Walter Benjamin’s thinking, natural history [naturgeschichte] designates that condition when history is halted and all change has fallen into the cyclical return of the eversame, all life is lived under the sign of death. This is of course based on Hegel’s conception of nature as that where no qualitative change can take place. In the Arcades Project, Benjamin employs several phenomena to visualize this stasis: Blanqui’s cosmic vision in L’Éternité par les astres, fashion, hell, fashion as hell.

In thesis XI-XII of “On the Concept of History”, Benjamin criticizes Social Democracy and the Gotha Programme both for their blind trust in progress, and their affirmation of Labour as such; this double critique corresponds to the notion of “a homogenous and empty time”. To the bad infinity of eternal progress answers the bad infinity of abstract labour: forever more of the same. In his lectures on the philosophy of history, Hegel criticizes the view of progress as merely quantitative “perfectibility”, a critique that echoes through Benjamin’s of Social Democracy.

The concept of abstract labour in Marx is of course dependent on the commensurability of a labour deprived of all its concrete determinations, and a temporality of the work day which structures the life of workers according to an indeed “homogenous and empty time”. This resonance seems to me to be absent from much of the readings of Benjamin’s philosophy of history, but at the same time I hold that the latter can inform the interpretation of the Marxian value form and its peculiar temporality, not the least because of their common point of departure in Hegelian philosophy. Thus in my paper I want to show just how Marx’ analysis of the commodity form and abstract labour and Benjamin’s conception of history’s stasis can throw light on each other, this in a time of ecological and economical crisis, indeed a critical point in history. As Benjamin in thesis XI ties the exploitation of nature to this quantitative progress as well as the exploitation of the proletariat, a time when nature has proven to be more historical than history itself (perhaps what we witness is the return of history via nature?) might just be that moment of danger when the concept of naturgeschichte should be revisited and re-evaluated.

Frédéric Lordon

What makes workers work ?

What sets workers in motion? The question should be taken as literally as possible. Working is a matter of moving – waking up in the morning, going to the working place,

doing these particular gestures. It is then a matter of bodies. The workers' bodies have to move so as workers work.

This is typically the kind of local determinations a Marxian structuralism is not very comfortable with. Not that Marxism would have failed to address the issue of workforce mobilisation – it definitely did! But it did so in the theoretical setting of the capitalist macrostructures such as they shape the well-known characteristics of the wage relationship: the private property of production means, the juridical fiction of the free worker, the double separation. What has to be investigated further is how these macrostructures actually work, how they concretely produce their effects on individuals hence determined to act as workers.

Individual behavior is a matter of desire: here is what could be seen as the core of a Spinozist social science. If a social science is a science of socially determined behaviors, it is a science of what makes bodies move in a certain way, and then a science of what has made them desiring to move this way. Contrary to a common place in social sciences, walking on the desire side is in no way doomed to fall back into a kind of psychologistic spiritualism. Individual desires are the effects of the structures – and there is no reason why the structuralist view should be oblivion of individuals' desires, nor the other way round. If social structures determine individual behaviors and individual behaviors are desire-driven, isn't it just because social structures positively shape individual desires? – and the two ends of the chain can be held together.

The social structures of capitalism definitely shape individuals' desires – so as to determine them as workers and make their bodies move accordingly. When primitive accumulation has closed any possibility of autonomous material reproduction, the only solution left to survive is to get an access to money by selling one's workforce to a capitalist. All the structures of capitalism then affect the agents in the most pressing way: by the stakes of raw survival. The sheer desire to physically survive gives its most basic illustration to the *conatus* defined as the striving to persevere in one's being ... It is then both trivial and deeply meaningful to say that individuals are affected by the "wage-earning situation" such as it is framed by the social structures of capitalism. These affects induce specific desires, which in turn result in bodies movements: waking-up in the morning, etc. The social structure of capitalism is then expressed into a certain regime of affects and desire. And as the former is subject to historical transformations, the latter evolves accordingly. The Fordian accumulation regime can be seen as an enrichment in the workers regime of affects and desire. Workers are no longer set in motion only by the sad affects which follows from the blackmail to raw survival: they are now offered some joyful affects linked to the extended access to mass consumption – as we know this enrichment has been of considerable help in the political stabilization of capitalism.

Neoliberal capitalism goes a step further. Joyful affects offered by the Fordian regime remained extrinsic: they had nothing to do with the work itself and relied exclusively on external objects (consumption goods) it could give access to. Neoliberal management now aims at making work desirable for itself, thus extending its regime of affects and desire in the direction of intrinsic joyful affects. How better maximize workers mobilization than by convincing them that work is no longer a matter of exploitation, of enlistment under the master-desire of capital, but the matter of their own lives achievements? The paramount exploitation is the denied exploitation, compelling individuals that they live and move by their own desire only – capitalism as a perfect case for a structuralism of affects.

Ruth Lorimer

The urbanization of crisis and resistance in Athens

This paper builds on the ideas of David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre about the urbanisation of capitalism. As capital attempts to overcome its inherent crisis tendencies through the production of urban space, the contradictions of the system become locked into the very fabric of our cities. The 2008 global economic crisis was therefore in many under-explored respects an urban crisis.

I look at how these contradictions of capital and the crisis played out in Athens, and suggest that such an approach can provide insight into the strategies and modes of resistance that have been deployed in the city in the wake of the crisis.

Athens became one of many cities subjected to familiar processes of neoliberalisation, but these processes were imposed in the midst of a crisis and against a background of a very differently configured space (compared to cities of, eg, northern Europe where neoliberal space has been the norm for much longer). Through, for example, policy measures designed to mobilise the urban property market through recommodification (in order to appease the Troika), social inequalities in Athens have been exacerbated by rapidly growing spatial inequalities – growing homelessness, sharp decreases in house prices and an unprecedented growth of the private rented sector combined with other changes to produce a more segregated and alienating city.

I argue that the recent mass movements, riots and militant workers struggles in Athens have been strongly shaped by the urbanisation of capitalism and crisis, and that a better understanding of this relationship can help us formulate strategies for future struggles. I hope this paper will also contribute to debates about the limits to the ability of capital to avert crisis through the production of space.

Elena Louisa Lange

How the Critique of Fetishism got lost – The Case of the Uno School

This paper will argue that Marx's critique of the fetishism of 'the bourgeois relations of production' is pivotal to an understanding of the Critique of Political Economy, predominantly the three volumes of Capital. Only an understanding that takes fetishism as a problematic of the 'topsy-turvy world' of commodities, money, capital, profit, interest, and rent seriously can adequately deal with Marx's own Problemstellung, namely to disclose the increasing mystification taking place in the economic-conceptual systems of his predecessors, culminating in the so-called 'Trinity Formula.'

The most influential school of Japanese Marxism, the Uno School, however, did not only disregard the critique of fetishism as the underlying hypothesis of Marx's mature work, but hypothesised a model of 'pure capitalism' that solely delineated the 'laws' of modern capitalist society, including the law of value, as a regulating principle of this society – thereby excluding the fundamentally critical aspect from Marx's argument. The Uno School's disregard of the fetishism paradigm can be traced back to Uno Kōzō's conceptualisation of the value form and its curious treatment of abstract labour in his main work 'Principles of Political Economy' (Keizai Genron) (1950-2/1964). In it, the crucial inversion of use value and value, concrete and abstract labour, and private and social labour taking place in the equivalent form (money) is lost upon Uno's analysis. Uno's treatment of value in terms of 'pure capitalism' has generated a school of followers

that has imitated Uno's bracketing of the problem of fetishism. In the works of Thomas Sekine, Itō Makoto, or Costas Lapavistas, we can notice a similar development. This paper will look at both Uno's and these more recent trajectories to analyse how the critique of fetishism got lost. It will simultaneously make a plea to re-acknowledge Marx's critique of fetishism as fundamental to understand and criticise modern capitalist society.

Pedro Mendes Loureiro

Three decades of class inequality in Brazil and Argentina

This paper explores and compares the patterns of income inequality in Brazil and Argentina, from 1980 to 2013, focusing on their class dimension. Applying a neo-Marxist typology of class positions to household surveys, the Gini coefficient of household per capita income is decomposed into inter- and within-class components using the ANOGI method. This allows for a finer decomposition, providing insight into how income is stratified or not along class fractions. As it also reveals how each fraction relates to all the others, including the extent to which their incomes overlap and hence occupy or not the same space, it offers the basis for a class relational account of the phenomenon of inequality.

The identified trends are then interpreted in terms of changes to the class structure, to the relative income of class fractions and the concentration of such incomes, and, finally, to changes in stratification (how the incomes of different classes overlap). The patterns are explained in terms of the wider transformations of the countries' political economy, seen through the periods of the debt crisis, neoliberalism and neodevelopmentalism. The paper finds an increase of class inequality during neoliberalism and an inflection afterwards, but confined to changes within categories of workers. Differences in the two national trajectories are explained by changes to their productive structure, as well as popular and class mobilisation dynamics, with greater gains for workers associated to more organised struggles. In both cases, however, and despite differences in degree, the relative position of capital and social stratification more broadly were never challenged during neodevelopmentalism, highlighting the class conciliation dynamics under place.

Ottokar Luban

Together with Rosa Luxemburg for Peace, Social Justice, and Revolution: The Female German Spartacus Militants Clara Zetkin, Kaete Duncker, Berta Thalheimer, Fanny Jezierska, and Mathilde Jacob (1914 - 1918) – comparison of her characters

In a male dominated political scene of the Imperial Germany there were not only Luxemburg and Zetkin but several more left socialist women who played a crucial role for the revolutionary labor movement in Germany during World War I. Some of them even grew to leaders of the "Spartacus Group". Yet their self understanding in the role of women as mainly helpers hindered them - with the exception of Luxemburg and Zetkin - to keep a leading position for a longer time.

Stany Mazurkiewicz

Conditions, sense and possibility of a dialectical and materialist epistemology of mathematics

For Hegel, usual mathematical determinations were too materialist, or at least too captive

of empirical conditions, and had for that reason to be strictly situated within the framework of a much larger logic. Furthermore, we know that Marx made a great use of mathematics in his own (economical) work. But did he philosophically justify it, did he deliver an explicit epistemology of mathematics that would be coherent with his global system of thought? I will suggest that it is possible to determine coherent elements of an epistemology of mathematics in Marx and Engels. Using the later dialectical and materialist tradition in this domain (Desanti, Badiou), I will question Marx' (i.a. the "Mathematical manuscripts") and Engels' (Dialectics of nature) texts within this framework. Questions I will treat are the following. Is there a place for the difference between pure and applied mathematics in a materialist thought? To which kind of objects refer mathematics – if only it does? What is formalism or abstraction? What are the relations between mathematics, logic and reality? What was the influence of Hegel's long and rich discussion of infinitesimal calculus on Marx and Engels?

Artemy Magun

Soviet Marxism as One of the Three Dialectical Schools of the 20th Century, and the Case of Boris Porshnev's Dialectical Anthropology

Dialectics, mostly abandoned for almost 40 years, returns now to the center of intellectual discussions. In developing it, we need not just realize its relevance (the largely paradoxical nature of recent history), but also an existence of a large 20th century dialectical archive. In the 20th century there were three main dialectical schools: German Frankfurt school of negative dialectic, French Kojevianism to which one can refer such obviously dialectical thinkers as Sartre, Bataille, and Lacan, and finally Soviet Marxism, part of which fall prey to dogmatic naturalist assumptions, but the other part (mainly Vygotsky, Porshnev, Bakhtin, Marr, Ilyenkov, Lifshitz) produced a highly original neo-Hegelian social thought that was based on negativity like the German one but combined it with the French emphasis on collectivity and subjectivity. Boris Porshnev (1905-1972) shared Vygotsky's accent on the collective nature of consciousness, but was a more rigorous Hegelian than the former, by grounding his dialectic in negativity, which in his view is essential to language. Porshnev reconstructed the early human history and conjectured that its basis was the capacity of first humans to subject other animals by language, and to block the action of language on themselves. The dialectical method that makes us discover the play of these contradictory active forces in the essence of human beings. The idea of smooth evolution is replaced by this play of forces which includes a vanishing mediator of sheer negativity. These considerations may seem abstract, but in fact they are highly relevant both for understanding the interaction of solidarity and domination in human societies and for refining the dialectical way of conceiving a historical genesis.

Andreas Malm

Against hybridism: Why we need to distinguish between society and nature, now more than ever

Hybrids of the natural and the social have proliferated to such an extent that the two can no longer be told apart. This is the cardinal thesis of hybridism, a current of thought immensely influential in political ecology and social theory. Global warming often serves as a case in point: with the heating up of the planet, all distinctions between the social and the natural breaks down. Tracing the development of hybridism from Bruno Latour to its recent Marxist iterations – notably in the work of Jason W. Moore – this paper will argue the exact

contrary: climate change and similar problems make it more imperative than ever to distinguish between society and nature. Hybridism is a form of analytical collapse that cannot be conducive to militant ecological action. An ecological Marxism aspiring to be part of actual movements on the ground should reject hybridism and reinvigorate a dialectical sensitivity to how the social and the natural are combined yet analytically distinct.

Andreas Malm

'This is the Hell that I have heard of': Fossil fuel fiction in the Anthropocene/Capitalocene

One overlooked source of knowledge about the route to global warming – and more generally, a source for critical environmental history – is fiction. After the rise of 'climate-fiction', it is time to return to a trove of literature written long before the discoveries of climate science: stories about fossil fuels. Focusing on two texts – Ghassan Kanafani's *Men in the Sun* and Joseph Conrad's *Typhoon* – this paper will make a case for developing 'dialectical images', in Walter Benjamin's sense of the term, from fossil fuel fiction, which, as it happens, is often filled with premonitions of disasters such as extreme heat and terrible storms. These two texts offer glimpses of two important moments in the historical development of fossil capital: Kanafani's on the boom in oil production in the Middle East after the Second World War, Conrad's on the transition from sail to steam in global trade. Dialectical images from works such as these can contribute to a critical understanding of the historical roots of our current epoch, fracturing the narrative of the human species as a united entity ascending to biospheric dominance in the Anthropocene. The miseries of global warming have been in preparation for a long time. Some have felt the heat from the start.

FTC Manning

Sohn-Rethel and the Liquidation of Kant's Fetish: The Illusory Problem with Real Abstraction

Alfred Sohn-Rethel is commonly named as a theorist of real abstraction. Real abstraction has come to be used as a conceptual resolution to the problem of how, in capitalism, things which seem abstract and immaterial nonetheless seem to have real, concrete, material effects. In this paper, I will argue that the term real abstraction is insufficient to address this issue, and occludes a lucid assessment of the role and meaning of "abstraction" and "logic" in capitalism. I will show how this can be apprehended through a close look at the emergence of the term in Sohn-Rethel's thought.

Sohn-Rethel attempts an ambitious re-conceptualization of cognition and science via a critique of Kant's dualist ontology. He argues that Kant's theory of science is "the classical manifestation of the bourgeois fetishism of intellectual labour." Sohn-Rethel aims to historicize the mind/body split, arguing that the split emerges only at a particular moment in history associated with commodity exchange. He writes, "The duality of sources of knowledge we accept as an incontrovertible fact. The question we ask is, what is the historical origin of our logical ability to construct mathematical hypotheses and the elements contributing to them." But why is this duality accepted as fact? This historicization of "real abstraction" comes at the expense of a deeper questioning of this split, in which we might argue that the mind/body divide is an appearance or a fetish.

The two Kantian spheres do not actually exist in reality as separated, just as Greek gods

did not actually sit on clouds above Athens, and just as commodities do not really emerge smoothly and cleanly of their own volition onto the Walmart shelves. The oddity is that the two spheres /appear/ to “really” exist -- not, as Sohn-Rethel argues, that the two spheres are historically determinate. Their /fetish/ is historically determined.

Rubin writes that eventually, “Illusion and error in men's minds transform reified economic categories into “objective forms” (of thought) of production relations of a given, historically determined mode of production-commodity production (C., I, p. 72)”. Thus, with Kant, we observe one of the most fabulous examples of the increasingly reified categories of thought and matter incarnate into pure and purely separated realms. The problem is not, as Sohn-Rethel argues, that Kant neglects to account for the emergence of this division, but that Kant takes the division, which is an illusion, as real. Sohn-Rethel proceeds to accept and reify these illusions in a different way, preserving them from true liquidation, as “real abstractions”.

Toby Manning

Pinko Floyd: Mainstream Rock in Opposition

When Roger Waters’ website exploded in 2010 over his opposition to Israel’s Gaza blockade, the Pink Floyd conceptualist’s response to one critic’s complaint about bringing politics into music was: “you have been a Pink Floyd fan [...] for forty years and you haven’t noticed it’s political?”

Often dismissed as escapist, “stoner” music – or a soundtrack for suburban conformity – Pink Floyd have represented an oppositional force in popular music from the 1960s counterculture to the present fracturing neoliberal consensus, creating some of the musical landmarks of the popular avant garde in the process.

This paper will first explore the Floyd’s musical aesthetic. Key architects of psychedelia’s filtration of avant ideas into 60s pop, they then put the “progressive” into 1970s rock, creating a commercial platform for the musically outré and oppositional. Even the comfortingly mainstream-sounding *Dark Side of the Moon* (1973) and *Wish You Were Here* (1975), incorporated electronics, musique concrete and found sounds to destabilize the conventional contours of rock music. Moreover, their music is notable for largely excising rock’s machismo and aggression without excising its subversive, challenging edge.

The paper will analyse the band’s visual aesthetic, how Pink Floyd have projected non-traditional masculine roles: feminized, homoeroticised, disempowered, or just invisible. For the Floyd often took a collectivist, anti-branding approach, of anonymity on stage and album cover, challenging the cult of personality.

Lyrically, a humanist, anti-war and anti-materialist sentiment runs from *Saucerful of Secrets* (1968) to *The Wall* (1979), but finds its harshest, most direct expression in *The Final Cut* (1983)’s excoriation of Thatcherite avarice, social neglect and warmongering. These last two works have cast a long shadow over both Pink Floyd’s latterday fractured career and popular culture at large, culminating in Waters’ 2010-2011 *The Wall* tour where the singer again attracted opprobrium for his outspoken political positions.

Josep Maria Antentas

The Politics of the Melancholic Wager

Daniel Bensaïd's 1997 book *The Melancholic Wager* brought together two concepts, "melancholy" and the "wager" that constitute a synthesis of a profane understanding of revolutionary political commitment against the limits of the present world.

Bensaïd embraces the Marxist reinterpretation of Pascal's Wager on God's existence made by Lucien Goldmann in the fifties in his *Le Dieu Caché*. Political commitment is a wager, Bensaïd claims, as does not have "the tranquil doctrinaire security of an absolute and definitive truth".

If Goldmann offered an optimistic perspective of the outcome of the wager as did Pascal for God's existence, Bensaïd's wager is more balanced. The chances of barbarism are not less than the ones of socialism. In fact, Bensaïd makes a wager against the tide. Melancholia is a complex concept whose meaning has changed over the course of history, with as many negative as positive connotations. In his classic *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Burton stated: "So that take melancholy in whatever sense you will, properly or improperly, in disposition or habit, for pleasure or for pain, dotage, discontent, fear, sorrow, madness, for part, or all, truly, or metaphorically, 'tis all one". One of the key concepts of Western culture, its uses in the contemporary political debate has risen as a consequence of the end of political and ideological certainties. The commitment to change the world becomes melancholic, for Bensaïd "when the necessary and the possible diverge". Other than embracing an active non contemplative and not self-paralyzing melancholia, Bensaïd does not fully develop its links with revolutionary commitment. Starting from him in order to go beyond, it is possible to state that melancholia is a useful tool for revolutionary politics if dispossessed from the darkest elements that have surrounded it. Self-controlled, dosified and tamed melancholia brings to revolutionary commitment a necessary distance from itself, but always from within, that allows a better understanding of its political limits. It can also help to cement the most firmest of revolutionary commitments, because it prevents tomorrow's disappointments. Melancholia can be read, in this sense, strategically.

The politics of the melancholic wager is, this way, a politics that seeks for an strategic thought to manage the uncertainties of struggle and history and of the very wager itself.

Thomas Marois

The Neoliberal Restructuring of Banks in Turkey, 2001 to Present

In Turkey since the 2001 crisis, neoliberal consolidation has brought the concentration of banking assets and intensified market imperatives to bear on the Turkish economy and society. In the process of restructuring, the banks in Turkey (public, private domestic, and foreign) have maintained above average profits. This in turn encouraged the internalization of foreign bank capital. Such restructuring has been supported politically via the internationalization of the state apparatus and by the intensification of labour within the banking sector. While more quantitative in content, the paper draws on the empirical evidence to illustrate the qualitative restructuring of Turkey's neoliberalised banking sector. In particular, I argue that such restructuring since 2001 has underlying class-based impacts, with financial capital benefitting disproportionately to labour in Turkey. I make this argument by first briefly reviewing the 2001 crisis and state led recovery process in Turkey. Second, I locate Turkey's banks within the overall financial sector, arguing their continued dominance illustrates a bank-based but market-oriented financial system. Third, in the core of this paper, I detail the structure of Turkey's banks and the empirical shifts.

Luiz Marques

Capitalism and deforestation

Since deforestation represents an important source of greenhouse gas emissions and the main driver of environmental degradation and of biodiversity loss, we need to acknowledge that the future of the forests and that of humanity are inextricably linked. During the 19th century, the world market forces generated by the expansion of capitalism and by its growing demand for commodities and raw material brought a new scale to this phenomenon. And over the last 70 years global capitalism has been degrading and destroying our planet's forests at a staggering and unprecedented rate. Data gathered by the Global Forest Watch, using cutting-edge technologies, show that between 2000 and 2012, the world lost 2.3 million square kilometers of tree cover - the equivalent of losing 50 soccer fields' worth of forests every minute of every day. The boreal forests are breaking apart, having lost in 2013 alone around 60 thousand square kilometers. New estimates also indicate a 62% acceleration in net deforestation in the humid tropics from the 1990s to the 2000s. According to a paper published in the journal *Science Advances* (2015), at least 36% and up to 57% of all Amazonian tree species are likely to qualify as globally threatened under International Union for Conservation of Nature Red List criteria. If confirmed, these results would increase the number of threatened plant species on Earth by 22%. Deforestation, mostly driven by agribusiness, mining corporations and large dams, is a voluntary act of destruction of nature. The most atrocious one, as it is the most direct and immediate way to kill the largest number of forms of life on a planetary scale. Deforestation breaks, like a cancer, the social organism and the natural body. All environmental crises are largely metastases of the deforestation cancer. Capitalism spells doom for global forests and deforestation spells doom for humanity.

Stewart Martin

Alfred Sohn-Rethel: A Reassessment

The work of Alfred Sohn-Rethel, which has remained more or less on the margins of scholarly acceptability since it was first published, even on the Left, has shown signs of a sporadic revival of interest recently. This paper takes this opportunity to offer a reassessment of Sohn-Rethel's project in some of its fundamental aspects: its foundations and its limits. Its main topic is the precise articulation of Sohn-Rethel's two (or twin) theories of social synthesis, on the one hand, and, on the other, its form of consciousness. More particularly, the paper's focus is Sohn-Rethel's analysis of the form of exchange, especially with respect to its originality and independence from Marx's analysis of the commodity form and Kant's analysis of transcendental subjectivity.

Laura Martin

Fordism as Racial Regime: Contesting Marxist Narratives of Class Unity in the 20th Century

This paper re-visits Marxist and labor history interpretations of Fordism and the transition to post-Fordism in the U.S. context. Quite often, these interpretations divide the history of the 20th century working class into a (Fordist) era of class cohesion and belonging, and a (post-Fordist) era of fragmentation and disunity. I suggest that these interpretations fail to take seriously the ways in which Fordism also functioned as a racial regime. In the U.S.

context, the same institutions that created the cultural and political forms of the “mass worker” simultaneously re-made racism and white supremacy as mechanisms for the reproduction of capitalist social relations. The production of a unified class identity amongst primarily white male industrial workers was contingent on a racial division of labor and state redistribution that produced an unstable, precarious, non-unionized, non-white sector. I will show how racism and white supremacy were materially reproduced through key social institutions throughout the Fordist period.

My analysis also emphasizes the role of the white working class in enforcing racial hierarchy, raising broader questions about Marxist understandings of white working-class racism. I show how, throughout the Fordist era, white proletarians helped to establish racial hierarchies on the job, in the geographical organization of the working class, and in state redistributive mechanisms. I also question the conviction, common in Marxist theories of racism, that working-class racism is merely a confused ideology, imposed from above by scheming capitalists bent on dividing an otherwise organically unified proletariat. There is no class unity a priori to racialization and racial hierarchy; rather, class is formed, in part, through racialization.

Finally, I pose the question of race and post-Fordism. If we accept that racialization and the production of white supremacy were key features of the Fordist era, then how do we understand the major economic and political transformations of the 1970s, up to the present, in terms of their impact on these same categories?

Alberto Martínez-Delgado

From Marxism to the faculty club culture in Spain: Podemos

The people protest, under the double ideological conditions –the absence of a previous reliable theory independent of dominant oligarchies, and the hegemony of a mixture of conservatism and neoliberalism– aims at the most apparent and manifest consequences of the current crisis and often is misled towards xenophobia or attacking minorities. A justifiable naivety in a more or less spontaneous, dispersed and large protest mobilization becomes a serious mistake and ideological weakness when these loose principles and objectives are considered the political programme of a liberation party. An ideological void is nevertheless inconceivable, particularly in a hierarchically interconnected world as the present, and the imperial and oligarchic ideologies soak even ideologies that seem to be their opposite.

Podemos’ discourse contains a small trace of Marxism (references to Gramsci, Laclau and Lenin) concentrated on subjects as cultural hegemony and tactical considerations, but scarcely on issues as property and class nature of power; the bulk of the Podemos’s political references, can be included in the faculty club culture (Berger). Podemos’ critique of United Left (IU), is focused on its incapacity for electoral success, avoiding any deeper analysis.

Podemos’s frequent reference to the people (la gente), normal people, decent people or empowering people follows the 15M movement discourse that emphasizes the strong minority of the oligarchies in the whole population, but limiting the analyse of society to these slogans implies remaining inside the stereotypes of the Faculty club culture (decent underlines ethics, respectability and conventionality aspects over the structural ones) , even in the case of the apparently more radical empowering people.

The notions of autonomy (“the right to decide”, with a nationalist connotation) cultural hegemony and the non pyramidal, but centred circle pattern (Brzezinski, 1997, p. 28, Errejón’s “irradiator core”) are also part of the oligarchic discourse; the circle model is linked to the globalist obsessive attachment to the new technologies and promotion of virtual realities. The mention of Podemos own DNA, or to the sport spectacle patterns, are other samples of the superficiality of the Podemos discourse and, although accused of being totalitarian communist, its acquiescence with the current social structure.

Luiz Renato Martins

Notes on David Craven's 'alternative modernism'

The radical and dialectically inventive critique of David Craven, against the positivity of Clement Greenberg’s formalism on art criticism, and against the imperialist process of conservative modernization that this implies, picks up from peripheral anticapitalism the elements that are necessary to regenerate modern art’s negativity power. This had been eradicated (naturally, after the extermination of the Paris Commune and the reconfiguration of colonialism during the so-called “Belle époque”) by the technocratic conception of “pure art”, stemming from the neo-Kantian and Positivist conception of aesthetical experience as a matter of expertise, which denies the decisive role of social conflicts and ultimately lead the establishment of a global order of museums of modern art.

But what are the origins of negativity in modernism? Craven’s investigation aims to, on one hand, dialecticize the dominant conception of modern art, whose contradictory aspects – linked to the class struggle – are eradicated by the technocratic formalist model. On the other, Craven questions the interpretation of peripheral modernism as a movement ruled by a linear and single model of progress and social history.

Many are the parallels between Craven’s reflections on historical decisive works of ‘alternative modernism’, and figures of Benjamin’s thought. In the latter one can find the “dialectical leap” into the past and the “explosion of the continuum of history”, as practices inherent to the revolutionary classes (“Theses on the Concept of History, 1940). Both show, ultimately, that beyond its appearances, the “stageism” of the Third International and today’s neoliberal totalitarianism are homologous, in their blind faith in a monolithic thinking and in their common beliefs in progress by way of productive expansion. Craven’s theses open numerous doors and contributes to deconstructing the myth of the so-called “end of history”.

Wendy Matsumura

Social reproduction and the politics of household: the extension of the farm household survey to Okinawa in 1930

The Japanese state designated the small farming household (shono) as the primary target of protectionist policies for the first time after World War I. Thereafter, it became seen as an ideal unit that could serve as an antidote to the political and economic crises that plagued the nation after the war. The Farm Household Survey (Noka Keizai Chosa), which the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce enacted nationwide for the first time in 1921 was a key mechanism through which the state enacted this new policy. In the process, the small farming household became the primary unit through which private property relations and national belonging were authorized and the sexual differentiation of labor naturalized. Its requirement that ‘productive’ and ‘unproductive’ forms of labor be distinguished aided this process and facilitated the intensification of women’s work within the household

economy. Its vast self-reporting component encouraged the development of intimate self-management by its respondents.

My paper examines the usefulness of the concept of oikonomics that Angela Mitropoulos develops in *Contract and Contagion*. Oikonomics, which she calls a “politics of the household” as it is combined with theorizations of social reproduction that Marxist feminists have deployed since the 1970s. What she adds is a pointed examination of the relationship between the politics of the household and the project of the frontier, or the search for new spheres of capitalization. I think about the extension of the survey as a mechanism that responded to what Marxist theoretician Uno Kozo called a global agrarian crisis that emerged after World War I to Okinawa, a region that was considered a frontier space within the Japanese empire, for the first time 9 years after its extension in mainland Japan, in 1930.

David Mayer

The mode of production debate in 1970s Latin America – a hidden pearl of 20th century Marxism

From the late 1960s on, debates around the Marxian notion of ‘modes of production’ emerged in several world regions and in different contexts. While the meaning and reading of this notion varied greatly – ranging from very ‘philosophical’ approaches to anthropological and historicist adoptions – it is striking how, for a short moment in the 1970s, the notion became prevalent both in the Global North and South and how interrelated these debates were despite their obvious differences. One of the forgotten yet most interesting branches of this globally interrelated concern for ‘modes of production’ is the Latin American controversy about the characteristic of historical, especially colonial ‘modes of production’. It featured a striking level of conceptual complexity, empirical foundation and intellectual differentiation (suggesting different kinds of specifically ‘colonial’ and/or sub-regional ‘modes of production’). This paper will not only present some of the positions and analyses developed in this debate but also pay special attention to its historical sociology of knowledge: its embeddedness in the political controversies of the day, its connections to further debates both in Latin America and other world regions, the changes in the type of intellectuals involved, the ways an argument was constructed, and its position in the ‘geography’ of 20th century Marxism will be analysed. In this way, the paper will highlight how the Latin American ‘mode of production’-debate could become one of the most precious moments in the history of Marxism and, at the same time, a rather hidden pearl in its treasure chest.

Shona McCulloch

Marxists, Sexual Politics, and the SWP ‘Comrade Delta’ Case: Representations of and responses to rape allegations within the British Left

This paper will present the findings of a study investigating the sexual politics of the Left in Britain in relation to gender violence. The political crisis which developed during 2013 following revelations about the Socialist Workers Party’s (mis)handling of a rape allegation concerning a leading member, and subsequent allegations of gender violence within other organisations, demanded Left activists debate the sexual politics of their organisations and activist communities. How, and to what extent, did ostensibly progressive rhetorical sexual politics fail to immunise sections of the Left against replicating the sexist practices and discourses of wider society? To provide a preliminary insight into this question, 10 online

activist debates were subject to a critical discourse analysis, with view to interrogating: how activists represent rape; how the diversity of sexual politics within the Left has been accounted for; and how activists sought to address gender violence within their organisations. This paper focuses on the findings of this study with view to opening up discussion between Marxist academics and activists, based on a nuanced and contextualised assessment of a cross-section of Left activist discussions of this contentious issue. The study revealed a wealth of contradictions within Left sexual politics, ripe for further investigation, theorisation, and ultimately reflection and development. Themes explored include the prevalence of obfuscation from discussing rape as an embodied act; contestations around comradeship, virtue and morality; and the fundamental question of whether rape allegations should be automatically believed.

David McNally

Dialectics and Intersectionality: Critical Reconstructions in Marxism and Social Reproduction Theory

We are at an inflexion point in the development of materialist theories of multiple social oppressions. The most influential approach in the area—intersectionality theory—has been struggling to overcome the atomism that appears to be foundational to its conceptual outlook, as I document below. At the same time, social reproduction theory, which grew out of historical materialist analyses of gender relations, is being renovated in part as a response to critical challenges from intersectionality and anti-racism. This paper suggests that a dialectically revitalized social reproduction theory offers the most promising perspective for those interested in an historical materialist theory of multiple oppressions within capitalist society.

Medialien

Praxis and Theory

Politicized in London during our studies, our experience of the London critical scene brought us to seek more fertile forms of resistance to global capitalism than what we had encountered. We decided to perform as a radical documentary collective by documenting spaces where the intensity of struggle is related to survival and is led outside of a theoretical circle. We tried to confront the theory we had been exposed to in the heart of european finance with the actual political practices at play within the documented spaces. Our very humble experiences revealed a crucial need to rethink the modes of action that the radical left's intelligentsia takes in advancing its agenda. We feel that no amount of academic and therefore hermetic theorizing can prepare you with an active confrontation against capitalism. In these conditions, it is materiality which has a recourse to theory as a crutch rather than theory that predefines the materiality of struggles. Hence, we have come to believe that theorists, although maintaining an inherent distance with their object of enquiry, must not hope to or unwillingly replace the actual struggle. Their duty is rather to counteract the unavoidable elitist character of an academic conference. We are aware that our productions rarely, if ever, escape this elitist character, yet the video format benefits from a larger reach and has a greater effect of radicalizing people than the written format in terms of generating subversive ideology. More concretely, is organizing an event in London universities more relevant than doing so in the anarchist neighborhood of Athens, the autonomous zones of Rome or in the suburbs of Paris, Blackpool, or Bradford? Should organizing such kinds of events be among our priorities in the face of the multiple ongoing crises of capitalism? Has it become a necessity for the critical left

industry to reproduce itself through such 'markets', and if so, has it not failed its political premises of orchestrating, first and foremost, political change? It is in this context that we would like to bring forward the multiple experiences of struggles that we have sought to document. We are not calling for anarcho-tourism or stressing the paramount importance of the documentary format. Rather, we would like to talk about how making our videos has helped us find un-anticipated resistance in unexpected places. We would like our videos to diffuse these encounters.

Morgane Merteuil

Feminist mobilizations against the labor reform in France

While France has just known one of its biggest social movement for years, feminists voices have been hard to heard. Certainly, the fact that a law that will harm workers will harm women workers even more, has been highlighted. Different feminist spaces have also emerged in order to think about the relation of women towards the labour market: a feminist commission in Nuit Debout, an independent general assembly "women and labour", and a women-only general assembly with students. Alongside that, specific struggles engaged by working women have also received an occasional support.

However, we have not seen a large feminist front that would bring a deep thought of the "women and labour" issue, beyond the simple observation of the discriminations women (and gender minorities) experience inside the labour market.

Surely this failure is to be attributed to the social movement and its representative organisations that have never taken seriously the gender issues, neither made of it a fundamental question but rather an accessory one, subordinated to class issues as they understand it as something different. But the feminist movement also have responsibilities in this situation, given the limits of the theoretical frameworks their analysis are based on. Indeed, divided between a more radical feminist approach that considers patriarchy as the dominant system victimizing women, and a more intersectional one that includes the different systems contributing to this victimization, feminist spaces involved in the labor reform movement did not succeed in proposing a satisfying theorization of the situation of women inside capitalism.

Based on an active participation in this movement, especially in the feminist spaces mentioned above, this paper will then examine why the actual theoretical framework used by the feminist movement in France have failed in allowing a relevant women mobilisation inside the labor reform movement. Beyond these critics, the issue here will also consist in proposing a marxist feminist framework that would allow these mobilisations to be more successful in including both the women question as a fundamental one in the workers movement and the class issues in the feminist movement.

Savas Michael-Matsas

At the frontline of crisis: Europe, Greece, and the Refugees

Under the impact of the current world crisis, Greece has become, from 2010 onwards, the "broken" link in the chain of the Euro-zone and of the EU. Three "bailouts" tied to draconian austerity measures produced a social catastrophe but no solution. Social polarization, political radicalization and mass popular mobilizations brought in government in 2015 Syriza, with the hope that a "government of the Left" will bring an end to austerity.

In July 2015, the Syriza government had capitulated to the pressures of the hated troika, the EU led by Germany, the ECB and the IMF, imposing an even more barbaric and unsustainable austerity program. This turning point coincided with a dramatic escalation of the refugee influx from Syria and the Middle East to Europe through Greece. The political and social impact was and is immense not only on an already devastated country but all over Europe. After the unresolved euro-zone crisis, now the so-called "migrants or refugees crisis", its inhuman mismanagement by a hostile EU, the closure of the Balkan route, the EU deal with Erdogan's Turkey on March 20, 2016, the rise of nationalism, xenophobia, racism, and the Far Right in Europe compounded the crisis of the entire EU project. Europe appears disintegrating along nationalist lines, strengthening border controls and raising wired fences. More than a "Fortress" sealed in its external borders, it is internally fragmenting.

But the example of Greece, again, brings forward another possibility. The unprecedented grassroots movement of solidarity by a people already in the depths of humanitarian crisis towards the refugees from the Middle East manifests much more than the potential of social resistance of a Greek people, pauperized, betrayed but not yet decisively defeated. It expresses as well a deep, international tendency for a unification of the nomadic proletariat beyond borders.

Suzana Milevska

Monumentomachia: The 'Colourful Revolution' as the Participatory Turn in Art and Politics

The paper will address the unique outburst of public discontent of the protestors who organised the biggest visual intervention in the public space in Macedonia, mainly in the main square of the capital city Skopje (in 2016). The protestors combined the calling for withdrawing of the President's decision for Abolition of 56 prosecuted individuals with a severe critique of the megalomaniac and overspending neoliberal and nationalist cultural policy, on the expense of the social and economic stability of the already impoverished and largely unemployed population.

The main target of the protests became the recent government's monumental and urban project known as "Skopje 2014" that was initiated in 2010 and consisted of numerous statues and monuments dedicated to various events and figures from the nationalist past of the country (that gained its independence after the dissolution of Yugoslavia), grotesque architectural interventions (e.g. neo-classicist make-overs of the existing buildings that were unique examples of late-modernist, brutalist and metabolist architecture that could also be interpreted as "critical regionalism") and new office buildings for the growing public administration employees. Different leftist parties as well as civic society organisations and artistic groups argued that the Macedonian Government did not take into account the public opinion and the right to public space because it was built without any deliberation and disregarding the usual democratic procedures. Additionally "Skopje 2014" is criticised for lack of representations of the many ethnicities and the dominance of militant and masculine figures with only a few female statues (which even in such patriarchal context surprise with the explicit sexist visual regime of representation of the female body). I therefore want to propose an analysis of the so called "Colourful Revolution" in which the protestors threw paints on the figurative historic monuments and memorials (parts of the "Skopje 2014").

The lack of existing terminology to analyse the consequences of the unique phenomenon that I proposed to call "monumentomachia" (a term I coined for the ongoing battle of the

people against the monuments”) and the public discussions questioning whether the results of the "Colourful Revolution" could be interpreted as protest art induced the need to introduce a new concept: "participatory institutional critique". I want to argue that despite the limitations of the usual background of the IC as individual artistic practice that can easily be recuperated in a vicious circle by the art institutions that are targeted by the very same critique (as it is usually argued in the context of contemporary art history), in this context it can be still relevant to investigate the emancipatory potentialities of the "merge" between political and artistic "participatory institutional critique".

Based on agonistic pluralism, the democratic understanding of the right to the city public space and the solidarity ignited by shared negativity the paper also aims to propose a kind of critical discussion regarding the reciprocal, but also problematised relations between social movements and the general (mis)understanding of the discourses of visual culture, art and aesthetics by contesting the ideas of Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau.

Stephen Miller

Peasant Farming in the Eighteenth-and-Nineteenth-Century France and the Transition to Capitalism under De Gaulle

This paper takes up the debate as to whether tenant farmers developed the rural economy of France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I make the case that social relations did not evolve according to a capitalist logic. In particular, neither the peasant producers nor the landed classes calculated labor costs or reduced them by improving productivity. Rather, given market opportunities, landlords, both noble and bourgeois, sought to enhance their power over the peasantry, extract labor from rural households, and gain profit for the purpose of adding to their political authority. The peasants, for their part, farmed for use-value, not profit. They aimed to reproduce their households, not build up cash reserves. Thus, given market opportunities, the peasants purchased land for safety and stability, and to establish offspring, with the intention of having support when old and no longer able to work.

These non-capitalist tendencies predominated in rural France all the way until the reforms of the 1960s. The revolutionary policies of Charles de Gaulle's administration intervened in rural markets to increase the size of holdings, prevent the use of low-cost rural labor, and instead induce farmers to take out loans with the purpose of financing agricultural inputs. These policies pressured farmers to work for money rather than subsistence. Growers then had to compete with one another and purchase the most advanced machines, fertilizers and seeds in order to match the prices of competitors and stay afloat. This new economic logic rapidly developed the country.

Andrew Milner

Science Fiction and Climate Change

There is now a near-consensus amongst climate scientists that current levels of atmospheric greenhouse gas are sufficient to alter global weather patterns to possibly disastrous effect. Like the hole in the ozone layer as described by Bruno Latour, global warming is a 'hybrid' natural-social-discursive phenomenon. And science fiction (SF) seems increasingly to occupy a critical location within this nature/culture nexus. This paper will take as its subject matter what Daniel Bloom has dubbed 'cli-fi'. Proto-ecological thematics have clearly been long present in written SF. Recently, the visual media -

especially graphic novels, comics and cinema - have also engaged in fictional and non-fictional representations of climate change. The paper will argue against the view that catastrophic SF is best understood as a variant of the kind of 'apocalyptic' fiction inspired by the Christian Apokalypsis, on the grounds that this tends to downplay the historical novelty of SF as a genre defined primarily in relation to modern science and technology. Drawing on the work of Marxist and neo-Marxist critics such as Darko Suvin, Fredric Jameson, Raymond Williams and Franco Moretti, it will describe how a genre defined in relation to science finds itself obliged to produce fictional responses to problems actually thrown up by contemporary scientific research. It will argue that climate change sometimes functions as a setting for some other more central 'novum', to borrow Suvin's term, but that elsewhere it is itself the primary novum. And it will examine and explain the narrative strategies pursued in texts where anthropogenic climate change is indeed the hegemonic novum.

Owen Miller

The Uneven, Combined and Intersocietal Dimensions of Korean State Formation and Consolidation over the Longue Duree: 300-1900 CE

Owen Miller will examine how to move beyond dichotomies of stagnation and progress in Korean history, using uneven and combined development alongside the broader concepts of historical divergence and convergence. He will emphasise how inherently uneven intersocietal relations were constitutive of social structures that emerged through the struggle for surplus between local elites and states.

Mika Minio-Paluello

Transitioning the North Sea

The transition away from fossil fuels has begun, although too slow and not transformative enough. Marxist analysis of the failure of green capitalism and technofixes to provide appropriate solutions is strong, but provide limited proposition of what a necessary climate transition could and should look like, in terms of outcomes and the process of change. Can we focus on specific UK industrial regions, identifying a practical post-extractivist and post-capital future?

Tens of thousands of jobs have been lost in Aberdeen, with companies using the low oil price as justification to slash the workforce and tax breaks for North Sea corporations become corporate profits. The UK North Sea is a fossil fuel frontline, and Aberdeen is "an affected community".

At least 80% of already discovered fossil fuel reserves need to stay in the ground. That includes North Sea oil. At current rates of extraction, and assuming equity amongst all fossil fuel reserves, that means ending all operations in 346 days - less than 12 months. Yet discussion around shutting down UK oil extraction remains taboo, and there is a consensus amongst political parties, industry and trade unions pushing for subsidies to ensure every last drop is sucked out.

Despite the significant role of North Sea oil in the UK's economy, political imaginary and labour struggles, neither the broad left nor the climate movements have attempted to address its future.

Transition North Sea aims to breach the taboo and build a politics in favour of energy democracy, shrinking North Sea extraction, leaving oil underground and a just and accelerated transition built on public sector jobs in the new economy.

How do we create the structures and power shifts that place workers – both those employed by the fossil fuel sector and those in adjacent sectors – at the heart of this transformation?

The shrinking North Sea is now a reality. The struggle is whether we have a managed transition in the interests of the public, labour and climate, or a transition driven by capital and existing power elites, that drags on and dumps the burden on the public.

Frédéric Monferrand

Marx's Ontology of Capitalism. Reconsidering the 1844 Manuscripts

Marx's so-called 1844 Manuscripts have generated numerous interpretations and debates. Building on Marcuse's and Althusser's interpretations, I argue that these debates revolve around the question of Marx's ontology. Where Althusser interprets this ontology as a substantialist theory of "human essence" and Marcuse as an existential ontology of labor, my claim is that Marx's ontology is a social ontology of capitalism. By "social ontology of capitalism", I mean a theory of society's mode of being when it is subsumed under capitalist forms such as alienated labor, money and private property.

In the Manuscripts, Marx theorizes the structural relation between labor, money and private property in terms of reciprocal action (*Wechselwirkung*). Inasmuch as he inherits this concept from Hegel's chapter on "effectivity" in the *Doctrine of essence*, Marx's social ontology is a processual one. Reconstructing this process ontology, I argue, allows to go beyond unsatisfying dichotomies (between social structures and social experience, or between the critique of class domination and the critique of abstract domination) which continue to structure the contemporary Marxist discussion on capitalism and its overthrowing.

Marie Moran

Identity and Capitalism: A Cultural Materialist History

This paper draws on the cultural materialist paradigm articulated by Raymond Williams to offer a radical historicisation of identity and identity politics in capitalist societies. A keywords analysis reveals surprisingly that identity, as it is elaborated in the familiar categories of personal and social identity, is a relatively recent concept in western thought, politics and culture, and that its emergence and evolution can only be understood in relation to the cultural political economy of the capitalist societies in which it came to prominence. The argument developed is that what we now routinely think of as 'personal identity' only emerged with the growth and influence of consumption in the late-twentieth century; and that what now think of as different social and political 'identities' only came to be framed as such with the emergence of new social movements in the '60s and '70s. The claim is not the standard one that people's 'identities' became more apparent and significant in late capitalism, but that identity itself came to operate as a new and key mechanism for construing, shaping and narrating experiences of selfhood and grouphood in this period.

Ultimately this paper demonstrates the potential of cultural materialism to explain the prominence of identity concerns from the 'organised capitalism' of the mid-twentieth century, up to and including the neoliberal capitalism that prevails today. Furthermore, by viewing 'identity' as a culturally and historically specific way of thinking about and understanding selfhood and grouphood, rather than the effect of a particular form of subjectivisation or group formation, it offers a new point of entry into the debates that have dominated the social and political theory of identity, including whether identity should be viewed as essential or socially constructed, or as conducive or detrimental to progressive politics.

Pablo Pulgar Moya

The Marxist dialectic between Society and Nature.

"Man is the world of man – state, society. This state and this society produce religion, which is an inverted consciousness of the world, because they are an inverted world."
Marx - A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right

'Society' is valid, according to Marx, first as a collective name, as nation or state, which is designed as an abstract generalization or 'sum of individuals'. Second, society should mean a complexity by performing an 'adding up' of human connections (Beziehungen), i. e. a compilation not of people, but of their relations. In this context, society is the opposite of nature. "Society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relations within which these individuals stand." (MEGA II, 1.1, p 188) The Marxist position accepts an economic language to clarify a double concept of society and nature. According to Marx, the work is opposite of nature, as far as human beings in society (as capitalist whole) personifies a certain role changing nature through the work. Such a person plays a specific function from in virtue of the alienation of capitalist division of labor, by being valid as an intermediary to unity of capitalist production. To understand the dialectic between society and nature, we have to clarify that person must be aware of the critical nature of this alienation, consequently of the conditions that make the whole of society. The explanation of this character is the precise purpose of our presentation. These conditions form the limits of the capitalist society, of the capitalist mode of production, that is, the limits to exploitation of nature and society. At the same time, they involve the potential of a socialist mode of production, which have to be accord to a better mode of 'exploitation' of nature. The concept of society is central in Marx's mode of thinking, and, as it is argued, Marx's relation between society and nature is still largely relevant today. Indeed, the view of nature as a social category is extremely important in a context of political view of ecology.

Roberto Mozzachiodi

Autogestion: the limits of Marx or the limits of power

In the onrush of critical histories attempting to account for the emergence of neoliberal hegemony across Europe, many have turned to the conjuncture of the political radicalism characterising the 1968 upheavals, the crisis of capital following the collapse of the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1971, and the political and industrial incorporation of certain of the more profit friendly demands voiced by leftist segments of the intelligentsia, the unions and political factions. Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello in *The New Spirit of Capitalism* take such a turn in the French context, detailing the strategic constellation and assimilation of qualitative demands into a general political and industrial program which effectively

smoothed over the reorganisation of value production at just the moment state-monopoly capitalism was being eviscerated by localised political actions.

This paper looks at the intellectual context which lay behind this transition. It focuses specifically on the way in which a heightened receptivity to theories of power as a preferred conceptual paradigm for interpreting social relations, fed into the qualitative demands voiced by the Confédération française démocratique du travail (CFDT) and gave a particular theoretical shape to the model for autogestion [self-management]. Pierre Rosanvallon the lead theoretical voice of the CFDT in the 70's proposed in his 1976 text *L'Âge de l'autogestion* that autogestion would be an appropriation by workers and citizens of the means of power [pouvoir] as opposed to production. Deeply influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, Rosanvallon was acutely suspicious of the abstract resolution of power relations promised by the projection of a "transparent society" in Marx.

Within this context Henri Lefebvre's thought stands as an idiosyncratic strain. He was both a proponent of autogestion but entirely suspicious of those "speculative philosophers who have diluted the concept [of power] by finding it all over the place, in every form of 'subordination.'" Looking at his interview in 1978 with PCF member Catherine Regulier and Foucault's interview of the same year with PCI member Duccio Trombadori I will compare these conflicting voices which lay in the background of the conceptual formation of autogestion and its subsequent capture by capital.

Pedriye Mutlu, Ertan Erol, Kıvanç Yiğit Mısırlı, İpek Gümüşcan, Ezgi Akyol, Ezgi Pınar, Cemal Salman, Mustafa Kahveci

Migrant workers and its impact on the labour market: a comparative study on the Syrian refugee labour and its recent positioning within the textile industry in Istanbul

This paper aims to analyse the recent changes within the labour market in Turkey regarding to the Syrian refugee influx which had been intensified during the last two years. With the deterioration of the living conditions in Syria due to the long lasting conflict many Syrian families forced to leave the country for security and also for the very economic reasons. Even though in Turkey the legal framework considerably limits refugees to be included in economic activities, a significant portion of the Syrian migrant population was able to enter to the existing labour market while the majority of this participation contained to the unqualified and underpaid sectors such as service, agriculture and construction. Nevertheless, Syrian migrant labour had been absorbed also by the manufacturing sector, principally by the textile industry. While there are various studies on the general features of the Syrian migration to Turkey and its general effects on Turkey's economy, its actual impact on the labour market and working conditions yet to be analysed.

Therefore by focusing on the textile industry, particularly on the small scale and informal textile workshops in Istanbul, this work investigates the workplace practices, tensions, wage disparities and survival strategies between Syrian refugee workers and textile workers of Turkish citizenship. It also compares the previous and current working experience of Syrian refugee workers and analyses Turkish and Syrian workers' perceptions on the impact of the increasing presence of the migrant labour within the textile sector. The data was gathered in the 11 major districts of Istanbul where the formal and informal textile production mostly concentrated, through questionnaires conducted over six months' period with six hundred textile workers of Syrian, Turkish and Kurdish origins. Based on this extensive data this work aims to shed light on the changing labour conditions in the Istanbul textile industry regarding to the inclusion of the Syrian refugee

labour.

Matt Myers

Going to the workers: Revolutionary work-place entryism in the long 1970s

This paper will look at the phenomenon of 'workplace entryism' during the 1970s. It will assess the experiences of a selection of revolutionary militants across Western Europe, often young ex-students, who took up jobs in factories to ferment revolutionary politics. This strategy was conducted at various times by a number of far-left forces, in many countries of the industrialised world. This history of 'seeding' or 'salting' has hitherto been undervalued by historical scholarship of the period. Filling this gap will do much to help us understand not only the cycle of contention brought precipitated by May 68' and its afterlives, but will allow an exploration of class formation, class consciousness, and the contradictions of revolutionary strategy in the long 1970s. I will take four individual cases, using oral history testimony, memoirs, and archival research, to draw out the wider themes of the strategy and the period.

Selim Nadi

"Working for the People of France". The National Making of the French Communist Party (1920 – 1962)

This paper aims at questioning the evolution of the relationship the French C.P. (PCF) had with the French Nation from its foundation at the Congrès de Tours (December 1920) to the end of the Algerian War. Indeed, if the "ambiguous attitude" the PCF had during the Algerian War – strongly linked to a particular attachment to the French Republic and its interests – is well known both by historians and by political theorists, it seems that its evolution regarding this question is widely underestimated. Thus, in order not to analyse the PCF as a homogeneous bloc, this paper will focus on three key periods in the PCF's relationship to the Nation: its first years and its inherent contradictions (also focusing on the importance of the revolutionary-syndicalists, a point often neglected by historians), the period of the Front Populaire, where the PCF began to give a new theoretical meaning to the word "people", using it to speak about the French people (rather than the "colonized people", as it has done before) and, last but not least, the defence of the "Union française" during the Indochinese and Algerian Wars. The attachment to the French Nation is a necessary way to analyse the evolution of the PCF if one wants to understand the way this party turns itself into a national-reformist party and abandoned its revolutionary origins. Looking both at archives of the Party and at its publications – such as, for example, journals like the Bulletin Communiste or L'Humanité or some writing of key figures of the Party, like Maurice Thorez and his political speeches who were often directed toward the French People (Au service du peuple de France, La lutte pour l'indépendance nationale et pour la paix, Une politique de grandeur française) - this paper aims at exploring the complexity of the PCF, its relationship to bolshevism and to class struggle, through its strong relationship toward the "République Française" and its evolution on the colonial issue.

Selim Nadi

Anti-colonialism and anti-racism in Maxime Rodinson's political thought

This paper aims at exploring Maxime Rodinson's political thought on Racism and

Colonialism. Indeed, Rodinson was probably one of the most rigorous intellectual the French Left has produced during the Second half of the 20th Century concerning the issue of Colonialism and Racism. As a Jewish historian and sociologist, Rodinson tried to produce a scientific framework in order to analyse antisemitism, Zionism, the development of capitalism in the "Muslim World" and the economical development of post-independence Arab countries. Rodinson was a teacher of Ethiopian and "south-Arabic" and spoke approximately 37 different languages; hence as a historian, he produced a large academic work, based on a profound knowledge of writings of the period he was dealing with. His biography of Mahomet is, even today, probably one of the most serious work done on the Prophet of Islam. However, if Rodinson is widely known as a historian and a sociologist, he also was a lifelong activist. Member of the French Communist Party (PCF), from the end of the 1930s to 1958, he was one of the first French intellectuals to write some serious texts on the Palestinian issue. Rodinson also created, along with Jacques Berque, the GRAPP (Groupe de recherches et d'actions pour la Palestine). After his famous article in "Les Temps Modernes", entitled "Israël, fait colonial?" (1967) he was widely attacked by a lot of pro-Israelian activists or academics, seeing him as a "renegade Jew" (even, in some case, as a "self-hating Jew"). Nonetheless, this paper also aims at dealing with Rodinson's work on antisemitism and especially his critique of Abraham Léon. Whether it was in his historical writings on economical development in Muslim countries, in his writings on antisemitism or Zionism, or on colonialism, Rodinson's work was grasped in a critical dialogue with Marxism and a scepticism on political activism that I want to discuss in this paper. Being part of the "Historical Materialism" stream "(Re-)Conceptualising Marxist Theories of Racism", I don't want to draw a static picture of Rodinson's historical and theoretical work, but rather to put the dialectical linkage of his reflection on different issues (mainly on colonialism and racism) in light, in order to show the way his writings evolved and which role they played in the wider intellectual context of post-WWII France.

Marah Nagelhout

Materialist Aesthetics in the Age of the Anthropocene

How can art function in an era devoid of a concrete subject? How can a distinctly human activity avoid the trappings of anthropocentrism? These questions posed by the Anthropocenic imagination wield exciting potential for visual and literary art, and require an aesthetic theory that adopts the paradigmatic shift in consciousness the climate crisis demand of us. The convergence of human and natural history, the incommensurability of various scales of time, and the distribution of agency to human and non-human entities all point to the innumerable processes of temporal and material mediation that constitute the Anthropocene. For this reason, a historical materialist approach to the art that emerges out of this cognitive landscape is essential. In my essay I will discuss how Theodore Adorno's aesthetic theory accommodates, and is innervated by our new geologic era. Adorno argues that "artistic motifs are no less critical of cultural needs than empirical ones" (Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 244), and in many ways art serves as a model for theory, particularly at times when historical materialism stagnates. I intend to show how, as theorists fail to relinquish notions of historical continuity and ontological determination, art insists upon historical heterogeneity, and resists discursive petrification through the production of artistic "shudder" and "aura." Furthermore, Adorno's treatment of nature, and inclusion of the most fleeting, ephemeral, and incomprehensible into the dialectic realm, sets an important example for historical materialists in a time when elusive elements of our environment drastically need accounting for. For the purpose of this essay, I will begin by discussing the role nature plays in art, from the technical transfer of natural beauty, to the

historicity of art “as a dialectic of nature and its domination” (244). Drawing from the work of various Anthropocene scholars, I will then evaluate the relevance of Adorno’s formulations of subject/object relations, temporality, and sublimity to the Anthropocenic imagination to show how his theory sets an example for historical materialists in all facets of Anthropocene discourse and illuminates the validity of the dialectic approach in this new geologic era.

Michael Niblett

Slum Ecologies and Sacrifice Zones: Neoliberalism and Narrative Form in the Work of Marlon James and Paulo Lins

One of the biggest events in the recent history of Anglophone Caribbean literature was the awarding of the 2015 Man Booker Prize to Marlon James for *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (2014). Not only did the award bring renewed attention to Caribbean fiction, but James’ novel itself was a ‘big’ deal – a sprawling, near-700 page epic spanning three decades and the lives of multiple characters. In this paper, I explore not only how James’ novel speaks to the contemporary crisis in the neoliberal regime of accumulation, but also its registration of the initial struggle to impose neoliberalism in the global South in the 1970s. Over half of *A Brief History* is set amidst the turmoil of mid-seventies Jamaica, where Michael Manley’s efforts to pursue a path of democratic socialism were undermined by party-political gang warfare, the global economic downturn, and the impact of US imperialism. To help shed light on James’s aesthetic strategies in seeking to represent this history, the essay will draw a comparison with Paulo Lin’s equally ‘big’ novel, *City of God* (1997). Set amidst the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Lins’ epic text shares a number of similarities with *A Brief History*. These include the obvious affinities in content – the impoverished slum geographies, drug trafficking, and gang violence – but also correspondences between the peculiar narrative rhythms of both novels (Roberto Schwarz has claimed that “any serious reading” of *City of God* will have to contend with its “mesmerizing rhythm”, its “relentless dynamism”). Grasping neoliberalism as an ecological regime, the paper pays particular attention to the way both James’s and Lins’s texts are marked by the transformations in human and extra-human natures through which this regime has unfolded. The key question the essay asks is: what are the implications for literary form of the life- and environment-making dynamics of the urban slum as representative site of neoliberalism’s surplus populations – that mass of humanity rendered redundant to global accumulation by capitalism’s “long downturn” since the 1970s?

Carol Munoz Nieves

Commodification of Telecommunications and Wireless Systems in Cuba: A Marxist Political Economy Overview

In contemporary Cuba, monetary gains and exchange-values determine the social uses of telecommunications and wireless services. This is expressed at the moment of realization of value in the marketplace, where a blatant contradiction arises between their high prices, controlled by a state monopoly, and the weak purchasing power of the working class. Even though this topic has been frequently analyzed in market capitalism, in the Cuban case it acquires particular historical forms because of its embeddedness in a state socialist regime. Through the lenses of a Marxist framework based in Volumes I and II of *Capital*, this paper explores why wireless communications and Internet access have been historically configured within the Cuban socialist project through processes of

commodification. The current contradictions are traced back to the partial privatizations that the Cuban telecom system experienced after the collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1990s. At the time, the Cuban government fostered joint-venture agreements with foreign private capitalists that allowed for the acquisition of money capital to be reinvested in this as well as other sectors of the state socialist economy. However, after the telecom and wireless system became fully state-owned again in 2012, processes of commodification have remained. This is due to the system's embeddedness in another economic strategy that started in the 1990s to overcome the crisis and ensure the reproduction of the regime: the state-led appropriation of value from the domain of money circulation. Overall, the paper broadens the debates on socialist political economy experiences and how they have addressed crisis in accumulation through strategies pursued by capital elsewhere. While noticing the common threads with other historical cases, the analysis suggests that the particularly unique aspect of the Cuban case is the role that telecom and wireless systems have played in a centralized state-managed economy in terms of money capital accumulation and value appropriation from the sphere of circulation.

Tony Norfield

Debt, Stagnation and Political Decisions

Accumulated debt held by governments, households and private companies, is now much higher than in the 'pre-crisis' period of 2007. It has also risen by more than world economic output, reflecting the continued stagnation of capitalist production. There are many other signs of trouble. Central banks now own 'assets' that consist of government bonds of dubious credit rating, and even mortgage-backed and other securities for which the private sector could not otherwise find a buyer. Private sector banks, themselves reliant on zero-cost funding from the central banks, have vast sums of 'non-performing loans' that regulators have not accounted for. Pension funds, both public sector and private, also face payment liabilities that they will not be able to fund as people retire, because the returns on their investments have shrunk. All of this adds up to a huge mountain of claims on the world's resources that cannot be met. However, writing off liabilities of the debtors also means cutting the assets of the creditors. Corporations and private banks, asset managers, insurance companies and pension funds would incur losses. Governments and central banks sometimes have more ability to absorb such losses, but that depends on their position in the world hierarchy, as the Greek and Spanish governments know all too well. An example of power in the hierarchy was shown several years ago, when the French government arranged for half their banks' losses on Greek loans to be borne by other euro countries – including Portugal and Spain – which had made few loans to Greece! This paper argues that the accumulation of debt is a sign of moribund capitalism. Governments approach the problems caused in different ways, but there can be no resolution without a challenge to the system of capitalist domination that produces them.

Kerstin Oloff

From '936' to 'Junk': Monsters and Puerto Rican Literature after 1976

In Naomi Klein's terminology, Puerto Rico may be said to be the ultimate "sacrifice zone" that is both in, but not fully part of, the U.S.: its economy, and more broadly ecology, was drastically hollowed out, as it became a tax haven with little production and a prime location for pharmaceutical companies. Two important literary shifts (in 1976 and in the mid-nineties) have been linked to the neoliberal-neocolonial developments of the last few decades. What I am here particularly interested in is the increasingly frequent appearance

of monsters in fiction by writers as diverse as Rafael Acevedo, Mayra Santos-Febres and Pedro Cabiya. These monsters speak to this neoliberal hollowing out (or cannibalising) of Puerto Rico's ecology. Some of these monsters have long been associated with the Americas (from Sirens, Calibans, Zombies), whereas others are more generally associated with capitalist modernity (vampires, mutants, bio-pirates and clones). These texts tend to situate the neoliberal moment within the larger historical context of economic imperialism, including the (neo-)colonial exploitation of the island and its inhabitants, the testing of drugs on colonial bodies, racist policies, and so forth. Texts such as Rafael Acevedo's *Exquisito Cadaver* (2003) offer nightmarish visions of a fully privatised and commoditised San Juan, peopled by cyborgs, golems, replicants and biopirates, and linked into a global economy characterised by a major ecological crisis. *Sycorex* [sic] and *Caliban* have here become agents of "the System." Examining texts such as these, the paper will argue that these novels are able to render visible the fundamental contradictions and inequalities within the capitalist world-ecology.

Emre Öngün

Turkey, Kurdistan and the marxist case for peace.

In Turkey over the past few years, the main vehicle and stake for a mass, class politics has been the struggle for peace, which has been waged by numerous currents in the radical left.

It is of course necessary to understand those dynamics in order to analyze current events in Turkey and their impact on the Near East. However, my goal here is to contribute to a "broader" strategic reflection that reaches beyond that specific area.

How can the polysemic, apparently harmless notion of "peace" make sense and represent a rallying cry as well as a strategic stake for revolutionary Marxists? What is at stake here is a situation of oppression and not the opposition to an inter-state conflict – which, if a conflict broke out, would have to be turned into a class civil war, following the classic pattern of World War I – even if the international dimension can't obviously be written out because of the extension of the Syrian civil war. There are three reasons for this. The first – and most important – has to do with the dynamics of the conflict between the Kurdish national movement, around the PKK, and the Turkish state, with the shift in the PKK's rhetoric and prospects. This translated into two things: first, the peace process between the State and the PKK; secondly, the birth of the HDK/HDP, made of the Kurdish national movement, marxist currents, consistent democrats (including people coming from political islam) and conservative Kurds in order to implement a politics at the national level. The second reason has to do with the irruption of the mass democratic movement of Gezi in 2013, which reinforced that evolution by democratizing the opposition to Erdogan. The third reason has to do with the weakness of the class movement in Turkey: the recent workers' mobilizations are key but they are essentially phases of catching up with class struggle.

Therefore it appears that, for a revolutionary strategy, the struggle for peace is mandatory, since it implies the realization of an interclass alliance with the bloodless yet consistent Turkish bourgeois democratic milieus – and above all with sectors of the Kurdish conservative bourgeoisie. In the case of the HDP, this alliance was made on a non-revolutionary but pro-working class, fully reformist political basis.

But what this allows above all – keeping in mind all the specificities of the Turkish-Kurdish

context – is to actualize certain insights about building up specific fronts that are potentially interclass but that are necessary in regards to the fundamental problems of capitalism in a given area. This also resonates, for Western Marxists, with the goal of appropriating key notions that the liberal bourgeoisie gave up on and giving them a subversive, anticapitalist meaning – notions like “peace,” “democracy,” “freedom”.

Leila Ouitis

Primitive communism is no longer what it was

Many ethnological materials have been accumulated since the publication of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Engels, 1884). In a recent book, *Primitive Communism* (2012) Darmangeat proposes to reexamine the thesis of "primitive matriachy", long considered as indisputable in the field of historical materialism.

According to Darmangeat, male domination is rooted in the distant past, long before the apparition of the State, and is based on the sexual division of labor which specific ways of functioning would then have given to men a decisive advantage in the succession of different modes of production. Capitalism is, in this view, the first to create the conditions for overcoming this division: with the beginning of abstract labor, the gendered nature of the tasks may begin to dissolve.

However, interesting as it is, Darmangeat's thesis fails to evade the circle of naturalization and at the end, leads to a tautology, explaining the sexual division of labor by the fact that women have children. Indeed, our author has not read the anthropologists who claim for materialist feminism.

In this paper, I aim to show that a more careful reading of these materialist feminist anthropologists, namingly Tabet, who gives theoretical ground to the idea that women, as a group, are socially created, would allow him to get out of this circle. But it is true that this involves to analyze at the same time appropriation and exploitation, and leads to conceive the whole dynamics of capitalism as entirely gendered (Federici, 2014) and therefore to imagine women's revolutionary activity as something which occurs against men.

Oguzhan Ozgur Guven

Neoliberal Transformation of the City of Diyarbakir under the Shade of Political Tensions

My research investigates recent socio-spatial transformation of the city of Diyarbakir (the biggest Kurdish city in Turkey) in the context of neoliberal transformation of Turkey. Diyarbakir displays the complexity of the issue of neoliberal transformation which, I assume, has two main aspects; namely, policies of (in)security and political economy. Witnessed a thirty-year of conflict between Kurdish uprising and the state security forces, on the one hand, Diyarbakir has been a political space where the state security practices have targeted a specific ethnic group (the Kurds) on the basis of concerns for security. On the other hand, with the negotiation process between the Kurdish political organizations and the state officials beginning from 2000s, the facet of Diyarbakir has also undergone through an economic transformation, especially basing on the construction industry following the western part of Turkey. In line with this transformation, neoliberal policies applied in Diyarbakir have gained a new dimension to include class conflicts between the Kurds, as the main pro-Kurdish party that holds the municipality has become one of the leading actors of the neoliberal transformation in the city.

Examining the socio-spatial transformation of Diyarbakir has a potential to inform us about some particularities and tensions of the processes of neoliberalism. The example of Diyarbakir illustrates that neoliberal transformation is not limited to the state practices, but even the oppositional libertarian and egalitarian groups might appear as the leading actors of neoliberal policies. In this regard, my study will contribute to the comparative understandings of neoliberal policies which point out the shortcomings of the state oriented critiques of neoliberal processes and emphasize various dimensions of neoliberal transformation.

Maia Pal

From 'Monsieur le Capital and Madame la Terre' to 'The Figure of the Migrant': anthropomorphism and subjectivity in historical materialism

Historical materialism has moved, in many circles influenced by critical geography, from an understanding of agency as social and historical relations 'constructed by human beings' (Sayer, 1983: 149) to a conception of capital-in-nature where agency and structure are conceptualised as 'a web of life whose interconnections are much denser, more geographically expansive, and more intimate than ever before' (Moore, 2015: 12). In other words, the agency-structure debate has been reshaped by the dialectic of space and time, which has resulted in a move away from anthropomorphism. This is to be celebrated, however alluring it is to think in terms of the 'grotesque cakewalk' of 'Monsieur le Capital and Madame la Terre' (Sayer, *ibid.*). At the same time, 'the figure of the migrant' is emerging in other circles as central agent or subject for political theory (Nail, 2015). Highlighting how 'movement creates territory', capital accumulation is thereby shaped by the movement of people - a conceptual move couched in the context of recent migration challenges, but also Foucauldian emphases on the subject. This paper retraces these movements in historical materialism and thereby questions who are the agents of capital accumulation. It argues for a more careful appraisal of the 'web of life' as a totalising and universalistic concept in light of the constitutive power of legal subjects in shaping social property relations and maintaining *differentia specifica* of capital accumulation.

Dimitris Papafotiou

Althusser and value-form theory: A missed encounter?

Starting with his suggestion in 1969 that one should begin reading Marx's *Capital* Volume 1 from the Part II, leaving aside Part I, Louis Althusser in the 1970s moved to a more critical approach regarding Marx's theorization of value and in particular the choices Marx made regarding the order of exposition in *Capital*. In texts like the Preface to Gerard Dumenil's *Concept de loi économique dans "Le Capital"*, 'Marxism today' or the unpublished during his lifetime manuscript entitled *Marx in his limits*, in which he even praises Pierro Sraffa's demonstrations of Marx's mistakes regarding the transformation problem, one can see Althusser insisting on a certain tension within Marx's *Capital*. On the one hand, he stresses the problems related to a Hegelian conception of science that needed to start from the most abstract notion and gradually, by means of conceptual transformations reach concrete reality. For Althusser, this conception of science along with the anthropological overtones of Marx's theory of fetishism can account for the idealist elements that are effective within Marx's mature work, with the exception of *Notes on Wagner*. On the other hand, Althusser points to another theoretical strategy in *Capital* that stresses the importance of the concrete history of class struggles, the many singular

confrontations, and the everyday violence of exploitation that is at the heart of capital, in the chapters on work time or on primitive accumulation. Consequently, and partly in contrast to his texts in *Reading Capital*, Althusser seems critical of any potential theory of the value form as articulated in Part 1 of *Capital*. Although this can be explained, at least partially, as part of a broader tendency within French Marxism of the 1960s to give greater emphasis on class struggles, on the relations of productions as forms of social antagonism and on the role of the State, thus underestimating questions relating to the market and fetishistic representations associated with it, it also bore the mark of Althusser's attempt to elaborate a highly original conception of a non-teleological, non-idealist, non-foundational relational theorization of social practices based upon the notion of the encounter and the ability of encounters to last in their contingency and singularity. In this sense, although there is indeed a certain 'missed encounter' between Althusser and value form theory, the aim of this paper is to argue that it is exactly by means of Althusser's attempt to renew historical materialism as a materialism of the encounter and to offer a relational theorization of social structures and forms as lasting encounters, along with other important contributions such as Étienne Balibar's conception of the 'theoretical short-circuit' between the economic and the political sphere, that we can rethink in a non-Hegelian way the theory of the value form and the many important contributions to it from I.I. Rubin's seminal work to contemporary theorizations such as M. Heinrich's.

Gwendolen Pare

Pedro Lemebel's Manifesto (Hablo por mi diferencia)

This paper looks at Chilean artist Lemebel's 1986 intervention at a gathering of leftist oppositionals. By that time, Chilean society had been exposed, under dictatorship, to the neoliberal abstraction machine at hitherto unprecedented levels for more than a decade. On the one hand, Lemebel's 1986 Manifesto sensitively renders socially concrete some of the workings of this abstraction, notably patriarchal and heterosexist violence. Lemebel was arguably Chile's first publicly travesti artist whom unerringly identifies with his proletario background, easily for instance as opposed to bourgeois conformist homosexual writers. On the other hand, Lemebel's Manifesto is deliberately entangled in a Latin American Marxist iconography of the second half of the 20th century. His critique of colonial and neo-colonial politics in Latin America is virulent. In this 1986 explicit address to Marxism, Lemebel deplores that social concretions mobilised for official culture's tortuous politics, again notably patriarchal and heterosexist violence, are shared by some Marxist oppositional icons, such as a militant masculinity, such as *el hombre nuevo*. Thus, the Manifesto leaves no doubt whom Lemebel's solidarity is owed: Lemebel rather candidly and unapologetically seeks recognition within Marxist utopia.

Introductory remarks of this paper introduce Lemebel's project of cultural criticism and intervention. Then, the paper will look at how Lemebel's self-descript "contamination" of utopia through a different, travesti, imagery, speaks to Marxist theoretical re-presentations of real labour. Lemebel's utopia does not envision a further addition (to official culture; to Marxist opposition), à la intersectional identity politics – but instead the end of the reductions of "real labour" / difference.

Roberto Pareja

Dissonant Music as Flypaper: Capitalist Sonic Unconscious in a Bolivian Newsreel from 1970

I will discuss the ironic link between sound and image in a segment taken from a newsreel directed by Bolivian filmmaker Jorge Ruiz in 1970. I will analyze how the film's soundtrack contests the image-movement. Shot during the brief de facto presidency of Alfredo Ovando Candia (1969-1970), the segment shows president Candia in a visit to a mining project. On one side, the narrative exalts industrial modernization, the projects' exemplarity, stressing the benefits to the workers; on the other, ironically, the soundtrack chosen for this segment of the newsreel questions the ideology of development inherent in the narrative.

Combining Theodor W. Adorno's theory of dissonance in modern music and Jacques Lacan's re-reading of key Marxist concepts, I suggest that the film's soundtrack works as flypaper that captures sonically the capitalist unconscious, particularly the fears of a workers' revolution. The dissonant sounds point to unconscious fears, and at the same time, critiques the worker epic built by developmentalist ideology, for which the "obrero" is an anonymous hero contributing to the country's economic independence.

Ana Paulo Pacheco

Modernization as depoliticization and social anomie

Since the 19th century, there has been a tendency in Brazilian literature to represent the country allegorically through the use of space. In the allegorical configuration that reduces the country to a collectively inhabited "domestic" space, ruled by the power of private property, the relationships between the public and private spheres merge, and suggest confinement and appropriation of urban civilization by the owners of capital, in the context of the conservative modernization.

Space as representation of a disintegrated social totality is again a tendency in recent Brazilian cinema. Here, criminal "intruders" are not the exception in a State of permanent exception. Without suggesting social transformation, the conflicts take place in intimate spaces, i.e., the household or the neighborhood, where the effects of the contiguity between the bourgeoisie and the murderers are highlighted in the petty-bourgeois everyday life. Workers are forced to adapt themselves to precarious working relationships, to patterns of consumption, to the cultural industry, and to organized crime. This presentation intends to analyze and interpret the film *Os inquilinos* [The tenants] (Sérgio Bianchi, 2009), which depicts the reality of the lower classes under President Lula's second term in office. By making use of estrangement techniques and formal experimentation, this film questions social normality under capitalism, giving us, from the point of view of the periphery, a picture of the contemporary global civil war.

Leda Maria Paulani

Financialization in Brazil

Departing from the presupposes that the process of capitalist accumulation worldwide has taken, since the mid-1970s, an increasingly rentier feature, and that the financialization process is one of the most visible facets of this movement, the paper seeks to investigate how this transformation has been reflected in a peripheral economy like Brazil.

To achieve this goal, the paper initially does a brief discussion to demonstrate how financialization can be understood as a kind of rentism. The demonstration is necessary and not trivial because rentism was considered, at the birth of Political Economy, as a kind of "sin" against capital accumulation.

Surpassed this stage, the research is primarily devoted to rescue the question of the

dependency of peripheral economies, to update it in the face of this new scenario. Here the goal is to show that there is a kind of "new dependency", which passes through equity transactions and the Capital and Financial Account of the Balance of Payments and no longer, as in the years 1950 and 1960, through commercial transactions and price relations, which are crucial in the Current Account. The paper seeks here to indicate the rentier impulse that shapes this new dependency.

In the sequence, considering the permanency in the country of institutions shaped in favor of financial accumulation and in favour of its continued dominance in the valorization process, the limits of the so called "neo-developmental" policies are discussed. In this sense, the specificities of the financialization process in the Brazilian economy are investigated, with special attention to the fictitious capital objectified in public debt, which seems to have a decisive role in this process in Brazil. The connections between this specificity and the long stay in the country of an extremely high real interest rate are considered either. Some empirical indicators of the evolution of the financialization process in Brazil are also presented.

Justin Paulson

Rethinking (un)productive and necessary labour

The distinctions made by Marx in *Capital* between "productive" and "unproductive" labour have laid the groundwork for a century and a half of arguments, gripes, (mis)characterizations, and misunderstandings, from the productivism of 20th-century Communism to the dual-systems debates of the 1970s and 1980s.

As we approach the anniversary of *Capital*, this paper offers a close political reading of the concept of productivity, and asks what the categories of 'productive', 'unproductive', and 'necessary' reveal and what they conceal. What does the category of 'productive labour' — rooted in a critique of Smith, the mercantilists, and classical political economy (as volumes 2, 3, and TSV make clear) — actually do for us? Can labour be both necessary and unproductive at the same time? (What does that mean for the power of labour?) How does an understanding of unproductive labour contribute to our analysis of the roles played by paid or unpaid domestic and reproductive labour, or the labour of the service industry in either the public or private sector? How might the same labour, performed by the same worker, appear productive or unproductive depending on one's standpoint within a circuit, or depending on whether one is looking at a circuit of one capital or capitalism as a whole?

This paper seeks to clarify such questions. I argue that what's most useful about Marx's distinction between productive and unproductive labour is not what it contributes to the determination of value or the average rate of profit, nor what it thus putatively (and unconvincingly) predicts about crisis, but the way in which it insists on productivity as a relation, rather than a characteristic attached to any particular task. Getting this right is far more important analytically and politically than the Marxological and crisis-theory debates would suggest, for it leads us toward a more complete understanding of labour's agency and power not only at the site of material production, and not displaced by "immaterial labour", but in all the possible choke-points in the circulation and realization of value.

Alexei Penzin

Dialectics and "Proletarian Awareness" in Alexander Kojève's "Sophia"

The work of Alexander Kojève, including his heterodox ideas on dialectics, was usually discussed in the context of his decisive influences on the development of French philosophy after WWII (Hegelianism, Marxism, psychoanalysis, and “la pensée 68”), or more recently in the discussions about the “post-histoire” which appropriated his concept of the “end of history” in terms of hegemonic and pervasive neoliberal managerialism. In his famous lectures of 1930s Kojève provocatively claimed that the dialectics could be whatever, but not the “method” of Hegel’s philosophy. Vice versa, Hegel is the first philosopher who stops using dialectics as philosophical “method,” renders it inoperative. And exactly this deactivation of dialectics allows him to get access to absolute knowledge. The philosopher takes the position of “Sage” who contemplates and describes the “dialectical movement” of the Real, not intervening into it with any subjective and one-sided “method”. The shaping of this position becomes possible, indeed, only after “the end of history” which allows the Real to be finally totalised and articulated in the philosophical system. Written in Russian in 1941 and still not published in full, the 900 pages of Kojève’s manuscript “Sophia – Phenomenology and Philosophy” introduce even more paradoxical twist with regard to dialectics. Taking the Soviet official discourse of 1920s-1930s at its face value, Kojève links the idea of the end of history to the “really existing communism” understood as the post-historical State, and associates the figure of the Sage with the so-called “conscious worker,” praised and promoted in the USSR. In “Sophia”, Kojève subverts the figure of the Sage as a privileged “philosopher” and introduces the figure of mass proletarian “awareness” or “self-awareness” (“soznatel’nost”), which is based on cognitive mirroring of the dialectical totality of the real, i.e. relations of production. In conclusion, the paper will critically consider some contemporary contexts of the Kojève’s ideas on dialectics, “end of history” and “proletarian awareness” (the recent works by Giorgio Agamben and Boris Groys). In the conditions of neoliberal bureaucracy, the paradigm of the “proletarian awareness” loses its communist nature and degrades into oppressive model of “accountability” of the contemporary corporate worker, captured into an endless self-reflexive formalism of paperwork.

Joana Perrone

Labour, violence and gender: feminicide and the neoliberal ascension in 20th century Mexico

This paper aims to discuss the impact of neoliberal policies on violence against women, mainly focusing on the relations between the advent of EPZs (export-processing zones) in Mexico and the growth of feminicides in the area. It draws on Marxist feminist literature to discuss how class and race position women at the intersection of domestic labour and industrial labour and how neoliberal policies exploit that position, simultaneously impacting women’s safety and reducing state support. The existent literature on feminicide widely discusses state responsibility in women-killing, whereas in this paper, the main aim is to link neoliberalism and feminicide through an analysis of the capitalist structure of Latin America during the neoliberal ascension. In doing so, the paper plans to offer a in-depth analysis of the gender dimension of Mexican political economy and its relation to violence against women. Furthermore, through this analysis of the links between neoliberal policies and feminicide, this paper discusses the fallacy of neoliberalism as a model for integrating populations and economies, as it both facilitates the reproduction of violence against women, which is an structural component of a system of gender oppression and strengthens the exploitation of working classes.

Gordon Peters

The metabolic rift and ecological value

Marx analysed 'the innate power of capital', its unique capacity to self-reproduce while insisting that everything can be bought and that relations with the land, or nature, just as relations between people are given a value form through money. This is the root of alienation and of the metabolic rift emphasized in the work of Bellamy Foster.

We are in a time when the symbolic order maintaining the power of capital is cracking under moral and political pressures, even if the political pressure is far from coherent. For all the disparate forces opposing unbridled capital accumulation and its reproduction in commodity form, whether or not they recognize capital as the source of their troubles, the one common factor is the penetration of democracy by the power of money. The overriding question remains 'how to break the nexus of money and power?' This paper argues that increasing alienation through the value form of capitalism constitutes a developing limit to the power of capital through both despoliation of the environment and the real life consequences of fetishizing of the commodity form, accelerated by the appropriation of technological innovation and the extension of precarity of existence to ever greater numbers of populations.

The paradox of ecosocialism as a utopian solution - as seen by many - becomes more likely as a necessary alternative, given the failure of social democracy to deal with these limits of capital. Marx's statement [Capital, Vol. 3,] that 'the associated producers govern the human metabolism with nature in a rational way, bringing it under their collective control.....accomplishing it with the least expenditure of energy and in conditions most worthy and appropriate for their human nature" can be fleshed out in practical political forms, from the south as well as the north.

Frederick Harry Pitts

Marxian Value Theory and the 'Crisis of Measurability': A Case Study of Work in the Creative Industries in the UK and the Netherlands

Condensing the argument and findings of my PhD thesis, this paper argues for the relevancy of Marx's theory of value to the study of contemporary labour. I stress the importance of measure as means of relating what goes on in the workplace and with what goes on in the market. I do so through a case study of work in the creative industries. I use an interpretation of Marx's theory of value to confront the empirical problem of how measure persists where work is hard to quantify and commensurate. In so doing, I critique the post-operaist claim that immaterial labour precipitates a 'crisis of measurability'. In responding to this claim, I draw upon the New Reading of Marx and Open Marxism. Taken together, these suggest two things. Firstly, the law of value relates to the abstraction of labour in the production and exchange of commodities. This differs from the traditionalist labour theory of value which stresses labour's concrete expenditure. Secondly, they tell us that this abstract labour stems, practically and historically, from antagonistic social relations of production- not only employment relations, but those that guarantee a world in which we have to sell our labour-power to subsist. I employ these strands of Marxian theory to understand work in the creative industries. This brings a focus on value, labour and antagonism lacking in much mainstream scholarship on this area. This critique opens out onto the future of work, and to 'postcapitalist' alternatives based on reduced working hours or a basic income. Creative worker lifestyles are often implicitly or explicitly referenced in aspirations for these alternatives. Via value theory, a close study of the reality of creative labour confounds these aspirations. My critique of the conditions, social relations and practices that make measure possible in the contemporary workplace is supported by a

case study of labour in graphic design, branding and advertising in the UK and the Netherlands. I use interviews to explore how workers experience abstraction via measurement. In turn, the interviews interrogate how measure abstracts from the concrete experience of creative work. The interviews redeem this experience. By inviting participants to remember what measure denies and forgets, I chart possible grounds for resistance. The case study uncovers one principal means of measure in the fields investigated: billable hours. This is how jobs are priced and billed out to clients. But it also acts as an accounting mechanism internally. It structures the experience of work. It disciplines workers through the constant completion of timesheets and monitoring by time-tracking software. These measures, participants suggest, seldom relate to the reality they claim to represent. No hour of labour is like any other. This is especially so in the differentiated and impulsive work carried out by the creatives involved in the study. But, nonetheless, the measure to which they are subject brings into existence the measured. It defines a smooth quantitative space wherein the differences between hours and tasks disappear. The case study aims at recovering what disappears in this space. It brings focus to what is forgotten and denied when concrete experience is abstracted from in measure and quantification: desire, spontaneity, antagonism.

Sharri Plonski, Patrick Meehan

Violent Geographies: Ordering Space at the Margins of the State

This paper attempts to untangle the violence and instability embedded in the uneven territorialisation of state institutions and capitalist social relations, through the lens of borderland space. Our vantage point from 'the margins' is a means through which to analyse how power is mobilised and mediated, disrupted and re-ordered in the production of state-space and territorial sovereignties. Borderlands are commonly sites of intense contestation, embodying competing visions of development, peace, security and political legitimacy, and where state authority is weakly embedded and strongly challenged. At the same time, these spaces at the periphery of state lines and control are not residual to development processes; they are actively produced, constituting and interacting with flows of power and capitalist production. Through exploring the social and material relations produced in the margins, we unravel the mobilities of power between putative centres and peripheries and the agents and modes of violence that delineate power and order space. In unravelling the dissonance between 'imagined' and 'real' geographies of power – through the (human and non-human) agents that shift, disrupt and mediate how power flows – we unveil the violence that is intentionally hidden in the history of ordering state-space and territory, and the relevance of struggle to producing its limits.

Drawing upon empirical work on the resource-rich frontier regions of the Burma/China borderland and frontiers and bordered-spaces in Israel/Palestine, we reveal how there is an 'art' to paving over the history of ordered violence that moderates, links and de-links the centre from the periphery; to smoothing out territory and to encouraging the flow of power, and the circulation of things. This art (one could also call it a technology) takes form through the inter-connectedness of conceptual productions of knowledge (maps, legal statutes, master plans that unify space), the material infrastructure (the 'things' that extend legibility and lawfulness) and the agents and actors that draw (and secure) the path/nodes of circulation.

Hidden within this technology are the remnants of violent clashes; demarcated and articulated in space as lines, limits and boundaries – the borders and margins that disrupt the mobility of power, and force the employment of new and different logics and methods

to bypass them.

Anna Plowman

Violent Storms and Cheap T-Shirts: Climate Change and Profits in Bangladesh's Readymade Garment Industry

This research examines the possibility of a relationship between climate change and profitability in Bangladesh's readymade garment (RMG) industry. It investigates specifically the phenomenon of climate-induced labour migration and how this may affect competition for employment in urban RMG production zones. This research was carried out through fieldwork interviews conducted with migrant female RMG employees living in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

The findings of this study conclude that climate-related environmental changes constitute a significant migratory push factor, pressuring some women to move to urban areas and seek employment in RMG factories. The push factor of climate change is intertwined with the pull factor of potential RMG employment, and these are both tightly related to economic hardships and the limited employment opportunities available to women in Bangladesh.

With the use of Marx's theory of the industrial reserve army, this is contextualised within a discussion about the role that such a climate-mobilised labour army could play with regards to the wages, working conditions, and profitability of the RMG factories. This issue is framed in light of core-periphery dynamics as they relate to global disparities behind the garment commodity production chain and the causes and impacts of climate change. In light of these dynamics, I assert that climate injustice and labour exploitation may reinforce and perpetuate each other, and that this phenomenon may have detrimental repercussions for the global working class and other climate-affected peoples.

Stefanie Prezioso

Italy: Sub-Cultural Hegemony and "Liquid Times"

In the late 1980s, Stuart Hall warned the Left against its dangerous failure to comprehend the implications of the political, cultural and social changes in European societies, embodied by what he called "authoritarian populism". He advocated a "return to the subjective" in order to fully grasping what had irrevocably changed our living conditions "working on and through us."

Based simultaneously on the search for "active popular consent" and on coercion (restricting and then repressing collective freedoms), this populism of a new type deployed a strong array of cultural tropes for its ideological legitimation: the end of history (Fukuyama), an emphasis on individual liberties, a stigmatization of social rights, and a widespread believe that There Is No Alternative. This no doubts constitutes one of the greatest ideological victories of capitalism's organic intellectuals.

In the last thirty years, Italy has been a test case in order to understand the full implications of "authoritarian populism", a policy well embodied by berlusconism: "an eclectic ideology made of populism, extreme individualism, historical revisionism, and the use of religion instrumentally as a foundation for identity politics". My paper will focus on its historical roots which took hold long before Berlusconi's 1994 dramatic entry into politics

and on why this "right wing culture" seems to resist his leaving politics.

Antonio Maria Pusceddu, Patricia Matos

Austerity, the state and common sense in Europe. A comparative perspective on Italy and Portugal

This paper seeks to understand the reshaping of people's practices and worldviews in the wake of the austerity-driven reproductive crisis in Southern Europe. We want to address the development of austerity as a joint economic, ideological and political project in a comparative perspective. Gramsci defined "common sense" as "the most widespread conception of life and morality", while underlining its stability in parallel with its continuously changing character. We believe that the various stratified layers internal to common sense enable capturing both the givenness of social life, but also its contradictions. The making of austerity as "common sense" needs to be linked both to historically determined fields of forces of contemporary capitalism in Europe and to concrete experiences and practices of earning a livelihood within a particular structure of capital accumulation.

Following the financial crisis of 2008, transnational institutions of governance, such as the International Monetary Fund or the European Commission, and European states favored the theory of "expansionary austerity" as the main policy towards economic recovery. In European countries, austerity has often been described as a deepening of long-term neoliberalization processes that started in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the historical and context-bound character of austerity projects together with the nature of people's agency capabilities need to be further explored and theorized.

Drawing on a comparative data from Portugal and Italy, this paper will problematize how the austerity project has been imposed through a combination of coercion and consent. That is, how common sense is reshaped by state interventions, which is always a contested terrain among differentially positioned social agents. We emphasize the mobilization of diverse ideological elements and historical-grounded devices, which render the austerity project acceptable. We aim to expand the theorization of austerity as a hegemonic project, capable of capturing and changing the state-form, and as a field of contradictions endemic to the very making of common sense.

Thomas Purcell

Post-Neoliberalism in the International Division of Labour: The Divergent Cases of Ecuador and Venezuela

The global rise in primary commodity prices in recent years has put the question of the use of income from natural resources for developmental goals back on the political agenda across Latin America. This paper examines the distinction between agricultural and mining landownership, in the context of global transformation associated with the international division labour, so as to explain the developmental trajectories of Ecuador and Venezuela. It argues that dual landlordism in Ecuador – in the form of an agro-export elite and a state-controlled oil sector – contrasts with the singular dominance of the state-controlled oil sector in Venezuela, and this explains the manner in which the two national forms of insertion into the international division of labour have determined different national variants of 'post- neoliberalism'.

Paul Raekstad

Alienation and Marx's Critique of Capitalism

Marx's theory of alienation remains important today because of the re-emergence of anti-capitalist struggle worldwide – e.g. Zapatismo, 21st Century Socialism, and the New Democracy Movement – and because many key thinkers within and about those movements repeatedly highlight the importance of Marx's theory of alienation for their projects. But why is it important? My paper argues that Marx's theory of alienation remains important to radical anti-capitalist politics because it provides a compelling critique of how the capitalist mode of production by its very nature thwarts human freedom and human development which contains important lessons for moving beyond capitalism.

To do this, I focus on analysing the first and second kinds of alienation Marx distinguishes – alienation from product and from labour – and on the oft-misunderstood connection between them. I argue that alienation from product, on Marx's view, consists in the ways in which human beings under capitalism interact in such a way as to produce and reproduce capitalist social relations which come to constitute an alien power outside and seemingly independent of its creators, which comes to dominate them and render them unfree. Alienation from labour consists in an analysis of how these social relations dominate and control the labour process under capitalism.

This analysis is important, I argue, because it helps to counter a number of misconceptions currently gaining ground on the left today. First, by locating the major source of capitalist unfreedom in its constituent social relations, the theory of alienation shows that human emancipation requires not the taming, but the abolition of capitalism altogether. Secondly, it shows that added free time and leisure pursuits, though valuable, are inadequate compared to ensuring the freedom of humans' labour process in a future society of the associated producers. Thirdly, this has important implications for how we go about replacing capitalism. Since dominating impersonal market forces exist also among cooperatives and under market socialism, it follows that a post-capitalist society must go beyond ideas of merely worker-managed workplaces to consider questions of democratic planning and the division of labour – as Marx indeed points out.

Vasna Ramasar

South Africa's energy nexus: Energy security, climate change mitigation and capital expansion

This paper examines the current dilemmas of the South African state in the face of its energy crisis. Historical under-investment has led to a rapidly deteriorating electricity generating system. This system is built on coal-based electricity production, making South Africa the largest greenhouse gas emitter on the African continent. In response to climate change mitigation agreements, South Africa has a responsibility to switch to a new energy system based on renewable energy sources such as solar and wind power. However the country is locked in a dilemma where the old fossil fuel-based system is in crisis but there are barriers to a new renewable energy system. In this paper I argue that the drive for capital expansion and the role of the neoliberal state creates a nexus of competing interests that is not conducive to a new and sustainable energy system being introduced. Using the theory of the minerals-energy complex in South Africa I investigate how an alliance between elite capital and the state is creating an obstacle to an energy transition. To a limited degree, South Africa has begun development of its renewable energy sector

with substantial financial investment by international financial institutions. However this path has been filled with obstacles, which begs the question of whether the state is committed to renewable energy or operating as a green rentier state. I argue that at South Africa's energy nexus of furthering energy security, climate change mitigation and capital expansion, there cannot be three winners. As Andrew Sayer (2009) notes, the intrinsic interdependence of GHG emissions and economic development means that the transition to a more sustainable society is only ever going to happen on capital's own terms, implying that the energy dilemma pits climate change mitigation against capital expansion. In order to address this dilemma, the role of the state is crucial in adopting a new discourse and political practices in support of sustainability rather than neoliberalism. Although the rhetoric is present in South Africa, the political practices are yet to be evident.

Mikołaj Ratajczak

Metaphysics of capital: productive labor as a proper capitalistic relation of power

Capital is the one metaphysical problem that still deserves a philosophical investigation, but the dialectical critique of "metaphysical subtleties" of the commodity form should be supplemented by an analysis of the metaphysical form of the productive labor. In my paper I would argue that the introduction and sustenance of the division between productive and unproductive labor is the proper capitalistic form of power and control, one that is characterized by a deep metaphysical core: productive labor is the actualization of a potential to work that can be actualized – productively and effectively – only by capital. This aporetic and self-presupposing structure determines the process of the subsumption of labor and life under capital: together with the universalization of the commodity form, labor is being understood as potentiality that cannot but be actualized by capital. The potentiality–actuality relation, used extensively by Marx (the very notion of "Arbeitsvermögen", labor power, is also translatable as a "potentiality to work") can therefore be used as a conceptual tool for a philosophical critique of political economy: in place of a potentiality that can only be actualized productively or unproductively (i.e. valorizing capital or not), the task is to think a different relation between general labor power and actual labor performed. This perspective assumes a special significance in the neoliberal regime of accumulation: although capital has always bought labor force (potential to work) and not the actual work, the neoliberal dispositives of labor control separate the moment of setting social practices as potentiality to work to be actualized by capital and the actual buying of labor power – a process we can observe in such new forms of employment as crowd working, portfolio work, casual work, work-for-labor, zero-hour contracts and the management of grants and projects within the New Public Management paradigm.

Using Marx's so-called "unpublished sixth chapter", Results of the immediate production process, together with ideas present in contemporary Italian political philosophy (especially in the writings by Paolo Virno and Giorgio Agamben) I would like to present a philosophical critique of the notion of productive labor as a proper metaphysical notion – as a potentiality that can only exist by being actualized in the process of capital's valorization, a structure that Agamben has described in his recent work on the concept of effectiveness. This in turn will help me to expand Virno's investigations into new forms of labor in late capitalism, which are nothing else than actualizations of the general human dispositions to communicate, think, memorize and express ideas. The neoliberal regime of labor exploitation and control will, in effect, be analyzed as a dispositive to transform the general, ontological potentiality of human species into a potentiality that must be actualized by capital alone.

Paula Rauhala

Marx in the East

Simultaneously with the 1968 movement an interest in Marx's critique of political economy revived – not only among the students and scholars of West-European academies such as France, Italy or West-Germany, but also in the countries of East-Bloc. And of course it did, Marx-research was usually accepted at the universities (Marx-researchers encountered problems in the East as they did in the West, but these problems were different) and Marx-Engels Werke was edited in Berlin and Moscow. Finally, one of greatest inspirers of the new readings of the Capital was the publication of its first draft, the "Grundrisse" in 1939-41 in Soviet Union and 1953 in GDR.

The researchers of both blocs could interact with each other especially through German literature, since despite the Berlin Wall, there was no language barrier.

The West-German Neue Marx-Lektüre and the Capital-renaissance among West-German students and scholars from the 1960's onwards is usually understood as a purely Western phenomenon, in juxtaposition with the Eastern Marxism-Leninism. But it seems to me that the "Eastern" Marx-research influenced much more on the formation of this school than it is usually understood.

At least the eminent forerunner of the Neue Marx-Lektüre, Hans-Georg Backhaus knew East-German and Soviet research quite well. In his key texts from the late 1960's and mid-1970's (Dialektik der Wertform, Materialien zur Rekonstruktion der Marxschen Werttheorie I, II & III) Backhaus discusses with such an important East-German scholars as Wolfgang Jahn, who studied extensively bourgeois economists views on Marx's theories of value and surplus value, famous economist Fritz Behrens among others and Walter Tuchscheerer, who researched the genesis of Marx's Capital.

Besides commenting on Soviet economics textbooks, available in German, Backhaus comments on important Soviet philosopher Evald Ilyenkov's understanding of Marx's method, as well as Mark Rosental, and Vitaly Vygodsky, known as a MEGA-editor who wrote important studies on the formation of Marx's Capital.

Also the first critique of the West-German Neue Marx-Lektüre comes from GDR. Philosopher Peter Ruben (1977) criticized its interpretation of Marx's concept of value as "an autonomous subject of bourgeois society" for a mystification of Marx's economic theory.

Gianfranco Rebutini

Toward molecular transformations. Gramsci, Deleuze and Guattari and queer anti-capitalist emancipation.

In an article of 1998, that is to say before Lisa Duggan introduced the concept in 2001, Kevin Floyd analysed the question of homonormativity, or in his words "the entanglement of capital with a range of marginalized sexualities", showing how historically the logic of Fordism and consumption were at the same time the conditions of possibility of sexual identities and the reasons of their minorization and exclusion. This paper tries, on one hand, to show how neoliberal processes of privatization and heterosexualization of lesbians and gay formations are accompanied by phenomena of de-politicization of these

same formations. On the other hand, this paper seeks also to propose some theoretical perspectives to think about political alternatives to counter these phenomena. I will try to take seriously Floyd's suggestions that a politics based on sexual identity could have a certain political efficacy if it is ideologically reformulated in a revolutionary strategy. Equality politics based on identity is not necessarily homonormative if we understand it in a more general historical and ideological frame. What does it mean, in this neoliberal times, address the problem of sexual emancipation? How one can think, theoretically and practically, "new forms of relationships" (Foucault 1984; Bersani 1987) which are able to break with heterosexuality as an institution and with homonormative respectability? How we can think a queer anti-capitalist politics? To try to answer these questions, I will consider some fundamental concepts from Gramsci and Deleuze and Guattari, which seem valid tools: "hegemony / ideology", "historical bloc", and especially "molecular transformation".

Tommaso Redolfi Riva

Perverted forms and reductio ad hominem: Hans Georg Backhaus and Marx's Theory of Fetishism

The aim of my presentation is to analyse Hans Georg Backhaus's interpretation of Marx's theory of fetishism. According to Backhaus, the categories with which economic theory (Marxist, Neoclassical and Neoricardian) erects its own models are unreflected forms: in economic theory, the categories of value, price, commodity, capital etc. represent external presupposed objects, "Sachen außer dem Menschen". For Backhaus, these categories are "perverted forms" [verrückte Formen], social relationships that have become autonomous, assuming the form of things. Accordingly, the Marxian program of the Critique of Political Economy can be understood as the deduction of the perverted forms of economic theory and of the process of their autonomization, starting from the social structure that characterised capitalistic production and circulation. In Backhaus's perspective, Marx's critique of the fetishism of economic theory represents both a reductio ad hominem and an epistemological critique of economic theory as a whole. From this latter standpoint, according to Backhaus, only a dialectical theory can explain the double nature of the commodity and develop the contradiction between the universal character of value and its material existence in a specific commodity.

Starting from the explanation of the concept of perverted forms and from Backhaus' idea of the Marxian Critique of Political Economy as reductio ad hominem and as a critique of economic categories, I will try to outline his interpretation of Marx's theory of fetishism.

Yoel Regev

Deleuze and Porshnev: Diplasty, Resonance, Materialist dialectics

The paper will examine the thought of the Soviet philosopher and anthropologist Boris Porshnev, while focusing on essential structural parallels between this thought and Gilles Deleuze's philosophy. The central concepts of Porshnev's project of explaining the genesis of human speech and rationality will be compared to Deleuze's theory of sense and non-sense and the theory of the genesis of language in «Milles plateaux». A special emphasis will be put on the close connection between Deleuze's concept of resonance and Porshnev's idea of «diplasty». We will finally try to show that these similitudes can be explained by the fact that both Porshnev and Deleuze are trying to deal with the same questions: the questions formulated by Althusser in the 60s as the main questions of

materialist dialectics. The closeness between two projects thus will be shown to be the affinity of two attempts to continue the development of tradition of materialist dialectics in a radical and unorthodox way.

Matthieu Renault

Lenin as a decolonial thinker

From 1917 to the mid-1920s, Lenin and the Bolsheviks made tremendous efforts to think of and implement the combination of socialist revolution and anticolonial liberation at the margins of the Russian empire, especially in the vast Muslim areas of Tatarstan and Central Asia. Deeply aware of the specific conditions for the emancipation of “oppressed nations,” they struggled against great Russian chauvinism, worked in fruitful collaboration with Muslim organizations, and gave Muslims religious freedom, while denying it to followers of the Orthodox church. Such revolutionary policies however, have a darker side. It concerns the emancipation of the “oriental woman,” which was considered all the more crucial as, in regions with very limited industrialization, the exploited and degraded Muslim women were conceived of as a “surrogate proletariat” (Gregory Massell) whose liberation was key to the victory of socialism. Founded in 1919, the Zhenotdel, the women's department of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party, engaged in a fieldwork among Eastern women, the “last slaves” according to Alexandra Kollontai who headed the organization after Inessa Armand's death and who encouraged the first unveiling campaigns led in Muslim areas: “so far I have brought here only a few women from the harems of Turkestan. These women have thrown aside their veils. Everybody stares at them, they are a curiosity which gives the congresses a theatrical atmosphere. Yet all pioneering work is theatrical. [...] How else would we get in touch with Mohammedan women except through women?” Displaced in the East, Kollontai's uncompromising leftism was becoming synonymous with blatant Orientalism. Such “colonial” policies were soon to have tragic consequences, when, on a few occasions, Zhenotdel activists were murdered by angry males. Long before anybody spoke of “intersectionality”, the Soviet Revolution faced, and apparently failed to solve the problem of women's emancipation in the East.

Paul Reynolds

Between Moralism and Exploitation: Towards a Political Ethics of Sex

The recent 'Comrade Delta' scandal that has split and damaged the reputation of the SWP in the UK underlines three interrelated problems for the left in respect of their sexual politics and ethics: an unworkable contradiction between a left politically and ethically sound approach to rape and harassment claims and a rejection of bourgeois alternatives; a failure to reconcile sexual politics and the politics of solidarity and anti-capitalist class struggle; and a contradiction between establishing ethical and politically sensitive sexual mores and avoiding a left 'moralism'. In this paper, I want to explore the question of how the left should police unacceptable sexual behaviours within its organisations, how it should act in response to these behaviours and what ethico-political standards it should establish a founding principles for comradely sexual behaviour and conduct. This discussion will both reflect on the failures of the SWP to effectively act in response to the 'Comrade Delta' case, and concentrate on developing a constructive blue-print for better ethico-political standards within left organisations that draws from Marxist, anarchist, feminist and queer insights

Larry Reynolds

Technology, Crisis and Transition - the long duration of the ecological regime of petro-Fordism

This paper brings together scholarship from the field of 'socio-technical transitions' studies into dialogue with geographical-historical materialism, to describe transitions between historically produced techno-ecological regimes. The publication of 'limits to growth' (Meadows et al. 1972) was read by some as a symptom of the intensification of the 1970s world capitalist crisis that marked the exhaustion of the Fordist-Keynesian regime (Freeman et al., 1973).

Following this and the 'oil shock' debate began to rage in bourgeois and popular circles about 'natural limits', with for example, the response of Daniel Bell that limits were social, economic and technical, and could be overcome in a new post-industrial information age. The 'limits to growth' controversy also began a long debate on the left about the relationship between 'natural' and 'social' limits to capital, and the different historical articulations of ecological and social forms (i.e. Benton 1989).

From the emergence of geographical historical materialism to capitalist-world ecology, we now have the theoretical foundations to now begin to describe regimes of accumulation through attention to their attendant techno-ecological regimes.

As these include discursive as well as material arrangements (designating at any historical moment what is 'natural' and what is not) our task therefore is not simply to attempt to 'overcome' nature / society dualisms in philosophy, but to examine the work these dualisms perform in any particular techno-ecological regime of accumulation. The designation of something as 'natural' and therefore 'external' to the 'social' is a precondition for its appropriation or expropriation within a regime of accumulation. Moments of transition can also therefore be experienced as ontological crises, where disputes arise as to the boundaries between the natural and social.

Attention to techno-ecological regimes can help us diagnose the long crisis of neoliberalism. The 1970s saw the rise of three trends in reaction to the crisis of 'petro-Fordism', which have intersected ever since – the environmentalist critique, the imaginary of a 'smart' digital-ecological 'third' (post)industrial revolution, and the processes of neoliberal globalisation and financialisation.

It is possible to discern attempts to absorb the environmentalist critique in the construction of a neoliberal techno-ecological regime. However, despite visions of biotechnological revolution and energy transition, financialised capitalism has remained locked into the long crisis of an older techno-ecological infrastructure, developed in the second industrial revolution and bequeathed by Petro-Fordism. Despite its rhetoric of 'perpetual innovation', the neoliberal regime has failed to make a 'third industrial revolution'. Furthermore, attempts to 'internalise' previous ecological 'externalities' within a marketised environmental regime threaten to intensify the crisis of capital and further destabilise its ontological boundaries of the social and natural.

Nevertheless, a new set of productive forces, ranging from genomics and informatics to renewable energy slumber in the lap of an exhausted neoliberalism. This presentation will conclude with an assessment of the tasks of the left in articulating a new alignment of social, technological and ecological forces beyond the limits of capital.

Michael Roberts

Corporate cash, profitability and the Marxist multiplier

It is argued that corporations in the major economies are flush with cash and so the cause of the crisis cannot be due to a lack of profit or falling profitability. The cause must be a 'lack of demand' or the inability or unwillingness of cash-rich corporations to invest or disperse their surpluses. This paper will argue and show with evidence that 1) corporations are not that cash-rich historically; 2) the lack of investment is not due to lack of (consumer) demand but low profitability and now falling profits and 3) the 'policy solution' is not more government spending (the Keynesian multiplier) which can lower profitability even more; but another crisis or slump that destroys capital values and boosts profitability (the Marxist multiplier).

Michael Roberts

Recessions, depressions and recoveries: theory and evidence

There have always been oscillations in economies since the capitalist mode of production became dominant in the industrialised countries globally from the late 18th century onwards. But there is a distinction between economic recessions and depressions. A depression is where a normal recovery to previous or higher trend growth does not occur and what has been called 'secular stagnation' ensues for a decade or more. On this definition, there have been only three such depressions in capitalist economies in the last 150 years, 1873-97 (depending on the country); 1929-42 and now.

Business investment growth is the main driver of economic growth and, in turn, investment is a product of the level of and growth in the profitability of capital as well as the size and growth in the level of private sector debt. A combination of low profitability and or slowing or negative profitability growth, combined with high levels of debt, can keep business investment below pre-crisis trend growth and thus perpetuate a depression.

There is little evidence that fiscal austerity is the cause of the current depression, either in the US, Europe or Japan. So the Keynesian multiplier (government spending as a driver of economic growth) is no guide to policy, unlike the Marxist multiplier (where profitability is the driver of growth).

Facundo C. Rocca

Marx and the Labor contract: symptom, counter-law and state of exception

In this paper we intend to analyze some aspects of Marx's theory of labor contract as a way of exploring the possibility of a marxian critique of modern rights that goes beyond their dismissal as mere illusory or ideological forms. The labor contract, as a juridical figure, puts rights, juridical subjects and juridical relationships in the core of the concrete process of material production of modern capitalist societies. It's the labor contract that enables the passage from the level of exchange of equally free subjects in the market (and in the political) to the hierarchies of command between unequal individuals in the production sphere. In order to explore this we will, firstly, point out young Marx's symptomatic oversight of labor-contract like formulations, in opposition to slavery, in the French Declarations of Rights. This will stress the non-continuous character of Marx's

oeuvre while also providing a possible alternative genealogy to Althusser's epistemological break. Secondly, we will outline the problems around the labor contract in Marx's late works: 1) as a particular form of commodity exchange that produces the difference between value and use value of the work force that enables the production and appropriation of surplus value; and 2) as a way of producing the subsumption of labor to capital's command in the work process. The relationship of these two aspects involves the intricate relationship of the legal and the non-legal, the judicial and the economical, in ways that surpass the opposition between an unreal form and a concrete practice. Here, Foucault's treatment of the labor contract as an example of the counter-law effect of disciplines would be a useful reference. Lastly, following Agamben, we will discuss the possibility of considering the labor-contract as a form of multiple and economically fixed state of exception: a juridical instrument that produces the undifferentiation of right and non-right, of law and force, as a way of legally inscribing a relationship of dominion and inequality that tends to exceed it at the same time that needs it as its logical and historical foundation.

Roberto Roccu

Neoliberalism as Passive Revolution? Insights from the Egyptian Experience

This paper analyses the transformations experienced by the Egyptian political economy before and after the 2011 revolution, and asks whether these can be understood as an instance of passive revolution. Suggesting that the latter concept has much more of a contingent applicability compared to other key Gramscian notions such as hegemony, this contribution suggests that it would be inappropriate to see the whole process of neoliberalisation in Egypt as a passive revolution. This is defined here around four criteria. Firstly, a passive revolution is predicated on specific international preconditions effectively demanding an economic restructuring. Secondly, as the dominant class fails to be hegemonic, it relies heavily on state power to carry out such restructuring, which ultimately produces the consolidation of its own ruling position. Thirdly, as it transforms social relations, passive revolution aims at rendering 'passive' an emerging yet disorganised subaltern bloc. Lastly, the reforms implemented provide a partial fulfilment and simultaneous displacement of demands articulated by subordinated classes. While the roles of the international and of the state were undoubtedly key to the neoliberal turn in Egypt, the effects that this had on the balance of political forces were altogether different from the one characteristic of passive revolutions. In light of this, this paper concludes suggesting that the Egyptian neoliberal experience is better understood as counter-reformation. The crisis of capitalism and the impossibility of hegemony in post-Mubarak Egypt

Isabel Maria Bonito Roque

"Fragmented Feminine Occupational Identities. A study on the Portuguese and British Contact Centre Female Workers"

Digital revolution of the 21st century, allowed work to become virtual, being performed in network and in constant connection, enabling a greater ease for new technologies' incorporation. Flexibility, unstable labor market, outsourcing, labor intensification, ageing labour and high level of emotional demands are becoming a pandemic, putting decent work into question. Commodification of labor and skills led to a process of deskilling and reskilling, where the majority of workers cannot put into practice what their academic or generic skills qualified them for. This scenario complicates the construction process of

occupational identities, leading to a status of frustration. According to the Marxian theory, there is the general tendency to reduce workers to an undifferentiated mass, who can be easily replaced - cybertariat, precariat or proletariat. Work is deeply connected with the subjective dimension of the human being, a person's occupation is one of the most important delineators of social identity. The global economic and social context of crisis is putting decent work and vulnerability into question, with processes of commodification of labor and skills. The services sector has one of the highest rates of women employability, mainly the call and contact centre sector. Women are no longer passive recipients of technologies, as users, but important actors in the process of their development (Berg, 1994: 96; Webster, 1996:6). In this sense, an increasing on women's participation on the labor market is very noticeable. In this sense, the present study aims at analyzing whether call centres are offering women new opportunities for skill and career development or whether they enact a more routinized, deskilled and devalued forms of work, preventing them from build an occupational identity. Through an ethnographic study and semi-direct interviews, conducted to former and present Portuguese and British contact centre workers, trade union members and academics of the contact centre industry, between 2010 and 2015. The analysis suggests that information and communication technologies did not dissipate inequalities and asymmetries between men and women on the labor realm. Women indeed appear more free than ever to choose their employment paths but they are nevertheless still more likely to be employed in less secure and lower paying jobs while men continue to dominate in higher status occupations (Stanworth, 2000). The present study aims at understanding the relationship between technological change affecting women's professional lives and gender relations at work, as well as its consequences on their occupational identity.

Darren Roso

Daniel Bensaïd's critical obsession with Foucault

In light of recent discussions of the relationship between Marx and Foucault – from Jacques Bidet to Isabelle Garo and the collective volume *Marx & Foucault. Lectures, usages, confrontations* - it is worthwhile returning to the question via on of France's most prominent Marxist intellectuals, Daniel Bensaïd. At a certain moment in Bensaïd's intellectual trajectory, Foucault became a disconcerting figure. This talk will investigate why this was the case, and why this problem matters for activists in the present.

Michela Russo

The Task of the Translator(s): Translating demands into hegemonic systems

As is well known, Gramscian hegemony is the name for the articulation of a heterogeneity of social forces establishing, at once, cultural relationships and a unifying worldview able to convey the specific traits of an historical condition and advocate demands of different social strata. Ernesto Laclau, in his theory of populism, which is also a theory of political representation, posed the question of an "inassimilable rest" which would haunt any hegemonic formation, impeding to consider them as closed totalities. What happens, then, to those social elements that are not "translatable" within the institutional level and thus escape the hegemony/counter-hegemony model? What if the Gramscian intellectual would give way to, transposing Benjamin's considerations on the task of the translator to the social sphere, a series of practices able to take care of these "untranslatable" reminders without forcing them into the re-production of already existing forms, but liberating their

creative potential into a heterogeneous society? This is where post-hegemonic projects may emerge. They would be those that, situated in the liminal zone of political invention, would not look for an intensification of the hegemonic demand, but rather would emerge as alternative practices of imaginary creation. In this respect, I understand the question of translation as the constitutive impossibility to fully translate social demands into the hegemonic logic as was proposed by Gramsci and rearticulated by some part of the so-called Subaltern studies. This paper will, hence, address the main concerns of some of the contemporary reflections on post-hegemony which, read in the light of the Latin American reception of Gramsci, somehow pushed forward Laclau's attempt to respond to political determinism through the inclusion of the question of contingency.

Parastou Saberi

The geo-political fear of "the immigrant neighborhood": State, racism and development in the imperial metropole

Since the recent attacks in Paris (January and November 2015) and Brussels (March 2016), once again peripheralized urban neighborhoods such as Gennevilliers, Saint-Denis and Molenbeek have become the center of the state's and media attention. Racialized, territorialized and homogenized as "immigrant neighborhoods," these localities are perceived as the spaces of the "internal enemy:" local threats to social cohesion, "Western way of life," "security" and "peace" within the Western metropolitan centers. Boosted by the increasing political success of hard-Right populism, forces on the right were quick to write off these neighborhoods as "failed" estates of "extremism" and "barbarism." In response to the (hard-)Right's openly racist attacks, many on the left-liberal spectrum have prescribed more integration and development. Is this latter suggestion a more progressive approach, capable of undoing the increasing normalization of the territorialized and racialized security ideology shadowing "the immigrant neighborhood"? This paper challenges the recent renewed calls for development and integration as the remedy to the supposed malaise of the "immigrant neighborhoods". Based on my research in Toronto (Canada), where liberal humanitarian ideology has become the foundation of the state-led strategies of intervention in the "immigrant neighborhoods," I highlight the ways liberal development intervention not only builds upon, but also reproduces and reifies the territorialized and racialized security ideology central to the construction of the "immigrant neighborhood." Bringing together the insights of Henri Lefebvre, Frantz Fanon and Mark Neocleous, I suggest that a historical-materialist understanding of the reconfiguration of 'race' and racism in the imperial metropole of today requires critical engagement with the relational formation of state-led urban intervention in the "immigrant neighborhoods" of the imperial metropole and imperialist strategies of intervention in the "ungoverned" spaces of the imperial world order. This means bringing into our analysis the historical and geographical specificities of: 1) the political fear of the non-White working class, 2) the role of the state urban strategies of development and security; and 3) the changing forms of imperialist geopolitics and neo-colonial relations of accumulation and domination.

Sara Salem

Centering Class: Gramsci, Elite Analysis, and the 2011 Revolution

Little work being done on Egypt in the contemporary period looks at class, let alone capitalism, through the lens of elites. With some exceptions, the work that does look at elites tends to focus on well-worn and problematic concepts such as crony capitalism, nepotism, and democratization, and elides discussions about the role of capitalism in

producing and reproducing elites. This has continued to be the case after the 2011 revolution, an event which brought to the fore the role of elites in Egypt's political and economic system. I argue that a Gramscian analysis of the Egyptian ruling class provides us with a more useful way of approaching the question of the 2011 revolution, elites, and class. This approach sees history as a story of different classes and different hegemonies told through the lens of materialism. By outlining both the approaches that dominate the field of elite analysis in Egypt as well as the Gramscian approach that poses an alternative, I show the ways in which capitalism and class are central concepts that must be part of any analysis of the events of January 25 2011, and that their continued exclusion serves to depoliticize the revolution itself. Moreover, I argue that this perspective is also useful not just in analysing revolution but also counter-revolution, an increasingly important topic post-2013. Once widely-praised as a success story of building 'conservative democracy', Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its democratic credentials continue to receive increased scrutiny. This paper problematises the temporal break in the scholarly analyses of the AKP governance and rejects the argument that the party's governing techniques have shifted from an earlier 'democratic' model—defined by a successful 'hegemony'—to an emergent 'authoritarian' one. In contrast, by retracing the mechanisms of the state-led reproduction of neoliberalism since 2003, the paper demonstrates that the earlier 'hegemonic' activities of the AKP were too shaped by authoritarian tendencies which largely manifested as legal and administrative reforms. The paper further identifies conceptual shortcomings with the existing literature wherein dualistic understandings of coercion and consent as well as of the 'economic' and the 'political' have resulted in analyses that failed to recognise the aforementioned tendencies.

Pedro Salgado

Who made Brazil's Old Republic? – Coffee, Slavery, and the Making of a New Ruling Class in Late 19th Century

The political consolidation of Brazil as a sovereign political unit – a monarchy under an American branch of the House of Braganza – comes with the crowning of a young Pedro II in 1841. But only throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the social and economic fundamentals of the Brazilian Empire begin to differ from those it inherited from the final moments of the colonial period. From 1850 onwards the social conditions upon which independence was achieved and territorial sovereignty consolidated went through substantial changes, which are essential for understanding the fall of the monarchy and the rise of the republic in 1889. In particular, I argue that transformations on the form of property over land and the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade – both in 1850 – paved the way to the ascension of a different class of landowners, namely, the coffee planters in the western portion of the São Paulo province. I also suggest (not as an a priori assumption, but as an outcome of historical investigation) that the analytical key to understand this transformation of the social property relations in Brazil is the intra-elite ("horizontal") class struggle in that period, which must be understood in the context of its closer connection to British informal empire. This allows for a renewed argument about the social and geopolitical roots of Brazilian capitalism, constituting a shift from colonialism to dependency as the main explanatory tool for Brazil's international relations.

Irina Borislavova Samokovska

Writing Politically for the Theatre: the Limits of Identity

When it comes to writing politically for the theatre in the second half of the twentieth century, two major figures are bound to come up – those of Bertolt Brecht and Heiner Müller. This paper seeks to shed light on the different concepts and strategies of the two dramatists regarding the emancipatory potential of theatre.

I argue that the treatment of identity is a major difference between the two.

Müller, himself a keen commentator on the Lehrstück theory, is often regarded as an author implementing a radicalized version of Brecht's aesthetics. In my paper I attempt to analyze one parameter of this alleged radicalization, namely the switch to a rhizomatic identity in several of Müller's most pronouncedly experimental plays.

Borrowing concepts from Deleuze and Guattari's "A Thousand Plateaus", I suggest that plays like "Hamletmaschine" (1977) and "Quartett" (1981) demonstrate what it means to let multiplicities speak.

Müller maintained that works of art could only be political through their form.

In "Hamletmaschine"'s case, a play dense in quotations, self-quotations, paraphrases and allusions to a wide range of texts, from canonical literary works to pop culture, the German dramatist is said to deploy "Zitatmaschinen" (quotation machines), or, "Sprechinstanzen" (speaking instances), instead of characters.

In my paper I dwell on the political stakes of making it impossible for a play's recipient to ascribe statements to subjects. What is the significance of forcing the reader/ theatre-goer into an uphill struggle of finding out who is it that is actually speaking? I claim that the resistance to the use of well-rounded characters with a fixed identity and the recourse to a multivoiced and fragmented personhood is a groundbreaking step on the part of Müller in the sphere of dramaturgy of substantial political significance.

Heike Schaumberg

From participatory budgeting to the new managerialism: neoliberal crisis and the State in movement in Argentina

The growing experience of entrepreneurs and business leaders capturing direct control over government in South America (so far: Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil) is startling as it follows a decade of upheavals and uprisings "from below". The State, I contend, thus demands renewed Marxist analytical attention because it transforms in response to the erratic political and economic conditions of long-haul neoliberal crisis. This paper examines the ways in which neoliberal crisis and the aftermath of the 2001 uprising have transformed the Argentine State, not once, but many times over. The capitalist state, it is observed, was reconstituted by contradictory means such as repression, participatory budgeting and other such progressive experiments at the local government level, negotiations with social movements, and business style pragmatism. In the case of Argentina, these state efforts were channelled through often intense internal tensions between the local, provincial and national spheres of government, which both reflected and furthered the political unevenness nationally with regards to state tactics, corruption and domination. To grasp the nature of the contemporary State, I will explore the impacts on it of a) the deepening of federalism inherited from the preceding neoliberal era, b) the negotiations and conflicts engendered by social and labour movements, and c) the demands and movements by capital. The paper will then probe the geo-political significance and contexts of the Argentine State transformations for the region and the

evolving global crisis. The conclusion will be centred on a critical assessment of the repercussions of this new 'managerial state' for both the 'progresivismo' of the Centre-Left, and, more generally, left-wing movements and organisations.

David Schwartzman

Extractivism from an ecosocialist perspective

The climate and energy justice movement is now confronting the challenge of extractivism. Here I argue for a path to "sensible extractivism" then to "indispensable extractivism" (Hollender, 2015), with the latter phase fading away as solar power capacity increases, i.e., more solar, more recycling, less mining. Extreme anti-extractionists advocate the near immediate shut down of all oil wells which would block a solar transition while simultaneously bringing on inevitable climate catastrophe. The creation of a global wind/solar power infrastructure supplying more energy than now is imperative to eliminate energy poverty now affecting most of humanity, as well as having the capacity for climate adaptation and the sequestering of carbon from the atmosphere into the crust, bringing the atmospheric CO₂ level below 350 ppm. With the lowest carbon footprint of fossil fuels, liquid oil is the preferred energy source for a renewable energy transition. Thus, oil-rich countries (e.g., Venezuela) will be valuable partners in this transition, only possible by creating a cooperative global regime, with the dissolution of Military Industrial Complex ("MIC") and its imperial agenda at the core of 21st Century Capitalism.

Will Searby

Stay For The Sign; The English Revolution and the Outlines of Liberal Legal Ideology

In October 1656 James Nayler, one of the most prominent Quaker pamphleteers of seventeenth century England, entered Bristol on a donkey, his followers singing hosannas and casting their clothes in the mud before him. In the months that followed, Nayler was tried as a 'grand imposter, and a great seducer of the people'. The case, conducted by parliament, under a written constitution, without any precedence, and entirely in contradiction to the legal rights of liberty of conscience and the juridical limitations of parliamentary authority, foregrounded a formative crisis in the history of British legal relations.

The contradictions exemplified in the Nayler case are symptomatic of the profound tremors shaking European society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the case itself reflects the condensation of several acute ruptures in early-modern society. An analysis of the Nayler case allows us to interrogate relations between the emergence of capitalist property relations, liberal juridical authority, and the development in modes of scriptural exegesis which peripherally also include the decline of scholasticism and the development of modern empiricism. This paper will pay close attention to the role played by the state in the interpolation of political agency and subjectivity, focusing on the critical rupture between the fetishisation of social relations which characterised feudal society (most prominently in the body of the King) and the fetishisation of commodities which remains the determinate characteristic of a society dominated by the capitalist mode of production.

This paper will make use of semiotic and psychoanalytic analysis to deconstruct the relationship between language, identity, and state power, crucially examining the antagonisms between different modes of scriptural exegesis and their effect in the constitution of legal and political identity in early modern England. By interrogating the

legal and political superstructure in this period this paper makes a modest contribution to an understanding of Etienne Balibar's theories of 'transitional modes of production.'

Alan Sears

The Resilience of Heteronormativity: Queer Marxism and the Liberation of Normal

Sexual liberation requires the destruction of heteronormativity as the hegemonic organization of gender and sexuality. Heteronormativity establishes the monogamous co-residential heterosexual couple likely to raise children as the standard for all intimate relations. The advance of LGBTQ rights has not undermined heteronormativity, but rather has produced homonormativity as its complement, organized around the recognition of same-sex couple relationships and parental rights. The development of a politics of sexual liberation requires strategies to challenge the resilience of these regimes of normality in the spheres of gender and sexuality.

Queer theory advocates seek to challenge this hegemonic sex and gender normativity through transgression, subverting the normative by refusing assimilation. The Marxist feminist social reproduction frame offers the basis for a different sexual liberation politics, oriented around transformation rather than transgression. In this view, the resilience of heteronormativity is grounded in capitalist relations of social reproduction based on the separation of social production from private reproduction organized around gendered and racialized divisions of labour in the context of a specific global order.

The liberation of normal requires the dismantling of the hegemonic normative regime in the field of gender and sexuality, which can only be accomplished through a reorganization of social reproduction. Sexuality is formed in relation to the ways people sustain themselves and raise the next generation. Sexual liberation is therefore inseparable from the social organization of paid and unpaid work in the context of nationalized populations and a global imperialist order.

Orsan Senalp

Energetic Materialism: The Bogdanov - Sultan Galiev Connection

Alexander Bogdanov and Mirsaid Sultan Galiev are two forgotten precursors of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Both were scientist, artists, teachers, and political leaders who were eliminated by the primary names of the Revolution. Bogdanov lost his leadership quarrel with Lenin, and Sultan Galiev was the first Bolshevik leader Stalin arrested. Bogdanov was leading the Moscow branch of the Communist University, and Sultan Galiev was one of the managers at the Kazan branch. Bogdanov's life work and magnum opus Tektology is recognized as a forerunner of modern Structuralism, Cybernetics, General Systems, Chaos and Complexity Theories -which have shaped the development of 'bourgeois sciences', during the 20. Century. On the other hand Sultan Galiev is seen as the father of 'Third Worldist Revolutionism', because of his political vision, called 'Muslim National Communism', and the strategy he developed for the creation of 'Colonial International' to lead the world revolution. While Bogdanov's work was first of its kind that was updating Marx's Dialectical Materialist methodology in a way that could provide systematic principles, uncovering patterns, generalizations and simplification to analyze the complexities inherited in every kind of living and nonliving systems as well as their change; Sultan Galiev's theses can be seen as predecessor to the structuralist analyses of global

capitalism and imperialism delivered in late 60s and 70s by theorists like Althusser, Foucault, Balibar; Dependency theory of Baran and Sweezy, or 'Capitalist World-System Analysis' of Wallerstein and his colleagues. However, despite the physical and psychical proximity of the spaces they lived, work they did, people they met, and vision they developed, there has been no historical study establishing the relationships between these two significant figures of the Soviet Revolution. Proposed research, as part of a broader project analyzing further the contemporary relevance of Bogdanov and Sultan Galiev's theory and practice for global labour class formation and organizing its emancipation, aims to trace such relationship by investigating any influence of Bogdanov's elaborated scientific philosophy (Empiricism / Tektology), on the political and strategical vision developed by Sultan Galiev (Muslim National Communism and Colonial Internationalism). My starting point is the key article written by Sultan Galiev in 1925, which caused his second arrest in 1928, where he claimed deploying 'Energetic Materialist' methodology, with his own words "more radical strand of revolutionary philosophy of Historical and Dialectical Materialism" (Sultan Galiev, 2016), when building his political analyses and world revolution strategy. It was well known, then and now, that it was Bogdanov who did dedicate his life time effort to advance Marxist methodology by synthesizing 'incomplete-monist' Energeticism and Empiricism of Ernst Mach, Wilhelm Ostwald, and Richard Avenarius, and Dialectic and Historical Materialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Although the term 'Energetic Materialism' reemerged in 70s and 80s with the work of Gilles Deleuze, for the time of Sultan Galiev the only source for such a 're-branding' had to refer Bogdanov's work. My initial research questions thus are: Were there any direct or indirect personal relationships, or correspondence between Bogdanov and Sultan Galiev? and to what extent the philosophy and methodology developed by the former did influence the political analysis and practice of the latter? I will study relevant archive material, analyze and compare published and unpublished writings in their originals, and map the social networks of the two figures to find answers to these questions.

Arjun Sengupta

Abstract and Concrete Nature: "Limits to Nature" as Historical-Ideological Limits to Our Understanding of Nature

In this paper, I argue that Marxism is the only philosophical outlook that consistently views nature as concrete or qualitatively infinite. I further argue that such a view is fundamental to any adequate understanding of both environmental problems and the contradictions of class. I do this in the following way.

First, relying on the Hegelian tradition within Marxist theorization, particularly the Grundrisse and the works of the Soviet philosopher Evald Ilyenkov, I try to show that what fundamentally sets apart Marxist philosophy from most other philosophical traditions is the former's view that the sensuous world – the world that is given to us in sensation – is characterized by universal and infinite causal linkages. In other words, Marxism is unique in consistently looking at the sensuous world or nature as qualitatively infinite or concrete. I further argue that this view is fundamentally connected to the fact that Marxism accords a central place to sensuous or sense-directed activity in understanding the basic epistemic relation. Since human activity is both sense-directed and qualitatively determinate, the sensuous world which directs such activity must itself be qualitatively determinate or concrete. I argue that a recognition of this condition of possibility of sensuous activity forms the core of Marxist epistemology.

I then show that most non-Marxist philosophical traditions (both "western" and "eastern"),

because they do not attach much significance to sensuous activity in understanding the epistemic relation, conceive the sensuous or natural world in purely quantitative or abstract terms. I show that this includes even professedly practice-oriented philosophical traditions such as pragmatism. I then argue that to conceive of nature as pure quantity is to fundamentally preclude an understanding of it as infinite. This is so, as I show, because the categories of finitude and infinitude cease to meaningfully apply when quality or qualitative relations are removed from the picture. I then argue that such a view forms the foundation of the dualist conception of nature, on the one hand, as “limited”, and history or culture, on the other, as fundamentally “illimitable”.

Third, relying on commentators such as Benjamin Farrington and Debiprasad Chattopadhyay, I argue that the philosophical view of nature as purely quantitative stems from the basic division between mental and physical labour that definitionally characterizes class societies. I show that the practical-historical separation between mental and physical labour necessarily requires a corresponding ideological separation between quantity and quality. The practical split within the historical subject expresses itself as the ideological split within the historical object. I then show that this abstract conception of nature pervades contemporary social theory as well – from neo-classical economics to certain strands of political ecology.

Fourthly, I argue that the view of nature as purely quantitative prevents comprehension of the basic contradiction of human practice – that it fundamentally involves finite transformation of an infinite nature. Finite transformation of an infinite world implies that no matter what the level of historical development of practice it is always, and necessarily, limited and partial – that is to say it always excludes or fails to reckon with certain properties and relations of the world which in turn show up as problems of practice. Practice is, necessarily, therefore, both problem-solving and problem-yielding.

I then argue that this contradiction – between finite practice and infinite nature – lies at the very core of the Marxist understanding of the historical process. I show that what, traditionally, have been referred to as the “relations of production” are but the form within which the contradiction between finitude and infinitude plays out. Further, I show that any meaningful comprehension of environmental problems as practical problems – that is, as both created by practice and posing a challenge to it – requires us to locate them within the specific trajectories of development of this historical dialectic.

Nizan Shaked

Form and Content: Art and Identity Politics

In their recent analysis of the Black Lives Matter movement the editorial board members of Endnotes assess the potential for unity under identity: “There was, we might say, a peculiar possibility for movement unification presenting itself here; a unity one step from the graveyard ... ; a unity of the potentially killable: hands up, don’t shoot.” However, they conclude that economic disparities are too broad: “it was inevitable that the unity at play here would be correspondingly thin. If the content of identity is null without it, at extremes of difference the positing of identity reverts to the merest formality, while the content escapes.” Agreeing with this description of identity’s paradox, I nevertheless ask whether positing identity as form against an escaping social content is a correct description of a complex dynamic. Using Holly Lewis’ *The Politics of Everybody: Feminism, Queer Theory, and Marxism at the Intersection*, I show how different discourses define the term identity in paradigmatically irreconcilable ways: some as form, others as content. I then turn to a set

of cases in art since the late 1960s where identity has been specifically taken up at the crux of both. I look at an influential genealogy of practitioners that synthesized Marxist-based conceptualist practice with the influences of Civil Rights, Black Power, the women's and gay liberation movements, and later, queer politics (AIDS being another historical moment of "unity one step from the graveyard"). Artists like Adrian Piper, Andrea Fraser, Renée Green, or Félix González Torres, did not represent identity as subject matter, but rather used conceptualist interventions into disciplinary assumptions to distinguish between identity, subjectivity and the self. They analyzed how structures, forms, and narratives of identity categories establish or support how meaning in art is assigned or appears. They offer a way to think of identity politics as a working or applicable model, beyond anthropological definitions or claims for or against situated knowledge.

Laura Lema Silva

Literature and Marxism in Latin America: for a broader approach to literature's emancipatory potential

Can Marxism provide a better understanding of literature's emancipatory potential in Latin America? Can it broaden decolonial critical perspectives on literature? Decoloniality approaches towards Latin American literary history grant an epistemological privilege to the subaltern subjects. By grounding the criticism on the importance of the locus of enunciation, literature is mostly approached as an object of representation. Therefore, its emancipatory potential depends on literature's capacity to make the subaltern's local histories and structures of knowledge, hidden by a modern/colonial hegemonic epistemology, explicit. As a consequence, testimonial literature is conceived as the emancipatory literary genre par excellence. But, is literature's critical potential limited to the representation of a subject? We intend to defend that literature's creative critical power is not the privilege of a particular literary genre, but is granted by literature's internal conflictuality; literature is indeed a linguistic political battlefield. We believe that the critical potential of literature as an object of creation can be seized from a Marxist perspective. Indeed, Latin-American thinkers such as José Carlos Mariátegui grant a special attention to the political power of aesthetics. Mariátegui's reflection on avant-garde literature and surrealism in Latin America is particularly stimulating and allows broadening the Latin American critical literary corpus. In fact, the author opens a reflection on the critical potential of previous literary movements – such as magical realism – instead of assuming, in decolonial fashion, that they are only the continuation of hegemonic modern epistemologies seeking domesticate subaltern differences. A Marxist perspective can also contribute to a reflection on which concepts better account for emancipation through literature in Latin America. In this order of ideas we believe that a reflection on languages' becoming-minoritarian allows making explicit new forms of resistance through literature in Latin America by insisting on the use of language. This allows going beyond a definition of literature as a representational object, whose emancipatory potential only relies on its author's biography.

Pritam Singh

Capitalism has always developed unevenly- does the current spatial shift in global capitalism matter?: An eco-socialist perspective

The entire history of capitalism is a history of uneven development. This uneven development is in terms of class, region and gender to just point out a few nodal points of this unevenness. This uneven development is not unique to the capitalist mode of

production but the onset of the capitalist mode of production has intensified and exacerbated this tendency towards uneven development. This is both the source of strength and weakness of capitalism. Capitalism is a dynamic economic system- constantly upsetting existing technologies, markets, products, designs, consumption patterns and life styles. This is what Schumpeter called creative destruction. Globally, different regions of the world have risen and declined at different point of time. This paper will highlight that the rise of BRICS and MINT economies and the decline of previously dominant capitalist economies has become an important feature of the global capitalist economy in the last few decades and it has its implications for the current multipronged crisis of global capitalism. The papers will focus on showing that this recent uneven development is different from all earlier periods of uneven development mainly from the viewpoint of colossal global sustainability implications of this spatial shift in global capitalism. The paper will highlight these sustainability implications and would argue that due to these implications, capitalism is not capable of repeating its path of development in the BRICS and other major developing economies in the so-called Third World. Through this argument, the paper will seek to argue the case for eco-socialism as the only sustainable answer to the present crisis of global capitalism.

Nadia Singh

“Green” capitalist initiatives in developing economies: a case study of bioenergy projects in Punjab, India

The global capitalist system is currently moving towards a reformist agenda of “green” capitalism. This is attributed to the growing crisis in the ecological sphere, along with the spatial shift in the world capitalist order with burgeoning resource demand in countries like India and China. These factors are imposing ecological limits to further growth of capitalism, and making it mandatory to move towards alternatives. Green capitalism is fundamentally focused on the twin planks of development of clean technologies and expanding green markets while keeping the institution of capitalism intact. This system aims to bring the “efficiency of the market to bear on nature.” Most developed as well as developing countries have begun to adopt this agenda in order to revive long-run growth under the global capitalist system. A major objective of green capitalism is to develop non-fossil fuel sources of energy based on bioenergy. Bioenergy is being touted as the fuel of the future, with a potential to replace fossil fuels on a commercial base.

In this paper we evaluate the sustainability of these bioenergy initiatives under green capitalism by conducting an in depth case study of these initiatives in the region of Punjab, India. This region is being promoted for a leading role in the bioenergy sector in India and is being touted as a “green power” economy. By focusing on bioenergy policies in a practical setting, the paper aims to elucidate on the essential contradictions in the agenda of “green” capitalism. This system neglects the political and social embeddedness of technology and aims to solve ecological problems through a technical fix. Such narrow technocratic solutions to the ecological crisis then create a host of sustainability challenges for the local populations in the long run. The research provides convincing evidence on how green capitalism is incapable of protecting the natural resource base of the global economy and presents an alternative in the form of eco-socialism, which believes that ecological resources can only be protected through the establishment of alternative political-economy structures, which recognize the inherent link and mutual interdependence between the socio-political and economic realms and the natural environment.

Hira Singh

Inequalities of Race and Caste: Relevance of Marxism

W.E.B. Dubois often referred to race in America as caste. More recently, Isabel Wilkerson, author of *The Warmth of the Other Suns*, refers to the racial divide in America as the caste system of the south. Comparing caste and race is, however, a controversial issue, mainly because caste is considered as uniquely Indian, a feature of Indian culture dominantly affected by Hinduism. This conceptualization of caste can be traced back to Max Weber's seminal distinction between class and status, with caste as prime example of status based on cultural power without economic-political power. Following Weber, mainstream sociology has used caste to negate the relevance of Marxism to the study of Indian society and history, a sentiment currently echoed by many scholars engaged in the study of dalits occupying the bottom of caste hierarchy in India. Very much like race, it is alleged that Marxists treated caste as superstructure determined by precapitalist economic-political infrastructure only to be swept away by modern democratic economic-political structure. Rather than being dissolved, caste in contemporary India is reincarnated, point out the critics of Marxism. This folklore of mainstream sociology of caste is sustained by multiple misconceptualizations of caste and Marxism derived from its Weberian legacy. My paper is a critical interrogation of this legacy to argue that Marxist approach is a resolution to the mystification of caste in mainstream sociology. One key area of comparison proposed in the paper is the idea of the people marginalized by caste and race as lesser humans, which is as much part of the Jeffersonian legacy in the US as that of the Manusmriti in India. In addition to broadening the scope of Marxist theory, comparative perspective will be helpful in developing a common strategy to fight the inequalities of caste and race to eventually eliminate them.

Kostas Skordoulis

Reconsidering Science as Social Practice

In this paper, I challenge relativism by developing a critique of the currently fashionable view among radical intellectuals that science as a process of knowledge production is a construction of western culture deprived of any ability to give an adequate account of physical reality. Next, I revisit the classic Marxist theory of knowledge in an attempt to articulate a theory of science as social practice based on Vygotsky's epistemology and Zilsel's sociological account on the roots of modern science.

Roddy Slorach

Disability: a very capitalist condition

Disability is a complex, contradictory and very modern form of discrimination.

Over a hundred nation states have in recent years adopted some form of disability discrimination legislation. The laws in Britain and the US, countries which were home to the first disability movements, are still championed as models of best practice. But in both countries today, media and government campaigns allege large-scale fraud by benefit 'scroungers' or 'fakers' to justify drastic cuts in disability-related benefits and services. The effects of austerity were highlighted by research by the DWP in 2011, which found that, of those who meet the Equality Act definition of disability, only 25% say they are disabled - compared to a figure of 48% in 2005.

What explains these contrary trends? What, indeed, is disability in the first place?

The concept of disability as a form of discrimination is very new. For the majority of the world's citizens today, particularly in developing countries, it still does not exist. This partly explains why disability activists sometimes refer to themselves as part of the 'last civil rights movement'.

The distinction between disability and impairment remains poorly understood, with the terms often confused and treated as interchangeable. Identifying as disabled is therefore not a simple issue: many people avoid doing so for fear of being labelled as a burden on society or on their loved ones. In addition, many people belonging to groups commonly considered to be disabled by others, such as lots of Deaf or neurodiverse people, or many of those diagnosed with some mental health difficulty, don't see themselves as such.

This paper examines the nature of disability identity by asking how relevant the social model of disability is in the current political and economic context, and looking in particular at the social model's crucial distinction between impairment and disability.

John Smith

Imperialism in the 21st-century - exploitation, super-exploitation, and Marx's Capital

This paper presents a summary of and commentary on a debate sparked by Michael Robert's review of *Imperialism in the 21st Century*, published in 2016 by Monthly Review Press, about how Marx's theory of value as presented in *Capital* can help us answer these questions:

- are the hundreds of millions of women and men in export-oriented industries in low-wage countries, who produce our clothes and electronic goods and much else besides, subject to a higher rate of exploitation than workers in imperialist countries
- if so, what are the economic and political implications of this?

This debate is grounded in study and analysis of neoliberal globalisation is greatest transformation: the global shift of production to low-wage countries, it is guided by Marx's theory of value and tests rival interpretations of it, and it poses questions of central importance to understanding contemporary global capitalism and its continuing crisis and the prospects for social revolution

Jason E. Smith

The Ultra-Left & the Party

This paper will investigate recent calls, among various ultra-leftist tendencies, to rethink the place of the party in the current cycle of struggles. It will take as its specific focus, however, the so-called communization current and its various approaches to party-type structures. The Anglophone reception of this originally French theoretical formation has tended to emphasize the periodizing theses developed by the group *Théorie Communiste* and reconceptualization of the class relation after the deep capitalist crisis of the 1970s. This account emphasized not only the debilitating role played by syndical and party-type mediations in class struggle, as does the classical ultraleft; it also tried to reconceive the nature of class antagonism in a world in which worker identity itself -- its capacity to relate to itself as a class outside of the dynamics of capitalist accumulation -- has been

undermined. This approach to the present, which attempts to rethinking class struggle outside the framework of the classical workers' movement, tends to double down on the most radical positions of the classical ultra-left: it attempts to conceive of class struggle both outside of every organized mediation of the class (not only unions and parties, but worker soviets or councils as well) and beyond a certain idea of proletarian "self"-activity as well. My paper will attempt to complicate this reception, however, by returning to two other tendencies associated with the communisation current that emerged in the post-68 period: that associated with Jacques Camatte and the group Invariance, on the one hand, and the various projects developed by Gilles Dauvé on the other. My intention is to examine the manner in which these two tendencies approach the question of the party-form, with a particular emphasis on the Bordiguist framework they each emerge out of: the way each starts from Marx's own conception of the party, such as he formulated it in a famous letter, distinguishing between the formal party, in its ephemeral and contingent crystallization, and the so-called historical party, whose presence orients and structures class struggle even in periods and episodes in which formal parties are absent. The stakes of my examination of these two tendencies will be both to complicate the Anglophone reception of the "communization" current as well as to propose that we think, in view of contemporary struggles – in a period of capitalist crisis, the return of mass movements, and international circulation and resonance of struggles – a party of communization, a new organizational and even strategic figure that might emerge in coming decades.

Stuart Smithers

What is to be Undone? – Notes on Communization and Cult Value

In one his most influential essays, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Walter Benjamin introduces the idea of "cult value" as a value form distinct from exhibition value. Benjamin suggests that prehistoric cave paintings were primarily important to the artist for their "existence," maintaining a kind of magical relation, without regard for public display or exhibition. Modes of hiddenness, withdrawal, secrecy, ritual, mimesis, and anonymity are implied in cult value and are presented in Benjamin's essays and fragments in both interior and exterior forms, individually and institutionally. And while these external forms are certainly found in the tendencies and practices of many groups sympathetic to communization theory and practice, the internal dynamics of cult value for the insurrectionary or revolutionary subject might also be elaborated. In this light, resistance and revolution as the undoing of capitalist relations might be related to cult value in both internal and external struggle.

Starting from Benjamin, then, the presentation will offer notes toward a theory of cult value as it relates to the two poles of contemporary communization and exhibitionism (in the sense of visibly "doing"), suggesting that the idea presents an opening to understanding and elaborating an insurrectionary subject in relation to hyper-contemplative modes of resistance and revolution. Tiqqun and the Invisible Committee have inspired strategies of withdrawal and exodus as modes of resistance, but they have also been criticized in communization circles. Has this general form/non-form of "resistance" remained an under-theorized mode? And does Benjamin's idea of cult value serve to help develop such a theory?

Panagiotis Sotiris, Dimitris Papafotiou

Althusser and value-form theory: A missed encounter?

Starting with his suggestion in 1969 that one should begin reading Marx's Capital Volume 1 from the Part II, leaving aside Part I, Louis Althusser in the 1970s moved to a more critical approach regarding Marx's theorization of value and in particular the choices Marx made regarding the order of exposition in Capital. In texts like the Preface to Gerard Dumenil's *Concept de loi économique dans "Le Capital"*, 'Marxism today' or the unpublished during his lifetime manuscript entitled *Marx in his limits*, in which he even praises Pierro Sraffa's demonstrations of Marx's mistakes regarding the transformation problem, one can see Althusser insisting on a certain tension within Marx's Capital. On the one hand, he stresses the problems related to a Hegelian conception of science that needed to start from the most abstract notion and gradually, by means of conceptual transformations reach concrete reality. For Althusser, this conception of science along with the anthropological overtones of Marx's theory of fetishism can account for the idealist elements that are effective within Marx's mature work, with the exception of *Notes on Wagner*. On the other hand, Althusser points to another theoretical strategy in Capital that stresses the importance of the concrete history of class struggles, the many singular confrontations, and the everyday violence of exploitation that is at the heart of capital, in the chapters on work time or on primitive accumulation. Consequently, and partly in contrast to his texts in *Reading Capital*, Althusser seems critical of any potential theory of the value form as articulated in Part 1 of Capital. Although this can be explained, at least partially, as part of a broader tendency within French Marxism of the 1960s to give greater emphasis on class struggles, on the relations of productions as forms of social antagonism and on the role of the State, thus underestimating questions relating to the market and fetishistic representations associated with it, it also bore the mark of Althusser's attempt to elaborate a highly original conception of a non-teleological, non-idealist, non-foundational relational theorization of social practices based upon the notion of the encounter and the ability of encounters to last in their contingency and singularity. In this sense, although there is indeed a certain 'missed encounter' between Althusser and value form theory, the aim of this paper is to argue that it is exactly by means of Althusser's attempt to renew historical materialism as a materialism of the encounter and to offer a relational theorization of social structures and forms as lasting encounters, along with other important contributions such as Étienne Balibar's conception of the 'theoretical short-circuit' between the economic and the political sphere, that we can rethink in a non-Hegelian way the theory of the value form and the many important contributions to it from I.I. Rubin's seminal work to contemporary theorizations such as M. Heinrich's.

Panagiotis Sotiris

Rethinking Popular Sovereignty: From the Nation to the People of a potential new Historical Bloc

During the past decades traditional notions of sovereignty have been challenged in Europe. First, we have the erosion of sovereignty induced by the process of European Integration. From the euro as a form of ceding of national monetary sovereignty to the Treaties that give priority to European Institutions and the new mechanisms of disciplinary supervision of member-states' economies, exemplified in the Greek experience, the European Integration process has been a process of imposition of a condition of reduced and limited sovereignty, affecting not only 'peripheral countries' but also countries of the EU core. Secondly, the new waves of migrants and refugees arriving in Europe and the anti-immigrant and anti-refugee policies of 'Fortress Europe' and 'closed borders' along with the intensification of racism and islamophobia, both as ideological climate but also as official state policy, have opened up the debate regarding the relation between sovereignty

and ethnicity. The challenge facing us takes the following form.

On the one hand, any attempt towards a rupture with the embedded and constitutionalised neoliberalism of the EU in order to initiate processes of social transformation and emancipation, should necessarily take the form of a reclaiming of popular sovereignty and democratic control over crucial aspects of economic and social policy, both in the sense of a rupture from the financial, monetary and institutional architecture of the Eurosystem and of the deepening of processes of democratic processes in order for a broad alliance of the subaltern classes to initiate sequences of social transformation. In this sense, the recuperation of sovereignty represents the collective and emancipatory effort towards another road, an alternative narrative for a potential hegemony of the working classes. On the other hand, we must deal with the association of sovereignty with nationalism, racism and colonialism, tragically exemplified in the way the Far Right links the question of sovereignty to its own authoritarian racist agenda. To answer this we need to rethink the people in a 'post-nationalist' and post-colonial way as the emerging community of all the persons that work, struggle and hope on a particular territory, as the reflection of the emergence of a potential historical bloc. This is not just a recuperation of the 'national reference'. Rather it is a way to rethink the possibility of a new unity and common reference of the subaltern classes, regardless of ethnic origin, of a new common identity based upon common struggle and aspiration. Movements of solidarity to refugees and migrants exemplify this potential.

To deal with these challenges a return to Gramsci is necessary. His conceptualization of the historical block as the articulation of an alliance of the subaltern classes under hegemony of the working class, of an alternative narrative and of the political forms helping this, enables us to rethink the notion of the people as the collective subject of this reclaiming of sovereignty, democracy and emancipation. Moreover, Gramsci's conception of the 'national-popular' can offer the possibility of a common identity of the subaltern classes in a particular social formation, beyond bourgeois nationalism.

Irene Sotiropoulou

Nature, gold and the struggles for value(s)

The purpose of this paper is to discuss collective perceptions of value that challenge the existing theories of value, with a special focus on nature. The paper is a preliminary study belonging to a bigger research project related to the historicity of the theories and perceptions of value(s) and to the social struggles related to defying, change or creating new perceptions of value(s), through discourse but also through practice.

The paper will use as an example the struggles of the people against the gold-mining activities in Skouries and the greater Ierissos area, in the North coast (Chalkidiki) of Greece. Through this anti-extractivist movement the questions of the value of nature, of the value of gold, of the value of job creation and/or job security, of the value of water, of forests and of the human-made environment like towns and villages have been directly raised. At the same time, the discourse and practice of those supporting the gold mining activity is deciphering one more example of capital valorisation process well assisted by mainstream media, state authorities and riot police.

Given that there has not been field research yet within the framework of this study, I will use published material (for example, photos of the protesters' banners, their blogs, news reports etc) to set and discuss the research questions and show that value, much less the

value of nature, is not an a-historical, or even commonly accepted notion within a capitalist economy, but a political-economic process over material conditions and social relations which are continuously contested. That value is probably thought of, practiced and created through several ways other than capitalist valorisation, might be one more aspect of class struggles. Therefore we need to look at social movements once again and see not only their practices which are disruptive to capital but also their discourse and practice which are forming valorisation processes whose logic, potential and limitations need to be explored and discussed because they might be able to give leads to creation of better, humane and truly sustainable, political-economic structures.

George Souvlis

"Reforming" the University: The neoliberalization of the Greek Higher education in the post-junat era

The main aim of this paper is to offer an overview of the relation between the state and the higher education in Greece the last forty years. Having this objective we locate the historical development of this relationship within the wider context of the period under examination. My central argument is that any effort to map the trajectory of the Greek Universities should take necessarily into account the general historical context of the period. More precisely with that we mean both the students protests from below and the wider global transformations from above. These dynamics, however, have their own historicity. For its better conception I suggest a periodization in three temporally discreet, though dialectically interlinked, time periods. The first one lasts from 1974 to 1990 and it is the first phase of the Metapolitfsi (translated as "polity or regime change") in which predominates the demand for the democratization of all public institutions. This demand includes also universities. The second period expands between 1991 and 2008 and can be described as the era of the rather incomplete neoliberal modernization of Greek universities. The third period begins in 2009 and lasts until today. It is, of course, the period of the Global Crisis of overaccumulation. In the Greek context this crisis took the form of the country's public debt crisis and of the implementation, as an antidote, of draconian austerity policies trying unsuccessfully to heal it.

Tabitha Spence

Trade Unions, Energy Democracy, and Seeds of Possibility: Transitioning to a Post-Carbon/Post-Capital World

From a Marxist perspective, it is not difficult to see the limits of the market solutions and tech-fixes promoted by green capitalists in terms of actually reducing greenhouse gas emissions, let alone preventing secondary ecological rifts from opening up as a result of these 'solutions'. The hegemony of ecomodernist ideas is being consistently challenged by climate justice activists fighting for 'system change, not climate change', yet the movement's main strategies, 'blockadia' and disinvestment campaigns, remain limited in scale and scope. Concomitantly, trade unionists and allies are deploying the 'green economy' narrative to push 'just' transition plans they have developed at local and national scales, breaking down the 'jobs versus the environment' dichotomy often invoked as the impossible, yet inevitable choice of 21st century governments.

This study investigates the claim that such climate jobs campaigns might hold revolutionary potential as 'non-reformist reforms'— both for undertaking the urgent and massive task of decarbonising the planet in a few short decades, as well as for serving as

a seed of the here and now that can open up spaces of true possibility for moving beyond capital and organizing society in a more ecologically sustainable and socially just way.

Engaging in critical discourse analysis of the various transitional plans developed and promoted by trade union groups and their allies in different countries reveals that they vary considerably in both principles and approach. While all campaigns claim to promote a 'just transition' for workers currently employed in sectors related to dirty energy (through re-skilling programs and guarantees of jobs in renewable sectors), some actively advance the notion of 'energy democracy' (worker or government owned and controlled energy systems) as an essential part of their program. Aiming to take energy production and distribution systems out of the hands of private companies, these programs go far beyond advocating merely an energy transition to the prime movers of wind, sunshine, and tides, to actually preparing to restructure social relations from one dictated by the needs of capital to one collectively organized for the benefit of all. This paper considers the limitations and possibility of such strategies for transitioning to a post-carbon and/or post-capital world.

Christian Stache

Marx' value form analysis in Capital and the exploitation of nature in capitalism

Throughout history social labour has comprised the relation between humans and between humans and nature, i.e. the social relations and the metabolism between society and nature. However, it is necessary to analyse the historic specific form in which social labour is organized in order to understand the contemporary degradation and destruction of nature in all its forms.

This paper shows that Marx in Capital does not only unfold the capitalist social relations form the contradiction between (exchange) value and use-value up to the capital relation, i.e. the contradiction between capital and the proletariat. Following Marx through Capital also allows us to derive the basic relations between capitalist society and nature.

Capitalist societies deal with nature mainly in the production sphere (not in circulation, i.e. on the market). In one single historical and material production process the original sources of wealth—nature and workers—are both exploited by the capitalist class (and not by society as a whole or "humans") that appropriates and destroys nature systematically in order to produce value and gain profit. Thus, Capitalists do not only form a "veritable freemason society vis-a-vis the whole working-class" (Marx, Cap. Vol. III, p. 140) but also vis-a-vis nature.

However, since the lacking class struggle in defence of nature, it is subordinated and exploited in a particular manner. Capital refrains from taking into account nature's own qualities, its relative autonomy and inherent laws, the consequences of capitalist production, circulation, individual, and productive consumption for nature, and Capital abstracts from the necessities of natural reproduction.

Additionally, following Marx' value form analysis we can avoid ideological flaws committed by ecological approaches and green movement politics (e.g. foci on individual consumption/way of life, anti-extractivist and Promethean ideologies), and by mainstream proposals to social ecological problems (in particular market and technological solutions to the destruction of nature). Finally, Marx' communist solution still is the most reasonable one: "The associated producers" have to regulate "their interchange with Nature" (Cap.

Vol. III, p. 571) rationally.

Jonathan Stafford

On Re-Fucking the Communist Manifesto: or, Marx and Shit

In an 1869 letter to Engels, Marx relates his grievances concerning the German social democrat Wilhelm Liebknecht, complaining of various tasks which Liebknecht had insisted that he “‘must” do’. Among Liebknecht’s demands was that Marx edit [bearbeiten] the Communist Manifesto, a process strikingly expressed by Marx with the verb ‘umficken’. This word, which has been rendered variously in English translation as ‘re-fuck’ and ‘muck about’ is one which cannot be found in German dictionaries. Why would Marx, a meticulously scrupulous user of the German language, choose to employ an obscure, possibly neological swearword to convey an aspect of the process of literary production? Marx’s use of bad language is in fact widespread in his oeuvre, with the word ‘shit’ particularly appearing in scores of private correspondences, accompanying a more general preoccupation with dirt, excrement and the materiality of bodily functions. This paper explores the significance of Marx’s use of bad language, suggesting that dwelling upon this preoccupation reveals that, far from irrelevant, it constitutes a mode of the critique of capital which is tied up with the material reality of capitalism as an inherently wasteful, dirty and unpleasant system. The limits of capital are simultaneously rendered visible and negated through a linguistic expression which exceeds the limits of bourgeois good taste. Contrasting the proletariat who literally live in shit to the hypocritical bourgeois fixation with remaining aloof in both word and deed from the filthy reality of capital, Marx’s profane mode of literary production presents an inversion of bourgeois subjectivity which reveals that while faeces is simply natural, capital is in fact disgusting.

Guido Starosta

Revisiting the New International Division of Labour Thesis

The paper outlines a thoroughly revised ‘new international division of labour (NIDL) thesis, drawing upon research from the CIGP, that explains global transformation and uneven development on the basis of the progress of the automation of capitalist large-scale industry, and its impact on the individual and collective productive subjectivity of the working class. Today, in an ever more complex constellation of the NIDL, capital searches worldwide for the most profitable combinations of relative cost and qualities/disciplines resulting from the variegated past histories of the different national fragments of the working class. Each country therefore tends to concentrate a certain type of labour-power of distinctive ‘material and moral’ productive attributes of a determinate complexity, which are spatially dispersed but collectively exploited by capital as a whole in the least costly possible manner.

Luke Stobart

15-M, Podemos and the crisis of social-democracy

The politics of Podemos can be characterised as having passed through several contested stages: a) an uneasy combination of Indignados ‘anti-politics’ with Laclauian populism; b) populist hegemony; c) a further semi-mutation to more traditional broad-left strategies (including a coalition with the Communist-led IU. While the Podemos project in its early stages represented a partial continuation of ideas and practices of the 15-M movement

that they formed the cultural foundation for its success, its recent incarnation suggests a break – as illustrated most clearly by Pablo Iglesias' appeal to the PSOE to create a "fourth social democracy".

Podemos' transformations (and the general "institutional turn" made by large numbers of activists in autonomous social movements) can best be understood in relation to a series of interrelated factors: 1) the social limitations of the new "horizontal" movements; 2) the two "souls" of M-15 expressed in the ambiguity of the M-15 slogan "they don't represent us"; 3) the antagonism between people's desire for self-government expressed in the Squares and the hyper-leadership advocated by Laclau, Mouffe and Errejón; 4) fetishisation of the institutions and politics encouraged by the inverted appearance of the capitalist state; 5) limited theorising of the state and politics in the new movements and electoral coalitions; 6) the combination of the European illusion of the Podemos leadership and their pessimistic reading of Syriza's capitulation towards the Troika; 7) the organisational models adopted nationally and in local coalitions that expose the new politics to the disfiguring combination of electoral competition and extra-parliamentary pressure by elites, and discourage democratic participation and strategic discussion.

By combining Marx's early writings on the political state, Luxemburg's polemics with Bernstein, and Lenin and Gramsci's writings on different party forms, with articulate and constructive Spanish-language critiques of Podemos by contemporaries it is possible to identify the theoretical and practical limitations of an increasingly Euro-Communist / social-democratic strategy. Furthermore this could aid developing alternative ideas for a more promising emancipatory project fitting the post-15-M context.

Kenneth Surin

Marx and limits: the discourses of race and national identity

Marx applied the distinction between the two kinds of 'exteriority'-- the insurmountable 'barrier' on the one hand, and the more breachable 'limit' on the other-- to the ceaseless vitality of capital. This distinction can also be applied to notions of racial differentiation also so integral to the dynamics of social and cultural reproduction. Irrevocable transformations have turned ostensible 'barriers' between societies and cultures into mere 'limits', and these 'barriers' have become shiftable 'limits'. Whereas there had once been 'barriers' between societies and cultures, there are now only 'limits' (this being a consequence of capital attaining the phase of real subsumption-- capital being the solvent generating an 'all that is solid melts into air' world).

This accounts for the sheer inanity of many discussions involving race and immigration, which are premised on notions of (say) 'real Englishness' as opposed to the ersatz 'Englishness' of the immigrant (e.g. Norman Tebbit's cricketing test).

But here we encounter the problem of providing a specification of a concept in terms of its internal determinations (i.e. within its 'limits'). And so while the presence of a conceptual 'barrier' (Schranke) between being English and being Indian and being French, etc., makes the difference between them relatively easy to specify (we simply use the operation of negation — to be English is not to be Indian, not to be French, etc.); when we seek to grasp the concept of 'being English', within its limits, however, its internal determinations become much harder to enumerate satisfactorily. What marks someone or something as 'being English'? Betting on the Grand National? But not all English persons gamble, let alone bet on horses. What about being a subject of the Queen of England? But Australians

are also the Queen's subjects. Eating roast beef? But what about those who happen to be (English) vegetarians?

In the 'frictionless' worlds of real subsumption, the difference between 'a real X' and the 'non-native X' is relativised, and the operation of negation becomes difficult to perform. Negation does not in itself enable one to specify a concept's determinations: a rose is not a lily, but saying that something is not a lily, etc., in no way indicates what it is that makes a rose a rose, since being Ronald Reagan or being an aardvark is just as compatible with being a non-lily as being a rose is.

The full set of internal determinations of any concept, when apprehended at its 'limit', can always only be approached asymptotically. To be 'authentically' English can be deemed possible, certainly, but this never amounts to anything more than someone's being in effect 'sufficiently' English. Desire, fantasy, and socially-imposed contrivance have unavoidably to do the rest, as writers on race and nationality such as Benedict Anderson, Balibar, and Žižek have told us.

My paper will connect up Marx's conceptualization with an account of desire and fantasy.

Dan Swain

Alienation, Human Nature, Human Good

Marx's theory of alienation continues to provide inspiration for anti-capitalist struggles and ideas in diverse movements. However, alongside this, old debates also resurface. Many anti-capitalists react suspiciously to the essentialist accounts of human nature on which alienation is thought to depend, including, for example, feminist critics and those motivated by the anti-essentialist ideas of Laclau and Mouffe. To talk of alienation, it is suggested, requires positing a distinctively human essence, which is at best unknowable and at worst reactionary.

Acknowledging, to some extent, the force of these criticisms, this paper considers the possibility of talking about alienation without essences. In particular, it identifies a problem with broadly Aristotelian accounts like those offered by Paul Blackledge and Scott Mickle, which link alienation to an account of human flourishing, of the human good. These accounts are faced with the political and epistemic problem that, for Marx (unlike for Aristotle), we lack the concrete exemplars of flourishing human beings that would make knowledge of the good life possible.

However, I suggest that Marx's ideas about alienation do not depend on our ability to have this knowledge. While it requires some claims about the human animal, these are primarily negative claims about what is bad for us, rather than substantive claims about what is good. Following Fabian Freyenhagen, I argue that this does not depend on any prior speculative articulation of the human good, nature or essence. Rather, it makes specific, empirical claims about the connection between capitalism and specific ills and suffering in the here and now, which should stand and fall on their explanatory power. In this way, I argue, it is possible to maintain a critical account of alienation while avoiding the epistemic and political problems associated with essentialist theories.

Anton Syutkin

From Division to Event: Alain Badiou and Materialist Dialectics

French philosophy of the 60s is associated with hostility towards the dialectics and with a "general anti-Hegelianism," according to the expression of Gilles Deleuze. But, in many ways, this philosophical generation emerged from "the last great philosophical battle" between Jean-Paul Sartre and Louis Althusser about the meaning of materialist dialectics. Therefore, we can say that for a long time "materialist dialectics" was a repressed truth of French philosophy of the 60s. Only in the late 80s, the renaissance of materialist dialectics occurred under the influence of Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek - a kind of a "return of the repressed." The philosophy of Alain Badiou is one of the reasons for the renaissance of materialist dialectics. However, as emphasized by some critics, in his magnum opus "Being and Event" Badiou rejects the dialectical method and prefers mathematical formalization as an ontological foundation of his philosophy. The aim of our presentation is to show that the mathematical formalization of "Being and Event" does not reject his earlier Maoist dialectics, but provides it with an ontological ground and emphasizes its materialistic orientation. And, thus, the presentation will point out the connection between the contemporary renaissance of materialist dialectics and the problematics of French philosophy of the 60s.

Ulle Tammemagi-Abuelnaga

Exploring 'Elite' Egyptian Woman & Her Political Engagement in Amidst of Daily Social Life

The ethnographic research and literature on Egyptian upper and upper middle class women is less rich and perhaps elite women in Egypt are somewhat understudied. Foremost attention has been given to women and gender studies on middle and lower class population that further accelerated with the Arab Spring. Insight into the daily social life, responsibilities and obligations of "elite" women, those who have a good financial standing, are married and have children, and are 'well' educated, allows to examine women and their interest - or lack of it - in policy-making on a different level, and prioritize their underlying causes whether to partake or withdrew from political actions. Formal or informal political involvement and/or influence of so called "elite" women whether as individuals of themselves or mothers or spouse additionally sheds light on what kind of freedoms they want or need and how they position themselves in respect to their political identity. Building on the findings of my fieldwork, I argue, that "elite" women in Egypt, are making an impact on social and political development, by allocating their effort to better help their fellow compatriots by endorsing education and educating through alternative, and every so often, invisible means and hence push for a new path of power rather than accustomed way by partaking in the political amphitheater and women's rights organizations.

Cemal Burak Tansel

Disentangling hegemony and state power in Turkey

Once widely-praised as a success story of building 'conservative democracy', Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its democratic credentials continue to receive increased scrutiny. This paper problematizes the temporal break in the scholarly analyses of the AKP governance and rejects the argument that the party's governing techniques have shifted from an earlier 'democratic' model—defined by a successful 'hegemony'—to an emergent 'authoritarian' one. In contrast, by retracing the mechanisms of the state-led reproduction of neoliberalism since 2003, the paper demonstrates that the

earlier 'hegemonic' activities of the AKP were too shaped by authoritarian tendencies which largely manifested as legal and administrative reforms. The paper further identifies conceptual shortcomings with the existing literature wherein dualistic understandings of coercion and consent as well as of the 'economic' and the 'political' have resulted in analyses that failed to recognise the aforementioned tendencies.

Aaron Tauss

Transnational class formation in the periphery: A critical analysis of Colombia's neo-extractivist and agro-industrial model of accumulation

The crisis of Fordism in the 1970s provoked a profound restructuring of the labor process and capital accumulation around the world. The internationalization of production emerged as the principal strategy to re-establish the profit rate and subsequently facilitated the consolidation of a post-Fordist, neoliberal, and finance-driven regime of accumulation. National economies around the world, in particular low-wage destinations in the periphery, increasingly opened up their markets to products and investments from the center countries. The economic and financial penetration by transnational, imperialist capital led to the denationalization of class relations, i.e. the incorporation of transnational forces into the national power blocs, and fundamentally transformed the peripheral capitalist states. The restructuring affected both the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie and redefined their relations with the dominant classes and class fractions of the center countries. The integration of multinational corporations and global financial investors into the national power blocs increasingly shifted the focus of the latter towards transnational forms of capital accumulation.

The process of transnational class formation in the periphery can be studied in relation to the emergence, expansion and deepening of Colombia's current neo-extractivist and agro-industrial model of accumulation that is based on foreign direct investment, forced displacement of the peasantry and land grabbing. The so-called "economic opening" in the early-1990 not only progressively incorporated the country into the dynamics of a globalized capitalist economy, but also gave way to the transnationalization of class relations and the restructuring of the capitalist state. Similar to other countries in the region, Colombia's increased focus on transnational mining, agribusiness, and the extraction of hydrocarbons need to be linked to the expansion of free trade agreements and analyzed against the backdrop of violent state formation in geographically peripheral yet economically central regions via the strategy of counter-insurgency and organized crime.

Camilo Ruiz Tassinari

The poet armed: The Marxism of Roque Dalton

It is now an extended opinion that the closure of revolutionary possibilities in Western Europe in the mid-twenties produced a variant of Marxism divorced from politics and economics, and instead focused on culture and philosophy. Latin America constituted a partial exception to this rule, and the reason for this doubtless lies in its turbulent politics and the force of radical parties until the 80's.

What kind of Marxism did Latin America produce, then? One should start by noticing the continuous predominance of Communist Parties within the radical left throughout this period. To the extent that some Latin American Marxists did produce original works in the

track of the classical European “political” tradition, originality and theoretical innovation was a function of departure from given Stalinist dogmas.

This is clearly the case of Roque Dalton. Arguably the most important poet of contemporary Salvador, and one of the most original poets in Spanish of the last half century, Dalton is now widely read as a poet, and has been the object of at least two important scholarly studies.

Dalton was also a communist militant. His convictions and his political life profoundly influenced his poetry, but he was also a Marxist thinker in his own right. His political and historical output surpasses his literary one. Yet his political and historical oeuvre has been almost completely ignored.

I try to trace the development of his thought from the early sixties up until his death. I claim that being a witness of the Prague Spring made him particularly receptive to destalinization; and that his work is best understood as a partially fulfilled attempt to break with Stalinist ideas. This project had two variants: excavation of the early history of the Communist Party of El Salvador and the reasons of its failure in 1932; and the production of more orthodox political oeuvre in which he tried to arrive at a thorough understanding of the contemporary situation of his country and the political strategy that communists should follow –and attempt that would cost him his life.

Alan Thornet

What is the Anthropocene and why is it important?

This paper will look at the proposition that we are living through a new geological epoch: the epoch of the Anthropocene—as argued by ecologist Eugene Stoermer and Nobel Prize-winning atmospheric chemist Paul Cruzen.

It will discuss whether, as a result of the impact of modern humans on the planet, the current geological epoch—the Holocene (or interglacial period)—should be superseded by the

Anthropocene, or the ‘age of humans’ which would involve a change to the official geological time scale, which, as the is the chart that divides the Earth’s 4.5bn year history into eons, eras, periods, epochs.

It will argue that the case for this is convincing. That the biggest single issue arising in this and the most compelling factor for the Anthropocene, in my view, is the biodiversity crisis. We are facing the biggest mass extinction of species (the “sixth mass extinction”) since the demise of the dinosaurs 65m years ago.

It will discuss the origins of the Anthropocene in relation to the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism. It will argue that the impact of modern humans on the environment began long before capitalism and represents the culmination of a much longer process.

Mark Tilzey

Political Ecology and the 'Natural' Limits to Capital

This paper seeks to address the problematic of the ‘limits to capital’ and the ‘limits to

nature' through the development of a Marxian 'political ecology' that draws inspiration from Marx's treatment of human production as comprising the mutual constitution of social form and material content. Eschewing the binary of 'social constructionism' and 'ecological reductionism' that pervades orthodox treatments of 'society' and 'environment', this proposed Marxian political ecology retains the historical specificity of social systems whilst simultaneously recognizing their inescapable biophysical constitution and dependencies. This forms the basis, the paper suggests, of a theory of socio-natural dialectics that throws light on social system dynamics across their historical (political) and ecological dimensions. The development of this political ecological approach in relation to the conjoined but differentiated dynamics of capitalism and its crises is undertaken through critical engagement, inter alia, with the 'world ecology' framework of Moore (2010, 2011, 2015). It is argued that the 'world ecology' framework is reductive to the extent that it fails to sustain what is considered here to be a necessary differentiation in the unity of the socio-natural in terms of the 'political' (internal) and 'biophysical' (external) dynamics of capitalism. Through lack of a stratified ontology of socio-natural relations, Moore fails, it is argued, to specify the political nature of the 'internal' dynamics of capital in relation to its ecological or 'external' conditions of reproduction. In so doing it becomes impossible to understand the reflexive and strategic relational bases of change in, and responses to, capitalism, the latter particularly in terms of proactive and counter-hegemonic resistances to its ever-deepening socio-ecological crises.

Ryan Toews

The Colonial Lineages of the New Counterinsurgency

The aftermath of the American invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq led to a new emphasis on population-centric counterinsurgency. This 'population-centric' approach has a history in both the colonial warfare practices of the 19th and early 20th century as France and Britain, in particular, extended their imperial rule, and in the response to communist and nationalist insurgencies that challenge colonial rule and American backed regimes after World War Two. Contemporary counterinsurgency proponents are quite aware of this history and evaluate and justify the doctrine explicitly through its adherence to principles and practices discovered by previous colonial and counterinsurgent practitioners. They also frame counterinsurgency as an approach forgotten by contemporary militaries obsessed with conventional warfare, and thus argue for the recovery of this history to address the contemporary challenges posed to US power by a so-called 'Long War' of terrorism and insurgency that is understood by counterinsurgents to have been a result of globalization.

Counterinsurgency, like its colonial forbearers was not just about crushing resistance, but was self consciously intended to be 'productive' of societies and institutions conducive to capital accumulation that could be integrated into the economy of the imperial center. This broadens the focus of counterinsurgency from violence to issues of governance, state-building and development. In this sense, counterinsurgency is also about the overcoming barriers to capital accumulation. This article will locate the lineages that link current counterinsurgency doctrine to its broader history, and examine the way that history informs the new doctrine with a particular focus on its 'productive' side.

George Tomlinson

Towards a Concept of Concrete Labour-Time

What is 'concrete labour-time'? If there is, in fact, a dialectic of abstract and concrete labour, in what sense, precisely, is concrete labour-time different from abstract labour-time? Marx offers little by way of an answer to these questions: on the rare occasion when concrete labour-time is considered in its own right, it is either done with vague reference to a 'qualitative' labour-time, or as already having been reduced to abstract labour-time, such that 'the worker is nothing more ... than personified labour-time.' In short, there is in Marx no *concept* of concrete labour-time (as there is of abstract labour-time). The secondary literature on the temporal dimensions of Marx's work has done little to address this: there are statements to the effect that concrete labour 'has a concrete temporality', that its time 'has a particular content ... that is experienced subjectively', but there has been (to date) no systematic attempt to conceptualise concrete labour as a distinct form of social time inseparable, but ultimately different, from abstract labour-time.

This paper presents what such a concept of concrete labour-time might resemble. It proceeds in four stages. First, it provides a brief overview of Marx's analysis of the abstract-concrete labour relation and the concept of abstract labour-time that emerges from this analysis. Second, it looks at both Marx's and his commentators' characterisations of concrete labour-time; at the forefront of this is a critique of Moishe Postone's notion of 'concrete time'. Third, it draws on the modern philosophy of time in order to begin constructing a new concept of concrete labour-time. Essential here is Heidegger's analysis of 'being-towards-death' as the existential ground of temporalisation, which when critically reworked as a 'being-towards-the-limit' of the labouring act, enriches the dialectical relationship between abstract and concrete labour, and thereby secures the basis from which labour-time has value. Fourth and finally, this paper reflects on how a concept of concrete labour-time affects Marx's materialist concept of history, specifically how it reframes, modifies, and extends the historicalising logic of the creation of new needs.

Alex Tonnetti

Breaking the natural limits given by the sea: the case of the Roman Empire and its tragedy in the Medea of Seneca.

The paper discusses Seneca's thought on the Roman empire. Especially his tragedy Medea offers a cogent and poetic argument about the danger of the empire for subverting the traditional or natural order provided by the Mediterranean seas during millennia of ancient civilization. When the empire expands and reaches over lands until then so well kept apart, it obeys to a principle of unification and centralization (which Rome since then epitomized). The chorus' lamentation for a vanishing ancient age made of many different cultures and kingdoms, kept apart from each other by natural limits, is an argument of delegitimization, where physis, nature, is opposed to nomos, the artificial law. The Mediterranean sea's limits are broken leading to a dangerous upheaval of the ancient order, one from which it will not be possible to come back. The upheaval is not just social and economic, but even more threatening is its following moral and psychological chaos, as the figure of Medea exemplifies. The tragedy of Medea draws on imperial Rome's boundless growth making echo to the growing insanity of despots like Nero. Seneca's interpretation of the drama, earlier brought to the stage by Euripides and others, are nurtured by his experience as a statesman, witness and major critic of Roman society. The case will bring up cases of modern historiography and philosophy on parallel issues of ancient and modern empires, boundless growth and social instability, situating in a modern context Marx' thought on ancient Rome and the reasons of its fall.

Aylin Topal

The Impact of the Financial Transformation since the 1980s on the Turkish SMEs

Small and Medium enterprises (SMEs) constitute the backbone of the Turkish economy particularly in the neoliberal era. Turkish SMEs not only facilitated new patterns of integration of large manufacturing firms into international markets, but they also emerged as a major source of employment, formal and/or informal. As is common in bank-based emerging markets like Turkey, SMEs have typically faced difficulties in accessing sources of affordable finance with the transition to neoliberalism. Revealing the modalities of the neoliberal capital accumulation strategy, this paper will highlight on the one hand, the role of the Turkish state in maintaining financial support for the SMEs as the risk-taker of the last resort, and that of the commercial banks on the other, as new and innovative venues of finance for the SMEs emerged over the last two decades. Such an analysis would also highlight the need to go beyond the conception of the state as entailing a rationality external to capital, quite often encountered in mainstream analyses.

Felipe Torres

Time as field of struggles. A marxist perspective on temporalities

Is there a marxist's perspective on time? It is not clear that there is, at least one highly developed form. Beyond the well-known marxist's perspective on time related to work uses, there is a very much less known speech about temporal struggles that has been constructed in last decades (Fabian 1983; Osborne 1995; Rosa 2011). This writing is focused on this effort to develop a temporality point of view on marxism.

Time may give form to relations of power and inequality under the conditions of capitalist industrial production. Following to the Polish anthropologist Johannes Fabian, within the historical conditions under which modernity emerged and which affected its growth and differentiation, is the origin of capitalism and its imperial-colonial expansion into numerous social spaces which became the target of cultural research. For this to happen, what is commonly denominated the west needed to occupy more space. Deeper and more problematically, it required accommodating time into the schemas of a single form of History: Progress, Development and Modernity. In other words, geopolitics had its foundation in Chronopolitics (1983: 143).

The conception of dichotomical oppositions such as "Past vs. Present", "Modern vs Primitive", and "Tradition vs. Modernity", "First vs Third World" are material-semantic oppositions intended to refer to the conflict between societies in different stages of development, while indeed they are in different societies opposed to each other in the same time. The corollary of this proposition could translate to mean that the social organizations of human reality is, into a greater or lesser variety, multitemporal. How this can be observed from an Marxist perspective? This is what the next presentation seeks to address.

Thomas William Lynn Travers

'Nameless Arrays of Existence': Finance, Deterritorialization, and Surplus Population in Don DeLillo's Players

Don DeLillo's 1977 novel *Players* pivots on an anarchist plot to blow up an abstraction: 'the idea of worldwide money'. The conspiracy's objective is to smuggle explosives onto the

trading floor of the NYSE, to strike capital before it becomes 'totally electric' and abandons material sites of production altogether. Typically read as the exhaustion of class politics and the assimilation of resistance into spectacle, *Players* in fact offers a stunning mediation of financial 'deterritorialization'. Confronted with economic slowdown in the Seventies, US capital turned to deterritorialization, as a strategy capable of transforming limits to accumulation into transcendable barriers, through a combination of increased stock market speculation and deindustrialization. Although *Players* registers the flight into abstraction, this paper will concentrate on the spectres of the proletariat who haunt the novel, using DeLillo's figuration of unemployment as a lever into contemporary Marxist debates about finance and literary form. The unemployed can be read here as representing the gap in the elliptical or abridged M-M1 formula of finance capital. Landscapes of dispossession thus become allegorical sites where the obliterated content of labour can be recovered and the ineradicable structural contradictions of capital made to flicker into visibility. At the same time, these readings fail to confront an older criticism that DeLillo's novel aestheticizes immiseration and transposes the surplus population into a religious romance of eternal suffering. History is evacuated, as the experiential phenomena of post-default New York—social struggles over housing and access to employment—are divorced from any epistemological framework. The paper will argue that this contradiction between homelessness as the recovery of repressed material content and as aestheticized effacement can be resolved through reference to Fredric Jameson's work on the lateral movements of conspiracy. Jameson's position, however, needs a slight twist, whereby the immiserated unproductive geographies of finance are rewritten as autonomous from the providential, diachronic logic of conspiracy. Outside of narrative progress, DeLillo's scenic description bears the imprint of history precisely because of its absence from a tortuous eternal present. Ahistorical landscapes, the paper will conclude, dramatize the situation of classes disbarred from the deterritorialized financial annexation of the future.

Evanthia Tselika

The urban ecology of ethno-national divided cities and the paving of their gentrification through the arts

This paper examines ethno-nationally divided cities and how the arts are used in such divided city contexts for purposes of conflict transformation and urban regeneration. Three ethno-nationally divided cities at different stages of conflict resolution --Jerusalem, Nicosia, Belfast-- are juxtaposed and explored through an inter-disciplinary framework. Ethno-nationally divided cities, which have become defined by their separation, are increasingly being studied and examined, compared and contrasted, not only in efforts to understand a common urban experience but also so as to better understand how partition politics develop and how they can best be avoided. Even though all cities are divided (Hall 2004), few are the cities where identity politics become so clearly visualized through the urban ecology of military division, buffer zones and the underlying possibility of military violence. It is also the reason why such millieux become an interesting framework through which to understand the market of conflict and to reflect on this through a post-marxist understanding on collectivities and identity formation.

Parallel practices are noted in these three urban milieus, in the use of art to assist the conflict resolution processes and to create contact zones which facilitate social transformation and lead to a process of de-segregation. This juxtaposition demonstrates how art is been used in regeneration projects, at different stages of the de-segregation process of ethno-nationally divided cities, and how these de-segregation processes can

potentially give rise to new patterns of divisions and patterns of gentrification. The paper will touch upon issues of soft power and gentrification processes, the conflict resolution market as an industry and the play of identity politics in ethno-nationally divided city contexts.

Myka Tucker-Abramson

The Summer of Hate and the End of the Road (Novel)

The oil-fueled landscapes of suburbia, and its attendant network of freeways, played a key role in the solidification and expansion of US-led global capitalism in the post-war period, powering the ecological regime of neoliberalism and specifically its vision of the ideal way of life: the nuclear family, entrepreneurialism and individual prosperity and freedom. These visions of private, prosperous, and individual lives and freedoms lay at the heart of the numerous road novels, movies, adverts and music that appeared from the 1950s onward, aligning freedom with the individual mobility afforded by the automobile. Written in 2012, but set in the summer of 2005 – a period the novel marks through the interlinked crises of US global power: economic (the Page 3 of 3 2008 housing crash), environmental (the extreme heat waves sweeping Albuquerque), and hegemonic (the Abu Ghraib and Joe Arpaio prison scandals) – *Summer of Hate* is at once a road novel and a road novel in collapse. In this paper, I argue that Chris Krauss' avant-garde novel examines the exhausted landscapes of a collapsing US-led neoliberal-capitalism and enacts the exhaustion of a host of literary genres – the road novel, but also the thriller and the chick-lit romance – whose fantasies of mobility and freedom depended on, and reinscribed, these oil-based landscapes and subjectivities. Reading *Summer of Hate* in tension with two other far more popular collapsed road novels, Rachel Kushner's pseudo chick-lit novel *The Flamethrowers* and Cormac McCarthy's post-apocalyptic dystopia *The Road*, this essay considers the convergence of different genres around the collapsed road novel; such a reading, I argue, helps to map the relationship between the landscapes and subjectivities that shaped and were shaped by neoliberalism, at a moment in which neither is able to sustain the fantasies of a neoliberal way of life.

Adam Turl

The Democratic Image: Aesthetic Leveling and Differentiated Totality

Radical left-wing art has been trapped, in recent decades, by an exaggerated sense of its short term importance (that it can, in itself, create some sort of meaningful change) and a minimizing of its importance as art. Due to an exaggerated importance placed on “the real” some political artists have sought to make prefigurative work (work that escapes its commodity status in the here and now or seeks to create a temporary utopian dynamic). This has created new problems by obscuring the impact of the market (and capital) on contemporary art. Moreover, art that maintains its historic aesthetic functions (see Ernst Fischer) has often been given over to the least political and progressive artists. This paper/presentation will argue that a popular avant-garde functions best by shaping aesthetics in a manner that valorizes the narratives, realities and dreams of a vast and diverse working-class. This has historically been done in two aesthetic spheres: 1) Through leveling aesthetics (see the actual process of Dada, surrealism, punk visual art, Pop, visual Hip Hop, surrealism, etc.); and 2) Aesthetics of differentiated totality (the carnivalesque [Rabelais, Bakhtin], the “all over” aesthetics of abstract expressionism, the democratic compositions of Gustave Courbet and Diego Rivera, and in Bertholt Brecht's “separation of elements.” The leveling image is particularly well suited to negating (or

navigating) the dynamic (or gap) between “high and low”/“weak and strong”/“popular and avant-garde” images and art gestures. Differentiated totality is uniquely suited, I will argue, to aesthetically counter the social and cultural fragmentation of life under neoliberal capital without regressing into a false essentialism.

Marcel van der Linden

Global Labour: A Not-so-grand Finale and Perhaps a New Beginning

Traditional labour movements are in trouble almost everywhere. They have been severely enfeebled by the political and economic changes of the last forty years. Their core consists of three forms of social movement organisations: cooperatives, trade unions and workers' parties. All three organisational types are in decline, though this is an uneven development with vast differences between countries and regions. We are living through a transitional stage in which old organisational structures no longer seem to work well, while new structures are still in their early stages.

Jonas Van Vossle

Contradictions and crisis in the sub-imperial south: the case of Brazil today

Ruy Mauro Marini's 1972 analysis on how Brazil - as a semi-peripheral country - developing its own form of imperialist politics, was confronted with the limits of its own dependency of international capital, never seemed so actual as today. Since the turn of the millennium we have seen the rise of Brazil, as one of the BRICS, the new Global imperial players, based upon a boom in commodities and a fragile national interclass compromise led by the PT. Increasing foreign investments in Latin America and Africa - particularly in commodity markets - by Brazilian multinationals such as Vale, Petrobras, the agro-industry and Brazilian banks, were accompanied with an increasingly assertive position of the Brazilian state in its sphere of influence and on the world stage. Examples are the tensions with Paraguay and Bolivia, its role in Haiti, its critique of the existing institutionalization of Global governance institutions and its affirmation as the global Eco-power in Climate policies.

The recent crisis however, has shown that the Brazilian political economy is not just marked by imperialist dynamics, but equally shows a strong dependency on global capitalism and central imperialist powers. At the same time that climate governance is increasingly confronted with a legitimacy crisis, contracting export-markets, capital-flight and exploding bubbles of financial speculation have thrown the Brazilian economy back into a deep crisis, weakening both its internal economy as well as the legitimacy of the state itself: a situation marked by a rise of social struggles and the delegitimation of the political and judicial system in corruption scandals, culminating so far in the widely contested parliamentary-judicial coup against former president Dilma Rousseff.

Zaira Rodrigues Vieira

A critique of the concept of abstract domination in Moishe Postone's work

Due to his unilateral emphasis on historicity, Moishe Postone misrepresents the materialism in Marx' work, thereby eliminating the natural base of abstract labour, but also obfuscating other concrete aspects on which the social relations of domination are based, like the relation of the concept of capital with material wealth. In his best known work,

'Time, Labor and Social Domination', Postone hypostatizes the characteristics of value as social form or the more abstract aspects of the capitalist mode of production, leaving aside the more concrete aspects, such as surplus value, labour power and all that concerns its material characteristics. Other than Marx who in the first sections of 'The Capital' uses the procedure of abstraction as a methodological resource – but without ever disregarding the fact that abstractions never exist differently than as parts of a whole –, Postone, like the classical economists, doesn't execute the synthesis between the abstract and the concrete. For him, there is no ontological primacy of the production of material life in the work of Marx. By disregarding the fact that these concrete aspects are equally important as the abstract ones, he ends up confounding these dimensions and using them interchangeably. In doing so, capital is defined as value; the concepts of commodity and value are used alternatively, and the author finally falls into the trap of reducing the exchange between capital and labour to a simple exchange of commodity

Jonathan Viger

Property Relations and Social Closure: The Origins of 'Imagined Communities' in the Ottoman Middle East.

This paper aims at exploring the socio-historical conditions of the emergence of 'imagined communities' in the Arab Middle East through a critical interaction with the frameworks of modernist and constructivist theories of nationalism. According to these approaches, the concept of the nation as constituted of formally equal individuals is only made possible by the dissolution of premodern – local, status-based, and hierarchically structured – forms of subjectivities/solidarities. This process of development of horizontal – as opposed to vertical – forms of solidarities is closely associated with the development of capitalism, or as Ernest Gellner puts it, the emergence of 'industrial society'. Our argument challenges this last claim, instead of presupposing the development of capitalism, we will aim to take a closer look at how the transformations of social-property relations influences the development of nationalism as a form of social closure. We will attempt to show how the development of competing forms of 'imagined communities' in the Arab Middle East take their roots in the precapitalist social and geopolitical relations of the Ottoman Empire. The fiscal crisis triggered by the end of the geopolitical expansion of the Empire led to a major shift in social-property relations centered on the growing sale, trading, and leasing of tax-farms and venal office. This 'marketization' and 'democratization' of access to state privileges led to the contestation and erosion of the 'classical' imperial worldview based on a sharp distinction between a hereditary elite of rulers/administrators/military men (askeri) and tax-paying lower classes (reaya). This led to the emergence of 'imagined communities' – including Turkism and Arabism as the forerunners of nationalist ideology – as modern, but non-capitalist, forms of agencies/solidarities centered on the state as a mean of accumulation and reproduction.

Jonathan Viger

The 'Culture' of Capital in the Middle East: Subalterns, Democracy, and Post-Colonial Theory.

This paper's objective is a critical assessment of – and dialogue with – postcolonial analysis of political, economic, and cultural developments in the Middle East, with a specific emphasis on the question of the development of capitalism in the region. We will focus on the writings of Timothy Mitchell, arguably the leading representative of the approach in the case of the Middle East, and especially Egypt.

On the question of capitalist development, Mitchell rejects Marxist accounts, and the concept of capitalism more generally, for its incapacity to make sense of the complex interaction and articulation of various forms of social reproduction in the region. In other words, capitalism's 'universalizing' logic remains incomplete, because it is incapable of absorbing – and is constantly being disrupted and diverted by – 'traditional', 'pre-capitalist' and 'non-market' social and cultural forms.

Our core argument is that this rejection of capitalism as a category of analysis is a consequence of Mitchell's misunderstanding of the universalizing logic of capital, i.e. what does capitalism universalizes?

But what if that inherent power was never given to capitalism in the first place? The problem seems to lie with what Mitchell thinks capitalism should do. We argue for a different definition of capital's universalizing logic, where capitalism accommodates itself of a wide variety of social forms while subordinating them to the compulsion of capitalist competition. In other words, what capitalism universalizes is market competition as a coercive mechanism forcing people to reproduce themselves through exchange. This definition allows us to understand how capitalism has from its origins developed in an uneven and internally differentiated way.

The final part of the paper looks to highlight the critical importance of the concepts of capitalism and class struggle in the study of the Middle East. This paper hopes to be more than a mere critique, but provide a basis for further dialogue between Marxist and Post-Colonial theory, it thus proposes to revive the 'subaltern' methodology in assessing the role of lower classes in the path towards democracy.

Marina Vishmidt, Melanie Gilligan

Speculative Futures and the Artistic Subject

The post-economic crisis art world has developed a sinking feeling that something has changed in the logics which decide what succeeds as art. Many have argued that this change has something to do with money. The connections between art production and speculative financial capital are indeed becoming increasingly conspicuous. At present, although global economic growth is stalled, there has been a staggering expansion in profits for certain industries such as the finance and the tech industry. speculative assets, from derivatives to artworks to—as we shall see—artists, are returning to valuations beyond those seen in the pre-crash 'bubble economy'. Dramatic changes such as those outlined above have sparked much recent discussion of how art is, or is not, changing through the growing influence of the market. This paper will argue that something has changed indeed, but that such transformations cannot be identified by looking purely to the immediate art world environment. The institutional and market framework of the category of art itself and its bearer, the artistic subject, serves to buffer abstract risk for artistic practices, rendering all equivalent and exchangeable as art – the activity of selection, the demonstration of taste, the affirmation of the subject-object of speculation. Meanwhile, this success of art-market risk management, and its effects on art production, distribution and collecting alike, cannot be seen in isolation from the consolidation of class relations which are the outcome of deepening austerity, political polarization and the setbacks for social movements contesting them.

Gavin Walker

Althusser and the Political Economy of 'Original Sin'

The story of 'original sin' in the Bible installs a temporality of social existence in which one is always-already "too late to the stage of history," always arriving in the given scenario post festum. It is this temporal structure of being always "after" that informs some of the most crucial conceptual innovations in the Althusserian body of work – the whole analysis of the relapse (the Hegelian Rückfalle between presuppositions of structure and its compositional elements) – a structure that in particular produces a link between the seemingly smooth and self-contained Hegelian analysis of systematicity with the historical contingencies contained in the thesis of the primacy of class struggle. The 'original sin' of capitalist society is the first untraceable beginning or commencement, the first encounter between the buyer and seller of labour power. Thereafter, the seller of labour power becomes subject to a systematic cycle, passing through instances of becoming what St. Augustine, in his own theory of 'original sin', called the "condemned masses" (massa damnata), compelled to live under the irreversible condition of having sinned, unable to reach back to a moment prior to the current "damned" state. The seller of labour power is damned, cursed to wander the earth for eternity for having taken the fruit of money in exchange for a definite quantity of labour time in the originary historical encounter. But this massa damnata, Althusser points out, is also a living continent of class struggle, cursed by the first contingent moment of damnation, but also irreparably marked as the bearer of another politics and another earth: the proletariat. Taking a set of clues and "reading protocols" from Althusser's early work in theology and on Hegel, we will investigate the central status for the Althusserian system of this concept of "original sin," and in particular, the peculiar circularity of time installed by this originary moment of relapse – always arriving first, but that must narrativize itself as secondary – in capitalist society by means of the analysis of the so-called 'primitive accumulation' in Marx.

Rikard Warlenius, Ståle Holgersen

Destroy what destroys the planet. Steering creative destruction in the dual crisis

In the contemporary dual crisis, economic crisis policies cannot be dealt with in isolation from the rampant and acute ecological crisis—and vice versa. In this paper we challenge the hegemonic positions in purported attempts to solve the crises so far: in the economic realm, the Keynesian episode of 2008-9 as well as austerity policies, and with regard to the ecological crisis, ecological modernisation and green economy. Instead, we will propose that both the economic and the climate crises can be (temporarily) 'solved' through the destruction of a particular kind of capital, i.e. fossil capital.

Given that capital destruction, according to Marxist crisis theory in general, seems to be an essential part of overcoming capitalist crises historically, and given the urgent need to demolish large parts of the fossil infrastructure in order to avert climate change, we discuss the possibilities to politically steering the processes of 'creative destruction' so that crises policies benefit the economy and the environment to highest possible extent. But importantly, in face of the threat of irreversible climate change, any reforms proposed must first and foremost be guided by what is humanly necessary, not by what is economically feasible. In that sense, we regard destruction of fossil capital as a non-reformist reform; a reform that is 'determined not in terms of what can be, but what should be' (Gorz 1968).

The paper proceeds in three steps. First, we present a brief background to the economic and the ecological crises, and conclude that both crises are related to the capitalism, but in

different ways.

Second, we investigate possibilities of politically steering capital destruction flows. And third we discuss a possible way out of the diabolic dual crisis: massive destruction of fossil capital (including enormous fossil infrastructures).

Judith Watson

Mode of production and development model as embodied learning outcomes

Historical materialism is a narrative of human life across space and time, as a process of learning (remembering that not all that is learned is true or useful). Jürgen Habermas acknowledged this in his *Knowledge and Human Interests*, referring to Piaget, although a more obvious reference point in learning theory would be Lev Vygotsky, the Marxist founder of the field. Like other vertebrates, humans are a learning species, with the peculiar characteristic of accumulating know-how over time, for good but also for great ill, capable of influencing the very climate of the planet. Learning outcomes become embodied in our human natures (“habitus”) as well as in our environments (built environment, hybridised natures...), creating an infrastructure that supports or hinders future learning. As Marx put it, we make our own history but not in conditions of our own choosing.

Historical materialism of a kind promoted in Soviet and some other Marxist traditions becomes a single linear narrative of human development. It falls immediately into victim-blaming, when regions that have been deliberately relegated to the production of raw materials are then labelled as “backward”. To counter this, I propose using Lipietzian Regulation Theory to help account for spatial unevenness. In Lipietz’ formulation a “development model” contains a “regime of accumulation”, a “mode of regulation” and a “mode of governance”. As the “development model” is much more spatially and temporally specific than the mode of production, it is better placed to account for spatio-temporal unevenness. To this tripod, I add a “learning paradigm”.

As an illustration, I show how the modified Lipietzian terminology can help to account for processes in the period 500 to 1500, the period during which a “feudal mode of production” might be situated. Various “development models” can be identified within this time frame, limited both spatially and temporally. Relations between regions take place within “zones of contact” where spatial divisions of labour, core-periphery relations and technology transfer can occur. Patterns of knowledge transfer identifiable in this period may help to reformulate questions about the long transition from feudalism to capitalism and in turn be applicable to how we foster a transition from ecocidal capitalism to a post-capitalism

Anton Wedding

The Aesthetics of Gentrification

The paper that I want to present examines the aesthetic coding of the processes that determine the economic, social and ideological shaping of urban spaces. I call this the aesthetics of gentrification. The examination will focus on aesthetic literary codes in the recent city planning of Malmö (Sweden). Those literary codes are performative literary acts, through which global capital acts in urban spaces. The examination is first and foremost a literary study, drawing upon the narratology of Barthes and Genette. But it will

also include Lefebvres and Harveys theories on space, and especially Harveys notions on time-/space-compression.

The aesthetics of gentrification has one main form of appearance and one "meta" form of appearance: 1. As more or less unconscious tropes in political-economic urban planning and/or marketing 2. As more or less critical approaches to those tropes in theoretical literature or in fiction.

The first one of these forms is found in, for example, urban planning documents, local information and advertising. I categorize all those "marketing", since they all - once again more or less consciously - serve capital.

In this sense the language of gentrification is not only a certain rhetoric, but a (neo-liberal/capitalist) economic-political logic. How then can this logic be dialectically understood?

This is where the "meta"-appearance of the aesthetics of gentrification becomes important. Literature, and more specifically fiction has the ability to transform subjective space, and the transformation of subjective space is action and promotes action. But how can this transformation "take place", and how can it do so within - or transcend - the linguistic and political logic of capital?

Carl Wilén

Liberty or Death in the Haitian Revolution: Contribution to the Critique of Politico-Juridical Forms in Marx

The French Revolution declared the rights of man and of the citizens in 1789. Yet, the implication was not an immediate abolishment of slavery within the French colonial empire. However, in 1791 the slaves at an island called Hispaniola took to arms and initiated what was to be entitled the Haitian Revolution – the only revolution in history executed by slaves that has succeeded with establishing a state claiming sovereignty and with abolishing slavery within its territory. In 1789, the French part of Hispaniola was called Saint Domingue. Saint Domingue was a small part of the colonial system and at once the most profit generating in the world. By implication, the slaves did not only turn their politics against their French owners but also against a well-established commerce with sugar, tobacco and black slaves. The political ideas of 1789 encouraged the slaves in their struggle at the same time as the economic current and its politics were running in the opposite direction of abolition. The conflict-ridden relation between the two events has led scholars to deep conflicts over the problem of historical the theoretical status of politico-juridical forms, continuity and discontinuity. Were the Haitian Revolution a break with or prolongation of the French Revolution and its politico-juridical forms? The overarching aim of this article is to construct a theoretical defence of a third position arguing that the relation ought to be understood as one of radicalization containing both difference and unity. The theoretical argument will be constructed through a reading of Marx on the problem of politico-juridical forms. A conclusion of this reading is that if we are to reach the third position on the relation between the French and the Haitian Revolution, we also have to accept the later Marx' implicit self-critique that indicates a shift from his earlier understanding of liberal rights as merely illusions. Lastly, the unity of the historical problem and the theoretical argument presuppose a number of qualifications on the relation between Hegel and Marx and of the concepts of form, ideology, and class.

Sophie Williams, Ruth Atkinson

Exposing the true costs of the Immigration Act in the NHS

The 2014 Immigration Act mandates charges for non-EEA migrants without temporary visas to access NHS hospital care . Current proposals look to extend chargeable services into emergency and primary care . These so-called “efficiency” savings contradict the NHS’s founding principles, creating major public health issues and promoting racist scapegoating. Furthermore, they are not as profitable as the government has suggested, indicating that recouping costs is not the primary motivation.

The Department of Health state that they hope to save £500 million by 2018 with these charges . They recommend that, where possible, hospitals create overseas management teams to fulfil their statutory requirement to identify and charge certain migrants . Our research sought to answer two main questions: Has this resulted in a uniform procedure for charging? How does the amount of money recouped under these charges compare to associated administration costs?

Freedom of information requests were sent to 156 hospital trusts across the UK. Information was requested regarding finances in the 2015 calendar year: i) the total amount invoiced in accordance with the Immigration Act, ii) the amount recouped and iii) the amount spent on overseas charging teams. Of the trusts approached, 6 declined to give information (for reasons relating to lack of data collection, 3, internal review, 2, or no response, 1). Of the responding trusts, 70% stated they had no operational charging team, and 70% made charges relating to the Immigration Act. Of the trusts that invoiced patients, 34% spent more on the team than they recouped in that calendar year.

These findings suggest that charging under the Immigration Act is being conducted on an ad-hoc basis as most trusts do not employ a designated team. This exploits employees’ uncertainty – leaving individuals to self-police using their own interpretation of the law. Furthermore, DoH’s projected savings are clearly vast overestimates, and additional charging infrastructure represents an economic burden for a large proportion of trusts, as it undoubtedly would for primary care facilities. Extension of charges will be expensive and burdensome, as well as posing a significant public health threat.

In the NHS, there is a tension between defending universal healthcare and providing a nationalised service. Charging some to access services challenges the belief that the NHS should be universally accessible, but also that it should be free. Activists need to continue to expose the attacks on free healthcare, in the many forms they take.

Colin Wilson

The state as a key actor in social reproduction strategies and the construction of sexualities: the example of nineteenth century Britain

What role does the state play in the social construction of sexuality? Authors including Jeffrey Weeks and more recently Peter Drucker have pointed out that this is a question to which the Foucault of *The Will to Knowledge* barely responds. Indeed, Foucault’s assertion in that text that “power is everywhere” suggests that he would consider the question invalid. I want to argue that the state is, however, a crucial agency in the social construction of sexuality, and to respond also to Drucker’s claim in *Warped*, which extends Poulantzas’ assertion that no general Marxist theory of the state is possible to the

assertion that no general Marxist theory of sexuality is possible either – in which case a Marxist account of the state's influence on sexuality becomes doubly invalid.

An examination of the history of 19th century Britain, however, suggests that we can make assertions about the role of the state as regards sexuality which go beyond the “concrete analysis of concrete social formations” to which Drucker argues we must limit ourselves. The capitalist state, seeking to respond to the often contradictory demands of short term profitability, long term economic sustainability and the ideological defence of capitalism, intervened repeatedly in this period in the construction of sexualities. Such interventions included legislation explicitly focused on sexual behaviour such as the Contagious Diseases Acts and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, but also a wide range of other legislation including the Poor Law and the Vagrancy Acts, the establishment of the police and the regulation of workplaces and education.

Such interventions highlight some of the key functions of the state as regards sexuality. The state is the body which takes responsibility for the social reproduction of the workforce at a physical, intellectual and ideological level; it seeks to ensure that social order is maintained on capitalist terms; it seeks to generalise the norms of bourgeois behaviour throughout society. In nineteenth century Britain these three themes interacted in various ways, and different elements of the ruling class supported varying strategies. The state's role in the construction of sexuality is therefore complex, but it remains of crucial importance.

Kim Yong Wook

The nature of Mao's China : unfinished business

In today's China, Maoism has found new audience. Some prominent western intellectuals has mentioned Mao's China favorably. But there have been people in and outside China arguing that Mao's China was not a version of socialism, but “a country ruled by red capitalists”, or “state capitalism”. But most of the left criticized them harshly. Some of them used Marxist tools saying that in Mao's China, workers were practically embedded to means of production and their mobility was heavily restricted, so they are not ‘capitalistic wage labors’. They also pointed out that most of production was not for exchange values but for use values.

This article will tries to demonstrate that Mao's China was a state capitalism by focusing on the nature of workers existence in Mao's China. Contrary to near commonsensical argument, the employment insecurity and even mass lay-offs were a part of workers experience in Mao's China. Long before Deng's reform, high communist party officials argued that workers ‘can be hired and fired’ from the early 1950s. Mass deportation of workers from the cities after the catastrophic Great Leap Forward was not just about relieving the burden of food supply. It was also about increasing labor productivity by eliminating ‘surplus labors’. And even lucky ones who didn't lose their jobs faced the constant cutback on their wage and benefits, so they had to bargain for higher value of labor power all the time, like ‘normal’ market capitalism.

These huge chasm between workers' privilege and their actual insecurity was caused by the communist bureaucracy's active participation into the world capitalist competition. Because of their lack of capital, their historical experience of total war, and on-going geopolitical competition forced them to concentrate almost all their capital to military and related heavy industries. But this ‘production for use value’ was radically different from one

that usually finds in 'non capitalist societies'. The central planners consistently compared themselves with competing capitalist countries. They compared not just with the quantities of mass of use values but also with exchange values of their products converted into major currencies trying to measure whether did they reached the level of their competitor, unconsciously trying to match theirs with international socially necessary labor. So they asked the managers for making 'ratio between machinery and workers' higher, they practically asked more constant capitals for a variable capital. This couldn't be possible without some form of lay-offs. But even though they succeeded in accumulating huge amount of capitals and constructed major production facilities, not only did they fail to succeed in reaching the level of advanced countries, but also experienced the great famine and destructive political mobilizations that left millions of people's lives painful. But this 'unique' Chinese experience was reflection of the contradiction that backward countries usually face, when China had to invest their scarce capitals to arms economy that only produces products which can't be productively consumed. The bureaucracy tried to minimize the instability by strictly controlling workers' movement, but they periodically faced the situation that required flexibility in employment.

These contradictory dynamics made workers' labor power in Mao's China 'partially commodified' ones which correspond to ones in war time economies in capitalist countries, but they were under underlying dynamics that makes them 'free wage labor in the process of formation'. Deng's reform was initially an just another attempt to solve that contradiction by increasing the flexibility. But this time the geopolitical circumstances were radically changed, allowing decreased military spending and more diversified production. By refusing the existence of the historic rupture between Mao and Deng, and realizing the strong continuity with workers in Mao's China, workers in today's China can have a radically different strategic orientation from pro-Maoist one.

Galip Yalman, Aylin Topal

Modalities of State-Capital Relations in the Context of Financialisation: Insights from the Turkish Case

The modalities of the relations between states and markets that could be observed over the last few decades in many of the so-called emerging markets as they have experienced economic and political crises while going through different phases of financial liberalization could be contemplated as alternative strategies of adjustment to the vagaries of international financial markets. Yet, at the same time, it is also crucial to come to terms with these strategies as hegemonic projects to the extent that they fulfil certain functions in the reproduction of particular forms of social relations in historically specific contexts. Structural adjustment understood as such in the context of financialisation, did not signify simply a change in the mode of integration that would put an end to intermittent crises of foreign exchange, but it signified a new 'mode of living' based on indebtedness of households on the one hand, and reconfiguration of the inter- and intra-class relations on the other.

This paper will focus on the role played by the capital groups and SMEs as key adjustment mechanisms within the context of intermittent financial crises in Turkey. This, in turn, entails a focus on the specificity of the relations between financial sector and the real sector in the Turkish context with implications for the variegated nature of financialisation in general. To highlight the role played by the capital groups as a class actor in the context of the neoliberal transformation process is essential to overcome the inadequacies of the dominant discourses which tend to analyse the state/market relations severed from the

power relations. By the same token, it will be argued that Turkish SMEs not only facilitated new patterns of integration of large manufacturing firms into international markets, as they emerged as a major source of employment, formal and/or informal, but also revealed a panoply of different strategies as they struggled to enhance their access to finance. Such an analysis would also highlight the need to go beyond the conception of the state as entailing a rationality external to capital, quite often encountered in mainstream analyses.

Ed Yates

Reproducing low wage labour: capital accumulation and young workers in Greater Manchester

This paper explores the relationship between young workers, capital accumulation, and conditions of work and employment in Greater Manchester. This is achieved by focusing on the central role of labour in processes of profitable accumulation in the city-region and critically examining how these processes lead to particular outcomes for both the local state and the sectoral composition of the local labour market. Greater Manchester has been selected as a case study as levels of low-pay for young workers are above the national average of 40% and there are parts of the city-region with some of the highest unemployment rates in the country. The research argues that in order to understand these labour market conditions it is necessary to move beyond sociological explanations that fixate on the essential “youngness” of young workers. Instead, this paper demonstrates that the labour market conditions currently experienced by young workers are the result of large-scale changes in the way in which profit is generated, which have had major implications for the capacity of the local state to progressively intervene in labour markets.

Melih Yeşilbağ

Financialization, Real Estate and Hegemonic Projects: Construction-Led Accumulation in Contemporary Turkey

In this paper, I scrutinize the transformations of the construction and real estate sectors and their ascending roles in the Turkish economy during the rule of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) since 2002. Many analysts regard the sector as the heart of the growth engine of Turkey, which was until recently seen as a particularly successful example among emerging economies. Subordinating the export-oriented sectors, construction and real estate have indeed turned out to be the locomotive sectors of the economy, acting as a stimulant for overall growth, with its forward and backward linkages. Yet, as the financial meltdown of 2008 triggered by the subprime mortgage crisis in US has once again undeniably shown, construction-led accumulation bears severe crisis dynamics and enormous risks in the highly financialized structure of contemporary capitalism. Here, I present an analysis of the current construction-led accumulation in Turkey. In this respect, I first show the drastic dimensions of the construction boom by presenting factual data. I then develop an analytical framework to explain the determinants of the boom by situating the phenomenon into a world-historical perspective. I suggest that the construction boom is not only a reflection of the ascending importance of real estate markets in the era of financialization, but also has been shaped by certain extra-economic factors that are related with the novel hegemonic project of the JDP. In this context, construction-led accumulation has provided JDP the strategic means to be able to intervene in the power relations among the capitalist class by forming a capitalist class fraction that is organically linked with the party and to integrate large masses into its hegemonic project through an Islamic-modernist discourse. Hence, I argue that the

construction sector is at the heart of the JDP regime in multiple aspects. Finally, I discuss the crisis dynamics of the current construction-led accumulation in Turkey, drawing from the earlier cases of real estate market collapses such as in early 90's Japan, the Asian financial crisis and recently Ireland and Spain.

Andreas Ytterstad, Gunnar Steinsholt

A Green Shift for Oil and Gas workers?

The Green shift was declared the term of the year in Norway. Behind the buzz, it is possible to distinguish three versions of the Green shift (Ytterstad 2016). This paper focuses on the union based version, which has coalesced around the Bridge to the Future Alliance (broentilframtiden.com), which has published three books (Ytterstad, 2013, 2015, Ryggvik 2013) and held three national Conferences behind the slogan "Put the brakes on Norwegian Oil: 100 000 Climate jobs Now!". Although the alliance between faith organizations, the environmental movement and trade unions has established contact with unions in the private sector over time, it has not been supported officially by the two most important unions of oil and gas workers, The Industry and Energy Union and Fellesforbundet <https://www.fellesforbundet.no/information-for-foreign-employees/information-in-english/>.

In this paper, we draw upon interviews with trade union leaders AND shop steward representatives of these two unions, in their views on the Green shift, whether they think it is just "hot air", or if they see any substantial shift behind the rhetoric. We will also inquire about their views of agency, of how they see the role of Government and the big players, like Statoil in the case of Oil and gas and Statnett in the case of renewable energy. Most pertinently, we want to use these interviews to provide more grounded answers to the question we both have, as part of the Bridge to the Future Alliance: Given the combination of increasing unemployment and the buzz around the Green shift, what would it take for them to support, join and fight for a just transition in Norway by way of demanding at least 100 000 new climate jobs?

Ahmet Zaifer

Labour Resistance to Privatisation in Turkey: Limits and Barriers

Privatisation is not simply a market-based process. Instead, privatisation is a class-contested process. The structural imperatives of capitalism and interests of global actors are contested and shaped by specific class struggles and the particular materiality and history of the state in any one time or location. While capitalists and state authorities generally promote privatisations in Turkey in the post-2001 crisis era, organized labour has been unable to collectively assert power to its benefit. The resistance of organized labour to privatisations turned out to be local, relatively mild and dependent to the strategies of other actors.

I see five limits (or barriers) of organised labour's resistance to privatisation in Turkey. First and most importantly, the organized labour did not have the sufficient means to develop capacity to make compromises and establish contradictory unity with non-governmental organisations, the new working class -urban workers engaging in precarious forms of work, dispossessed people and the rural poor- and the progressive elements from the opposition parties. Only a direct political and combined confrontation of the organized labour and popular forces (as the different fractions of Turkish capital did to promote

privatisation) will lead to defence of public enterprises and innovation that can pave the way for more substantive democratic alternatives. Second, organised labour was separated from the centres of resistance within the state apparatus. This undermined the capacity of the organised labour to fight against legal-institutional reforms that made the state apparatus more conducive to privatisation. Third, there exist the ideological barriers dividing the labour confederations to more actively cooperate with each other. Fourth, some labour unions confined their reactions to privatisation to the discourses (for example, preferring national buyer over foreign) of domestic capital groups. Fifth, the systemic hold of neoliberalism has severely undermined the capacity of labour to construct substantial public sector alternatives to convince popular masses that there are alternatives to privatisation.

Natasha Zaretsky

Social Reproduction and Species Reproduction in the Ecological Imaginary

My paper explores the role of social reproduction and species reproduction within the post-1960s ecological imaginary. The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed the rise of a global anthropogenic awareness marked by the prospect of ecological catastrophes triggered not by “nature” but rather by human activity. This emerging consciousness was shaped by visions of reproduction-run-afraid (for example, in Rachel Carson’s 1962 *Silent Spring*, which conjured the threat of sterility) and by fears of reproduction-run-amuck (for example, in Paul Ehrlich’s 1971 *Population Bomb*, which likened overpopulation to a slow-motion bomb detonation).

This paper turns to one moment in the rise of an anthropogenic consciousness: the revival of nuclear war fears during the Second Cold War of the 1980s. The category of reproduction haunted this revival in two ways. First, anxieties about nuclear war implicitly mobilized the Marxist, feminist category of social reproduction, producing a picture of a post-apocalyptic world in which all of the activities that Marx saw as vital to the maintenance of economic production had collapsed. These included the purchasing of household goods, food preparation and service, the laundering and mending of clothes, the maintenance of the home, the socialization of children, and the provision of emotional and physical care to the young, the sick, and the elderly. Second, these atomic nightmares also turned on the threat to species reproduction, as scientists speculated that a nuclear war would constitute a planetary emergency and an extinction-level event. By pointing to the ubiquity of the category of reproduction (social and species) within the ecological imaginary of the last forty years, the paper demonstrates how Cold War fears still resonate today, while highlighting how Marxist and feminist analysis might be integrated into contemporary debates about the Anthropocene.

Elleni Zeleke

Nationalism and the Literature of the Ethiopian Student Movement

In "Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World" Partha Chatterjee's examines the thematics and problematics of Third World nationalist thought as the common thrust and ensemble of issues that can best be described as an attempt to produce an alternative discourse to colonialism, but which inevitably takes on the representational structure of colonialism and resolves the problems of that representational structure by assuming colonialism as its own space of autonomy. In this paper I use Partha Chatterjee's description of Third World nationalist thought to rethink the literature produced by the

Ethiopian student movement during the years 1965-1974. In particular I take "Challenge", which was the premier English language journal of the Ethiopian student movement as a case study that helps us explore the major ideas that influenced debate within the Ethiopian student movement. I also focus on how ideas were mobilized to meet political ends, and I ask what kind of relationship between ideas, the social sciences and policy were created through the efforts of the Ethiopian student movement. Lastly I ask how this latter relationship helped pave the way for the circulation of intellectual persons from the world of letters, to the world of governance as well as the world of military action and war-making.

Rade Zinaić

Androcentric Communism: The Contradictions of Identity and Liberation in a Yugoslav Case

The thought of prominent Yugoslav communist revolutionary and dissident Milovan Djilas is a key linkage through which to understand the relationship between contemporary Balkan popular culture and the histories of struggle from which they emerge. Djilas' political trajectory, from the chronic poverty that defined his childhood in warrior-saturated Montenegro to his embrace of the communist project, is a primer on the productive manner in which popular culture nurtures "freedom dreams" that produce unique and compelling interpretations of specific political ideologies (Kelley: 2003). His life is an example of how a recently stigmatized popular culture can signify in ways that are not ethnocentric and reactionary and underscores the creative complexity of South Slavic folklore.

Several important questions about sacrificial themes in South Slavic folklore inform my analysis of Djilas' politics. To what extent have decades of underdevelopment and uneven capitalist penetration reignited concepts of honour (čast), manliness (čojstvo), and heroism (junaštvo) as both a mainstay of social discipline and a bodily locus of social protest? After all, these concepts were just as effectively appropriated by non-Marxist conspirators and nationalist politicians. Indeed, honour, manliness, and heroism – staple concepts of military mobilizations and patriarchy – are also used to justify draconian and atomizing economic policies where an aspirational ethic of endurance trumps potential class solidarities. Does economic emasculation nourish male-centered dispositions that affirm structural inequality or can these dispositions, in specific contexts, produce cultures of emancipation? Must these dispositions always be male-centered? What does an emancipatory politics lose if emptied of viable notions of heroism and honour, that is, the ability to set inspirational examples of courage and integrity integral to any socialism, anti-racism, or feminism worth its name? Recent research has persuasively documented the crucial role these popular and nominally male-centered examples had in mobilizing Yugoslav communist partisan women against Nazi occupation (Batinić: 2015). Using a theory of cultural hegemony and resistance that draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Antonio Gramsci, my paper reconsiders these cultural attributes not as political ethnocentrism, but as resources for genuine, inclusive political visions that draw on established popular histories of sacrifice and social solidarity.