

Marxism and Racial Oppression: Towards a Unified Theory

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Half a century ago, the revival of the women's movement/second wave feminism forced the revolutionary left and Marxist theory to revisit the Women's Question. As historical materialists in the 1960s and 1970s grappled with the relationship between capitalism, class and gender, two fundamental positions emerged. The dominant response was dual systems theory. Beginning with the historically correct observation that male domination predates the emergence of the capitalist mode of production, these theorists argued that contemporary gender oppression could only be comprehended as the result of the interaction of two separate systems: a patriarchal system of gender domination and the capitalist mode of production. The alternative approach emerged from the debates on domestic labor and the predominantly privatized character of the social reproduction of labor-power under capitalism. In 1979, Lise Vogel synthesized an alternative unitary approach that rooted gender oppression in the tensions between the increasingly socialized character of (most) commodity production and the essentially privatized character of the social reproduction of labor-power. Today, dual-systems theory has morphed into intersectionality where distinct systems of class, gender, sexuality and race interact to shape oppression, exploitation and identity. This paper attempts to begin the construction of an outline of a unified theory of race and capitalism. The paper begins by critically examining two Marxian approaches. On one side are those like Ellen Meiksins Wood who argued that capitalism is essentially color-blind and can reproduce itself without racial or gender oppression. On the other are those like David Roediger and Elizabeth Esch who argue that only an intersectional analysis can allow historical materialists to grasp the relationship of capitalism and racial oppression. Both of these perspectives are based on the simplistic and unrealistic notion that capitalist competition and accumulation produce homogeneous labor-processes, profit rates and wage rates within and between branches of production. The paper presents an alternative and realistic approach, based on the work of Anwar Shaikh and Howard Botwinick, that understands that capitalist accumulation and competition necessarily produce heterogeneous labor-processes, profit rates and wage rates. Put another way, real capitalist accumulation and competition create the matrix in which racial oppression is constantly produced and reproduced by both capital and labor. The paper then assesses how ideologies that naturalize inequality (gender as biological sex, race) are indispensable to capitalism and how race emerges historically and is reproduced under capitalism.

Analysing Workplace Ideologies: Marxism and the Psychology of Work

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The research into the multiple ways in which work is central to our existences (anthropologically, socially, politically, etc.) is partly informed by problems raised by the critique of ideology. The connection between these different modalities cannot be reduced to a simplistic distinction between a supposedly objective economic base and a subjective ideological superstructure. The concept of productive forces, which strongly emphasises the technological aspect of work, does not take into account the full reality of

the labour process, including its intrinsic social, political and ideological aspects. The labour process cannot be identified with the notion of a purely instrumental relationship between man and nature. Thus, when confronted with an apparent acceptance of exploitation or various forms of self-exploitation on the part of workers typical of the neoliberal labour regime we should seek not only to understand how the ideological content produced in other fields of human interaction is capable of influencing the experience of work, but also try to account for the ideologies specifically related to and embedded in the labour process. For instance, we should not only inquire as to the effects upon working subjects of political or managerial discourses of autonomy and responsibility (usually seen as classical elements of neoliberal ideology), but also investigate work-place organisation and practices that fragment worker collectivity, generate competition and isolation, and produce representations and beliefs that could be called ideological. In his most famous work, *Manufacturing Consent* (1979), the American sociologist Michael Burawoy examines the way in which specific rules that govern the labour process can function as rules of the game of making out where consent rests upon is constructed through playing the game. Drawing on Althusser's definition of ideology as structures and systematizations of lived experience rather than narratives consciously constructed in order to manipulate dominated classes Burawoy seeks to understand the ideological dimensions of work organisation. More recently, the French psychoanalyst Christophe Dejours has studied so-called ideologies of defence that are developed by workers confronted with excessive pressure, risks and suffering, in order to preserve both the cohesiveness of work collectives and the mental health of its individual members. At the same time, these ideologies operate as mechanisms of voluntary servitude that suppress critical awareness. Ultimately, then, my paper seeks to broaden the conception of work beyond a narrowly technical, apolitical set of purely objective processes, whilst highlighting the ways in which ideology is firmly embedded in the labour process.

Flying Through the City: The Precarious Labour of Food Delivery Service in Cairo

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Spatially-determined marginality has received wide attention from scholars who have examined the creation of marginalised communities and social categories on the basis of uneven integration into capitalist systems of accumulation and redistribution. This body of scholarship includes critical examination of rural/urban divides, regional investment biases, unequal forms of urban development and the larger questions of core-periphery relations. Similar attention has also been devoted to the temporal dimension of capitalist production. Scholarly agreement on time-space compression as a characteristic of global capitalism and the near consensus that the logic of capital is essentially temporal have been reflected in literature which emphasises the effect of changing temporal patterns on labour regimes and the organisation of work. The last few decades have seen increasing research on just-in-time production, use of new technology in creating the anytime, anywhere availability of workers and of services. Less studied, however, are the mechanisms through which the creation and reproduction of marginalised groups and social categories are determined by these temporal practices. The constant restructuring of temporal dimensions of labour is creating conditions which on one hand guarantee the inclusion of groups of labour into the circle of capitalist production while on the other increase their precariousness and, in ways, their exclusion from other social relations and opportunities. This paper takes the case of fast food delivery workers or *tayareen* (which literally means pilots) in Cairo to show how their shift work serves profit making and

consumption patterns 24 hours a day. The paper also examines how spatial and temporal rhythms of the tayareens work intersect with and diverges from those of the city and its residents. Seemingly connecting and connected to the city on their flying motorcycles, those pilots experience increasing forms of isolation from formal institutions, social relations and economic opportunities thus furthering their vulnerability and marginalisation.

They Say It Is Love, We Say It Is Unpaid Work: Emotional Labour And Gendered Subjectivity

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This paper explores the gendered dimension of emotional labour. While the term emotional labour is often used to denote a particular aspect of service work, or been used without any conceptual specification, I want to centre womens unwaged emotional labour, as well as the continuities between unwaged labour and the service sector. Drawing on the writings of the Wages for Housework movement and more recent developments in Marxist feminism, I will argue that emotional labour is increasingly important for understanding gendered subjectivity and heterosexuality. Using the terms labour and exploitation to theorise gendered and sexual systems of domination is part of a Marxist feminist strategy to denaturalise gender. Furthermore, the concept of emotional labour suggests that gendered forms of exploitation are integral to our sense of self. I will explore how the subjectivity created by emotional labour constitutes a structural complement to possessive individualism, which is the hegemonic form of subjectivity in capitalist economies. Emotional labour is thus invisible but necessary to maintain the social relations of capital. It forms part of a continuity with other forms of reproductive labour, yet it is more closely linked to white, heterosexual and middle class articulations of femininity than for example cleaning. A politics of emotional labour thus cannot simply affirm this work, nor dismiss it completely. Rather, we must seek to understand its position within the reproduction of capitalism as well as its emancipatory potential as part of a broader strategy of restructuring reproduction and gendered/sexual relations.

The Non-Contemporaneity of Populism and the Need for a Non-Conclusive Marxist Theory. Methodological Notes on Bloch and Krahl

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The notion of non-contemporaneity was used by Bloch in the Thirties to analyse the European crises between the two World Wars and the rise of National Socialism in Germany. German society, Bloch argued, was crossed by several layers of temporality which are objectively and subjectively different. As he writes, not all people exist in the same Now. [] One has ones times according to where one stands corporeally, above all in terms of classes. Subjectively, non-contemporaneity manifests itself as pent-up anger, while objectively it means the presence of an unsettled past. Non-contemporaneity generates two types of contradictions: one between non-contemporaneity and capital, the other between non-contemporaneity and Marxism. In fact, even if non-contemporaneity represents something which is in some way external to capitalism, it is not dangerous per se, for capital uses it in order to disguise its contemporaneous and actual contradictions. In this conjuncture, Bloch affirms, the contemporaneous contradiction that is the working

class has the task of breaking the relationship between non-contemporaneity and far-right politics while preserving at the same time the anti-capitalist tendency of the former. Bloch's solution advocates for a multi-layered, multi-temporal and multi-spatial dialectic capable of extrapolating the elements of the non-contemporaneous contradiction which are capable of antipathy and transformation, that is, those hostiles to capitalism. Forty years later, in the context of the so called late capitalism, Hans Jürgen Krahl makes reference to this idea of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* (non-contemporaneity). More importantly, he shares with Bloch the same need for a rethinking of the Marxist interpretative framework of the conjuncture. Against the ahistorical and idealized interpretations of the October Revolution and the Leninist party of cadres, which suggests mechanistic organizational models, Krahl poses the necessity of considering historical materialism as a non-conclusive theory, irreducible to a single party, nation, or the Fordist factory and its enclosures. Historical materialism is a fluid theory, and its practice must also be fluid. This is the reason why Krahl continuously elaborated himself on the transformations that occurred inside the working class. In fact, in his critique of the SDS's concept of class he considers the extension of such a concept beyond the industrial proletariat necessary. For Krahl, understanding the modification that occurred inside the working class is essential for elaborating a revolutionary strategy that does not limit itself to a sterile representation of mechanistic and, in the last instance, idealized political practices. What can we gather from all of this today? First of all, a method of analysis, but above all, of political intervention. The aim of my paper is precisely to investigate this method by combining Bloch's and Krahl's analysis. After a brief explanation of Bloch's non-contemporaneity I will consider the resurgence of populism and sovereignty as non-contemporaneous contradictions. Then, after a short clarification of Krahl's extensions of the concept of class (the idea of a collective worker) I will link Krahl's analysis with Bloch's necessity of breaking the relationship between non-contemporaneity and far-right politics. Finally, I will sketch the tactical and strategic importance of such a method for our times.

Critique Or Violence: Arendt's Critique of Totalitarianism and Benjamin's Violence of the Constellation, a Messianism

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Arendt and Benjamin although similar and distinct at the same time envisaged the practice of the given law, not just institutionally but in the form of order of law that predominated their time was unique in its violence. Totalitarianism for Arendt was a reconfiguration of the public and private spheres and the domination of peoples' ontological freedoms as human beings, Fascism for Benjamin was an aestheticization of politics. In this vein, a comparison can be constructed between Arendt and Benjamin in an aesthetic parallel in regards to their aesthetic claims about the nature of authoritarianism. In this paper, I shall argue that whilst Benjamin is explicitly messianic in his thinking about the constellations of history, Arendt is similar to nature in envisioning the current state of affairs as an evil circumstance, conceiving of a political past before authoritarianism within democracy, and by doing so constellating a utopian future free of totalitarianism in all of its forms. Additionally, biographically as a consequence of this immanence of messianism in promising a future outside of geographical and physical possibilities, they both faced and experienced forms of exile and statelessness in which they existed as emigres as fitting neither in the totalitarianism they inhabited nor in their new homes as alien elements existing in a fold of a new society and culture. Thus, Arendt's and Benjamin's messianism presented a form of

revolt and resistance unlike any kind of revolutionary practice solely based in the present, their messianism united all three modes of human life, the past, present and future not in a linearity but as a multitude of theological dimensions in which not only provided the modes of theorization about the practice of critique. But their messianism enabled both thinkers to envision the actions of labour and the inculcation of selfhood as a consequence of these ontic-ontological practices of human beings in relation to the violences of the consumer society and the culture industry, but also how these wider structures of thinking produced the very authoritarianism and totalitarianism that they inhabited. In conclusion, we shall perform a comparative analysis of the messianism present both in Benjamin and Arendt as not only as a feature of Jewish thought built into Marxism and Phenomenology, but that to be totalitarian is not just present in the establishment of the single-party state but understanding that thought itself must become so prior to the concretization of the party state.

Decentralist Vanguard: Marxism, Anarchism, and the Search for a New Mode of Public Power in Rojava

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Since 2012, the Rojava Revolution in Northern Syria has attracted the attention of the global Left with its peoples councils, economic communes, and radical gender equality. Rojava has been so energizing for some that anarchists and Marxists from around the world have traveled to the region to defend the revolution, creating a historical moment resembling the Spanish Civil War. The fact that both anarchists and Marxists have run to the defense of the revolution is not a historical accident. It is rather because Rojava offers something to both sides since the system of radical democracy that the Democratic Union Party (PYD) has sought to implement features both anarchist and Marxist elements. Although this political project has been subjected to many analyses from different political perspectives, there has not been a systematic analysis of the specific way it brings together anarchism and Marxism. Rather than being a piecemeal mixture of different ideological positions, we claim that Rojavas project constitutes a specific convergence of anarchism and Marxism, resulting in a decentralist vanguard. Analyzing the implications and tensions of such a praxis, we also claim that Rojava helps us to openly face a problem that has plagued every revolutionary attempt: preserving emancipatory ideals in the face of centralizing pressures. More than identifying the problem, Rojava also offers a potential solution through its practices and institutional innovations. This solution comes from the central position occupied by women within the theory and praxis of the revolution. The combination of being identified as a central constituency and possessing autonomous organizations confers upon women a specific revolutionary role. We identify this role as becoming a democratizing middle stratum that can disperse the authority of a would-be centralist vanguard while educating and mobilizing the general public for revolutionary ideals. Such an institutional innovation has the potential to offer a blueprint for revolutionary struggles elsewhere.

Philosophy as Criticism: Ilyenkov on Logic and Scientific Knowledge

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In the Theses on the Question of the Interconnection of Philosophy and Knowledge of Nature and Society in the Process of their Historical Development (1954/2016), Evald Ilyenkov and Valentine Korovikov reject the idea of philosophy as a general meta-science that seeks to synthesize the knowledge acquired by the sciences and reach the essence. Accordingly, the knowledge produced by the sciences is itself able to reach, and is obliged to reach, that very final essence of the object of research, beneath, above and beyond which there is nothing to find for the reason that there is nothing more (Thesis 12). Rather, philosophy is the genuine science of the logic of thinking, that is, the subject of philosophy is theoretical thought (Thesis number unknown). Logic for Ilyenkov does not signify what it means in formal-logical sense of the term. There is no such transcendently universal logic (of the sciences) that can be made available once and for all by a philosophy of science as neo-positivists claim. Philosophy deals with the logic of thinking where the latter signify a peculiar outward action. Genuine thinking, that is, solving a problem irresolvable with the aid of existing cognitive, material and conceptual tools (Ilyenkov 2007), and the consequent genuine knowledge is always outward, object-directed and tool-mediated. Philosophy concerns the logic of thinking and of knowing in the sense that it deals generally with all types of action. As a specific form of human activity, thinking and knowing is conditioned and determined by the historically specific conditions of human activity. Looked at from Ilyenkov's point of view, thus, a philosophical analysis of thinking and knowledge is a two-fold endeavour. On a general and abstract level, it underlines the centrality of human activity and its form when thinking and knowing are at stake. On a determinate and concrete level it is a critical investigation of the forms of thinking and knowing, where knowing means the form of manipulation of social reality. Such a critical analysis of thinking and knowledge is based on two questions: what is the terrestrial essence of thinking and knowing? Why this essence acquires this specific form? To be more accurate, what is the specific form of thinking and knowing in a specific historical era, in particular in capitalist social formation? Why thinking and knowing require this specific form for actualization? The latter question refers to conceptual-universal form scientific knowledge attains with the emergence of modern science and the capitalist relations of production and intends to explain human ability to produce knowledge with means that apparently are no corporeal and thus pure (in Kants sense of the term and as Sohn-Rethel (1978) draws attention to but falls short in properly resolving it). A Marxian philosophy as the science of the logic of thinking and knowing, thus, cannot be an epistemology in the general sense of the term but a critique of epistemology, that is, a critique of forms of thinking and knowing as a specific field of human practice.

Whats Philosophy of Marx

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In the German Ideology Marx and Engels clearly declares that philosophy and the study of the actual world have the same relation to one another as onanism and sexual love. In Anti-Dhring Engels says that which still survives, independently, of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws formal logic and dialectics. Marxs thought of eliminating philosophy caused different reading, especially after Marxs death. Most of

the theoreticians of the Second International such as Bernstein, Mehring did believe that Marx and Engels were serious when they talking about eliminating philosophy. But Labriola believed that there is philosophy in Marx, i.e. philosophy of life, which was developed as Philosophy of Praxis by Gramsci later. Plekhanov also believed that there is philosophy in Marx, and he clearly named it as Dialectic Materialism, which was developed by Lenin further. In early the 20 Century, influenced by Lenins October Revolution, western Marxists such as Lukacs, Korsch criticized the determinism of theoreticians of the Second International, and clearly put forward that there must be philosophy in Marx. But they also opposed Diamat as philosophy of Marx, which gradually became Stalin textbook of Marxist philosophy. Diamat was regarded as philosophy of Engels, or/and Plekhanov and Lenin by the western Marxists. Since 1980s, influenced by western Marxism including Yugoslavian School of Praxis, Chinese Marxist scholars began to criticize Diamat, and Praxis Materialism (or Ontology of Praxis) based on Theses On Feuerbach, and the German Ideology, was regarded as philosophy of Marx by many Chinese scholars, though Diamat is still official textbook in China nowadays. But entering the 21 century, Praxis Materialism was discarded by more and more Chinese scholars. So historical materialism was regarded as philosophy of Marx by the main Chinese Marxist scholars. Around ten years ago, there was a hot debate concerning of whether Historical Materialism is positive science, and Marxs thought of eliminating philosophy was emphasized by some scholars once again. In some Chinese scholars eyes, philosophy of Marx is neither Diamat, nor Praxis Materialism or Historical Materialism. So is there any philosophy in Marx? Based on philosophy of Marx being different from Marxist philosophy, I argue that Marxist philosophy could be Diamat, or Historical Materialism, or Diamat & Historical Materialism, but none of them could be philosophy of Marx. My viewpoint is that Philosophy of Marx is political philosophy based on Marxs ethics of communism, which is concerning of Marxs ideal of an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. In the period of his doctoral thesis, Marx is a liberal, then he transits to a republican in the period of Rheinische Zeitung. In Critique of Hegels Philosophy of Right, Marx becomes a philosophical communist. Marx stays in the period of philosophical communism till in Theses On Feuerbach. Based on historical materialism, Marx becomes scientific communist. Communism is Marxs political philosophy, and political philosophy is Marxs philosophy in his life time.

Ideology and the Making of Capitalism in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England: A Contribution to Recent Debates Within Political Marxism

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Recent debates within Political Marxism (PM) has been characterized by, on the one hand, capital-centric approaches, who have argued for the need of a systemic concept of capitalism, emphasizing the strong rules of reproduction and developmental patterns following the specific social property relations characteristic of capitalism. On the other hand, radical historicist approaches have rejected such systemic concepts of capitalism, including the notion of rules of reproduction and to some degree the notion of market dependency. Favoring instead the actor-oriented notion of capitalist practice, they have stressed the need for historical studies of how social actors established specific social practices that would coalesce and formalize into capitalist practices. This paper argues that while the historicist approach has made important points about how to improve the study of the history of capitalism, such studies still need to be guided by the notion of a

unique systemic logic of capitalism. This paper contributes to recent debates within PM through an intellectual historical analysis of the emergence of capitalism. With the exception of a few important contributions, the role of ideological innovation in the making of capitalism has been seriously understudied within PM. In order to understand how ideological innovation helped create and formalize capitalist practices, I look at agricultural books and manuals in the sixteenth and seventeenth century England. During this period, agricultural authors participated in social conflicts by inventing new ways of valorizing different types of farming systems, labor processes and social property relations. I argue that these agricultural books and manuals constitute a unique source material, which provides important insights into the role of intermediate levels of ideological practice and innovation in the making of capitalism. This has important consequences for recent debates within PM. Following the radical historicist approach, it shows the importance of looking at how social actors created capitalism by promoting and formalizing specific social and ideological practices. On the other hand, I argue that it is not possible to understand the ideological innovations of these sources without contextualizing them within the emergence of a historically unique kind of market dependency creating strong rules of reproduction. In this way, I contribute to recent debates within PM by insisting on the need to look at the concrete practices of social actors while keeping the notion of an essential capitalist logic understood as a historically unique kind of market dependency. By reducing the problem of structure and agency to a methodological question, the radical historicist approach risks operating with an ahistorical notion of structure. In contrast, I argue that this problem cannot be solved purely methodologically. Structure should be conceptualized historically in a way that recognizes that capitalist practices created a new kind of systemic logic, and as a result a historically unique separation between structure and agency. This separation in capitalism is therefore real and not methodological.

Value Form, Subtractive Structure and Implied Temporality

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Marx's analysis of value-form remains a pertinent critique of contemporary capitalist mode of production. The question why this content assumes that form persists even more so in the 21st century, perpetuating the question of value fetish in our societies just think of the credit valuations in times before the Great Recession, the surge in fetishized and commodified personalities of social media or the rise of cryptocurrencies. The article introduces an inquiry into the relations between Structural Marxism of Louis Althusser, in particular it focuses on Jacques Ranciere's contribution to *Lire le Capital* and treats it as a forerunner to another current, the project of New reading of Marx (*Neue Marx Lektüre*), initiated by Adorno's students, Hans Georg Backhaus, Helmut Reichelt and Alfred Schmidt. It reintroduces the concepts of structural causality and absent cause as a specific algebraic property in the structure of social exchange, intertwined with the topological adherence of surplus-object-moments of money commodity in the dialectic of the value-form. The unity of concrete and abstract labour is posited as an absent cause in a structure, which is called 'subtractive structure', echoing Alain Badiou's operation of subtraction. The subtractive moment rests on the impossibility of determining labour relation in the value-form (whether in simple, expanded or general form). The article puts forward the following working thesis: A structure of Two implies a Third. It tracks both objects, the labour and money commodity, alongside the two totalities production and exchange and relates them to this principle. Consequently, money becomes a result of the dialectic unfolding of inner contradiction in the value of a commodity; it is the agent of

subjectivization, and at the same time, its material appearance, constantly dis-jointed out from the world of commodities i.e. being excluded from the exchange structure. This money-commodity has only one function, to embody the universality of all commodities, itself being excluded from the world of commodities, whereas others, alongside their value-property, also exist in order to satisfy human needs. By thinking together these two different logical schemas, the article advances the contemporary economic question of intertemporal analysis in the process of subjectivation. To do this, it undertakes the most absurd, perverted, irrational form, i.e. interest, and disentangles its *Begriffslosigkeit* into the disappearance of the whole process leading to the most simple equation: $M' = M + M$. The equation connects money-capital with a fleeting subject of the social Whole the people. Interest-bearing capital becomes a mediating factor in the distribution of names and places of the social body, inscribing the absent cause as a missing articulation of a lacking element or event, whose part is that it has no part in the structure, in the end being the driving force of subjectivity. Money-capital and its temporal dimensions of circulation thus become the retroactive unveilers of these parts in the social Whole. Keywords: Karl Marx, Structural Marxism, New reading of Marx, Jacques Rancire, Hans Georg Backhaus, money, time, value-form, subjectivity

Global Right-wing strategies in the Global South: Defending the Family in the 21st Century

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Recently in a large number of countries in Latin America a movement has surged calling for the defence of traditional values, and warning on the danger the so-called gender ideology signifies to the family. Big campaigns supported by transnational firms and NGOs have been enforcing a set of strategies against the little achievements of the feminist and pro-equality politics and institutions. In the last decade alliances between conservative groups and right-wing governments in the region have succeeded in banning interruption of pregnancy in a large amount of States, but there is now one cause they are focusing all their attention and effort on: Sexual education and the recognition of a right to decide what to teach at schools on sexual issues, a right supposed to belong to parents. Even if the ideology of traditional family remains as an important feature of hegemony (Gramsci and Sacristn Luzn 2007) among the countries where these campaigns are taking place (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru), different social trends have transformed family structures and sexual roles in recent decades (Vigoya and Rondn 2017); gender mainstreaming policies, and mostly legalization of same sex marriage have caused a revival of the most controversial issues in the conservative agendas. Since capitalism embraced nuclear family ideology (Olsen 1983), some gender mainstreaming policies as well as some LGBTTTIQ policies mean no menace to the moral economy (Thompson 1971) encouraged by capitalism; social reproduction and patriarchy are safe in that those policies promote similar values through the assimilation of different groups of population into traditional economic and lawful forms. On the contrary, comprehensive sexual education programs might appear as a threat to traditional representations of society on account of the diversity of sexual themes presented to children. Being one of the regions most battered by neoliberal politics, Latin America and its populations show particular configurations of moral economy, sex/gender system (Rubin 1975), and alienation, but also innovative and revolutionary projects of resistance.

Beyond Abstraction: Dialectics and Dualism in the Work of Sohn-Rethel

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In Alfred Sohn-Rethel's *Intellectual and Manual Labour*, Sohn-Rethel writes, regarding the necessity of conceiving of epistemology as reflecting the material dispensation of society, that while the dialectic as evolved by Hegel affords a way of thinking which is infinitely superior to the fixed dualism of Kant, it is not relevant to his study of the way that the categories of science owe their structure to the development of the value-form because the truth of the bourgeois world present itself [. . .] as dualism. This claim, however, raises a significant question regarding the nature of Sohn-Rethel's project. For if his positing of form-categories that come into existence by being abstracted from material reality owes its philosophic basis to historical materialism (and in turn to materialized dialectics), then there must be, in addition to the epistemological descriptions provided in *Intellectual and Manual Labour*, an underlying metaphilosophical and dialectical structure that explains how, for Sohn-Rethel, material conditions manifest epistemologically. While no solution to this dilemma is explicitly propounded by Sohn-Rethel, one answer could lie in the concept of the middle link [Mittelglied] suggested by Marx in Notebook VII of the *Grundrisse* that is, the tool/process man inserts between himself and inorganic nature, defining his worldview (the middle link can here be thought of as the material expression of the Hegelian copula, which reveals the inextricability of subject and predicate). For if the category of value and consequently, philosophical dualism owes its existence, in Sohn-Rethel's account, to the development of individual commodity production, this also presupposes the insertion of a middle link; in this case what Marx calls a modified natural thing, [Naturgegenstand] or tool, between himself and nature. If, then, the development of the category of value is related to the employment of tools, we might pose the question of how the fixed dualism of Kant is eligible to be eclipsed by a new epistemological paradigm in a society where, in Sohn-Rethel's description, individualized commodity production is increasingly supplanted by socialized commodity production that is, production organized collectively, typically involving the extensive use of technology. One consequence of this change appears to be that, where individualized commodity production, which emerges from the development of tools, leads to the development of the category of value, socialized commodity production, which requires that man insert the actual process of nature between himself and nature, leads to a similar abstraction, albeit of the producers themselves. For where humans were previously conceived as standing outside of nature, and nature as a pool of resources that could be used to generate capital, the increasing importance of natural processes to capital production also fosters a view of the world as a biophysical totality, in which humans are a part of, rather than outside, the natural world. The actualization of the shift away from dualism, however, is not merely philosophical. For to properly relinquish correlationist humanism, it is also necessary to abolish capitalism, which owing to its dependency on surplus value effectively sacralises the role of the human-as-labourer.

The Testimony of the Oppressed

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During the Algerian Revolution, visual and written *témoignage* developed between metropolitan France and Algeria to bear witness to war crimes and institutional racism,

using personal accounts to construct an urgent counter-narrative to the war. A lesser known example of this practice is *Les Enfants D'Algérie*, published anonymously in 1962: a book made up of childrens' drawings, written, and oral testimonies collected in educational centres and refugee camps along the Algerian border in 1961. Using this work, on which Frantz Fanon advised, this paper will question the relationship between testimony and institution, childhood and independence, and, with a particular focus on Fanon, that between testimonial and psychiatric inquiry amidst political violence.

Time, Marx, Populism: Ernst Bloch's Nonsynchronism in the Present

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This paper explores the work of Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch. In particular, it focuses on a pivotal essay by Bloch, "Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to its Dialectics," which he wrote originally in 1932. In his essay, Bloch adopts a dialectical materialist method in order to analyse the rise of Nazism in the 1930s as mobilisation of "nonsynchronic" elements from the past: mythical and pre-capitalist forms not yet fully captured by the logics of capitalism. The uniqueness of Bloch's approach to the rise of the far right rests on his understanding of the mythical consciousness as an ambivalent source of political mobilisation. While, on the one hand, the appeal of a pre-capitalist past was appropriated by fascism, the anti-capitalist, romantic and utopian nature of myth could also have been adopted as a progressive force to revive Marxism as struggle of the oppressed classes. Bloch's analysis of the utopian potentialities of nonsynchronism identifies unrealised possibilities of the past, which might have led to the realisation of socialism on a global scale. In the twenty-first century, Bloch's reflections still seem to offer a vital weapon of criticism to fight back the rise of fascist populisms and to redefine the role of a politics of culture as key toolbox in the struggle for social justice.

Revisiting Race and Marxism: A Conversation Between Gramsci, Hall, and the Operaisti

Daniel Gutierrez (Freie Universitt Berlin, Graduate School for North American Studies)

In his 1983 lecture, *Rethinking Base and Superstructure*, Stuart Hall pushed against theories that approached questions of race through strictly economic and class determinist lens. At the same time, Hall urged that we not abandon the Marxian framework and note instead the different levels or moments of analysis, proposing that Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire* is an exemplar work of conjunctural analysis that deploys multiple determinants beyond the economic at the concrete, historical level. It is in the movement from the abstract to the concrete where race comes into play. Following Hall's insight, my work proposes a schematic for moving from the abstract to the concrete. In this proposal, I urge that we take up Gramsci's framework of historical blocs in distinction to mode of production, wherein a historical bloc signals the complex, contradictory and discordant ensemble of the superstructures that defines a specific historical formation and its historical (not logical) forms, alliances, signs, and strategies (Gramsci, 2014; de Smet, 2017). Historical blocs are constituted out of particular combinations of struggles waged between historically formed subjects specific to a social formation. As such, the

segmented class compromise following the American New Deal constituted a specific historical bloc, itself composed by particular forces and preferred particular social sectors over others, and is distinct from that of the neoliberal historical bloc. Observing Halls formulation that there have been many significantly different racisms - each historically specific and articulated in a different way with the societies in which they appear (Hall, 2017, 146), I urge that each historical bloc has a particular formulation of racism that is carried over (but distinctly recomposed) from the struggles of the previous bloc. This is the first step in the movement from the logical to the concrete and conjunctural. In the next step in the movement downwards towards the conjunctural, I propose deploying a revised and expanded version of the class composition framework that the operaista tradition provided. Here, I borrow the Class Inquiry Groups articulation of technical composition and social composition (that provide the context of the specific material relation of labor-power on the one hand and the field of social life outside the workplace in the other) that combine to form the context from which political composition surges, in a way that is autonomous and non-mechanical. However, in difference to the CIG, and in order to understand the development of race, I propose a series of reformulations that includes state formations in the technical sphere and subdivisions in the social field. The motor of historical movement is, following Mario Trontis Copernican Inversion, the struggle of the working-class against capital, but elaborated in historically specific ways. Cycles of struggle give way to transformations in the different compositional fields, in the institutions and apparatuses that compose them, and in the discourses that dominate these circuits of power. Through such a framework, we can understand how and why such transformations take place and what makes racism persistent across blocs and cycles, why discourses (and their signifiers) shift and slide, and how some social sectors get more privileges and others don't.

Marxist Feminism Stream : Value and Social Reproduction

Kate Doyle Griffiths (CUNY Graduate Center Red Bloom)

This article will draw on a revival of marxist-feminist theories of social reproduction (Vogel, Ferguson & McNally, Bhattacharya, Arruzza, Gleeson & Griffiths) to understand the ways in which older and current debates in marxist-feminist theory about the nature of unwaged reproductive labor in producing value and in valorization of labor as a commodity (James, Federici 1975, De La Costa). Much of this recent revival has focused first on the role of social reproductive labor in the constitution of working class subjectivity, second on the feminization of work broadly (in terms of increasing integration of reproductive and affective labor into waged work, of (precarious) incorporation of women and gender oppressed people into the labor market and the feminization of the organization of work for people in many job and gender categories (Haug). A third strand of this revival focuses on the ways in which reproductive labor, waged (Silver) and unwaged and the family has become a focused site of both class struggle and ideological battles in the political sphere over the last four decades (Susser, Duggan) . This contribution will situate discussion of collaborative commons in marxist feminist analysis of the family (in its revanchist, liberal and radical queer instantiations) as a flexible capitalist institution, one which both makes possible the resilience of global accumulation, and which as a result has become a site for the incubation of new forms of solidarity (Federici 2012, Hart & Negri) , collective self-imagining and political resistance. It will also respond to and engage Melinda Coopers recent analysis of the family and the critique of marxism which she makes through this frame. Contra Cooper, this analysis of the family as a historically constituted, changing and capitalist institution

need not vitiate, but rather enhances a marxist analysis of class. Against marxist feminist liquidation of value theory as such, the paper will argue that rather than viewing the increasing political economic importance of reproductive and affective labor as a process of detaching accumulation from the production of value, reproductive labor, waged and unwaged is a site of the valorization of labor as a commodity and represents the social process of labor's economic abstraction. It will draw on an international ethnography of care work and conflict in the healthcare sector in the household to make this case. The paper will contribute to a more detailed understanding of the family as the institution which links three scales of social reproduction; reproduction of the individual laborer, of the working class as a whole, and ultimately the reproduction of capital accumulation via the state.

Queer and Trans Politics in Workplace Organizing Struggles

Michelle Esther O'Brien (New York University)

For retail and service industry workers, the labor process itself is sexualized and gendered. Retail workplaces segregate job placement based on gender presentation, integrate the style and perceived sexuality of employees into branding, and use homophobic and transphobic harassment to discipline workers. Queer and trans workers, in turn, bring resources to workplace organizing forged in prior political struggles, forms of cultural sensibilities and consciousness, and pre-existing counter-cultural support networks. Based on interviews with workers and organizers in struggles in the NYC retail industry, I argue queer and trans politics can play central roles in enabling and facilitating labor struggles. Considering worker center and unionization campaigns at Manhattan apparel stores and two sex toy retail companies, this talk details how queer leadership was structurally integral to movement success. New York City retail firms both deliberately recruit queer and trans workers to enhance their own brand presentation, take advantage of their greater vulnerability and precarity, and discriminate in placement and promotion decisions. Queer and trans workers of color joined workplace organizing efforts more quickly than their straight and cis coworkers based on a higher degree of alienation and frustration with their managers as a result of heteronormative mistreatment. They were better represented in leadership roles in the organizing, drawing on skills in their past experience in queer movements. Queer workers used their social networks to overcome the atomization of their workplace. They integrated queer performance and pleasure into the organizing culture. Queer and trans workers used their prior queer political frameworks to identify and challenge the sexualization and gendered dynamics of their work conditions. These queer efforts ultimately won over and benefited all workers. These organizing efforts led by queer and trans workers, and the advancement of queer and trans politics in workplace struggles, offer concrete benefits for the broader power and militancy of worker movements. This case demonstrates the insufficiency of a facile opposition of identity politics and class struggle. Those frameworks that suggest workers develop solidarity through abandoning and minimizing other identities, replacing them with class consciousness, or that queer identities operate in opposition to class consciousness, are poorly suited to make sense of either the experience retail labor, or the actual dynamics of worker organizing. Instead, ostensibly non-class identities are essential to understand the stratifications and experiences of work, and actual bases for working class solidarity and struggle. This offers an empirical collaboration of theories of queer, feminist and Black Marxism that foreground the inseparably sexualized, gendered and racialized dimensions of class struggle.

Althusser's Philosophy for Marxism as a contribution to the critique of political philosophy

Fabio Bruschi (Catholic University of Louvain)

It is generally assumed that, by switching his definition of philosophy from Theory of theoretical practice to class struggle in theory, Althusser assigned to Marxist philosophy a straightforwardly political function. In this paper, I will argue that, on the contrary, in its theoreticist version, philosophy had the most direct political function. In fact, by making the conceptual system of historical materialism explicit, philosophy allowed theory to become the place of strategic thinking, i.e. the only thinking that can sustain a revolutionary politics. This thinking then had to inform political practice through practices of theoretical formation. I will then claim that, as the recent wave of posthumous publications clearly shows, in the 1970s Althusser puts into question the idea of a Marxist philosophy as the bearer of systematicity: systematicity is in fact the mark of an idealist philosophy that plays the political role of suturing the hegemony of the dominant class. The philosophy for Marxism that Althusser formulates in this period cannot be reduced to the simple acknowledgment and assumption of this political function of philosophy at the service of the dominated classes. A philosophy for Marxism should rather be understood as the movement of destitution of philosophy's political function. In fact, the source of strategic thinking and revolutionary politics is now located not in theory but in the initiatives of the masses, for communism is nothing but the process of the becoming autonomous of these initiatives. Historical materialism still plays a crucial role in helping these initiatives affirm themselves under and against the conditions of the dominant mode of production and ideology. However, it can perform this role only if philosophy suspends the process through which it tends to be annexed to the hegemony of the dominant class. Class struggle in theory is therefore not simply waged by opposing a materialist content to an idealist one as the quilting point of hegemony, but by letting theory be cut across by the thinking propelled by the initiatives of the masses in such a way as to foster their autonomous constitution of a new form of social power.

What Are We For: Harry Hay's Vision of Queerness as Labor

Ben Miller (Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität Berlin)

This presentation, intended for the Sexual Violence, Discrimination and Oppression, and Left Responses stream and adapted from a paper to be published simultaneously in September in the peer-reviewed German journal *Invertito* and online in English on *OUTHISTORY*, reexamines the theoretical contributions of the American gay communist Harry Hay in light of his Marxism. In 1948, Hay co-founded the Mattachine Society in Los Angeles, recognized as the first lasting gay organization in the United States. Ejected from the leadership due to his history of Communist Party membership and activism, he turned to theory in the 1950s and 1960s, laying out a highly individual view of the history and possible future social roles of same-sex-loving people that fused Marxist analysis of family labor with influences from esoterica, expressionism, and Native American spirituality. This analysis became the basis of the Radical Faeries, an ongoing movement he founded in the early 1970s that continues to this day. Hay identified the source of liberation for same-sex-loving peoples as their socially productive contributions, in the form of what we might now call affective labor. I identify the origins of Hay's analytic framework in the cultural anthropology of Ruth Benedict and others in the Boas circle,

and the analysis of family labor and primitive matriarchal communism in Engels Origin of the Family. Taking up Benedicts concept of the coconstruction of cultures and human behavior and Engels view of a matriarchal primitive communism, Hay developed a theory of same-sex love and gender non-conformity as a form of social labor reproductive of what he called the internal life of the society cultural, spiritual, and intellectual practices. Referring to these as children of the brain in context to the children of the body produced and reared in heterosexual pair relations, Hay argued for the social utility of a a broad variety of possible same- or similar-sex-loving relationship configurations between subjects characterized neither as male nor female but instead other. Hay is seen in many existing histories of gay liberation as an essentialist; while recent scholarship has begun to examine Hays ideas more intensively, dominant accounts of the history of American gay liberation misunderstand Hays ideas, remove them from the genealogy in which they are best understood, and devalue the contributions of one of the gay lefts pioneers and most interesting thinkers. Acknowledging and confronting the settler-colonial and colonial contexts of both Hays own ideas and the intellectual tradition in which he worked, I nonetheless seek to read Hay reparatively, to offer conclusions about what kind of queer leftist praxis we might forge from Hays words, and identify connections and comparisons in related areas of social movement history.

Women Rising: The Fight Against Femonationalism and the Far-Right In Germany

Kathleen Brown (Freie Universitt Berlin | Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Scholar)

The European far right is growing in the ballot box and on the streets- an expression of social crisis caused by the neoliberal order. In Germany, the third-largest party in the Bundestag, Alternativ fr Deutschland (AfD), has direct fascist links. Attacks on migrants and refugees are daily occurrences. As part of their xenophobic agenda, the right characterizes Muslim and immigrant men as sexual predators menacing German women. Muslim women are presented as oppressed victims and immigrant women a ticking population bomb. Applying Sara Farris theory of femonationalism (2017), this talk will consider the right wing uses and abuses womens *rights in Germany in order to bolster their anti-immigrant and Islamophobic agenda, such as AfDs Womens March against Sharia Law (2018) and Bikinis, not Burkas election campaign ad (2017). Analyzing AfD literature and publicity, I consider how pronatalist and anti-immigrant language and imagery harkens back to Germanys darkest hour. At the same time, I will consider how women-led struggles have the potential to challenge femonationalism and become sites of native-born and immigrant solidarity. This landscape includes strikes in hospitals (2017) and day care centers (2018), defense of wearing the headscarf at work, organizing the International Womens Strike, and ending restrictions on abortion. Specifically, I will examine the struggle for reproductive self-determination in Germany as one area where the rights femonationalism falls apart. Looking at the #WegMit219a campaign to remove a Nazi-era law restricting public information on abortion, reproductive rights activists are put directly in conflict with the laws defenders, AfD and Merkels CDU. I will look at how the struggle for reproductive self-determination lends itself to immigrant self-determination while undermining the rights claim to speak in the name of [German] womens rights. (281 words)*

Fighting Antisemitism : The Dreyfus Experience

Ian Birchall (Independent writer)

Historically the far right has repeatedly used antisemitism as a weapon. It may therefore be interesting to look at one of the first confrontations, the Dreyfus case. At the time of Dreyfus's conviction, there was a well-organised antisemitic right in the followers of Drumont; their antisemitism was not shamefaced, as in later periods, but brazen and overt. By contrast the left were very slow to respond. There was antisemitism in sections of the left, but it was not the main cause of the problem. More significant was what can be called the ultraclassism prevalent on the left a stress on class while failing to relate this to other forms of oppression. Thus Jaurès came very close to calling for the death penalty for Dreyfus. Yet there was a possible alternative strategy for the left, as shown by the Allemanist Maurice Charnay. After Bernard Lazare and Émile Zola had played the role that should have been played by socialists, the left intervened late and failed to inject socialist values into the campaign to defend Dreyfus, in particular by stressing internationalism and anti-militarism. These were values that should have been communicated to the members of the younger generation radicalised by the Affair. The sharpest critique of the left came from the revolutionary syndicalist current. In 1906 Robert Louzon wrote a perceptive article called The bankruptcy of Dreyfusism or the Triumph of the Jewish Party. In the absence of socialist leadership the defence of Dreyfus was taken over by the republican left, which was committed to the values of nationalism and laïcité. Georges Clemenceau and Georges Picquart, who had played an important part in the Dreyfus campaign, became prime minister and army minister respectively at a time when troops were used against striking workers. Even more seriously, the left failed to challenge the nationalism which was central to the politics of the far right. And in 1914 it was republican nationalism which was used to herd millions of workers and peasants into the trenches. Ian Birchall 342 words

Corporeal Organisation: Marx's Analysis of the Human Body

Soren Mau (University of Southern Denmark)

In the manuscripts known as The German Ideology, Marx states that the first fact of the materialist conception of history is the corporeal organisation [körperliche Organisation] of the human being. In this paper, I will attempt to clarify this overlooked concept and demonstrate the centrality of the body in Marx's materialist social ontology. Marx's analysis of the human body emphasises the importance of tools, which occupy an ambiguous position on the threshold between the body and its surroundings. On the one hand, tools are organs and an extension of the body, as Marx puts it in Capital. On the other hand, they are much easier to separate from the rest of the body, than other organs. They are a part of what Marx calls the inorganic body of the human being, i.e. that part of the body, which is not a part of the body. Human dependency on tools reveals the original porosity of the human body, and for this reason it also reveals something important about how capital is able to reproduce itself by means of what Marx calls the mute compulsion of economic relations, i.e. the abstract, impersonal and structural form of domination so characteristic of capitalism. Marx's analysis of the corporeal organisation of the human being explains why it is possible for the logic of valorisation to infiltrate our bodies by inserting itself as the mediator of life and its conditions, and this in turn explains why it is generally unnecessary for capital to rely on direct violence for its reproduction. Furthermore, I will argue that Marx's analysis of the human body allows us to shed new

light on the question of humanism and anti-humanism in Marx's theory. I will argue that Marx's social ontology does include a theoretically significant (and transhistorical) concept of the human being, but that this concept also implies that it can never have any explanatory role in the analysis of specific modes of production, such as capitalism. This also has the consequence that the concept of the human being can never be the basis of a critique. Marx's analysis of the human being undercuts any romantic critique, since it demonstrates that there is no such thing as a natural organisation of social reproduction. There is no original unity of man and earth; rather, there is an original separation and hence an original need for a social mediation of the metabolism of humans and the rest of nature a mediation that is always irreducibly political.

Hayden White and the Political Radicalism in Historiography

Theodoros Pelekanidis (Humboldt University in Berlin)

Philosophy of history is not a field that can easily be connected with Marxist or even post-Marxist streams of thinking. History as a field is generally conservative. The contributions of the Frankfurt School, mainly Benjamin and Adorno, on History are considered the last important connections, but they are old and need renewal. Works of Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson and Alex Callinicos are considering questions around History and historiography, but they are neither part of an extensive study nor are they conclusive. However, Hayden White is in my opinion a theorist of history who combines the depth and radicalism of the Frankfurter Schools anticapitalist and antifascist critique with new orientations in scientific epistemology, such as poststructuralism. Hayden White, who was considering himself a Marxist, although he is almost always (incorrectly in my opinion) regarded as a postmodernist, has changed the way History is understood and historiography is written by the historians and lots of innovative ideas in theory of history stem from his linguistic and political analyses. White's Marxist roots became clear from the beginning of his academic career during the 60s, when he fiercely attacked the historical profession and the conservative methodological discipline that dominated the field of academic historiography. In a speech in 1969 he claimed that the official theory of history going back to Ranke's historicism is actually defending a conservative political agenda. However, the task of the historian is not to simply reproduce the past, but to challenge what counts as real in the present. The reference to Marx's 13th thesis is more than clear. With his magnum opus *Metahistory* White was to change the conception of the historical text forever, but it was not only his linguistic turn that shall be considered groundbreaking. It was also his deep belief in the freedom of the historian, not simply as a personal liberation a misconception that was also adopted by Marxist critiques of his work but much more in the total sense of the liberation of humanity. In my proposed contribution I would like to discuss about two aspects of White's thought. Firstly, on the clarification that, despite his poststructuralist influences, White was and remained a Marxist throughout his career. Although his approach about the freedom of the historians to express themselves the way they like is regarded as too relativistic, a careful reading of his essays proves that there are political and moral limits in this freedom, which can maybe oppress the historians' creativity, but release History from its reactionary prison. This brings me to the second aspect, his antifascist thought, which was the core of his moral and political concerns, when discussing a liberating philosophy of history. His thoughts on the representation of the Holocaust, as well as his willingness to compromise his theoretical views, in order to promote an antifascist historiographical attitude, shows that his theory has a specific political core, which was proven fundamental in the development of political radicalism in the field of History in recent years. Although not

without flows, I believe that Whites thought could find an accommodating place in a critical conference about historical materialism.

All or Nothing: A Critique of Althusser's Conception of Feuerbach

Magnus Mller Ziegler (Aarhus University)

In this paper, I examine Louis Althusser's conception of Ludwig Feuerbach and Feuerbach's relationship to Marx, mainly as it is presented in Althusser's *For Marx* (1965), though I also include other sources such as the unpublished manuscript *On Feuerbach* (1967). My main argument is a criticism of Althusser's conception of the Feuerbach-Marx relationship. I argue that Althusser fundamentally misunderstands this relationship in three ways. First, he identifies Feuerbach with Young Hegelianism and takes Feuerbach to be an adequate expression of Young Hegelianism as such; second, and because of this, he identifies Marx's Young Hegelianism in toto with Feuerbachianism; third, because of this misidentification he dramatically overestimates the role Feuerbach plays for Marx and underestimates the role played by Young Hegelianism more broadly speaking. This, finally, leads him to overemphasise the supposed break between Marx and Feuerbach, the result of which is the famous theory of the epistemological break. My argument is made as a primarily text-internal critique: using Althusser's own text, I show how these three misreadings are each in turn the case. In the same text-internal way, I demonstrate how, even if we accept Althusser's premises, his identification of Feuerbach with Young Hegelianism is wrong even in the context of his own text. Because of the intimate connection between Althusser's understanding of the Feuerbach-Marx relationship and his notion of an epistemological break, this critique also challenges this very notion. The epistemological break only makes sense if Marx's break with Feuerbach was indeed a total break with Young Hegelianism and thereby philosophy as such. It is in this sense that the Feuerbach-Marx relationship in Althusser's story is an all or nothing: either Marx is a complete Feuerbachian or he is a complete anti-philosopher. However, as I demonstrate, this is not the case. In the end, this criticism provides a challenge to any notion of a break in Marx's thinking, which must at least be further qualified in light thereof.

Marx's "Socialism" : The Movement of Human's Socialization and Individualization

Shuguang Zhang (Beijing Normal University)

Due to the effect of Five Types of Social Forms, we usually regard "socialism" as the "primary stage" of "communism", and "communism" means that the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" works for everyone with the great development of social productivity and the establishment of public ownership. In this way, this concept mainly indicates the human liberation of the economy. However, this view doesn't take into account the constraints of natural environment and resources, nor does it take the contradiction and development of society into consideration. If we focus on the original idea of "socialism" and concentrate on the centerline of thought of Marx from youth to old age, it is not hard to find that "socialism" actually refers to the movement of human's socialization. With the formation of the market economy, this movement breaks regional and national restrictions and points to the world and future. Human's socialization and individualization are opposite and complementary to each

other, it should unfold in a certain community and in the relationship between the community and other community, and break through the established forms, including changing the relationship between this community and other communities. Predictably, the power and the contradiction between the public and private property as well as the contradictions between the various communities will be dominant in contemporary and future for a long time, and various forms of conflict and alliance, differentiation and integration will occur. As a result, the more extensive movement of human's socialization and individualization are precisely carried out and promoted.

Post-2018 Queer Lives in the PRC: Graduated In/Visibility And Queer Futures

Liujia Tian (OISE, University of Toronto)

Chinese President Xi scraped the two terms limitation on the presidency in 2018, indicating his intention to rule this giant nation for life. Such manipulation has been articulated as the global authoritarian turn and the rise of the right. However, in this article, it is our contention to draw a queer Marxist lens on this monumental farce that has attracted growing attention from political science, economics and international relations. This paper will include a participatory grassroots action research based on our involvement in several queer organizing in China. However, in the first section, we will highlight several successes of queer struggle pre-2018 and we assert that these attempts have favoured disproportionately cosmopolitan queers. In the second part, we aim to predict possible futures for queer people in mainland China under intensifying authoritarian rule, yet each possibility is connected to the global right-wing backlash and the inability of muscular liberalism to combat this tendency. Lastly, grounded in our organizing experiences, we foreground a gradual shift in tactics, termed by us as graduated in/visibility. We argue this tactical shift has the potential to go beyond the dichotomy of oppression versus visibility, repression versus rights and the reproducing of life versus the necropolitics of queer subjects. Moreover, it can guide queer activism in China to navigate capitalist expansion, the party-state and the authoritarian graduated control.

Left Resistance and the Politics of Death in the PRC

Ian liujia Tian (OISE, University of Toronto)

This paper inquires into the notion of necropolitics in the context of China by focusing on the recent arrest of eight left-wing students in a Chinese University. Perceiving this case as a heightened site of conflict between the young left and the authoritarian party-state, this article expands the definition of the politics of death/thanatopolitics to that of social and ideological death. It will first elaborate on two forms of anti-authoritarian politics, namely, anti-capitalism and muscular liberalism in the context of neoliberal China. This is followed by a detailed account of the incident. Through this recount, we will demonstrate how the state apparatus regulates and controls left resistance via the threat of physical, social and ideological death. Yet from students responses to their arrest, this paper elucidates an emerging radical alternative that positions the state as encroached by capitalist interests and reclaims the Marxism that has been labelled by the state as non-authentic. This approach, we argue, would enable us to be anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian simultaneously.

Composing Buenos Aires: Towards an Autonomist Socio-Spatial Dialectic

Nick Clare (The University of Nottingham)

This paper demonstrates the value of a closer relationship between autonomist Marxist and (urban) geographical thinking. By spatialising a key autonomist concept class composition the paper develops the ideas of technical and political spatial compositions. These dialectically intertwined concepts provide a framework with which to analyse the relationships between shifting urban spaces and struggles, providing an original reading of an autonomist socio-spatial dialectic. Applying these new concepts to Buenos Aires shifting urban fabric, the paper focus on various spatial conjunctions, exploring how and why they have emerged, and the immanent potentials for spatial politics that these conjunctions both afford and preclude; it therefore explores moments of spatial re- and de-composition. This therefore not only provides a periodising heuristic with which to approach Buenos Aires urban struggles, but in so doing highlights the power of the framework: the idea of spatial composition can be applied widely as a form of radical geographical praxis. By developing and making explicit the latent spatiality of key autonomist ideas, the paper thus makes important theoretical contributions to an emerging autonomist (urban) geography, while also expanding on recent work that foregrounds the importance of social composition.

Amilcar Cabral's Interpretation of Historical Materialism

Zeyad Sameh El Nabolsy (Cornell University, Africana Studies and Research Center)

In this paper I offer an interpretation of Amilcar Cabral's account of the Marxist theory of history. I argue that Cabral's theory of history is best understood in relation to two claims that Cabral wishes to avoid. The first claim is that societies that do not have or have not historically had socio-economic classes are societies without history. Cabral argues that if one accepts the claim that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles (Marx and Engels 1948, 9) without qualifying it, then one is committed to the claim that societies without classes and hence without class struggles are without history, or as Eric Wolff puts it, they represent peoples without history. I argue that while Cabral rejects the idea that class struggle is the sole causal motor behind historical change, he does not do so for the sake of upholding a version of technological determinism (as for example G.A. Cohen does). I argue that Cabral's theory of history, which posits the mode of production as the main determinant of historical change, and development allows him to argue against the idea that the existence of classes is a necessary condition for the existence of history (qua set of dynamic social processes), while also rejecting the thesis that technological determinism is true. I also argue that Cabral's reconstruction of historical materialism as a theory of modes of production places him closer to Marx's and Engels' own understanding of their theory of history than an interpretation of historical materialism as a theory of class struggles. I attempt to show that in this regard, Cabral's theory remains relevant in relation to the criticism of some trends in contemporary Marxism from a post-colonial (or perhaps, more appropriately, an anti-colonial) perspective, e.g., the stream of contemporary Marxist theory and historiography that is referred to as Political Marxism. Moreover, I show that there is a very precise sense in which Cabral can be characterized as a dialectical thinker and placed in a trans-national tradition of dialectical philosophy and social theory. In the concluding section, I argue that Cabral's emphasis on using the mode of production interpretation of historical

materialism allows him to overcome any kind of culturalist essentialism in his description and analysis of the historical processes of African societies.

Social Reproduction and Migrant Women Domestic Workers: The Turkish Case

Ozlem Tezcek (Ordu University/TURKEY, Assistant Professor, Economics Department, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences)

Throughout the history of capitalism patriarchal cultural/gender relations have been changed dramatically. The capitalist accumulation process which includes both production and reproduction processes has interacted with patriarchal/traditional gender roles closely in order to re-generate gender hierarchies specific to capitalist profit seeking behaviour/perception. In this regard, this interaction between patriarchal gender roles and capitalist re-production relations has been examined and debated by the distinct branches of feminist movement namely Socialist and Marxist feminists. The level of this interaction and the way in which this interaction takes place differentiate through time and space. In this study, I will investigate this interaction via activities of migrant women domestic workers in Turkey which, I believe, represent essential features of the recent global dynamics of capitalism such as Informalization, feminization of un/under-paid work force, feminization of immigration, globalization of domestic works, neoliberal welfare state restructuring, etc. In this regard, I will introduce a specific field research about life and working conditions migrant women domestic workers which have taken place in Ordu, Turkey. Due to the increasing migration trends after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Black Sea Region has received significant amount of Georgian immigrant women. These women are employed as domestic workers in the region as well as other regions. It will be conducted deep, open-ended, face to face interviews with a certain number of Georgian migrant women are consistent with many of the qualitative approaches pioneered and adopted by feminist researchers. Bhattacharya, T. (2017), *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression*, Pluto Press. Harvey, D. (2004), *The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession*, *Socialist Register*, Vol. 40, pp. 63-87. Federici, S. (2004), *Caliban and the Witch*, Autonomedia. Kandiyotti, D. (1988), *Bargaining with Patriarchy*, *Gender and Society*, Vol.2, No: 3, pp. 274-290. Banerjee, A. And Saraswati, R. (2009), *Gender Mobility: Women Migrants and Work in Urban India*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 2009, pp. 115-123.

Justice, Relations of Production and Agency: Marxism and the Distributive Justice Discourse

Omri Evron (Ben Gurion University. Communist Party of Israel)

The paper will examine the ways in which the modern debate regarding Marx and distributive justice can illuminate the inadequate treatment of social agency and relations of production in the contemporary distributive justice discourse and the possibility of overcoming these shortcomings with a more expansive and emancipatory approach to distributive justice. I argue that at least one of the chief reasons that modern researchers come to opposite conclusions regarding the question of whether Karl Marx had a normative theory of distributive justice has to do with the core differences in the conception of both distribution and justice between the contemporary liberal discourse of

distributive justice and between Marx approach to these subjects. The critical comparison between Marx and the contemporary distributive justice discourse illuminates the failure of both the liberal distributive discourse and the Marxist critics of this discourse to offer a theory of distributive justice that overcomes the limited conception of distribution and justice as divorced from contested structural social relations and historically-situated struggles. Addressing these limitations is a challenge that could provide the basis for expansive, structural and auto-emancipatory theories of distributive justice that take into account historically-situated social relations of production and the agency of social actors demanding redistribution, providing new grounds in which to explore different questions raised by the discourse. Such theories could allow for a more thorough treatment by an entire field of active contemporary philosophy of different topics which Marx was concerned with, including class relations, de commodification, alienation, exploitation, emancipation, how to enact structural social change and the importance of labour to the development and flourishing of human life, and provide new tools for the task of envisioning a post-capitalist horizon for current social-justice movements to strive for.

Reading Silvia Federici in the Age of #MeToo: Gender, Capitalism and Witchhunts

Miriam Bak McKenna (Lund University)

The #metoo movement has emerged as a long overdue acknowledgment of the endemic inequalities between men and women, which manifest in everyday experiences of harassment, abuse, and violence, particularly in the workplace. While we continue to debate the origins of this problem, and its long-term solutions, most discussions have focussed on the manner in which society in general approaches sex and sexuality; the over-sexualization of women's bodies in modern media culture, the gratuitousness of sexual violence in television and film, and the unrealistic sexual expectations set by pornography. Very little commentary has addressed the material conditions of capitalism as one of the systemic causes of gender inequality. Therefore, this paper approaches the #metoo movement and the question of the culture of male sexual license as sustained by the ideology and rationality of neoliberalism and the institutions and practices that constitute the dominant modality of capitalism, through a reading of the works of Silvia Federici. That women's attempts to rebalance centuries of labour imbalance and inequality are attacked using the same moniker witch hunt - that signifies the historic origins of the degradation of women's bodies and women's labour in the capitalist system is both ironic and highly instructive. As Silvia Federici has convincingly revealed, the witch trials of the 15th-17th centuries are a greatly overlooked but critical episode in capitalism's formation, where inequalities between men and women were entrenched, based on women's unpaid reproductive and sexual labour in the home. As long as capitalism remains the dominant world system, she argues, these inequalities will be continually reproduced. Without changing the underlying material conditions, society cannot expect any long lasting fixes to issues of sexual harassment and violence.

From the Womans Suffrage Stove Polish to the Fearless Girl: Historical Moments in Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Capitalist Feminism

Sabine Dreher (Glendon College, York University), Julie Dowsett (York University, Toronto Canada)

Recent global developments, including the 2008 economic crisis and resurgence of the far right, have been detrimental to the position of women. One response from the more progressive members of the ruling class has been the endorsement and expansion of capitalist feminism. This paper describes how the liberal fraction of the ruling class uses feminism to both legitimize its rule and to make the capitalist system more attractive to women. Capitalist feminism, a form of progressive neoliberalism (Fraser 2017), ultimately redirects women away from emancipatory politics to focus on processes of consumption and production. Yet this phenomenon dates back much further than the advent of neoliberalism. In order to give a sense of its broader scope, we examine key historical moments of capitalist feminism. These moments include integrating women into the capitalist system through consumption, such as twentieth century feminist marketing in the US (beginning with a 1910 advertisement linking suffrage to stove polish). They also include integrating women as business leaders in their own right, such as twenty-first century business feminist (Roberts 2015) initiatives (including those organized by Islamic feminists in Turkey and the Fearless Girl statue commissioned by an investment firm on Wall Street).

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Marx and Language. How to Criticize Language While Using It?

Juliette Farjat (Paris Ovest Nanterre University (Sophiapoll))

The aim of this intervention is to lay the foundations of a marxian theory of language. Such an endeavor can sound counter-intuitive, for language does not seem to be a privileged object of marxian investigations. Yet, three reasons, which respectively concern the object of Marx's theory, the form of his theoretical practice and the political objectives of his social critique, justify my endeavor. 1) Marx's main object is society: more precisely, society as inseparable from individuals' activities. Now, language is both a very important social activity and the mediation of all social activities. It therefore seems legit to complete the marxian framework with a reflection on the nature and function of language in society. 2) The concept of ideology is decisive both for the critical content of Marx's social theory and for the form of his critical discourse or of his philosophical practice. Yet, the link between language and ideology has not received much attention, even though in its material and sensible aspects, ideology can be identified with a certain regime of circulation of discourses, words and expressions. 3)

The ability to speak is one of the main human capacities that, according to Marx, is alienated by capitalism. It therefore seems necessary to analyze how, exactly, language is alienated in capitalist societies, in order to imagine what an emancipatory use of language could be. In order to articulate these three aspects of the relation between language and society in Marx's theory, I will analyze the tensions between what Marx says about language and the way he uses (or criticizes) it. On the one hand, he sometimes seems to reduce language to a mere passive reflection of material reality. But on the other hand, he always pays great attention to words and their abstraction, to the specificity of the language of political economy and to the particularity of the young Hegelians' modes of expression which are carefully analyzed in *The German Ideology*. My claim however is that these tensions are actually productive and reveal the originality of Marx's conception of language. I will indeed argue that, theorized within a marxian framework, language does not only appear as an ideological form, which expresses and conceals social alienation, but also as a field of social struggle, which functions as a means of political subjectivation.

The Beginning of Workers Inquiry in Italian Marxism

Marco Vanzulli (Universit degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca)

At the beginning of the sixties, drawing on an unconventional reading of Marx's *Capital*, neglected by the PCI policy of the popular forces, Raniero Panzieri stressed the non-neutrality of productive forces, of the machines, and the category of plan of capital, of total capital. As for Marx's *Enquete ouvriere* in 1880, part of this new perspective was, for Panzieri, workers inquiry, i.e. a research made with workers to see the relationship of the technical, social and political situation of working class. In the idealistic context of Italian Marxism, which judged inquiry as an instrument of bourgeois sociology, Panzieri had to justify the necessity of this method (*Socialist use of workers inquiry*, 1964). Many militants made inquiry in the factory and in urban society. Panzieri, with some young activists, began workers inquiry starting from wage inquiry at FIAT, to become soon, in 1960-1961, an overall inquiry, i.e. on the economic-organizational of the firm, and on the union and political questions of working class. Later it was coined by Romano Alquati the term co-research (*conricerca*). The inquiry was part of a different vision of socialism, it refused party traditional methods and theory, and it had a proletarian democratic inspiration, the idea that revolutionary theory itself has to be created from below in practice and social analysis (Danilo Montaldi). The flaw of Panzieri's formulation was that political fight was conceived as independent from the analysis of capital, and was based on a somehow hypostatized, a partially mythical notion of working class, as if it was always in itself. For Panzieri antagonistic society in itself is a society that is never able to reduce to homogeneity at least one of its fundamental factors, i.e. working class. This flaw is only in embryonic form in Panzieri, for whom the problem of the formation of political conscience was, in fact, still relevant, but revealed clearly itself from the beginning in the articles of Tronti's *Workers and capital*, in all Negri's speculation, with the rejection of value-theory, an always stronger subjectivism that sees class in itself as antagonistic and creative, a flaw that in this way became more and more gigantic (*Empire, the theory of multitude*). It was this flaw, on the other side, that stimulated, at the beginning, the creation of inquiry: the subjectivity that it was supposed to exist in itself, always against capital, had to be known as such. Inquiry allowed a concrete knowledge of social and political composition of workers. The fault of later operaismo was not to see that social and political composition may diverge. Although workers inquiry today requires other measures, this experience (that was not an isolated experience, in so far it was linked to French sociology, workers foreign literature and foreign union inquiries,

American especially) and these problems inside operaismo require a discussion, valuable and useful if we conduct it in the light of present attempts of analysis, when, for decades now, social and political composition have been seen as divergent and the significance of the question itself faded away

Resisting the Far Right in the 21st Century from Eleanor Marx's Point of View; Going Ahead with the Foremother of Socialist-Feminism

Dana Mills (Oxford Brookes)

The man who could not hear a tale of distress without attempting to relieve it can now brag of abetting acts that endanger the lives of innocent women and children (Eleanor Marx, 1884). Rachel Holmes major new biography of Eleanor Marx (Eleanor Marx: A Life, Bloomsbury, 2014) forces a reconsideration of the place Eleanor Marx occupies within our canon. Holmes reads Eleanor Marx as the practice to her father's theory. Eleanor was a forceful speaker, organizer and orator, as well as extraordinary theorist in her own right, who Holmes claims correctly as the foremother of socialist-feminism. Eleanor argued that oppression cannot be overcome bit by bit; no one is free until everyone is free. Co-founder of the Gas Workers Union (now the GMB), organizer within the emerging Independent Labour Party, she theorized about resistance to all forms of oppression and expanded and improved her father's theory. She was the only Marx to claim her Jewish roots in response to rising antisemitism at the end of the 19th century. She grew up at the foot of *Das Kapital* and went on to challenge all oppressions she encountered. In this paper I theorize with Tussy (as she was known from childhood) about how do we utilize her theory and practice to fight the rise of the far right in the 21st century. The woman whose favorite motto was go ahead has left us ample resources to reconsider our own tactics. I draw on Holmes' intervention, close readings of Eleanor's texts as well as my own archival work to think what can the foremother of socialist-feminism teach us in this day and age.

After Intersectionality: Aboriginal Labour, Reconciliation, Social Replication and Totality

Jaleh Mansoor (Associate Professor, University of British Columbia)

A recent mid-career survey at the Vancouver Art Gallery in British Columbia of the practice of a Lakota Sioux artist emphasized her turn to the wage, or market-mediated remuneration for labour, as a peculiarly contradictory form of capture on the part of the settler-colonial apparatus that has systematically expropriated material resources under cover of ideologically based denigration of the cultures from which it has most benefited. Now it turns to those previously marginalized and oppressed indigenous demographics for labour power rather than natural resources in an exponentially growing globalised province. This shifts terms from oppression to exploitation. Taking up a lens based conceptual practice situated in the paradigmatic legacy of Jeff Wall, who also explored the visual economy of the image as an index of a historically specific metabolic of capital in the 70s and 80s in Canada, Dana Claxton radicalizes the medium to query the particular strategies of a racialized labour to capital relationship and the equally racialized extraction of labour-power, to move past the impasses of intersectionality and to

demonstrate the mutually constitutive operations of class and race, or rather the way in which race is doubly coded by capitalist ideology to maximize the efficiency with which the material extraction of labour and resources in specific tactical ways in the contemporary political economic arena are effected. Through case studies, one based on Claxtons etiology and one based on that of Spanish artist Santiago Sierra who stages forms of exploitive remuneration to highlight the relationship between social reproduction and growing surplus populations in the equally changing dynamic between core and periphery, this paper will address the way in which discursive limits have produced a mutual blindness on the part of Marxist analysis on the one hand and post-colonial and identity-oriented frameworks on the other, to delineate the way in which capital doubly exploits, which is to say extracts labour power from, those it most denigrates and devalues on a symbolic register. I examine the ideological apparatus by which material exploitation is mobilized by capital as a means through which to procure labour more cheaply, having denigrated its source.

What Strategy for Labor in the US?

**Eric Blanc (NYU Sociology), Kim Moody (University of Hertfordshire), Tithi Bhattacharya (Purdue University)
Charles Post (CUNY)**

The labor movement in the United States stands at a crossroads. On the one hand, the imminent plan of the Supreme Court to roll back labor rights across the public sector threatens to accelerate the union movement's steady decline. On the other hand, the inspiring teacher rebellions that have spread across the country pose a clear alternative to business-as-usual. This panel will address the central strategic challenges facing the organized and unorganized working class at this urgent juncture.

Rediscovering Transgender Inclusion in Radical Feminism: The Reification of Feminist Historiography

Sylvia McCheyne (University of Glasgow), Joyce Hanna, Rosa Lee (Viewpoint Magazine)

This paper explores the accusations within transgender and feminist communities that the period associated with second-wave feminism was particularly trans-exclusionary and serves as a reminder of the failures of feminism in addressing the various needs of oppressed and working women. The purpose of this paper is to examine case studies of active involvement and contributions from transgender women in feminist spaces, especially lesbian feminist spaces throughout the period of second wave feminism in the USA, Britain and Italy, as well as consider potential predecessors within the inter-war period, evidence here would focus primarily through the radical feminist journal, Urania. In doing so, I will argue that not only were the trans women involved in feminist politics welcomed in these feminist spaces, but also played key roles in organising, activism and even theoretical ideas. Whilst the number of trans women involved were small, this paper will focus on the reification of transphobia and transmisogyny within feminism, which has effectively created historical revisionist narratives that solidify exclusionary politics as a historical reality and inevitability at the expense of the vast levels of contribution that trans women offered and the solidarity they received, even against vicious backlash. This paper will argue that a trans Marxism must re-examine the feminisms of the past in order to effectively establish historical materialist perspectives on transgender oppression,

including the unique forms of oppression faced by trans women and the opportunities a trans Marxism would provide, instead arguing that the current 'waves of feminism' model is flawed, and doesn't help articulate transgender and feminist solidarities throughout modern history.'

Joyce Hanna

Accumulation/Regulation - An Old Story About Trans* Bodies

This paper will explore how the marxist concepts of accumulation and regulation apply to trans* bodies. Thinking about regulation seems particularly pertinent today, in light of massive rollbacks of LGBTQIA rights in the USA, including the overturning of Obama-era amendments on transgender women inmates, and current debates over surrogacy and other medically-assisted forms of reproduction in France. My interest will lie in trans* bodies specifically, and the idea that they are not situated in an accumulation or regulation era, but both: our bodies are accumulated in the sense that they are worked upon with the aid of gender technologies like hormones and surgery, and yet we are regulated by a politics of normalisation. Besides, accumulation is drawing to a close, as the current French reforms of University and social wage, the rise of neofascism in Europe are signals of the future politics of capitalism and the regulated period we are entering into. I will also look into what kinds of strategies we can develop to fight against these trends.

Rosa Lee

Foundations for a Transsexual Materialism: Gender Construction Between Stone and Butler

By our very existence, by engaging in the complex and varied practices of transition, of changing our identities, changing our bodies, changing our comportments, etc., trans people make all claims to gender as unchanging, abiding internal substance or immutable bodily characteristic laughable, and make the question of individual and collective self-making a crucial one. Thus for the project of a trans Marxism the project of developing the theoretical basis of a communist politics which speaks to the specificity of trans experiences and struggles one of the basic realities we must analyze is that of the construction of gender. But gender construction as it has classically been formulated has been rather opposed to Marxism, instead generally associated with what Rosemary Hennessy among others has criticized as the linguistic turn in critical theory, and what many refer to as a postmodernism which dissolves all meaning into the endless play of signifiers, of theory with no necessary reference to any material world, let alone to class struggle. I turn to two texts which are deeply implicated by these critiques: first, Judith Butlers 1990 book Gender Trouble, which is generally accepted as the definitive account of gender construction and a founding text of queer studies, and second, Sandy Stones 1991 essay The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto, a founding text of trans studies. I argue that in approaching these founding documents in a critical, Marxist fashion, we might find the rudiments of a truly materialist account of gender.

The False Opposition of the Labour and the Monetary Theory of Value the case of Japanese Marxian Economy

Elena Louisa Lange (University of Zurich)

Even after the demise of the influential Uno School in the 1980s, Japanese economists have been continuously engaged in the categorial reconstruction of Marx's Critique of Political Economy, especially the theory of value and money. Writing in the 1980s-2000s, authors like Ebetsuka Akira, Mukai Kimitoshi, Masaki Hachir, Kataoka Kji, and others, broadened the value theoretical views of Uno School orthodoxy to include the German Neue Marxlektre (H.-G. Backhaus, H. Reichelt), the French monetary school (C. Benetti and J. Cartelier), the regulation school (M. Aglietta), and other approaches. However, the integration of more internationally diverse scholarship notwithstanding, the recent value theoretical debates in Japan remain heavily influenced by Unos idiosyncratic reinterpretation of Marx's Capital. In his reconstructive reading, stretching from his works on Value (Kachiron, 1947) to his better known Principles of Political Economy (Keizai Genron, 1950/1964), Uno strongly criticises Marx's derivation of money from the analysis of the commodity and the labour theory of value. This paper will review not only the remaining influence of Uno on the newer Japanese readings of Capital, but also problematise the paradigm set by Benetti/Carterlier and perpetuated by Ebetsuka and Mukai, that the labour and the monetary theory of value present two oppositional, irreconcilable theorems. They assume that Marx's demonstration of the genesis of the money-form - a task never even attempted by bourgeois economists (Marx) implies, on the one hand, a substantialist, i.e. transhistorical and physiological understanding of the substance of value as abstract labour, and a form-oriented analysis of money as purchasing power whose existence precedes market exchange, on the other. They conclude that the monetary theory of value is self-explanatory and need not be grounded in the substantialist and pre-monetary labour theory of value. The latter one must therefore be discarded. Against this view, the paper will argue that these criticisms remain on the level of what Marx himself called the fetishism of the bourgeois relations of production, in that it no further asks what money actually is. Marx instead demonstrates that it is the inverted and bedazzling expression of the social form of labour. The paper will therefore show, against the paradigm in recent Japanese Marxian (and the so-called monetary school of) economics, that 1.) money as purchasing power or as means of circulation is not an explanans, but an explanandum, 2.) Marx's labour theory of value is not only not opposed to the theory of money, but is simultaneously the monetary theory of value, and 3.) Marx's analysis of money already contains the further analysis of capital which is the main concern of Marx's analysis. The strange ignorance of Marx's larger Problemstellung in these recent approaches consequently not only leads to the surrender to neoclassical views of value and money. Since, for them, capital and class do not exist, we must ultimately conclude that modern society also does not exist.

Class Compromise and the Art World

Jose Maria Duran (Lecturer, HfM Hanns Eisler, Berlin)

In her paper *Leicester moi* US-American artist Andrea Fraser has made a call for curators, critics, art historians and artists to withdraw their cultural capital from the art market where the big money reigns supreme. What's more, Fraser has suggested that public art centres in Europe, as opposite to the mainly private funded American museums, have the potential to overturn the current situation of an art world dominated by wealthy

collectors, socialites and powerful gallery owners, and be the birthplace of a new art field where new forms of autonomy can develop. My intention is to elaborate on Fraser's suggestion by posing the question of how the relationship between artists and art centres has to work in order to make real Fraser's call. If we want for art centres to become a force truly able to challenge the art market, we need to build on the collaborative side between art centres and artists. I suggest a reading of this collaborative side from the perspective of a positive class compromise as outlined by Erik O. Wright in his *Understanding Class*. I am interested in the analytical framework put forward by Wright, because the art world has been traditionally absent from class analysis. Class analysis gives us not just new analytical instruments, but also a new perspective when it comes to examine the social relations within the art world. What is implied in Wright's positive class compromise is a form of mutual co-operation that results in a non-zero-sum game in which both parties can improve on their respective situations. In this respect, I suggest developing a form of fair exchange in which the economic relations and working conditions that the art centre can offer to artists are democratised. As a result of this process of democratisation the social basis of cultural and symbolic capital broadens, which in turn will have an impact on the art market. But in order for that to happen we need a stronger associative power among the artists and a public intervention that redirects financial speculation to the real economy. If many of art patrons and collectors, writes Fraser, are part of the political and financial system that keeps their wealth, and inequality, growing, a positive class compromise means to confront the functioning of the art market and the economic system that sustains it.

The Antifascist Politics of Caribbean Communists: From the Italo-Ethiopian War to the Ton-ton Macoutes

Jackqueline Frost (Cornell University, Department of Romance Studies, French Section)

Renewed interest in antifascist politics spurred by the Trump presidency and the rise of the far right has produced much recent scholarship on the movement's roots in the European left. The strong current of Caribbean antifascism that emerged from communist circles beginning in the 1930s and continuing into the 1970s is largely omitted from reflections that assimilate all political projects in the sugar colonies to anti-colonialism. Haitian, Martiniquan and Trinidadian communists thought anti-colonialism and antifascism together as two essential and complementary practices. From Trinidadian Trotskyist C.L.R. James' antifascist journalism during the Italo-Ethiopian invasion and his participation in anti-Franco forces during the Spanish Civil War, to Martiniquan PCF politician Aimé Césaire's diagnosis of the causes of fascism in bourgeois imperialism and slavery society in *Discours sur le colonialisme*, to Haitian Marxist René Depéret's participation in the Brigade des Jeunes Antifascistes in the immediate post-war period, to his compatriot Jacques Stephen Alexis' struggle against Duvalier's fascist paramilitary squads, the Ton-ton Macoutes, my paper will trace an antifascist praxis from the Caribbean archipelago. Rather than building an antifascist politics on a European model, this tradition, indigenous to a tropical Marxism of the Americas, invites us to find our own precedents in the fight against American hemispheric authoritarianism in the twenty-first century.

HSPEN Stream: Queer Workers, Social Reproduction and Left Strategy

Kate Doyle Griffiths (CUNY Graduate Center Red Bloom)

This paper will advance an argument for the particular importance of organizing women, queer and trans workers for a left strategy toward developing a class-wide politics of solidarity-in-practice contra a strategy of advancing a gender- and sex- blind working class identity. To do so, I will engage both the history of left strategy for entering the class, and the current discussion of class recomposition particularly as expressed in Kim Moodys On New Terrain ; I will argue that just as logistics choke points are a crucial site for left strategy, so to are social reproduction choke points, and further, specifically sites of queer social reproduction in two registers. First, chronological in terms of the historic patterns of class upsurge, and second for the development of a universalizing rather than partial consciousness in terms not only of the demographics of the working class, but crucially in terms of the development of a class consciousness that goes beyond a politics of bread and butter, but to one of bread and roses. Roses here, perhaps, signifying the deeper and universal alienations of working class exploitation; the length of the work week, the experience of direct violent repression by the state, and the embodied humiliations and alienations of working class subjectivity that are particularly crystallized in the experience of queer workers. This is both a particular argument for a (queer) marxist (feminist) humanism, but also a stance toward very practical political questions in terms of worker organization and struggle. The paper will engage several examples, including the recent wave of teacher struggle in the USA, examples of queer and trans workplace organizing and the history of queer and trans struggle for health care access. It will address both the demands, victories and losses presented by these examples as well as the meaning of missed opportunities for the broader argument about recomposition of both a class in itself, and ultimately the possibility of an emerging for itself consciousness. This argument has very specific implications with respect to left strategies for resisting the right; I will argue that this perspective is necessary for a class politics in general and a socialist politics in particular that can go beyond the failures of the liberal and neoliberal approach to feminism and queer politics that emphasizes diversity, inclusion and tolerance, precisely because it necessarily resists both liberal cross-class cooptation, and because it inherently distinguishes itself from right wing invocations of class. The paper will argue that right wing engagements with class necessarily mirror liberal identity politics, engaging class as container or stand in for other (unmarked) identities: whiteness, heterosexual masculinity, nationalist identities, and are rooted in demography rather than any counter hegemonic remaking of class as a practice of solidarity and organization, and similarly aimed at cross-class identification rather than a politics of working class power.

Belgium as a Model Integral State: A Gramscian Research Agenda From the Social Pact of 44 to the Aftermath of the Crisis of 2008

Sebastien Antoine (UCLouvain)

In a time when the very idea of social security is becoming a target of recuperation by the xenophobic right putting it demagogically in the balance in its populist struggle against immigration (De Wever 2018) this paper aims at providing a deeper critical look on the Western European welfare state, taking into account both the political history rooted in

the contradictions of the post-war consensus, as well as the tensions currently tearing them apart, in the aftermath of the crisis of 2008 and its subsequent wave of austerity policies. As case study, the ongoing research here presented is focusing on a peculiarly strong instance of social conciliation and corporativism (Arcq and Marques-Pereira 1991): Belgium. The Belgian social pact of 1944 (Luyten and Vanthemsche 1995) was indeed the starting point of an increasingly more sophisticated internal articulation and condensation of social relations (Thomas 2009) within the very specific form of the post-war welfare state. It saw formerly more independent unions and mutual insurance organizations originating both from the social-democrat or Christian-democrat pillars becoming the main vectors of payment of public unemployment and healthcare benefits; situation quite exceptional regarding most European countries and still working today. Looking at this profound integration and interdependency between Belgian civil society, on the one hand, and its political society or the State in the narrow sense of the governmental-coercive apparatus (Gramsci 1971b) on the other, this paper is therefore working on the hypothesis that Belgium constitutes a model example of the integral state mentioned in the Prison Notebooks (Gramsci 1983, 1971a). This Gramscian intervention then allows to renew a critical analysis of Belgian society by sustaining a twofold objective: (1) to cast a new light on its very constitutive political cleavages, in a historical perspective; (2) to grasp the concrete tensions arising from the position of mediation between citizens-workers and the state played by these organizations of civil society. The first step of this research project would be to question the very dynamic of pillarization of Belgian society classically analyzed (Frognier 1978, 2007, de Coorebyter 2008) through quite a static Structural Functionalist approach (Lipset and Rokkan 1967) by studying concretely the processes by which those cleavages were actually thematized by political parties, as key articulation points between civil and political society (de Leon, Desai, and Tugal 2015). It is therefore a question of looking back on classical historical research on both the Belgian Labour Party (Liebman 2018) and the Christian Workers Movement (Joye and Lewin 1967) through a dynamic Gramscian framework, putting back politics at the core of historical analysis. As its second step, this research project then aims at researching the concrete consequences of this structuration, tackling empirically through an extended case study (Burawoy 1998, 2009): on the one hand the impact of austerity policies on unions often confused with the state itself by workers seeking their right to public unemployment benefits and on the other hand, the politics of mutual healthcare insurance organizations, facing limitations of state reimbursement and accompanying the moving front line of the struggle for the financialisation of the Western European healthcare sector.

Contingency and the Emptiness of a Distance Taken: Althusser and the Agonistics of Aleatory Materialism

**Thomas Carmichael (Faculty of Information and Media Studies
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“Contingency and ‘the emptiness of a distance taken’: Althusser and the Agonistics of Aleatory Materialism.” <<Mais, ce que je veux dire, c’est que par sa thèse de la déviation-rencontre-prise, picure nous a donné de quoi comprendre justement ce que les idéalistes avaient vis et rat: savoir, le surgissement d’un sujet, lui et pas un autre.>> Louis Althusser, *Le marxisme en philosophie* (1976: 2015) My paper takes as its point of departure the recent publication of Althusser’s hitherto unpublished philosophical and political manuscripts from the 1970s: *Initiation la philosophie for les non-philosophes* (Philosophy for non-philosophers), *Les vaches noires* and particularly *Le marxisme en philosophie*. These texts, I argue, afford us a renewed perspective from which to consider

both the genealogy and theoretical practice of aleatory materialism in Althusser's thought. In *Le marxisme en philosophie*, for example, Althusser argues that the absence of a full-blown philosophy in Marx's work is to be understood as something akin to a theoretical necessity. As Althusser puts it, "Marx a donc pens dans la philosophie existante, il n'a pas fond une nouvelle philosophie. Il a seulement pratiqué d'une manière révolutionnaire la philosophie existante, en adoptant des thèses qui exprimaient les positions de classe révolutionnaire du prolétariat" (p. 138, manuscript). To do otherwise, Althusser argues, would have compelled Marx to engage in a theoretical project governed by systematicity (systematicity): "Nous avons vu pourquoi cette systematicité: pour soutenir le travail d'unification des catégories détachées à l'unification de l'idologie dominante" (p. 139, manuscript). Althusser's discussion here sheds new light on the sometimes seemingly discordant observations we find in his unpublished 1982 "Conversation with Richard Hyland," in which Althusser asserts that "Il n'est pas possible d'être Marxiste et cohérent" (5) and at the same time laments, "C'est la contingence qui manque Marx, c'est là le grand problème: Il n'y a pas de pensée de la contingence chez Marx." My own discussion ranges widely, from the relation of nature to principle in Althusser's early reflections on Montesquieu to the theoretical turn marked by Lenin and Philosophy, to the unresolved question of the becoming necessary of contingency in his late aleatory materialist texts. My paper also draws upon unpublished sources from the fonds Althusser at IMEC.

Doing (Cis)Gender: The Laboring of Femininity

Joana Matias (University of Paris 8)

This presentation is a theoretical enquiry into ongoing feminist and critical debates on gender and subjectivities. Using Paul B. Preciado's work on the material and semiotic effects of testosterone as our point of departure, the combined oral contraceptive pill consumed by cisgender women as a form of contraception, hormonal regulation, or other ends can be read as inducing a chemically-engineered hyperfemininity both through its desired use as well as its common side effects. What comparisons can be drawn between the consumption of the pill and a form of labor, following theorists like Silvia Federici, Maurizio Lazzarato, and Sam Bourcier? Problematising the cisgender body and how it performs gender is of crucial importance in analysing the need for a political subject in a theory and praxis. Still today, antagonistic beliefs as to who is the subject of feminism have very real and often violent consequences in university campuses and other public platforms. There are, worryingly, links to be found between the rigidity of sex as class in trans-exclusionary radical feminist thought and masculinist right-wing extremism. And yet, further muddling the supposedly resolved boundaries between sex and gender, the work of transfeminist authors in Spain and France analysing gender through a Marxist lens allows us to argue for a new understanding of what it means to be cisgender - from that which does not deviate from the gender assigned at birth, to that which performs the labor of conforming to that same gender.

From Objects to Subjects: Demarginalising disabled Peoples Experiences in Discussions of Care Work

Kush Westwood (University of Oxford)

A considerable portion of the literature in Social Reproduction Theory has focused on care work, particularly the experiences of racialised women (e.g. Federici, 2012; Hopkins 2017) and the increasing commodification and corporatisation of care (e.g. Farris &

Marchetti, 2017; Fraser, 2017). However, much of this discussion predominantly focuses on the labour being performed and the increasing marginalisation of those who perform it, not those in receipt of it. The current literature on care work in a social reproduction framework tends towards considering disabled people as passive recipients of care rather than subjects with a nuanced relationship to the social reproductive labour they receive and the mode of production at large. This paper will investigate the experiences of disabled people in relation to care work, with a particular focus on the personal budgets system of accessing care work in the UK that was pushed forward in the Care Act (2014). This system allocates budgets for each person needing social care and the individual is given the option of receiving this as a direct payment to organise their own support. This personalisation exemplifies the so-called crisis of care in the age of neoliberalism as it is up to the individual to access their support and necessarily forces disabled people to pay exceptionally low wages. I want to raise the question of this complicated relationship to care work and the impact the philosophy of personalisation has on disabled peoples lives as they have transitioned into being consumers for the benefit of corporations. As we seek to improve our analysis of social relations to encompass groups historically neglected by Marxist Feminist approaches with the increased focus on issues of racism and queerphobia, disability and dis/ableism remains as a topic largely neglected. Recent exposure of campaigns by disabled people such as the protests led by Disabled People Against Cuts and the #CripTheVote movement demonstrate the need to incorporate the demands of disabled people into mainstream leftist movements as we begin to tackle the rise of the far right globally.

Its a Game Innit: Working Class Recomposition and Mobilisation at a UK Pub Chain

Callum Cant (University of West London)

Mobilisations at McDonalds, TGI Fridays, Deliveroo and UberEats indicate that a potential exists for a working class political recomposition within low-paid, precarious food service work. This paper focuses on how those process of recomposition and mobilisation are being manifested within a large UK pub chain, and how they might develop in the future. Co-authored by a worker and a researcher, this paper presents the results of an extensive workers' inquirycoresearch project conducted over the course of a year. Throughout the project a combination of methods, ranging from interviews to active participation in workplace organization, were used to inquire into the technical, social and political class composition of work at the pub chain. Talking about their job, one worker said:Its fucking shit. You go to work, you work forty hours a week and you get nothing out of it, and you struggle to pay your rent, pay your bills, and thats your life. But this inquiry shows that the 'fucking shit' reality of service work doesnt go uncontested, and that the transition from individual antagonism to collective struggle is possible, necessary and ongoing.

Dissident Bodies and Censorship: Art and the Rise of the Right in Brazil

Mauricio Ians (ECA/ USP - University of So Paulo FAFICLA/ PUC-SP - Pontifical Catholic University of So Paulo)

The escalating growth of populist Right and Far-Right politics in Brazil after the coup in 2016, which unfortunately is still in process and seems to grow stronger, has empowered

conservative reactions in society and State-policies regarding cultural structures, as could be expected. The place of the body in society and culture, specially of non-hegemonic or queer bodies, that was slowly finding a wider presence and representativity in the arts but also in society as a whole, has been especially affected by this violent turn. Exemplary of this situation is the closure of the exhibition QueerMuseum (Santander Cultural, Porto Alegre - 2017) after just a few weeks of its opening. This form of censorship within arts and the protests related to it born both of conservative as well as progressist, left wing groups, confronting each other in museums, galleries and cultural institutions is not news, and also makes evident the contradictions, not always subtle, involved in the co-optation of queer expressions by the market as well as the contradictions within queer terminology and discourse and its instrumentalisation within the arts, has been the origin of much discussion in Brazil. The exhibition QueerMuseum showed itself rather derisory after its opening by not digging deeper on the problematisation of queerness in the arts, serving initially as a tool to normalise and commodify the dissident, critical and fluid identities associated to queer practices, be them artistic or social. The exhibition was curated by Gaudncio Fidelis and had a poor selection of active queer artists from the Brazilian scene. Added to that, the institutional context of the exhibition a cultural center carrying the name of and being financed by Santander Bank - served again more as a tool to market and give visibility to not so peripheral artists, thus taming the disruptive potency of queer discourse, in its instability and dismantling of closed, uncritical identities. Even though the importance of the curatorial choices within the exhibition (also very conservative in its set-up) showed themselves weak when related to queer issues, its images went viral in conservative groups and social media, causing a series of protests and social stir. Capitalist appropriation and pinpointing of queer identities seem to follow nowadays the same process that lesbian and gay identities during the 1990s, having a negative impact specially when it operates within the spectrum of identity politics. Queer representativity within cultural institutions and art and its turn to identity politics, financed mostly by companies and banks, on which the art system is highly dependant, can actually operate as a threat to the construction of a political, economical and aesthetical force within the queer movement in a wider critical mode that could bring to question capitalisms modus operandi, the main reason for the Right political and economic turn in Brazil.

Populism Beyond Identity: An American Alternative

Anton M. M. Jger (University of Cambridge)

Can one think a populism which goes beyond identity? Judging by the recent list of publications on the topic in years, such a diagnosis appears difficult at best. Populism and identity appear as almost genetically linked in such analyses, visible in the tendency for contemporary populists to engage in forms of cultural politics or the 'popular identity-construction' of Laclauian left-populism. Conventional Marxist wisdom also tends to assume the natural incompatibility of populist and class discourses, going back to at least the late 1980s, when scholars such as Ellen Meiksins Wood, Perry Anderson, and Geoff Eley already stipulated the irreconcilability of class-based approaches with the constructivism found in populist writers. Liberal theorists such as Jan-Werner Müller, in turn, have gone so far as to claim that today's populism is best understood as a form of exclusionary identity-politics, seeking to erase differences between demographic groups in favour of a democratic monism the People-as One (Claude Lefort). Amidst a general pulverisation of identities, French philosopher Pierre Rosanvallon claimed recently, it is populists aim to recompose social unity on a different basis. This paper seeks to deflate this identitarian narrative. Rather than claiming that identity and populism are intrinsically linked, it shows that an investigation of the class dimension of historical

populist movements allows for a far more interesting conceptualisation of the relationship between populism and identity. Relying on the example of the American Peoples Party in the late nineteenth-century (and, more specifically, their efforts to organise black and white farmers on a biracial basis), this paper argues that class-analysis is, above all, crucial to understanding the nature of populist representation. By attempting to bridge new forms of market dependence with older understandings of popular sovereignty, American Populists built coalitions by appealing to the economic interests of Southern citizens, rather than a sense of shared identity. As such, they also staked a common claim on the relationship between economic independence and popular representation, providing a far more ambivalent perspective on the exact relationship between populism, identity, and class.

Black Box or Hidden Abode? Control and Resistance in Digitalised Management Methods

Phoebe V Moore (Leicester), Simon Joyce (Leeds)

Digitalised management methods (DMM) are becoming widespread with the use of big data for decision-making, algorithmic distribution of work and threats of automation in both traditional and new arenas. Using empirical evidence obtained by the current authors, the article outlines where DMM has arisen and how they work to abstract labour, via quantification. We take from Marx's study of the early factory system the notion of the hidden abode (Marx 1990: 279). Here, confronted with the mysteries of the production of profit, Marx pictures the encounter, in the labour market, between capitalist and worker the owner of money and the owner of labour-power but does not leave his analysis in this noisy sphere where everything takes place in full view of everyone (ibid.). Rather, Marx tackles the problem by refusing to stop at the factory gates, preferring instead to metaphorically follow the capitalist and the worker inside, into the hidden abode of production (ibid.). Along these lines, this paper outlines how DMM have been rolled out across industries and sectors to exacerbate control over workers. While there has been significant uptake in DMM in ways that make it look like we are dealing a nearly universal uberized work paradigm that has begun to infiltrate labour markets across the world, explicit instances of resistance and contestation indicate that the terms on which digitalised technology are being utilised by management, are not settled. Indeed, resistance to new managerial methods has been relatively fast to emerge with both informal and formal collective responses which are now being seen in workplaces and trade union responses internationally. This article argues that DMM do not occur behind a black box of obfuscation but are intentional practices of control in the employment relationship. It remains to be seen to what extent, and on what terms, DMM will become hegemonic and the digitalised black box remains impenetrable. Marx, K. (1990) *Capital*, Vol. 1 (Harmondsworth: Penguin).

Queer Workers, Social Reproduction, and Left Strategy

Kate Doyle Griffiths

This paper will advance an argument for the particular importance of organizing women, queer and trans workers for a left strategy toward developing a class-wide politics of solidarity-in-practice contra a strategy of advancing a gender- and sex- blind working class identity. To do so, I will engage both the history of left strategy for entering the class, and the current discussion of class recomposition particularly as expressed in Kim

Moody's On New Terrain ; I will argue that just as logistics choke points are a crucial site for left strategy, so too are social reproduction choke points, and further, specifically sites of queer social reproduction in two registers. First, chronological in terms of the historic patterns of class upsurge, and second for the development of a universalizing rather than partial consciousness in terms not only of the demographics of the working class, but crucially in terms of the development of a class consciousness that goes beyond a politics of bread and butter, but to one of bread and roses. Roses here, perhaps, signifying the deeper and universal alienations of working class exploitation; the length of the work week, the experience of direct violent repression by the state, and the embodied humiliations and alienations of working class subjectivity that are particularly crystallized in the experience of queer workers. This is both a particular argument for a (queer) marxist (feminist) humanism, but also a stance toward very practical political questions in terms of worker organization and struggle. The paper will engage several examples, including the recent wave of teacher struggle in the USA, examples of queer and trans workplace organizing and the history of queer and trans struggle for health care access. It will address both the demands, victories and losses presented by these examples as well as the meaning of missed opportunities for the broader argument about recomposition of both a class in itself, and ultimately the possibility of an emerging for itself consciousness. This argument has very specific implications with respect to left strategies for resisting the right; I will argue that this perspective is necessary for a class politics in general and a socialist politics in particular that can go beyond the failures of the liberal and neoliberal approach to feminism and queer politics that emphasizes diversity, inclusion and tolerance, precisely because it necessarily resists both liberal cross-class cooptation, and because it inherently distinguishes itself from right wing invocations of class. The paper will argue that right wing engagements with class necessarily mirror liberal identity politics, engaging class as container or stand in for other (unmarked) identities: whiteness, heterosexual masculinity, nationalist identities, and are rooted in demography rather than any counter hegemonic remaking of class as a practice of solidarity and organization, and similarly aimed at cross-class identification rather than a politics of working class power.

To Abolish the Family: Communist Struggle and the Working Class Family in Capitalist Development

Michelle OBrien (New York University)

In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels speak of the “abolition of the family” as the infamous proposal of the Communists. Following the Russian Revolution, Alexandra Kollontai supported mass activity by women to collectivize unwaged reproductive labor, and with it the economic basis of the working-class nuclear family as a unit of reproduction. In the 1970s, radical feminists and gay liberationists advanced a radical manifold attack on the family as an institution of domination and sexual control. In each of these moments of communist mobilization against the family, its meaning and content took distinct and contrasting forms. Though consistently moving towards liberation and the radical transformation of society, the abolition of the family as a vision in each moment reflected the limits of the communist horizon. I offer a periodization to make sense of the demand to abolish the family, and with it the emergence and decline of the single-wage earner nuclear family as legitimating feature of working class reproduction. The male-breadwinner, single-wage earner nuclear family as an accomplishment and limit of the workers movement and the phase of capitalist development to which it belongs. Drawing on the theory of the workers movement advanced by *Theorie Communiste* and *Endnotes*, I argue capitalist dynamics from the 1890s to the mid-1970s

enabled working class movements to pursue a vision of socialism as full proletarianization, and an affirmation of working class rule. This builds on, but is in tension with, Regulationist-informed periodization efforts of sexual minority identity, most notably in Drucker (2015). For Marx and Engels, the nuclear family in need of abolition was understood only as a bourgeois social form, not available to working class people. The restructuring of industrial production and political gains of the workers movement, particularly through the parties of the Second International, enabled a section of the class to assert its moral and social legitimacy, through advancing the family wage and the single-wage earner family. This offered a solution to the crisis of working class social reproduction and accompanied sexual deviancy that had worried Marx and Engels. This both offered a material and political gain for the class, and was advanced in direct opposition to Black, queer and lumpen proletarian social forms. For the duration of the workers movement, only through universal proletarianization could the exit from the family be imagined. The gender and sexual liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s struggled against the single wage-earner nuclear family as an oppressive system, and against the limits of the workers movement. Ultimately, the central dependence on the family for working class reproduction was replaced with intensifying dependence on the wage. The working-class family as a dominant social form was abolished, not through communist struggle, but through the violence of capitalist development, stagnant wages, and expanding commodification of social life. The abolition of the family as a communist demand today calls on a vision of the generalization of care and reproduction the real human community, recognizing that queer and gender liberation must be freedom from both the interpersonal domination of the heteronormative family and the the impersonal domination of the wage. Email: michelleobrien@nyu.edu

Two Debates, One Solution: Rethinking the Essential Categories of Social Reproduction Theory

Maya Gonzalez

Social Reproduction Theory emerges from, and is in many ways defined in relation to, a series of debates: The Domestic Labor Debate and The Dual Systems Debate. In my talk I hope to propose a framework in which we may reconsider their central problematics and attempt to overcome their essential impasses. I argue, inherent to Social Reproduction Theory there are a set of categories inherited from Marx's Critique of Political Economy and traditional Marxist political theory more generally which remain naturalized, uncritical and ahistorical. I suggest that the central problematic of the domestic labor debate, namely, the reproduction of labor-power is not burdened so much by the question of its centrality within value production, but rather from the naturalization of the critical category labor-power and its transhistorical definition in Capital. To critique its naturalistic valences, I propose taking a flight from the hidden abode of reproduction back into the noisy sphere of the exchange of labor-power. By rethinking the alienation of labor-power, not as the exchange of commodities but rather as contracts, I argue we can understand the category of labor-power in its modern specificity arising constitutively in relation to both slave labor and housework, historically. Moreover, I challenge the transhistorical conceptualization of necessary labor as regards the Marxist articulation of class and its overcoming, and situate reproductive labor within this dichotomy - as being both historically specific to the capitalist mode of reproduction and the ground for communist struggle - precisely in its socially unnecessaryness. Lastly, I hope to reframe the dual systems debate within the contradictions of capital, specifically, insofar as the capitalist mode of production is at once the reproduction of relations of private property. It is from the perspective of private ownership (over the means of reproduction) and the

legal-juridical reproduction of labor-power – as property held within persons – that questions of power, identity, race and gender can be reconciled with Marx's supposedly sex-blind, socio-economic categories and the overall domination of abstract market logics.

Late Marx: New Theories of Revolution

Kevin B. Anderson (University of California, Santa Barbara)

In 1869-70, Marx writes that a British workers uprising might be sparked by one in Ireland led by the peasant-based Fenian movement. He argues that English prejudice and condescension toward the Irish infected the working classes and undercut a clearer class-consciousness. However, Irish independence could shake up and even destroy this distorted consciousness among English workers, helping the largest and most organized contemporary working class to see better what he regarded as its true interests. Similarly, in his 1877-82 writings on Russia, Marx suggests that uprisings in its communal villages against capitalist encroachments could lead to a form of modern socialist egalitarianism, if it could link up with the Western European labor movement. On Algeria and India, his notebooks on communal village structures and anti-colonial resistance imply something similar. During this same period, Marx clarifies and deepens his concept of communism in the Civil War in France (1871) and in the Critique of the Gotha Program (1875), where he sketches non-statist forms of free and associated labor that go far beyond the more centralist and statist notions put forward in the Communist Manifesto. This concern with modern communism coincided with the preoccupation in his last years with communal villages in non-capitalist societies as potential loci of revolution.

Centralism is a Dangerous Tool: On CLR James's History of Principles

William Clare Roberts (McGill University)

The writings of C.L.R. James have recently been enlisted to trace a counter-genealogy of race, a history of the usages that have been made out of the notion of race against racial domination (Renault, Myers). This paper seeks to expand the frame, to critically interrogate the limits of James's analyses by examining James's early work, World Revolution, 1917-1936. James called this project a history of principles, their origin, when and where they were departed from, the necessity for their regeneration. The principle in which James is most explicitly interested is the principle of Marxist internationalism. To downgrade internationalism as Stalin and the Third International have is to prioritize cross-class alliances and harmonization, or solidarity on the basis of nation rather than class. Implicit, already, in James's argument in 1937, is an element that will come to the fore in his works of the 50s and 60s, and which will be developed further as the explicit focal point of Selma James's writings. This is the presupposition that there is a preformed unity of class interest among the poorest and most exploited, and that there is, therefore, a categorical duty of solidarity with and faith in their struggles. This essay seeks to bring out the basic premises of James's view, and to connect it to his distinctive understanding of the uses and dangers of organization. There is already visible in World Revolution James's tendency, more and more pronounced as the years went by, to downplay (and even denigrate) organization in favor of an immediate moral and theoretical bond between the individual leader and the revolutionary masses. These

elements in James's work limit the uses to which his theoretical and historical writings can be put in constructing a counter-genealogy of race.

Mile Copfermann and the Idea of Revolutionary Theatre in May 68

Sophie Coudray (Universit de Strasbourg)

Emile Copfermann is an unfairly forgotten French Marxist figure, who worked for the Far-Left editor Franois Maspero, has been editor in chief of the revue *Partisans*, and who was also a theatre critic and a founding member of the theatre revue *Travail thtral* along with Bernard Dort and Franoise Kourilsky. One of his most important contribution was to impose, at the same time, theatre issues in far-left theoretical debates and a Marxist approach of theatre in the theatre community. He, notably, edited two issues of *Partisans* dedicated to Theatre and Politics, in 1967 and 1969, in which he wrote about theatre and revolution, the second article being, in a way, an answer to the previous one, after May 68. The aim of this paper is to address Copfermann's thought about revolutionary theatre between 1967 and 1969, that is around the turning point that constitutes May 68. At a time when revolution seemed to be plausible if not close at hand, I will study how Copfermann redefined the tasks of theatre within a revolutionary process, but also how the French political context and the events of May 68 influenced, in return, his thought which, from there, evolved towards a more rigorous Marxist approach of theatre as art, production and labour. Though, his writings about the status of artists, theatre economic exceptionalism and the specificity of artistic labour within capitalist production remained unparalleled and might still be useful to politicise artistic debates. The interest of Copfermann's thought about theatre and revolution at this historical turning point is that, far from an abstract or idealist thought of revolutionary theatre, Copfermann deploys a lucid materialist analysis of the realm of French theatre institutions, production and of its relationship with political movements and parties. Obviously influenced by Lenin, Trotsky and Lounatcharsky, he, though, maintains a critical relationship to the young Soviet model and confronts the French Communist Party's (PCF) discourse on artistic matters to the contradictions of the era. Economic mechanisms addressed by Dave Beech in his brilliant book *Art and Value. Arts Economic Exceptionalism in Classical, Neoclassical and Marxist Economics* (Brill, 2015), do not fit, in some ways, theatre production.

Lorenzo Bondioli (Princeton University), Nicholas Matheou (Institute for Historical Research)

Value, Tribute and Capital: Empire and Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean

In this paper we address the debate over the birth of value and the origin(s) of capitalism by analysing the role of value production, circulation and consumption in the tributary mode of production. Value is understood as the socially-recognised importance of social action, as articulated within a total social system. Thus value is a useful framework for understanding how configurations of social relations work, not a reified thing that really entered the world at some point in history. Thorough analysis of the tributary mode, both in formal political economy and historically, makes clear that tributary exploitations disciplining of producers to the necessities of tribute demands, given then in the money form, produces surplus value appropriated and circulated as tribute a process comparable

if not identical to capitalist exploitation. This tribute is distributed and realised in the reproduction of the tributary configuration and given historical imperial class, again showing both resonances and differences with the dynamics of capital accumulation. Perhaps most crucially, the analysis also demonstrates the necessity of merchant capitalism within tributary configurations, circulating a certain amount of value as capital so as to facilitate value in the money form getting into producers hands, from which it can re-enter circulation as appropriated tribute. Thus there appears a foundational contradiction in the tributary mode between value circulation as tribute, and value circulation as capital, one we explore through the historical example of the empire of New Rome (Byzantium) in the ninth to early thirteenth centuries, particularly its eleventh-century fiscal crisis, and twelfth-century relations with the mercantile Republic of Venice.

Jules Gleeson

A Mode By Any Other Name: Marxist Historiography of the Byzantine Empire, and the Lacuna of the Household

This paper will explore existing Marxist historiography of the Byzantine Empire (or 'New Rome'), with a particular view on divergences between active scholars, and then consider gendered perspectives on the household as an over-arching omission across this existing body of historical materialist social history. I will introduce an on-going debate around whether the Byzantine Empire conformed to a mooted tributary mode of production. John Haldon (1994) has proposed centering the social reality of surplus extraction, as a less problematic replacement of previous Feudal understandings of Byzantine economic relations (Harvey, 1989). Jairus Banaji has challenged any such sweeping view of pre-modern economies as the basis for comparative history, instead identifying the logics of labour deployment, which he takes to be modally transcendent imperatives (2010, 2013). For instance, farm labourers both prior and under capitalism faced similar coercive techniques used by exploitative elites. I will provide a brief account of the discrepancies, and apparent theoretical stakes, at play in these varying scholarly accounts. As of today, historical materialist social history of the Byzantine Empire has largely underplayed gender relations, rarely if at all treating these matters in an extended fashion. To correct this, I will consider the ways in which Byzantine households (both lay and monastic) clearly served as a key unit both economic organisation (from surplus extraction to social reproduction). This insight is not an entirely novel one, and beyond Marxist scholarship Byzantine social history has provided great theoretical insights to the Byzantine oikos as a key formal unit of the Byzantine ruling class (Magdalino 1984, Neville 2004). But Byzantine gender history and historical materialism have yet to be put into fruitful dialogue with each other. Considering legal sources I will present cases from the everyday exploitation of peasantry by monastic land holders, to exceptional figures such as patriarchal eunuchs, to initiate this necessary exchange.

Joe Hayns (University of Oxford)

Islam and Pre-Capitalism: al-Mi, Social Class, and Technology in the Pre-Alawite Maghreb

In 1510 Sufi leader Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah al-Ghazwani (d. 1529) said to an initiate, anxious at the desolation of the Marrakechi plains, 'it is here that you must

establish your abode, and you shall, God willing, render this land fertile ... Settle here!. On those same plains, nearly 400 years later, a French-Morocco project to increase agricultural productivity - hydro-power might have been used to extract 10% more oil from the olive harvest - ended after only two seasons, due to ruling class opposition to the innovation. This paper will argue that the second failure was in al-Ghazwanis inability to transform the Maghrebian state from trade- to production-dependent, consequenting the regions remaining exterior to capitalism until formal French imperialism. In *Islam et Capitalisme* (1966), Maxime Rodinsons argued for a capitalistic sector across the Arabic-speaking world after the 8th century AD, as based jointly on the existence of both commercial and interest-bearing capitals, and his textual analysis of juridical and religious rationalism in regards trade. More recently, Jairus Banaji has gone further, arguing that the Arab trade empire from the 9th to the 14th centuries constituted a tradition of capitalist activity. Capital-centric Marxism though claims capitalism as defined not by the commodity form, profit-making, or even by the presence of waged-labour-based commodity production towards profit, but rather by the dominant generality of a social relationship between doubly free waged-labourers, and competing capitals, with (therefore) the real subsumption of capital as defining aspect of this system. Following this second intellectual tendency, this paper will argue that the non-Ottoman Maghreb was resolved as pre-capitalist through the still-ruling Alawite dynastys defeat of the socially and technologically progressive Sufi brotherhoods in the late 1500 to early 1600s. Debt, trade, and plunder characterised the state in subsequent period, meaning that capitalism as a progressive social relationship appeared as an exogenous, empire-enforced shock.

Regime of Accumulation and Rise of Authoritarian Right: A Case Study of Two Indian States

Soham Bhattacharya (Indian Statistical Institute Bangalore Centre)

This paper discusses the changes in the trajectory of accumulation and differentiation in rural India, specifically in two states (Bihar and Orissa) and as an outcome, the rise of a far-right authoritarian party, namely BJP during the first two decades of the millenium. The post liberalisation Indian economy is marked by declining financial support in the form of public action, a low growing public sector and a shift of growth engine, towards a more urbanised services sector. The distributive impact of such changes in the processes of rural accumulation in India suggests a benefit of rentier classes during the first decade of 2000. This classes being the support base of regional parties (sometimes as allies of the National Congress) formalised the process of accumulation. However the same rentier classes facing a profitability crisis after the high growth phase, opened a pathway to a far-right Hindutva authoritarian party by the means of using corruption versus good governance as the political slogan. Using empirical and descriptive methods, this paper, analyses how rentier and rich peasant class based organisations often subsiding with a centrist party can play the appeasing role to a far-right political group, when the role of political democracy in not met by economic democracy.

Marx's Concept of Permanent Revolution as a Philosophy of Absolute Negativity and a Transformation of Hegel's Dialectic

Franklin Dmitryev (Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund)

How can Marx's ideas help us with the problem of how to make new revolutionary beginnings in a time when the counterrevolution is ascendant, without losing sight of the need to prepare for the equally crucial question of what happens after the revolution? This paper, intended for the Marxism and philosophy stream, argues that answering this question requires recognizing the centrality of permanent revolution to Marx's body of ideas, and that it requires grasping the latter as a philosophy. The Marxian philosophy of permanent revolution is rooted in Hegel's dialectical philosophy and yet fundamentally transforms it. The paper argues that, to comprehend the full significance of Marx's *Capital* and the writings of his last years such as his *Ethnological Notebooks* and his writings on Russia, it is necessary to understand them as developments of this philosophy of permanent revolution. This is especially needed in working out how they are not simply of historical interest but impact theory and practice today, and in helping us untangle Marx's own ideas from what Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism identifies as post-Marx Marxism beginning with Engels. The Marxist-Humanist view developed in the 2018 volume *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in Permanence for Our Day: Selected Writings* by Raya Dunayevskaya, edited by the paper's presenter, informs our consideration of how it speaks to the problems of our current moment of fascism, counter-revolution, and revolt. The paper views Marx's explicit development of permanent revolution in his early writings up to the March 1850 Address to the Communist League; how that concept is involved in his 1844 *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic* and its consideration of second negation or absolute negativity; its connection to the humanism and dialectic of Marx's economic writings, including *Capital*; and its development on a new level with his late studies showing a multilinear view of human development, including the *Ethnological Notebooks*. The development of permanent revolution as a philosophy with many theoretical ramifications illuminates the dual task of needed revolutionary transformation—the destruction of the old (negation) and the construction of the new (negation of the negation).

Why was the Italian Working Class Defeated? Gramsci's Self-Criticism in Prison Notebooks

Mikko Lahtinen (University of Tampere, Finland)

Antonio Gramsci asked in his article 'What is to be done' (on November 1923) 'Why was the Italian working class defeated? and why fascism succeed to obtain power in Italy. To give real answers to these two questions it is necessary 'to carry out pitiless self-criticism of our weakness, and to begin by asking ourselves why we lost, who we were, what we wanted, where we wish to go'. According Gramsci the Italian communists don't know Italy - and worse still, We lack the proper instruments for knowing Italy as it really is. Three years after this article Gramsci was a political prisoner in a fascist prison and the Italian communist working class movement was defeated. In my presentation I will read *Prison Notebooks* as a work where Gramsci himself self-critically analyses the rise of fascism and the defeat of the Italian Working class movement, not only as an academic question but as a necessarily needed analyse for the future left politics: Gramsci saw fascism as a 'morbid' phenomenon, as a specific moment of the historical class struggle

between labour and capital (working class and bourgeoisie). What will come after the fascist moment, was essential question for Gramsci in his Notebooks. My thesis is that Gramsci's motivation to write Prison Notebooks comes from those basic pre-prison political experiences but analyses he makes in the notebooks differ considerably from the analyses in his pre-prison writings. The whole "conceptual universe" is different in the notebooks compared to the pre-prison writings. In his Prison Notebooks Gramsci introduces and analyses a whole series of new concepts (conceptual perspectives) to develop his self-critical views on the past and on the future of the Italian working class movement and the role of Communist party in it: 'Hegemony' (as a developed theoretical conception); historical and hegemonic bloc; national-popular; civil society, political society and integral state; force and consent; intellectual and moral reform; leadership (direzione); common sense; traditional and organic intellectuals, philosophy of praxis; political party as a state; Jacobinism, Machiavellism. I'll interpret those concepts as 'proper instruments' Gramsci intended to develop 'to carry out pitiless self-criticism of our weakness' for the Italian working class movement after the supposed collapse of fascist movement of the Italian capitalist society. I will also ask, what contemporary radical left can learn from Gramsci to understand better current fascist and other reactionary movements in order to beat them.

Neostructuralism and its Class Character in the Political Economy of Bolivia Under Evo Morales

Angus McNelly (Queen Mary University of London)

As the progressive cycle in Latin America wanes, scholars are attempting to unpick the contradictions that underpinned these regimes. This article seeks to trace the political economy of the Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Towards Socialism, MAS) from its neostructural and neoextractivist roots in the 2006 National Development Plan (NDP) through the economic strategy actually implemented by the MAS over time. By examining macroeconomic indicators, the structure of the economy, industrialisation efforts and infrastructural projects it advances a two-pronged argument. On the one hand, economic policy, as well as industrialisation and infrastructure projects, have focused on maximising economic surplus in the extractive sectors over cultivating the sectors that employ the majority of Bolivians, then redistributing part of the rents captured by the state into these labour-intensive sectors. The impact has been to reprimarise the economy and deepen Bolivia's insertion into the global market as a primary commodity producer. On the other hand, the neostructuralist tenets of the NDP have meant that the class character of these policies has been ignored. As the commodities bonanza came to a close in 2013 the government increasingly sided with capital over labour in social struggles over economic development with the consequence of cementing the bourgeois class character of the MAS development project in the last instance.

The Uncanny/Arcane of Reproduction: Capitalist Contradictions and Aesthetic Transgressions in the Home

Carina Brand (De Montfort University)

This paper will use Leopoldina Fortunatis *The Arcane of Reproduction*[1] and her proposition of the hidden abode of reproduction to interrogate the aesthetic concept of the

uncanny. Freuds *unheimlich* (unhomely) (1919) is comprised of *heimlich* as both hidden and familiar, and its negation *unheimlich* as that, which is seen but should not have been seen.[2] Deconstructing the concept of the uncanny[3] alongside social reproduction and its hidden abodes illuminates the neurotic space and states of the home and gender under capitalism. The expansion and development of industrial capitalism not only foretells the increased alienation of the worker, but the spread and institutionalisation of the private home and the private wife are inexorably linked to the further segregation of gender roles,[4] and the demarcation between production and reproduction. Leading me to ask if the aesthetics of the uncanny are the aesthetics of social reproduction, or if the aesthetic concept of the uncanny is an appropriate tool for understanding the sphere of social reproduction precisely because of its similarly dual quality. It is crucial here to understand the gendered nature of the term uncanny and the role of female reproductive labour in both making and unmaking the homely.[5] The objective in associating the uncanny with the home is to illuminate the problematic aspects of the home, as a private and alienating structure of capitalism that can only produce uncanny experiences, through its attempt to provide this homeliness.[6] However, I want to propose that the aesthetics of the uncanny in the hands of female artists become a critical tool for undermining these same relations. Beginning with Gilman's *The Yellow Wallpaper*, we can see the tropes of alienation and objectification transformed by surrealists Meret Oppenheim and Leonora Carrington, and in psychological thrillers of Chantalle Akermans *Jeanne Dielman, 23, Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles* (1975) and Jennifer Kent's *The Babadook* (2014); and most recently in Cathy Wilkes solo show at the MOMA PS1 (2017), where contemporary and historical tropes of social reproduction, domestic labour, childhood and poverty are played out on a stage of precarity. Fortunati articulated that emancipating women from the home[7] and into the workforce without first interrogating and transforming the non-value of housework and sexwork was deeply problematic.[8] This argument remains pertinent because the failure to properly value reproductive work has resulted in the further devaluation of reproductive labour and time. Although more women currently take part in full and part-time employment outside the home,[9] this actually results in those who can afford it paying for reproductive services, which ironically results in the further commodification of the reproductive sphere.[10] Fortunati's critique that reproduction indirectly contributes to capitalist production can be located within Marx's concept of simple reproduction,[11] meaning the relationship between social reproduction and exchange value is located in the reproduction of the potential to work in the living worker.[12] The home is the space where this worker is reproduced, and most importantly it is in women's bodies where new labour is biologically reproduced.[13] The home, understood in an expanded sense, is constantly transforming, both as a site for social reproduction and/or non-reproduction, and while not producing exchange value directly it is constantly relied on as a potential source of both use and exchange value.[14] Because of this simultaneous reliance and devaluation the home continues to be both source and subject of the uncanny. [1] Fortunati (1995) *The Arcane of Reproduction: Housework, Prostitution, Labour and Capital*, Autonomedia. These same ideas have been revived in *Social Reproduction Theory* (2017) by Bhattacharya. [2] Here we can consider Marx's concept of commodity fetish as concealing, but also the ghostly animation of objects, much loved by the surrealists, also see Tomsic (2015) *The Capitalist Unconscious*, for a discussion around Marx and Lacan. [3] Kokolis (2016) book *The Feminist Uncanny* informs this deconstruction, as does Masschelein (2003) *A Homeless Concept*, but if we look at the many incarnations of the uncanny in the doll, the double, the automaton all relate to the sphere of the home, the mother, childhood, and anxieties about loss of control over bodies. [4] The incarceration of women in the home mirrors the development of the concept of the uncanny see Federici (2004) who describes this specific history in *Caliban and the Witch* (2004) Autonomedia. [5] Kristeva's writing on Abjection is important here. [6] Ironically this same state becomes an exchange value of its own through the use of the female

body/subject in horror, and the development of the horror genre relies heavily on the concept of the uncanny and the home, and the mother is a reoccurring motif in much historic and contemporary horror film and literature. Popular horror in film begins with the female victim, and each decade has its blood soaked protagonist from Psycho, to Carrie, to Rosemarys Baby, to Halloween and Scream. [7] The Arcane of Reproduction resulted from Fortunatis involvement in Lotta Feminista and the wages for housework campaign in the 1970s [8] See Fortunatis Learning to struggle: my story between workerism and feminism (2013) and Gonzalez (2013) for a sympathetic reading of The Arcane: The Gendered Circuit in Viewpoint. Fortunati also later writes about the mechanization of immaterial labour (2006), which taps into a new realm of the digital uncanny in the development of child entertainment. [9] This must also be understood in relation to the need for the two-parent wage that rose in the US post 1970s, See Golner (1999) The Remaking of the American Working Class, Self-published. [10] See Huws (2014) New Accumulation Through Public Service Commodification in Labour in the Global Digital Economy, Monthly Review Press. [11] Marx (1978) Capital vol 2, Penguin. [12] See Balibars (1968) discussion of this passage in Capital in Reading Capital, with Althusser, NLB. [13] See Vogel (1983) Marxism and the Oppression of Women for a contemporaneous articulation of the contradictions of social reproduction within capitalism. [14] We can see this in the increasing importance of the mortgage, re-mortgaging, the setting up a microenterprises/start-ups, Airbnb, digital labour childminding, and home-care. At the same time womens bodies continue to be sources of value (both use and exchange value) through the ongoing role as wives/mothers and prostitution, surrogacy, web-camming, and girl-friending. See Jarret (2016) Feminism, Labour and Digital Media: The Digital Housewife, Routledge The increasing need for patients and elderly to be cared for at home, and Browne discusses the 2016 Better Birth UK Government strategy that will push for more home based maternity and birth care, in The Money Follows the Mum Radical Philosophy. See Gonzalez and Troyan (2016) Of a Heartless World where they discuss the political economy of girlfriending in Blind Field Journal.

Shapurji Saklatvala, Subaltern Cosmopolitanism, and the Workers Welfare League of India

Daniel Edmonds (University of Manchester)

Shapurji Saklatvala was one of the Communist Party of Great Britains most prominent members in the inter-war period. Elected twice as the MP for Battersea North, Saklatvala was the first BAME MP of the Labour movement in Britain, and spent much of his career speaking out and organising against British imperialism. His activism eventually saw him barred from entry from the United States, Egypt, and even his country of birth, India. Despite being viewed with distrust by Comintern officials during his lifetime, after his death the British and Irish volunteers of the International Brigades were organised into the Saklatvala Battalion and he would be hagiologised by prominent Communists. The existing biographical literature on Saklatvala pre-dates the release of both his Security Service files in 2000, and the opening up of the Cominterns archives. Despite his prominence there has been no significant re-appraisal of his role in the CPGB or the Indian nationalist movement since these source materials were made available to researchers. Drawing on these sources, this presentation will focus on Saklatvalas work in organising solidarity efforts with the Indian nationalist and labour movements while based in Britain, with a particular focus on the Workers Welfare League of India, an organisation he established alongside the eccentric Orientalist socialist Arthur Field. This body attempted to draw together both British and Indian trade unionists in a common

organisation spanning the borders of the British Empire. It promoted trade unionism without race or colour consideration, and its members proactively organised solidarity campaigns with Indian strike waves, promoted the cause of Indian independence in the British labour movement, and lobbied for coordination between the British and Indian trade unions. Utilising David Featherstones concept of subaltern cosmopolitanism, it will be argued that Saklatvalas transnational connections, enabled by his social position and history of border-crossing, were key to the development of his public profile and the successes of his organisation. Through drawing on personal relationships with fellow Indian migrants, students, and barristers he established a political network that could coordinate action between groups of activists in Britain and India. Whilst his efforts to gain support from the CPGB at the organisational level were largely unsuccessful in the partys early years, his independent streak threatened the party leadership, and prompted the development of systematised links between the CPGB, Comintern officials, and Indian activists. This paper will argue that Saklatvala engaged with the international structures of the Comintern only after this connection had been established and his own personal resources diminished. This shift from subaltern cosmopolitanism to formal internationalism occurred as international connections between Communists and Social-Democrats solidified, partially prompted by a fear of Saklatvalas influence, marking Saklatvala as a key figure in transforming the British lefts approach towards anti-colonialism.

Tunisias Transition to Neoliberalism: A Class Composition Approach

Lorenzo Feltrin (University of Warwick), Kira Brenner (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)

This paper analyses Tunisias transition to neoliberalism from a perspective informed by autonomist Marxism, particularly class composition analysis. The latter approach, developed by Italian operaismo in the 1960s, has been recently revived as an analytical tool to study workers mobilisations. In its classical formulation, the technical composition refers to workers as organised, segmented, and stratified that is divided by capital as labour power, through different economic sectors, labour processes, wage hierarchies, etc. The political composition, instead, indicates the extent to which workers as a class overcome their divisions so that they can resist and attack capitalist commodification and exploitation, i.e. their forms of consciousness, struggle and organisation. Starting from this, the paper shows how class struggle shaped Tunisias entry into and experience of neoliberalism, focusing on shifts in national-level economic policy and labour institutions. This research is based on the analysis of employment statistics, development plans and other official documents, and original semi-structured interviews. Tunisias post-independence regime was based on a populist social coalition assembling state managers, fractions of capital, and the relatively secure workers organised by the single trade union confederation. It was characterised by an economic policy of state-led import-substitution industrialisation and an authoritarian corporatist system of labour institutions. This developmental path gave rise to a technical composition of the working class featuring the prominence of intellectual workers in the public administration and manual workers in industrial SOEs. In the 1970s and early 1980s, these workers were the protagonists of a massive and protracted cycle of struggles exhibiting a centrality of strikes and of wage demands that eventually ended with the neoliberal restructuring of the countrys economy. We interpret the shifts in economic policy and labour institutions that corresponded to Tunisias transition to neoliberalism as a response by the capitalist state to this cycle of struggles. As elsewhere, the transition to

neoliberalism involved a retrenchment of previous concessions to the working class, an expansion of the private sector, and an opening of the national economy to global competition. The class composition that had conducted the cycle of struggles of the 1970s and 1980s was decomposed through the restructuring of the former strongholds of labour militancy, economic policy was geared towards encouraging export and foreign investment, and labour institutions were based on a more informal but nonetheless authoritarian submission of the single labour confederation to the state. However, the previous cycle of struggles affected the way in which the Tunisian regime could achieve such transformations. Social provisions to the workers remained high for regional standards and the single trade union kept a margin of autonomy from the state, especially in its rank-and-file and mid-level structures. This shows how class struggle shapes the ways in which the capitalist state responds to the imperatives of market competition.

The Political Composition of Strikes in Vietnam

Joe Buckley (SOAS, University of London)

Wildcat strikes are a common occurrence in Vietnam, with hundreds of strikes recorded every year. The existing literature on this phenomenon investigates topics such as why strikes are always wildcat, the reasons that workers strike, and the impact of strikes. What has not yet been undertaken is a detailed investigation into the political composition of workers undertaking wildcat strike action how strikes are organised, and the forms that they take. There are currently live (but sensitive) debates and discussions within Vietnam labour scholarship and practice over Freedom of Association and reform of the state-led trade union. A study of the political composition of worker militancy at the grassroots level can inform these debates. My paper attempts to do this. Drawing primarily on interviews with workers, businesspeople, activists, and other practitioners, I will argue that wildcat strikes in Vietnam have a decentralised structure, with small groups of workers taking autonomous actions as part of the larger strike. There are high levels of solidarity, evidenced by the way workers discuss, support, and encourage each other during strikes, but few identifiable leaders or sustained worker representatives. This strike form does not mirror a union-led strike. I will demonstrate this in detail through a case study of a two-day wildcat strike that occurred in a large garment factory in southern Vietnam in 2018. Actually existing worker militancy, therefore, seems quite removed from the current debates about Freedom of Association and union reform. Consequently, the paper poses important challenges to the relevance of these debates.

The Future of Materialism. Dialectical Ontology from Ernst Bloch to Hans Heinz Holz

Martin Kupper (Society for dialectical philosophy)

Materialistic philosophy has been experiencing a revival for almost ten years. Critical, agential or speculative materialisms vie for readers attention. The intellectual and institutional turnaround from postmodernism and the propagation of a new, realistic world view are thus combined. All are based on a predominantly epistemological understanding of materialism: we can reflect reality in its entirety and in its details. However, if they want to explain how we reflect, the concepts vary between ahistorical mathematization and pantheistic praxeologies. At the latest, new materialisms fall back into one-sided logicisms and subjectivisms. The reason for this is the fear of dialectical-ontological questions: How must the reality be such that we can recognize it? On this

basis, Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) and Hans Heinz Holz (1927-2011) developed ontological foundations of materialism as the philosophical part of Marxism. While Ernst Bloch designed an ontology of the not-yet, Heinz Holz reflected upon an ontology of reflection. The lecture wants to strengthen the two positions against New Materialisms. But it also wants to recall that historical-dialectical materialism requires an ontological foundation to stimulate a strategy that establishes a dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom, followed by reflections about the role of the political subject in society.

The Basis for Large-Scale Cooperation: Mutualism and Socialism

Kenneth Surin (Duke University)

The Basis for Large-Scale Cooperation: Mutualism and Socialism In response to the collapse of the postwar social-welfare state and the continued crisis of the neoliberal economy, there has been a surge of interest in mutualist paradigms emphasizing cooperation on a scale smaller than the state but larger than that allowed by market-focused individuals. In the UK, the Blue Labour school of thought is a form of mutualism, and Bernie Sanders expressed an interest in participatory political forms which stress mutualism during the 2016 presidential campaign. My paper considers (as a way to get them off the road), briefly, the mutualist proposals associated with Blue Labour. I argue that the Blue Labour version, which is accommodationist at its core, stands no chance of tilting current neoliberal socio-economic conjuncture in the direction of an adequate and full-blown mutualism. Revolution in any form is simply not on Blue Labour's theoretical or practical horizons— Blue Labour's purview is that of a programmatic *Kulturarbeit* or cultural work, purely and simply. At the same time, the likelihood of Jacobin or red revolutions succeeding in the advanced industrial countries remains limited. This still leaves open the possibility of velvet revolutions, that is, massive mobilisations on the part of those being excluded from social and economic resources by neoliberal governments with their bogus there is no such thing as a free lunch policies. I shall argue for the principle of these mass mobilizations. The neoliberal macroeconomy has created a situation in which, financialization apart, the only jobs created are low-productivity, low-paid service jobs incapable of producing the export earnings needed to finance a major shift towards mutualism (the need to produce export earnings to finance such a shift is a theme harped-upon by Will Hutton and others). The most obvious way to finance a shift to mutualism is to put a brake on the massive tax evasion currently facilitated by offshore tax havens, and to use the recouped revenues to finance distributive schemes required by mutualism. Likewise, there are things, generally on a local or regional scale, which associations can better undertake: co-operative ventures of all kinds, community banks and credit unions, community-sponsored daycare and eldercare, youth clubs, adequate municipal government, proper apprenticeship schemes (as opposed to the current workfare), and so on. However, if neoliberalism remains, there will be no real move to a sufficient mutualism. Neoliberalism has to be supplanted. These include an overturning of regnant macroeconomic policy, to encompass the greater taxation of wealth; the abolition of opportunities to extract rentier-based incomes; the repatriation of capital that has migrated to Wall Street and the City of London; the introduction of capital controls; the reduction of military spending; greater provision of resources on infrastructure, health, and education; converting banks into public utilities whose sole role is the intermediation between buyers and sellers (as opposed to the emphasis on unproductive forms of speculation and arbitrage prevalent today); supporting trade unions; placing important services conducing to our overall good in the public domain, which need not necessarily be statist, since the public domain will

perforce now include a variety of formations that are associationist. The sketchy vision outlined here implies no confidence in the UK and US mainstream parties. These belong to a political settlement that is being superseded, while being unable to come to any kind of reckoning with this conjuncture's emerging successor, with its para-statist (but for us not entirely post-statist!) and post-liberal economic and political dimensions. Shifts at the level of an epochal-moving of plate tectonics must occur, and are indeed occurring, but these so-far inchoate shifts will have to be conjoined with the practices of an unrelenting, but always experimental, anti-capitalist resistance and insurrectionary struggle. Mutualism can only be anti-capitalist.

Framing PIGS: Patterns of Racism and Neocolonialism in the Euro Crisis

Jonas Van Vossle (Center for social studies, university of Coimbra University)

This article explores the racist framing of the peripheral member states of the European Union, the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland (and/or Italy), Greece and Spain). It demonstrates a strong connection between the processes of racialization and depoliticization, as well as the return of colonial dynamics in the Eurozone. Side-stepping political economy and history, the culturalization of politics perfectly complements the post-political neoliberal hegemony. Political and media discourses reproduce it in both populist and corporate interests. The culturalization of politics reduces the differences between centre and periphery to certain cultural characteristics and habits, as reflected in stereotypes of laziness, non-productivity, corruption, wasteful spending and lying. These make it possible to blame the PIGS for the current crisis, legitimizing drastic austerity measures and a loss of sovereignty. The loss of sovereignty shows remarkable similarities with what Kwame Nkrumah defined as neocolonialism: the continuation of colonial power relations through processes of economic dependence, conditional aid and cultural hegemony. While this problematic only resurfaced during the recent Euro crisis, Van Vossle discusses how today's racist discourses and neocolonial politics have their roots in the past, particularly in anti-Irish and anti-Mediterranean racism and in the (semi-)colonial position of the PIGS in the British and Ottoman empires. Besides structural violence against the periphery, a major consequence of this racialization is that it jeopardizes any possibility of further democratic political integration on the basis of a common European identity.

What is Passive in Antonio Gramsci's Notion of Passive Revolution?

Gianmarco Fifi (University of Warwick)

Building on the increasing interest on Antonio Gramsci's idea of passive revolution, this paper argues that such a concept can be fruitfully employed to produce a renewed understanding of changes and stability within post-2008 global capitalism as well as to conceptualise forms of resistance vis-à-vis neoliberalism. However, this relevance should be based on a renewed understanding of the concept itself. Against the general conceptualisation of current critical studies that think passive revolution as a top-down adjustment to global capitalism, I argue that the term is better understood as a bottom-up dynamic where the focus is placed on the passivity of a potentially transformative agency rather than on processes of change that are per se out of reach for the so-called subaltern

classes. Returning to the Prison Notebooks, three overlapping dialectical relations are identified as the core of passive revolution: at the institutional level, the dynamic between bureaucratic and democratic centralism; at the ideational level the dialectic between common sense and good sense; at the level of class struggles, the dynamic between corporatism and universalism. Thus redefined, Gramsci's concept of passive revolution can be seen as a valuable instrument for grasping the challenges facing the emergence of anti-austerity movements in the current organic crisis of capitalism. In particular, such a redefinition of Gramsci's thought can be useful to understand to what extent movements of resistance are really producing a counter-hegemonic project vis-à-vis capitalism, or if rather they are still moving within the borders of the current system of exploitation.

#MeToo, Class and Queer Experience

Peter Drucker (International Institute for Research and Education, Amsterdam)

Of all the resistance movements that have arisen in response to the current offensive of the reactionary right, the #MeToo movement is among the most impressive, reflecting in particular the exceptional outrage provoked by Donald Trump's sexism. Going beyond the movement's initial focus on Hollywood and politics, many left-wing feminists have stressed the importance of challenging the pervasive sexual abuse and harassment faced by working-class women. Given the centrality of gender and class for a queer anti-capitalism, this development is excellent news for the queer left. The fresh attention that #MeToo has inspired to some gay men's sexual abuse and harassment of other men is also welcome. At the same time, much more analysis is needed of the specifically queer dimensions of male-on-male abuse. For example, mainstream coverage threatens to breathe new life into dangerous images of gay men as predatory pedophiles. A class analysis of the roots of abuse in entrenched workplace hierarchies and inadequate working-class organizational responses, notably in the performing arts, is a needed and more promising angle of approach. There are also specifically queer aspects of the issues of age difference and affirmative consent. This paper attempts to develop an intersectional, queer anti-capitalist approach to the queer dimensions of #MeToo.

Ethical Socialism as Passive Revolution: Gramsci's Critique of Henri De Man

Brecht De Smet (Ghent University), Jelle Versieren (University of Antwerp)

In his Prison Notebooks Gramsci discusses the philosophical and economic ideas of the Belgian socialist Henri De Man in ten notebooks and thirty different sections. In six of these sections De Man is the main target of criticism (Q42; Q 430; Q448; Q732; Q8167; Q1169). De Man was an important leader and theoretician of Belgian and European social democracy in the interwar years. Disillusioned with Second International Marxism and reformist practices De Man advocated an ethical socialism based on social psychology instead of material class interests. De Man's politics of Planism state-planned industrial capitalism supported by the nationalisation of credit and banking was devised as the economic pillar of a popular front with liberal parties to halt Fascism, but, in fact, represented a shift toward state authoritarianism and Bonapartism. Traditionally, international scholarship has reconstructed De Man's political itinerary and intellectual projects as a coherent whole, emphasizing his radical divergence from the program of the

Belgian Labour Party as an intellectual answer to the intellectual and electoral disillusion with mainstream mechanical and evolutionary Marxism (represented, e.g., by figures such as Emile Vandervelde). Authors such as Janet Polasky, Peter Dodge, and Mieke Van Haegendoren consider De Mans appropriation of Freud and Pareto as a complete makeover of the doctrines of the party and as an act of intellectual innovation. By confronting De Mans with Gramscis critique, our paper unearths the hidden social and ideological logic of his discourse. Through the lens of passive revolution, we come to understand De Mans policies within the context of a global crisis and rebirth of capitalism, prefiguring the hegemony of postwar Fordism and Keynesianism. Moreover, Gramscis criticism of De Man informs us of the limits and dangers of moving beyond class and of appropriating the nation states agency to curtail finance capital.

Forever Young? Marx at 200

Riccardo Bellofiore (University of Bergamo)

I suggest a reconstruction of Marxs Critique of Political Economy as a macro-monetary theory of capitalist production. The first part of what follows will provide a sort of methodological introduction to Das Kapital. I am questioning the meaning of critique versus criticism, the distinction between fetish-character and fetishism, the role of dialectics, and the difference between reading, interpretation and reconstruction. After, I will focus especially on Volume I. At the centre of the discussion are the role of money as a commodity for the labour theory of value, the method of comparison in valorisation as the constitution of capital, absolute and relative surplus value in the real subsumption of labour to capital, the key notion of Technologie, the law of the tendential fall in relative wage, the two notions of competition, the macro-monetary class perspective in capitalist reproduction. Some considerations are devoted to the transformation problem, the New Interpretation, and crisis theory.

The Future of Materialism. Dialectical Ontology from Ernst Bloch to Hans Heinz Holz

Martin Kupper (Society for dialectical philosophy)

In recent years, materialistic philosophy has been experiencing something of a revival. Critical, agential or speculative materialisms vie for readers attention. This burgeoning phenomenon is expressed in both an intellectual and institutional shift away from postmodernism and the propagation of a new realist world view. All of these new materialisms, however, are based on a predominantly epistemological understanding of materialism: we can reflect reality in its entirety and in its details. However, if they want to explain how we reflect, the concepts vary between ahistorical mathematization and pantheistic praxeologies. This is where the new materialisms tend to fall into either a one-sided logicism or subjectivism. The reason for this is a seeming aversion to the question of dialectical-ontology: How is reality constituted such that we can recognize it? On this basis, Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) and Hans Heinz Holz (1927-2011) sought to develop ontological foundations of materialism as part of the philosophical strand of Marxism. While Ernst Bloch designed an ontology of the Not-Yet (Noch-Nicht), Heinz Holz considered an ontology of reflection (Widerspiegelung). This paper seeks to explore and defend these two positions in contrast with the New Materialisms. But it also wishes to recall that historical-dialectical materialism requires an ontological foundation to

stimulate a strategy that establishes a dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom, followed by reflections about the role of the political subject in society.

The Hijacking of Social Art Practices by Right, Capitalist and Corporate Systems of Production

Evanthia Tselika (University of Nicosia, Birkbeck University of London)

Boris Arvatov wrote in 1926 in relation to proletarian art and the socialization of artistic labour that Individual artists become the collaborators of engineers, scientists, and administrators, organizing a common product, while being guided not by personal impulses, but the objective needs of social production.[i] This echoes the contemporary experience where artists have become involved in multiple initiatives of social change. As community based, participatory and socially engaged art practices have been absorbed within the language of the neo-liberal and corporate vocabulary, however, there is little discussion as to the Marxist and left leaning roots of these methods of artistic production. This presentation will focus on the influence of Marxist thought and writing from the early days of the USSR on what is now widely addressed as socially situated, public or participatory art practice. Such types of practices have become increasingly integrated in government, corporate and commercial vocabularies. Alison Rooke notes that public and private bodies have realised the potential of participatory and socially engaged art, and this has caused a professionalization of these methodologies, which are now used on a large scale in urban regeneration projects.[ii] In fact, what is observed is that social policy agendas on the right, capitalist and corporate systems of production have integrated and appropriated concepts and terminology of artistic practices that were once the cultural tools of ideologies on the left. The use of artists and cultural practitioners to link communities through socially responsible art production can be interrelated to the professionalization of the community art worker in the 1970s; transforming him/her into a socially engaged art figure absorbed into the highly neo-liberal workings of the contemporary art system. The presentation will address the influence of Marxist thought in the development of social art practices and how this was taken over and assimilated into the language of a cultural industry ruled by neo-liberal market forces that are associated with the right. [i] Arvatov B. (2017). *Art & Production*. Edited by John Roberts and Alexei Penzin. Translated by Shushan Avagyan from the original Russian text from 1926. Pluto Press: London. P. 101 [ii]Rooke, A. (2014). *Curating Community? The Relational and Agonistic Value of Participatory Arts in Superdiverse Localities*. Cultural Value AHRC Project. P.3

The Contemporary Crisis of Identity In China and the Philosophical Explanations

Chengbing Wang (Beijing Normal University)

To put it briefly, the crisis of identity is the problem of Who am I. The paper is exhibiting the contemporary crises of identity in China, which may be regarded as one of the serious crises in China since the late 1970s, the time China began to open up to the world. The paper is analyzing the factors leading to such crisis. It emphasizes especially on the social factors causing the crisis, so the paper studies, as the case research, the impact on identity from the globalization movement, the internet society and the virtual reality, contemporary consumer culture, etc. It also discussing its challenges on the classical

historical materialism in China. The paper is trying to figure out the historical materialist approaches to meet the challenge after it examines some of the influential approaches by some western scholars. It is paying much attention to form the rational relations between self and others, it is also valuing the roles of life world in the making of rational identity in China.

The Reasons Behind the Rise of Western Europe from an Indian Perspective

Kaveh Yazdani (Lecturer, University of Bielefeld)

The vast majority of books and articles that have addressed the important question of Europe's ascension adhere to the Eurocentric school of thought. Yet, during the past two decades, especially adherents of the California School have increasingly engaged in the arduous work of understanding and analyzing the West and the rest from a non-Eurocentric and global perspective. The lively discussion is mostly concerned with the reasons behind the Industrial Revolution and why it took place in England and not in other European core areas or advanced regions of China. Few historians and social scientists have examined Mughal and post-Mughal India relative to the rise of the West and the journey towards modernity from a particularly Indian perspective. Yazdani examines and analyzes the socio-economic, techno-scientific, military, political and institutional developments of two regions: Gujarat (North-Western India) between the 17th and early 19th centuries and Mysore (Southern India) under the rule of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan during the second half of the 18th century. The study aims at gaining a more profound understanding of the transitional processes in the regions at hand by proposing an alternative perspective with regard to the dynamics of modernity.

Frantz Fanon: Black Marxist?

Chris James Newlove

Since Fanon's death his work has been interpreted in various waves by activists and academics, being described as Black Nationalist, proto-Post-Colonial and Marxist-Humanist. Fanon's critical engagement with Sartre and his quotations of Marx have received attention while his wider relationship with Marxist ideas has been downplayed. The publishing of the contents of Fanon's library should go some way to rectifying previous assumptions. This paper will argue that Fanon's conceptions of the native bourgeoisie and working class in *The Wretched of the Earth* are based on his creative reading of Lenin's Imperialism and Lenin's speech on colonialism at the Second Congress of the Communist International. This paper will discuss Fanon's statements on the bourgeois phase of development of colonised countries, his relationship to a Maoist conception of revolution and his assessment of shifts in the Algerian National Liberation Fronts (FLN) tactics. Situating Fanon's work in debates within Marxism is not designed to reduce his contribution to a list of other reference points, rather it should contribute to a better understanding of his ideas than the dominant interpretation put forward by the critical Fanonism of the 1980s and 1990s.

New Marxist Social Theories from the Americas

Stefan Gandler (Universidad Autnoma de Quertaro/Universidad Nacional Autnoma de Mxico)

A general idea about the theoretical debate on non dogmatic Marxism and Critical Theory in contemporary Latin America is the main issue of his presentation. For to do so, we will present first some central philosophical arguments of two of the most important Latin American Marxist philosophers of the XX. century: Adolfo Snchez Vzquez and Bolvar Echeverra, both before their recent death professors of philosophy at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Snchez Vzquez started in Latin America the non dogmatic reading of Marx in the sixties of the last century, concentrating on Marx's concept of praxis. He opened a new way of understanding Marx in the Spanish-speaking world, independent of the prevailing positivist forms of interpreting Marx in the communist and social-democratic parties at that time. Bolvar Echeverra gives a non eurocentric reinterpretation of Marxism and Critical theory, introducing the theory of the four ethe of capitalist modernity in the contemporary discussion. He demonstrates that the capitalist modernity in Latin America isn't underdeveloped or in development, but either a existing parallel way of living the unlivable, which is different to the model of the US and Europe, but in some aspects even more modern than this culturally dominating forms. Our paper will explore and compare both authors and their mentioned philosophical contributions to a New Marxist Social Theories from the Americas. [See: Stefan Gandler, *Critical Marxism in Mexico*. Adolfo Snchez Vzquez and Bolvar Echeverra. Trans. George Ciccariello-Maher and the author. Leiden/Boston, Brill Academic Press, 2015, 467pp. (Historical Materialism Book Series, vol.87) ISBN 978-90-04-22428-5. Paperback edition: Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2016. 467pp. ISBN 978-160-846-633-7.]

Reconsidering Indian Fascism

Snehal Shingavi (University of Texas, Austin)

In a number of places, Jairus Banaji has elegantly argued for a particular vision of what fascism is (and conversely what it is not). Fascism is not, Banaji argues, a product of the manipulation of capital, an abnormality, or a cataclysm. Rather, for Banaji, fascism is best explained through a recourse to a gradualist explanation (rather than ruptural or conjunctural), especially in India, with an emphasis on its (already existing) mass character, and its ideologies of nationalism, social/sexual repression (or sexism), and other-direction (or racism). But there are at least a few problems with Banaji's formulations even as they may provide a useful starting point for a critique of the Comintern's analysis of fascism in the 1930s (though Banaji clearly has in mind the Indian Communist Parties). Aside from the fact that it leaves the question of anti-fascist strategy completely underdeveloped, Banaji's theories of fascism are at pains to explain why and how fascism and fascist violence wax and wane (and even disappear) at different historical moments. By turning first to anti-communal organizing and that took place in the subcontinent at the moment of Partition (1947) (and especially Bhisam Sahnis memoirs and writings) and then to Leon Trotsky's writings on fascism, this paper hopes to develop a more historicist and materialist account of the struggle against fascism. In particular, this paper wants to draw attention to the unique development of Indian fascism while situating it within a theory of fascism generally. At stake, importantly, is whether fascism is a unique political movement (as opposed to a general tendency or a suite of tactics deployed by the right), whether and how a fightback can be

coordinated or organized, and ultimately what accounts for its emergence at specific historical moments. Turning finally to the current failure of a successful anti-fascist resistance in India, this paper outlines some strategies for a return to mass anti-fascist work, especially in those places where the resistance to neoliberalism and austerity has been the deepest. Rather than presupposing merely the mass character of fascism, this paper foregrounds the existence of mass formations of the left as the unique problem that fascism is designed to solve.

A Reversed Perspective on Factography

Marina Gerber (Kunstakademie Dsseldorf)

Since the 1990s the term factography has acquired an international cultural significance in the discourse on the Soviet Avant-Garde. The term appears to emerge in the 1920s in the Soviet avant-garde art journal LEF and is closely associated with Sergey Tretyakovs revolutionary photo-documentary practice. Tretyakovs factography is the opposite of the definition of this term that can be found in the Soviet dictionary since 1952 (ed. Ozhegov): Factography: description of facts without analysis, generalization and illumination. Rather than merely observing and describing the modernization of social life, the LEF factographers were expected to actively engage with it by adding fictional elements to their stories not in order to produce fiction, but in order to make every-day reality more graspable. During the Brezhnev era, which is often characterized as the era of stagnation or the bureaucratic era, this term takes on a new significance, especially for the artistic group Collective Actions. Factography is an umbrella-term for all kinds of bureaucratic documentation of their artistic practice: forms, letters, invitations, confirmations, photography etc. Unlike for the LEF factography, this gathering of facts has no other than an artistic purpose. It does not involve an alternative or non-official perspective on reality, but a reversed perspective. Meaning emerges not as a consequence of a purposefully arranged narrative, but out of the loss of perspective. Drawing on the art historical precedents of images without a perspective, such as the Russian icon painting and Russian abstract art, this paper examines factography as an artistic-bureaucratic device that is oriented inwards, reflecting the social conditions of Collective Actions as Soviet citizens during the stagnation era.

The Compositional Origins of the London Grassroots Unions

Achille Marotta (SOAS, University of London)

This paper seeks to uncover the class composition at the root of three, new grassroots unions born and predominantly based in London: the IWGB, UVW, and CAIWU. With reference to archival research and interviews, the hidden common origin of these unions is uncovered in the history of the now-defunct Latin American Workers Association (LAWAS), an organisation founded in the early 2000s. By tracing the development of this organisation - including its entry into and eventual expulsion from T&G/Unite - and its transmutation into the above mentioned unions, it is argued that these were a succession of developing organisational forms tied to a relatively constant content: the particular class composition of Latin American cleaners in London. This class composition is analysed in two respects. The first is the technical composition, including: the emergence of the service and finance sectors as a new significant sector of capitalist accumulation in response to the struggles of the mass worker and the particularities of the

City; the emergence of cleaning as a corollary to this growth of offices, retail, catering etc; the commodification and rationalisation of cleaning work; the emergence of subcontracting as a form of this process, as well as a form of mediation between worker and employer to counter workers struggles; and the use of shift-systems and communications and data-gathering technologies to this same end. The second aspect is the social composition, which is the workers integration into capitalist society through commodity production as well as the state. This includes capitals efforts to offset the crisis onto workers in Latin America since the 70s through enclosure, finance, inflation, attacks on the welfare state and working conditions, political and military repression, and ensuing migration; the criminalisation of paperless workers as a form of social control for capital; and struggles over the forms of working class reproduction in migrant neighbourhoods. These two, it is argued, fused with the political composition of previous struggles in Latin America, to create a new working class composition which in large part determined the development of the three London grassroots union forms.

The Mexican Labyrinth: Media Activism and Left-Wing Populism in Mexico

Colin Peter Mooers (Department of Politics and Public Administration Ryerson University Toronto, ON Canada M5B 2K3)

With a significant lead in the polls, the Left-Populist, Andreas Manuel Lopez-Obrador (AMLO), looks set to win the Mexican presidency on July 1st, 2018. MexElects, an independent media source, travelled across Mexico for six months during the presidential campaign interviewing labour and social movement activists from Chiapas to Tijuana. Independent media has played an outsized role in this campaign undercutting the stranglehold of the media duopoly which has long supported the two main right-wing parties and which played a key role in justifying electoral frauds of the past. Our panel is divided into two parts. The first part examines the influence and importance of independent media in the presidential elections. The second part, analyses the implications of a Lopez-Obrador victory for various social movements within Mexico but also its international significance for Latino labour and migrant struggles in the USA and for Latin America in a moment of right wing ascendancy. Colin Mooers, Ph.D. Department of Politics and Public Administration Ryerson University, Toronto, ON cmooers@politics.ryerson.ca Kurt Hackbarth, Independent journalist and writer kwhackbarth@gmail.com Nidia Rojas, MexElects photographer and videographer nidiamrojas@gmail.com

Precariat and New Proletariat: Differences Between the Working Class of the North and the South

Ricardo Antunes (UNICAMP- Universidade de Campinas - Brazil)

The new morphology of the working class includes distinct segments, even if these segments may present apparent differences among gender, generation, ethnicity, nationality, migrations, qualifications, rights etc. Precarization is a trend, as Marx demonstrated in Capital. Today, the relative surplus population acquires new dimensions. This also occurs because of the enormous expansion and circulation of immigrants on a global scale, increasing even more the mechanisms of exploitation, intensification and

precariousness of the labour power, from which the destruction of the conquered social rights becomes an imposition of the global system of capital in its phase of financial hegemony. Another important point concerns the cleavage between the North and the South. In the peripheries the proletariat has been burdened with precariousness since its origins. Be it sufficient to mention that, because of their colonial past, in Brazil and in many other countries of Latin America (leaving apart the case of the EUA), the proletariat emerged directly after the abolition of slavery. The countries of the South never developed an aristocracy of labour and the proletariat has always been associated with a condition of precariousness. This means that internal differences in the proletariat were never as evident as they are in the North. Here, on the contrary, an aristocracy of labour did develop itself inside the proletariat and, later, there came a proletariat that was inheritor of the Welfare State. Hence, the recent development of a precariat has generated a differentiation in the proletariat of the North that has no parallel in the proletariat of the South. In the peripheral countries of capitalism, the internal cleavages of the working class are not as evident as they are in the central countries. For this reason, the debate about the emergence of a new class has generated some incomprehension in its application to the first case.

Revolutionary Education or Educational Revolution in the Marxian System

Caio Antunes (Universidade Federal de Gois), Joana Alice Freitas (Universidade Federal de Gois)

Much has been said about the Marxian conception of education, as well as of his conception of revolution. But normally, Marx's approach to the educational issue is considered to be the technological or omnilateral education as discussed in *Capital* or in the Instructions for the delegates of the IWA, respectively that shall take place in formal institutions of education that, through the raising the level of the working class above the higher and middle classes, composes one of the measures necessary to the social transformation of society. Revolution, by its turn is considered, as the conquer of the State, as the apex of a political struggle of the proletariat; of course, a process necessarily connected to various forms of class-conscious movements. Therefore, these two very important elements of the Marxian system very rarely are considered as articulated, not to say inherently connected. In one hand, the very process of the human constitution (derived from labor) is, in itself and for itself, an educational process; the ontological leap and the following process of human complexification is inherently a process of social formation. On the other hand, as the social process of political struggle necessary constitutes the material basis to the construction of a revolutionary class-consciousness, the revolution itself can only take place where a deep process of formation is already in its due course. Consequently, from this point of view not only the revolutionary movement is a profound process of both, social transformation and social education, but also the core of the educational process of the human beings shall be, in its broad and formal senses, revolutionary orientated.

The Right-Wing Movements Against Corruption in Brazil: The Valence Issues that Hide Capitalist Expropriation

Amlia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro - UERJ)

The problem of corruption in Brazil has been used as the central political issue as well as it has served for the rise of right-wing populism. Historically we have noticed the use of anti-corruption discourse in various Brazilian political moments. For example, it was used to support the coup of the Brazilian military dictatorship in 1964. In this case, the cleaning operation was implemented at the beginning of the military dictatorship to combat the subversion and the corruption. Similarly, the Institutional Act 5 (AI-5) promised toughness against the corruption. However, the AI-5 became the biggest symbol of repression during the military regime, also called the years of lead. The military dictatorship, in the end, implemented its own violent corruption. The anti-corruption speech was present in the enigmatic Brazilian popular revolt of June 2013. It was appropriated by the right-wing ethical discourse and reinforced by the big press, which served to grow right-wing movements and support of the coup of President-elect Dilma Rousseff of the Workers' Party in August 2016. The anti-corruption discourse can be seen as a valence issue. In other words, it is a consensus speech like the support for justice, peace and development, which follows to the general will regardless of the ideological-political line. The absence of the ideological political debate with a clear political program and concrete proposals in the electoral disputes, with generic debates, is a good space for the rise of the valence issues, such as the anti-corruption speech. Behind this speech, however, there is an economic-political project that does not favor the Brazilian popular strata. Corruption is used in Brazil as a keyword to explain the capitalist crisis, that is, the crisis of capitalism becomes a problem of corruption. Besides that, the state is regarded as the realm of corruption, bureaucracy and inefficiency, while the market is indicated as the effective technical sphere supposedly in the service of the general interest. However, this discourse hides the intimate relationship between state and market, as well as that corruption is promoted by the interest of the businessmen for a better place in the competition, as Karl Marx pointed out in *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. Considering that right-wing populism grows using valence issues to hide its real interests and the capitalist crisis roots, through the majority press and new media, one of the challenges for effective resistance is to show that the electoral contest in modern democracy reproduces the market's competition, as Joseph A. Schumpeter suggests. Moreover, it is important to analyze corruption in the context of capitalist accumulation or by dispossession, according to David Harvey, especially in accumulation during the crisis period of capitalism. So this work intends to analyze the appropriation of the anti-corruption valence issue used by the Brazilian right-wing, to show the hidden neoliberalism interests and to confront this valence issue with a historical materialism study about corruption as an expropriating mechanism that serves the capital accumulation.

Populism in Europe: Lessons from the Italian Laboratory

Antonio Astolfi (Queen Mary)

The term populism, whose genealogy has been thoughtfully inquired by Cas Mudde and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser (2017), raises a great number of complicated and overlapping issues within the field of political science. In the sense that, not only it represents a term of dramatic political fight throughout most of the existing polities around the world, but it also possesses an irreducible ambiguity which has seemingly left academics and observers alike without any kind of common understanding of it. The term, in fact, is nowadays widely adopted as a *passé-partout* in the attempt to assess, define and often stigmatise a broad array of new and renewed - political parties and social movements. The main purpose of the paper is to assess populism in its current Eurosceptic variety. More specifically, it aims to provide an in-depth analysis of the last Italian general elections, which have thrown the country into its longest political deadlock following a shocking populist electoral breakthrough. First among the six-founding members of the ECC, Italy has eventually set the stage for the experiment of a full-populist government. Remarkably, the xenophobic League and the maverick Five Stars Movement, which soon afterwards the polls joint together into a majority- coalition of the so-called Government of Change, display wide differences in term of their historical legacy, party formation, internal dynamics and background ideologies. Furthermore, their respective electoral constituencies approximately mirror the countrys fractured geography, which is critically divided between a sustained economy recovery in the northern regions, along with an impoverished and discouraged Mezzogiorno (southern regions). In other words, from a Weberian ideal-type perspective, they represent two different and generally alternative - kind of populist forces among the European-wide types. While the League epitomises all the features of the menacing, widespread emergence of the so-called Alt-right, which in the European fashion sees the French Front National as major point of reference, the Five Stars Movement is instead an anti-establishment/populist catchall party whose political nature is more than hard to grasp, and thus categorise. Therefore, due to its exceptional nature, which we define as a populist laboratory, the Italian political context offers us the chance to shed some light over two pivotal issues concerning populism. Drawing upon a Gramscian analysis, we will firstly investigate populism on the ground of its phenomenal adaptability and flexibility. Here, the historical electoral breakthrough undertaken by the League and the Five Stars Movement will give us the opportunity to trace back the making of their cultural hegemonic momentum. Secondly, we will focus our attention on the volatility side of populism. As the conference will take place within five months, we will have invaluable time to offer up-to-date insights about what the new populist government will have delivered. For instance, determining the capacity of both parties to transform their anti-establishment rhetoric into an effective (and successful) governing agenda, and also inquiring how they will - somehow - competitively share the burden of becoming part of the established powers. We believe that an in-depth analysis of the Italian laboratory would be beneficial in order to further expand our understanding of populism, its overlapping contours and its foreseeable political dynamics throughout Europe.

The Aestheticization of Technopolitics: The Internet, the Far Right and the Warming Planet

Tomislav Medak (Centre for Post-Digital Cultures, Coventry University Multimedia Institute / MAMA, Zagreb)

In the concluding paragraphs of “The Artwork”-essay, Benjamin famously writes: “Fascism attempts to organize the newly created proletarian masses without affecting the property structure which the masses strive to eliminate. Fascism sees its salvation in giving these masses not their right, but instead a chance to express themselves.” Writing in the 1930s, Benjamin was analyzing how the new medium of cinema was being repurposed for fascist propaganda. The medium of our age - the Internet - has, since the mid-1990s, transitioned from an imaginary of radical democratization (promising autonomy, self-organization, cooperative production and common ownership) to a reality of blanket surveillance, extreme concentration of wealth and erosion of labor rights. The consolidation of the capitalist world-system, with its transcontinental supply chains, 24/7 capital markets and global labor arbitrage, would not have been possible without the world-spanning digital networks. The autonomy and equality that the Internet initially promised transformed into an experience of fragmented yet interconnected exploitation. One way to understand this is that as a means of communication the Internet has become the Internet of proletarian masses, while the sweeping restructuring of relations of production is the making of the Internet of capital. Thus, the Benjaminian matrix - where masses are given a means of expression instead of a means of elimination of social property relations - is again at work. Starting from this analogy, I’ll, first, analyze the shifting ideology of the technocapitalist ruling class as it grapples to accommodate its own disruptive economic power into the liberal democratic hegemony that has ensconced its ascent to the position of economic domination. In particular, I’ll look at how figures such as Peter Thiel or Nick Land, with their unmitigated phantasies of neo-feudal technocracy and exodus from the social world, have professed a new (neo-fascist?) common sense that the mainstay of the technocapitalist ruling class dares not embrace. Second, I’ll analyze the struggle of the technocapitalist against the petrocapiatist power block, and how the two are poised to come to an uneasy agreement to control the runaway climate disorder. Third, I’ll analyze how the sovereignist right is attempting to use the displaced communicative agency of the masses, playing on their loss of economic security and political recognition, to complete a class recomposition that would couple the dominated classes in the capitalist nations with their dominant classes. In this, the central role is reserved for the projection of external threat at a moment when the migrations are becoming the new normal of the warming planet. Climate denialism, ethno-racial identitarianism, self-justified privilege and authoritarianism are of a par in this attempted class recomposition. The left’s inability to transform the collective experience of domination into a coherent vision of emancipation is key to understanding this process. To conclude, I’ll discuss what the left can learn from this: how it can act in a world where a heterogeneity of adaptations can only be sustained by a politics of radical solidarity.

Settler Colonization as Uneven and Combined Development

Jessica Evans (York University, Political Science)

This presentation proposes an interpretation of the rise and spread of the national state form in the 19th century through an extension of the theory of uneven and combined

development. Specifically, I draw upon Radhika Desai's contention that the modern geopolitical economy was effected through the externalization of capitalism's tensions and contradictions which were resolved through processes of combined development. I will argue that racial-nationalism was central in the rise of modern international relations. The outward expansion of capitalist social relations found expression in settler colonization, generating the first globally competitive commodity markets. To make emigrating labour and capital productive, meant to impress certain social relations into the New World resulting in combined development. In general, development in this period could not simply replicate the patterns established in Europe, but had to contend with specific local exigencies. In the settler colonies, the central local contradiction was that of indigenous priority which required that the nation be materially formed through practices of indigenous dispossession and elimination, and conceptually understood through the positing of white racial supremacy.

Renewing Socialist Theory: From Materialism to an Ontology of Power

Alain Savard (York University)

This paper will challenge the centrality of materialism in socialist and Marxist traditions. It will argue that, instead of focusing on a materialist ontology, the tools developed by Marxists are much more fit to an ontology of power. Both on a practical level to guide day-to-day strategy and facilitate the pedagogy of socialist theory, and on a theoretical level to ensure the coherence of historical explanations and analyses of conjunctures, it will be demonstrated that an ontology of power has a strong potential to renew socialist theory and avoid some recurring pitfalls. In order to substantiate this claim, our presentation will focus on (1) the problem of defining the material base in terms of economic activity, (2) the difficult integration of other forms of oppression such as women's oppression and racism, (3) the lack of a micro-foundation to guide day-to-day strategy, and (4) the absence of embedded tools to define radical democracy. From there, we will present briefly the core concepts of our ontology of power and explain how these could solve those problems while remaining largely faithful to the crux of emancipatory socialist theoretical and political traditions.

The Wheat and the Chaff: Strategy, Working-Class Politics, and Community Organizing

Clment Petitjean (Universit Versailles Saint-Quentin (UVSQ))

However dire the current political conjuncture, strategic debates on the Left about the pitfalls of elections, the need for but insufficiency of contentious social movements, or the necessity to rebuild militant labor unions from below conjure up a rich body of work that can be drawn upon. Other forms of collective action, however, have fallen under the analytical radar and remain understudied and generally misunderstood. Like community organizing. The first obstacle to genuine critical engagement with community organizing practices is the well-founded illusion conflating community organizing with Alinskyism. Often portrayed as the founder of community organizing, Saul Alinsky does not offer a roadmap for radical change. The development of his own style of opportunistic, professionalized, antipolitical engineering of citizen participation has played an important though often overlooked role in the marginalization of the US left (Petcoff 2017). It is urgently necessary, however, to disentangle community organizing as a whole from the

grips of Alinskyism, to uncover other, more emancipatory traditions and to engage seriously with actual organizing practices in order to separate the wheat from the chaff. Another obstacle is the dominant view on the Left that the organizations engaged in community organizing efforts belong to the nonprofit industrial complex (Incite! 2009). Numerous analyses have highlighted nonprofits structural subordination to the philanthropic field, the professionalization and corporatization of activism/organizing. These organizations cannot be seen as the left-wing counter-institutions that are so desperately needed (and missing) in order to wage the war of positions we are currently engaged in. While all this is true, we must also recognize that community organizing is one of the few existing venues in the US for working-class mobilization and representation as well as a critical politicizing training ground for a younger generation of radicals. These contradictions deserve our full attention. Of particular interest to socialists should be community organizers willingness and ability to meet people where theyre at and to acknowledge peoples actual living conditions as the necessary prerequisite for any further development of militant praxis. If we believe that the overthrow of capitalism and interlocked systems of oppression will come about through collective struggle from below, any form of collective action that mobilizes the working classes and rejects arm-chaired radical posturing should be meticulously analyzed and debated rather than met with outright dismissal. Furthermore, while socialists may not agree with what community organizers call strategy, their obsession with strategic thinking and the idea that demands can actually be won should arouse our curiosity. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Chicago and archival research, this paper will focus on some aspects of community organizing which socialists could use as a point of departure to build new trenches, push our positions forward, take on the right and win. References cited Incite! 2009. The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex. Cambridge, Mass: South End Press. Petcoff, Aaron. 2017. The Problem With Saul Alinsky. Jacobin. 10 mai 2017. Clment Petitjean clementlucpetitjean@gmail.com

Reclaiming Womens Struggle for Gender Justice from the Right: Case studies from India

Paromita Chakrabarti (HR College of Commerce and Economics, University of Mumbai, India)

The current Hindu nationalist BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) government in India obscures its sectarian and reactionary agenda beneath a rhetoric of development and progress. The politics of gender is a particularly significant and illustrative dimension of this strategy. This paper discusses three cases in order to examine the BJPgovernment's relationship to gender and interrogate the complex entanglement of politics, capital and culture on women lives. The three cases examined are: a) the Supreme Court ban of Triple Talaq and the central governments hasty introduction and subsequent passing of The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill 2017 in the lower house, criminalizing instant divorce by Muslim men; b) the extensively reported Kathua and Unnao rapes; c) feminist activist Trupti Desais right to pray campaign challenging the ban of womens entry into certain temples and mosques. The Indian states handling of each of the three cases demonstrate the right wing BJP governments allegedly progressive gender policy is in reality a collection of politically expedient measures geared to demobilize genuine movements for social transformation, improve its chances for electoral victory in the general elections of 2019, and to enhance Indias image in world politics. The paper will also reflect on the role that right wing forces from the minority communities such as the AIMPLB (All India Muslim Personal Law Board), the clerics, other Muslim organizations like the AIMIM (All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen), have played in

the context of each of the three cases discussed. The paper will assess how in all the three cases the dialectics between State agenda of gender rights and social progress and the conservative Muslim forces who claim to fight for and protect their women and religion have resulted in a serious problematic. The majoritarian government and the minority conservative forces have resorted to heavy handed bullying, intimidation and propaganda respectively, in order to mobilize opinion and support. Their connivance at an ideological level has actually resulted in strengthening right wing nationalist and patriarchal claims on the gender question. This has led to the hijacking and discrediting of decades of progressive womens movement to end economic exploitation, prevent sexual violence and fight for gender justice. The paper will conclude with a discussion on how to break free from this impasse and reclaim womens struggle from the right and imagine new ways to accomplish the goals of social equality and gender justice.

Not Only Economists are Fond of Robinson Crusoe Stories: The Underlying Critique of Political Philosophy in Marx's Capital

Allan M. Hillani (New School for Social Research)

The role of the State and politics in Marxist theory is object of endless debate. Usually anchored in Marx's metaphor of base and superstructure or in his early writings on politics and law, these theories end up ignoring the critical method developed in his late writings in their attempt to analyze political concepts. I propose that as political economy was submitted to a critique which exposed its basic contradictions, the fetishism of its main categories, and the logic of its inner dynamic, the same should be done to political philosophy. More than that, I argue that the main aspects of such a critique can be found in *Capital* and the *Grundrisse*. This is possible because liberal political economy shares with liberal political philosophy (from Hobbes and Rousseau to Kant and Rawls) the same assumptions. This reading is strengthened by the fact that Marx constantly uses political analogies to explain his major economical concepts. I believe that by putting together these pieces we may reconstruct the critique of political philosophy that Marx never explicitly put forth. First, I show how Marx makes an analogy between the relationship between commodities and the relationship between their guardians. The abstract equivalence between commodities and subjects alike is socially recognized in the act of exchange. This juridical relation, that establishes the equality of value and labor, also recognizes the freedom and equality of the exchangers. But this is just one face of the relation since class division between those who only own themselves and those who buy the labor power of the latter is presupposed in this juridical relation. Also, both class division and juridical relations are only possible due to an original violence that established them (a violence that secures the two sides of this contradiction) and a fetish of the subject which enables the social mediation of this contradiction just as the fetish of the commodity does with use value and value. Then, I argue that Marx's theory of money the general equivalent which is simultaneously the condition and the effect of the relationship of equivalence could give elements to a materialist critique of social contract theory and (popular) sovereignty. If the money-form involves a fetish that goes beyond the commodity fetish, the same could be said about the sovereign and its subjects. This means that as money has a double use value and is the embodiment of value in general, so does the sovereign. This can be connected to the political theories of the two bodies of the people in modern democracies. Also, I propose that the state of nature and the social contract must be read both as an original myth, like the so-called primitive accumulation in political economy, but also as the genesis of sovereignty as in Marx's genesis of money, which in political philosophy has historically appeared in a mystified form. The first

case reveals the original violence involved in State formation and second one explains why these political myths are still relevant for political philosophy.

French Communism and the Origins of Algerian Nationalism

Selim Nadi (Sciences Po Paris (France))

While the role of the French Communist Party (PCF) on the colonial issue during the inter-war is often debated, this paper will focus on it from another point of view. Indeed, a lot of anticolonial figures (from Ho Chi Minh to Messali Hadj) were educated politically within the PCF. This paper will focus on a very particular case study: the politicization of a lot of Algerians within the PCF and their role in participating in the building of a strong Algerian nationalist movement. Our aim here is not to argue that the PCF shaped Algerian nationalism, but rather that the relationship with the PCF played a huge role in the very building not only of anticolonial ideas but also of a nationalist political movement. A good example of this is Hadj-Ali Abdelkader, the founder of the North African Star (Etoile Nord Africaine), widely forgotten today, who was an important member of the PCF before his involvement in the NAS. Hence, the role of Algerian immigrants, and their contradictory relationship to the PCF, was very important in the building of a strong Algerian nationalist movement. The Intercolonial Union as well as the Colonial Commissions, organized by the PCF played a really important role in the politicization of Algerian immigrants especially in putting Algerians in relation with other indigenes (Vietnamese, Malgache, etc.). This paper aims at putting forward the communist roots of Algerian nationalism but also to explain how and why this nationalism split with the PCF during the 1930s. From the politicization of a lot of Algerian nationalist figures within the ranks of the PCF to the split of these figures with the PCF, through the harsh debates on the issue of autonomy within the Party, this paper aims at focusing on an important part of the history of the workers movement and of Algerian anticolonialism.

Revolution, War and the State in the Emergence of Capitalism

Pepijn Brandon (International Institute of Social History /Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)

War formed a key moment in all of the events that Marx and Engels characterized as the “classical bourgeois revolutions”. This is true not only in the self-evident sense that those events fused challenges to the existing authorities with wars of independence (as in the Netherlands in the sixteenth or the North-American colonies in the eighteenth century), civil war (as in England in the seventeenth century), or a European-wide armed conflict between revolution and reaction (as in France in the eighteenth century). It is also true in the sense that the states that came out of those revolutions were all aggressive and successful war-states, both within Europe and on a global scale. Equally, “bourgeois revolution” from above or from the outside (for example in Scotland in the eighteenth century) often was driven by the aim to subordinate and integrate regions into the wider imperial ambitions of composite states. Crucial power-shifts between popular and pro-capitalist forces, as well as significant changes in the internal organization and finances of (post-) revolutionary states were linked to the turn towards war and external (colonial) conquest. The aim of this panel is to deepen our understanding of these links between

revolution, state formation and war in the emergence of capitalism. Speakers: Neil Davidson, David McNally, Pepijn Brandon. Commentator: Maia Pal.

Antisemitism, the Labour Party and the Left

Brendan McGeever (Pears Institute for the study of Antisemitism, Birkbeck, University of London, UCU)

Antisemitism, the Labour Party and the Left The debate about antisemitism and the left shows no sign of abating. In Britain, a series of rows have erupted in recent years around the question of antisemitism and Corbyn's Labour Party. These conflicts have revealed stark divisions, not just between right and left, but within the left itself about the nature of antisemitism and its politicisation in a period of crisis capitalism. This panel explores some of the key issues that underpin this debate, including: the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, the political conjuncture within which these rows have surfaced, the relationship between antisemitism and other racisms and Corbynism and the future of anti-racist politics.

Pierre Bourdieu: Theorist of an Iron Law of Social Reproduction? Reflections on the Place of Social Transformation in Bourdieu's Works

Bridget Fowler (University of Glasgow)

Bourdieu has received a highly-critical response from some social theorists, including Marxists. Although accepting some of his stipulations about the categories of capital, contemporary Marxists - such as Callinicos and Burawoy - argue that he advances an over-mechanistic account of social reproduction that condemns to failure any social movements towards human emancipation or liberation. However, this paper claims that accepting Bourdieu's distinctive account of social domination does not entail denying all sources of liberty, resistance or drives towards feasible utopia. It will lean particularly on Bourdieu's analyses of symbolic and social revolutions (Social Space and the Genesis of Groups and Pascalian Domination) together with his posthumously-published works - On the State, Sociologie Générale and Manet: Une Révolution Symbolique.

Walter Benjamin's Anti-fascist Radio

Kester Richardson-Dawes (QMUL)

They have dropped counterfeit bread-ration coupons over Germany from the air. We shall reply with these [bank]notes, until inflation is over them like a storm. Here a Nazi SS guard, Herbert Marock, describes Operation Bernhard at Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1940, where 114 Jewish inmates were forced to produce counterfeit pound and dollar notes worth billions. Just as the Allies counterfeited German ration coupons, the Nazis aimed to spark inflation in rival economies, in an effort that nearly won them the war. The Sachsenhausen survivor and counterfeiter, Adolf Burger, documents these events in *The Devil's Workshop* (1983), which was adapted for film in *The Counterfeiters* (2007). The miniature war fought using fake ration coupons and forged banknotes is strikingly similar to Walter Benjamin's radio broadcast on counterfeiting, *Postage Stamp*

Swindles (1931). Here he describes the relationship between stamp counterfeiting, banknote forgery and a nascent theory of technological reproduction. Benjamin's radio broadcast is all the more prescient as the Nazi counterfeiting operation also produced fake stamps. Benjamin's theory that the counterfeiter if we can use this word is the state (Benjamin, 1931) provides a fresh perspective on the Frankfurt School's analysis of fascism (most associated with Benjamin's Work of Art essay of 1935 and Adorno's Dialectic of Enlightenment, published in 1947). There has been an explosion of interest in Benjamin's broadcasts since they were collected in *Radio Benjamin* (ed. Rosenthal, 2014) and *Rundfunkarbeiten* (ed. Kpper and Nowak, 2017). However, scholarship on the Benjamin broadcasts is virtually non-existent in English (Rosenthal, 2014) and limited in German (see Schiller-Lergs *Walter Benjamin und der Rundfunk*, 1984). Jeffrey Mehlman neglects the historical and political parallels of the stamp broadcast in *Walter Benjamin for Children* (1993), the best-known English language study of Benjamin's radio work. Yet Lecia Rosenthal recently called for more study of Benjamin's broadcasts and the rise of Nazism, asking how does the radio period anticipate, or fail to anticipate, the coming of fascism? (Rosenthal, Verso interview, 2015). While Adorno's radio broadcasts of the 1960s addressed fascism more explicitly, with titles like *Education After Auschwitz* (1966), I uncover the latent anti-fascism of the Benjamin broadcasts.

Emergence in Marx's Political Economy

Jim Kincaid

Emergence concepts are now widely used in the natural sciences. They trace and explain processes in which competition and/or cooperation by large numbers of individual agents create collective structures and systems but in situations in which there is no overall centralised control or planning. Commonly quoted examples include for example: antibodies in the immune system, neurons in the central nervous system, and colonies of ants and other insects. Despite some pioneering insights by Althusser, Bensad, Shaikh and a few others, many political economists remain sceptical about the potential usefulness of emergence concepts. Clearly such analogies would have to be used with extreme caution (ants and neurons don't have money or own shares etc.). But I argue that emergence themes could help resolve some of the difficulties Marx encountered in navigating, with the scientific concepts available to him, the explanatory dilemmas of structure/agency and system/conjuncture. For example: (1) in clarifying how, in capitalism, the law of value asserts itself in and through the haze of disorderly price movements. And (2) in explaining the many displaced and derivative forms in which the law of value finds expression especially as capitalism becomes more deeply financialised and transnational. The analytical power of emergence thinking will be enhanced if explored in close conjunction with a cluster of related concepts: capitalism as a complex adaptive system; structural causality; sensitivity to initial conditions; and butterfly tipping points. Crucially, emergent processes need to be interlinked with the rich literature which has recently become available on plural temporalities in *Capital* (Tombazos, Tomba, Morfino and others). [Submitted for Panel to be organised by Demet Dinler]

Absolute Monarchy, Reformist Assemblies, and the French Revolution

Stephen Miller (University of Alabama at Birmingham)

The focus of this paper is the political transformation of France brought about by the monarchy's comprehensive reform of the administration, the creation of participatory assemblies at all levels of the government, including rural parishes, in 1787. Royal reformers hoped that if the landed elites participated in provincial and district assemblies, they would identify with the regime, understand its problems, build consensus around state policies, and allow the monarchy to overcome its financial difficulties by sacrificing their tax privileges. Reformers hoped that elected assemblies in rural parishes would investigate the landed wealth of the seigneurial classes for the fiscal purposes of the monarchy. I argue that these assemblies proved politically destabilizing because of the particularities of French absolutism. The monarchy differed from its counterparts in Eastern Europe, where royal absolutism had emerged in conjunction with a violent manorial reaction. The dominant classes of Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Austria benefited from the unpaid labor of peasants legally bound to remain on their manors. With few limitations on their authority, the nobles stood in no need of compensatory offices within the state. French absolutism differed even more markedly from the English monarchy, where gentry proprietors obtained wealth from monetary rents based on free markets in land and labor, a purely economic form of income. The gentry did not show such deep feelings of respect to the crown, because they did not depend on it for the distribution of pensions, honors, offices, and lordships. They did not compete with each other for these sorts of privileges. The landed classes instead united behind Parliament to insist that the state limit its activities to the protection of the existing property system and cease threatening their private assets through unparliamentary taxation. Research of the last three decades has shown that the dominant classes of France, in contrast, possessed hereditary rights within the government. They enjoyed private ownership of public power as seigneurs and office holders. It was for this reason that the assemblies proved so destabilizing. They presented the prospect that the king would govern and administer the realm without hereditary holders of offices and lordships. The reform thus unleashed widespread protests up and down the hierarchy of royal institutions. The protests demonstrated to excluded subordinate townspeople and peasants that the ruling class of high clergymen, nobles, lords, and office holders sought to maintain their power within the monarchy. The assemblies, in this way, led to the crystallization of the political attitudes that made the Revolution in 1789.

The Political and Legal Strategies of Worker-Recuperated Enterprises in Argentina

Jack Meakin (University of Glasgow)

The worker recuperated enterprises (ERTs) of Argentina have occupied workplaces, established self-managed cooperatives, and won legal protections for their control of property. The recuperation movement has challenged the function, organisation, and normative basis of politics, law, and economics and realised a political and legal alternative to the economic programme of neo-liberal globalisation. I propose that the ERTs' experience provides a catalyst for re-imagining the political and juris-generative potential of labour movements. Drawing upon the force of law, the strategic interpretation of legal concepts provided ERTs with legal protection for their political intentions, however legal protections are limited to those already given within law and this

necessitated the concurrent use of political strategies. For example, occupation, mass demonstrations, and various acts of solidarity buttressed their legal strategies and ensured the continued control of property necessary for their legal and political struggle. This paper will explore each of the factors that made the relation between legal and political action strategically important and will seek to provide generalisable lessons for contemporary labour movements.

Technical Change in the Labor Process: The Management Contradiction and the Workforce Contradiction

Matt Vidal (Loughborough University)

I articulate a classical marxist theory of technical change in the labor process, highlighting two contradictions. The management contradiction is the conflict managers experience between coordination (to increase efficiency) versus discipline (to ensure valorization). The workforce contradiction is the tension workers experience between their productive socialization and alienation within the capitalist labor process. I submit that both contradictions were substantially muted from the earliest stages of capitalism through the fordist stage but have become intensified in the postfordist period. Under postfordism, the basis of efficiency is economies of scope and flexibility, and thus there is a real efficiency advantage to empowering workers, via both multiskilling and employee involvement in problem solving and decision making. Postfordist capitalism has thus initiated an intensification of the management and workforce contradictions. In response to these intensified contradictions, capitalist management is increasingly impeding the growth of the productive forces, by failing to empower workers.

White Skin, Black Fuel: The Anti-Climate Politics of the European Far Right

Andreas Malm (Lund University)

The surging far right in Europe has negative attitudes to immigration as their main selling point, but it also tends to deny climate science and promote fossil energy. This gives rise to a situation no computer models or IPCC projections counted on: just as emissions cuts are more urgently needed than ever, parties with a regressive climate agenda are advancing in Europe. The pattern is global on notable display in the country with the largest historical emissions but this panel will focus on Europe. It will report from a research project mapping the climate and energy politics of European right-wing populism and include contributions on Germany (AfD), Sweden (Sweden Democrats), Italy (Lega), Poland (Law and Justice), Denmark (Danish People's Party) and Finland (True Fins). Empirical investigations of these countries and parties will be combined with attempts at historical-materialist theorisation of the phenomenon. Why is the contemporary far right so deeply invested in rejecting climate science and championing fossil fuels? What are the links between those positions and the hostility towards immigrants? What are the implications for the climate and anti-fascist movements? These are some of the questions this panel seek to address. (Note that we might ask for a second panel if enough comrades confirm their participation.)

Communist Strategy Needs Meta-Strategy: De-Ruling is the Abstract Political Compass of Communising

Jara Handala

Tactics and strategies are improved when they are based on scientific knowledge. Tactics are ways of acting once engaged with opponents and enemies, and strategies are ways of preparing conditions for engagement. So, from object to condition. In turn, meta-strategy is an ever-present condition of strategic deliberation, albeit usually unacknowledged: meta-strategy is always involved in strategy. It provides the big picture, the hoped-for destination. It renders strategy more intelligible, and acts as an epistemic check and a utilitarian promise. Meta-strategic scientific work can discover concepts and conceptions, and devise arguments and standards for interrogating proposed strategies, be they for issue activism, augmenting capacities and building institutions (Panitch & Gindin), or societal change. Strategies should serve meta-strategic ends. 2) Meta-strategic analysis shows that complete societal transformation that is socialist (so ending commodification, thereby entering Marx's lower phase of communism) is unique in aiming to create a classless society, one without systematic exploitation and other oppressions. The process focuses on ruling and anti-ruling. Just as a scientific understanding of economic life requires the mode of production concept, that of political life needs the mode of ruling concept. This improves upon Mouzelis mode of domination concept, as demonstrated, in part, by Therborn's account of subjugation and qualification. The latter forms the basis of a typology of sub-modes of ruling, identified by applying the Aristotelian conception of powers and susceptibilities found in critical realism. This frees analysis from both an unwarranted focus on power and also the constrictions of frameworks such as hegemony/domination, consent/force, consensus/legitimacy/force, false/true consciousness. This reconceptualisation expands the strategic horizon, opening up new areas for consideration, and allowing the old to be done in new ways. 3) The principal political practical imperative is control control of access to valued entities, and, partly because of this, control over the quality of relations. This helps explain the secondary significance of possession and ownership. Human political history is a management struggle, the management of control. This is no less true of nascent post-capitalist society. Control is achieved by exercising political forces (powers and susceptibilities) organised within the mode of ruling. The continual capitalising of peoples lives is opposed by their communising, the anti-force. Communising, in political terms, is developing anti-ruling at the expense of ruling, with the former harbouring a dynamic of re-ruling and de-ruling, and de-ruling itself hosting a dynamic of co-governing (associating with others) and self-governing (self-discipline). Freedom is lived less as freedom-from, emancipation, and more as freedom-to, liberation. De-ruling is the only political process and form with the capacity to realise, through communising, the universal class for-itself. As each of these necessary dynamics marks a phase in the prospective history of communising, they provide a meta-strategic framework, analytically prior to positioning and manoeuvring, anterior to strategy and tactics, more abstract than matters of classpartystate. This political compass is lacking in both the Bolsheviks 1919 programme and the Groep van Internationale Communistens 1930 analysis. So, fundamentally, strategies should encourage de-ruling. 4) If systematic exploitation and other oppressions can be ended, the hitherto content of ruling, that is governing-over, then politics is reduced to co-governing and self-governing, namely to contested participation in deciding, implementing, monitoring, revising, and back to deciding. The mode of anti-ruling is used to sublimate both the mode of ruling and itself to yield, residually, the mode of governing. The complete communising of the political dimension of human living is its sublation as the governing aspect of integral living. The universal class for-itself fully comes into being, and the integral is its form, and so the form of communist society. This is the living of integral civilisation (Goikhbarg; Gramsci). As comprehension, politics and political

theory is a practical and epistemic narrow realisation of governing and governing theory, this an aspect of integral living and integral theory. In being anti-ruling, scientific communists are anti-political; it makes them integral, not political. All this flows from a meta-strategic analysis exercising scientific communist reason.

Aleatory Materialism: A Philosophy for Marxism?

Alexander Gorman (Dept. of Philosophy, Duquesne University)

In a 1984 interview with Fernanda Navarro, Louis Althusser remarked that what he sought was not a Marxist philosophy but rather a philosophy for Marxism. This paper examines how aleatory materialism aims to provide a philosophy for Marxism flexible enough to productively engage with the antinomies, gaps, and contradictions that render Marxist philosophy, as Althusser suggests, impossible. In Althusser's letters with Navarro and other documents of the early 1980s, we see him developing a materialism other than that which remains within the specular dyad of idealism/materialism, a materialism that considers how a philosophy produces effects in relation to practices and conceptualizes the circuit between philosophy, ideology, and politics. Looking to Althusser's notion of aleatory materialism, this paper attempts to clarify the distinction between Marxist philosophy and a philosophy for Marxism. Situating this development in response to recently published materials on the crisis of Marxism diagnosed by Althusser in the late 1970s, aleatory materialism provides a critical method for reassessing latent materialisms in Marxist thought. Althusser's critique targets the illusory unity of dialectical materialism, a philosophy he criticized as a Tower of Babel under the control of political watchmen. Invoking the Epicurean concept of the swerve or *clinamen* in which an infinitesimal, aleatory event initiates the formation of complex unities as a means of rethinking the relationship between determinism and chance against teleology, Althusser's materialist philosopher always catches a moving train without knowing where he comes from (origin) or where he's going (goal). Theory does not reproduce or represent a truth anterior to the process of theoretical formation but must instead be viewed as a part of the eventual process in which it is situated. This paper interprets this epistemological framework as part of a wider Leninist critique of Leninism that aims at reentering Lenin's political and intellectual orientation that was, in Althusser's words, being snuffed out by Stalin-type formulae and practices. One consequence of Althusser's philosophy for Marxism is that it shifts our view of the tradition, breaking from the demonstrative unity of Capital towards more fragmentary and tentative elements present in the thought of Marx and his disciples, an approach evident in readings by Stathis Kouvelakis and others. This paper foregrounds the political dimension of this interpretive shift, and how an interpretation of this crisis of meaning at its far end can lead towards a productive rethinking of the place of theory in class formation today, and a model whereby the relation between theoretical and revolutionary practice may be rethought in terms of what Althusser calls the philosophy effect, changing our view of the relations between theoretical production and political practice. Finally, if for Althusser, Marxism was in need of a philosophy for the sake of thinking with Marx, today, philosophy is, more than ever, in need of Marxism as a vehicle to recapture its capacity to act upon the world, mobilizing its polemical power to challenge resurgent vitalisms and mystificatory ontologies that increasingly have turned philosophy into a laboratory of reaction. This paper considers how Althusser's philosophy for Marxism can also serve to bring Marxism back to philosophy, where for too long it has been excluded, excised, and suppressed.

Anything but Free Abortion on Demand: The US Left and the Fight for Privatized Abortion Coverage

Safia Albaiti

The passage of Roe v. Wade, which legalized abortion in the United States in 1973 and enshrined the right to privacy over the right to self-determination, informed the way a whole generation of feminists on the US Left organized in defense of abortion rights. This presentation will argue that the neoliberal fragmentation and private provision of abortion care and its separation from other aspects of health care, is also a structural challenge to winning free abortion on demand. Before Roe v. Wade, the earliest campaigns and leading organizations, including Planned Parenthood and the National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws (NARAL), drew their base from the medical profession and middle class legal reformers, and these were more concerned with the failure of birth control and the impact of birth defects, and resolving the problems of treating middle class women under conditions of illegality. The resultant constitutional victory of Roe v. Wade reflected this emphasis on doctors rights and the right to privacy, and not womens self-determination. Faced with immediate campaigns to roll back this victory, the left increasingly became influenced by a political lens that emphasized the Christian right as the main and often the only target for mobilization to defend abortion and the defense of NGO service-based private clinics as the end goal. The theoretical implication of this strategy has remained unquestioned, and the defense of Planned Parenthood or other private NGO providers and their continued right to retain federal funding has come to overshadow any other alternative that would include integrating abortion providers into a movement for single payer nationalized health care. This focus has only solidified the Democratic Partys hegemony over the movement for reproductive freedoms, and has been unable to challenge the continued isolation, vulnerability and stigmatization of abortion as a medical practice. Due to this unchallenged cross-class cleavage, American socialists have never argued for an independent working class strategy that could involve unionizing abortion clinic workers and organizing Medicaid recipients, students, Native women and rank and file soldiers banned from access to abortions. This presentation will argue that new political openings from the growth of a social democratic radicalization in the United States can help the socialist left reassess this theoretical blind spot and lack of an independent political strategy.

Criminalizing Queer/Trans BIWOC: Understanding Capitalisms Production of Illegal Economies and Ultra-Right Policing

Jamie Magnusson (Adult Education and Community Development OISE, University of Toronto)

In this paper I show how capitalisms production of illegal economies is organically intertwined with the global consolidation of ultra-right wing white supremacism and fascism. Several excellent analyses map out this historical process in the global south, showing how ultra-right paramilitarism in jurisdictions such as Colombia, was created through narco-imperialism, or what Paley (2014) refers to as drug war capitalism. My paper is grounded in community organizing with sex workers involved in the drug trade in downtown Toronto, Canada. My analysis therefore maps out how global consolidation of illegal economies in the global north is intertwined with globalized finance capital, following Bhattacharyyas (2005) analysis. I argue that the interpenetration of legal and

illegal economies is productive of ultra-right white supremacist militarism. Heads of states and police in the global north are openly complicit in benefitting from the illegal economy. Trump is known to have facilitated global money laundering through luxury condo real estate development. Former Toronto Chief of Police, Julian Fantino, is poised to cash in on legalization of cannabis in Canada, and the former head of the RCMP drug enforcement squad, Derek Ogden, is the new CEO of a nationally consolidated marijuana corporation: National Access Cannabis. Newly elected leader of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, Doug Ford, was a former drug dealer, and at now promises to direct more public funding to policing. We see here the unfolding of material historical processes by which consolidation of racist heteropatriarchal ultra-right misogyny is organized through capitalisms investment in producing illegal economies. Queer/Trans BIWOC are located within illegal economies such that they are subject to both state violence and the misogynist violence that organizes the illegal economy. I analyze the process by which hypercarceration and hypersurveillance of Queer/trans BIWoC (Black, Indigenous Women of Colour) constitute value regimes within the organizing logic of necro-capitalism. In an era of militarized finance capital, the production of illegal economies is not unlike establishing new colonies through violence, slavery, and dispossession. I conclude by discussing the pre-figurative political spaces created by criminalized queer/trans and BIWOC involved in community organizing and harm reduction work in Toronto. These spaces dismantle hierarchies based on gender, race, class, sexuality, colonialism, ablism, centering BIWoC as an intentional strategy to intervene in this practice of dismantling. The spaces are loving and thoroughly challenge the capitalist police state by their mere existence. These are spaces that flow from anarchist community defence histories. They create access to health care, food security, housing security, community defence and harm reduction knowledge and practices. They build community against the hierarchized fragmentation of gentrification, and create coalitions, offer solidarity, and build movements that challenge the capitalist, colonial police state. The violence of militarized finance capitalism is daunting. However, if criminalized queer/trans BIWOC within our communities can set up loving spaces that challenge the capitalist state, then we have the kernel for a way forward. References: Battacharyya, G. (2005). *Traffick: The illicit movement of people and things*. London, U.K.: Pluto Press. Paley, D. (2014). *Drug war capitalism*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

Tidy: A Case Study of Social Reproduction in the Gig Economy

Magally Alejandra Miranda (UCLA Chicana/o Studies, Viewpoint Magazine)

Today, a number of online platforms like Handy and Tidy have begun to offer a variety of services related to social reproduction. These digital platforms are part of the gig economy, a niche market characterized by short-term, temporary work arrangements between service providers and clients which are mediated through certain technological developments such as data-driven analytics and crowdsourcing. Although these kinds of arrangements are not new, the development of such apps have exacerbated the sheer numbers of people who turn to technological solutions the market either as clients purchasing services or as independent contractors providing them. In the case of social reproduction services, these platforms are radically transforming the work itself in important ways. This paper explores the complex relationship between gig-style work arrangements and social reproduction. In this paper, I briefly examine the continuities and discontinuities between waged social reproduction, especially early forms of temporary or short-term work arrangements and these modern digitally-mediated social

reproduction arrangements or gigs, and argue for reviving certain questions raised by the Wages for Housework Campaign, only in the context of markets for housework. Using a case study of Tidy, a Los Angeles-based online platform for house cleaning, I ask, how is social reproduction mediated through digital platforms such as Tidy, an app that is like Uber, but for housework?

Socialist Strategy in a Post-Socialist State: Lessons From Slovenia

Jasa Veselinovic (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Zan Zupan (University of Ljubljana)

The 2014 parliamentary elections in Slovenia were marked by the electoral success of the United Left coalition. It was composed of three parties (Initiative for Democratic Socialism, Party for EcoSocialism and Sustainable Development of Slovenia and Democratic Labour Party) and has since become a single party - The Left. It was for the first time in any European post-socialist country that a party inspired by socialist ideas without any links to the former Nomenklatura made it into parliament. However, upon entering the state apparatus, the party underwent a series of transformations; political, organisational and that of the rank-and-file. From the protest wave of the Slovene uprisings in 2012 to the parliamentary elections in June 2018 it has encountered and been shaped by the forces pivotal in Slovenias history - both in the the state and the civil society. Ever since the breakup of Yugoslavia, Slovene political and economic landscape has been influenced by a network stemming from reformist parts of the former Communist party and the Socialist Youth. The latter formed the largest faction in the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia, the party with the longest track record of governance in modern day Slovenia. After independence, Slovenia experienced the so called gradual transition into capitalism. This was in part possible due to the tactical alliance between the organized working class, the left-liberal political elite, and the so called red managers - a caste of reformed Communists in charge of the major industries. This led to the institutionalization of corporatist social dialogue, ensuring a period of political stability lasting up to the early 2000s. This class impasse resulted in the shift of the political terrain to the centre and the complete dominance of the left-liberal ideology. In the early 2000s, the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia fell apart due to internal disputes. The obligatory membership in the Chamber of Commerce, which allowed for an effective collective bargaining and social dialogue, was also abolished in that period and the trade union membership declined. Slovenia got a neoliberal right-wing government in 2004 which under the guidance of Janez Jana of the Slovene democratic party privatized some state-owned enterprises and persecuted sectors of the national liberal bourgeoisie. The response of the political left (the liberal left) was the so-called anti-Janism which drove the political landscape further to the centre. In our paper we will show how The Left party arose from this political landscape and how it was transformed by it once entering the parliament. By analysing the development of The Lefts manifestos and some of the more internal debates we will examine how the partys strategic considerations about the transition to a non-capitalist society have changed. We will focus specifically on its relationship with the organised labour and the predominantly left-liberal media. Based on this, we will evaluate the limits of the strategy of parliamentarism in Slovenia as a country on the periphery of the EU and the eurozone. We will also consider the implications of our analysis for the socialist strategy in the Balkans at large.

Lenin and Gramsci. “Cultural” Revolution and “Translatability”

Rocco Lacorte (Universidade de Brasilia)

Before becoming a philosophical problem explicitly theorized in Gramsci's Notebooks, translation constituted a political and organizational necessity for the socialists from all over the world and a historical fact, which bears implicit the germs of the future theoretical elaboration. Translation (in the Gramscian sense) appears already in the late Lenin. This latter claims that, in order to defeat capitalism and build up communist society, it was vital to pass to the Russian masses and abroad the idea of the necessity of the cultural as a continuation of the political revolution and as a form of political revolution itself: this constituted one of the great tasks to be accomplished, in order the political revolution be absorbed by and made accessible to the masses (Lenin [1921] 1968: 1642-43).¹ Yet, this would imply an enormous cultural and pedagogical work (to be carried out by the Centres for Political Education). Lenin explicitly posits the question of translation and language as central to this cultural work, which he conceived not only necessary to develop the political national and international political, but also the economic productive forces of the new communist society. Later, Gramsci, explicitly mentioning Lenin (Q72), will call Lenin's translation as organic and profound (Q71, A; Q1147, C), insofar as meant to fully reach and educate entire masses of workers and peasants i.e., to produce an intellectual progress of the masses and not only of a few groups of intellectuals (Q1112; Q348) and to free them from their subalternity, doing without the millennial separation between rulers and ruled. This way of viewing translation a characteristic feature and method of Marxism, necessary to lead with historical experience, avoiding abstractionism and doing without the application of abstract schemes to reality. Also the introduction of the New Economic Policy in Russia, can be seen as a way of translating State capitalism into the framework of a proletarian State (as Gramsci would say in this particular case, this translation would coincide with reducing and hegemonising State capitalism by the new communist State). Thus, Gramsci's notion of translation/translatability represents the development of a criterion, which he elaborates for theoretically justifying a practical need circulating among communist parties and organizations around the world. He places this criterion at the core of the philosophy of praxis and concept of hegemony, that is, of the political idea of a necessary intellectual and moral reformation (Q1112, C), namely, as Lenin called it before and Gramsci himself later in the first draft of Q1112, C: Q8171, A a cultural revolution. From this viewpoint, the revolution would necessarily imply translating. It can be shown that both Gramsci and Lenin shared the idea of political hegemony as a new dialectical pedagogical relationship, coinciding with the concrete ongoing process of the unification of theory and practice (Q101144, 1331-32; Q348, 330-31), through organic and profound translation, that is, with the only real politics, as politics of the masses (Q348, 330). 1 Lenin, V. I. (1968) *Opere scelte*, Rome: Editori Riuniti.

What is a Hegemonic Project? Revisiting Questions of Strategy in Contemporary Debates

Panagiotis Sotiris (Hellenic Open University)

Recently, hegemonic project has been one of the most widely used notions in debates regarding left-wing politics. In most cases accompanied with a reference to Gramsci and in some others to Laclau and Mouffe's reformulations of the notion of hegemony, it has been used as a synonym of a situation where the left has a strategy beyond simple

resistance. However, as it is often the case with notions borrowed from Gramsci, in reality not enough attention is given to the actual complexity of Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony and consequently of any attempt towards formulating a hegemonic project. In fact, in most cases hegemonic project has been used to refer to a combination of political rhetoric (usually of a variety of a populist discourse that could appeal in a hegemonic manner to a broad spectrum of social strata) with some kind of alternative anti-austerity politics. However, recent developments, especially in the context of the European left have shown the limitations of such an approach and they can end up either in defeat and an inability to initiate processes of transformation. The aim of the presentation is to stress the limits and shortcomings of such an approach. At the same time I would attempt to reconstruct the notion of the hegemonic project by means of a return to Gramsci's complex theorization of hegemony (along with other crucial notions such as historical bloc and relations of force). In such an approach, hegemonic project becomes less a tactical term or a reference to the construction of political discourses and governmental program. Rather it becomes a strategic term having to do with an antagonistic practice of politics, rooted in social antagonism, aiming at creating an experimental and learning process for the development of new social and political forms within the terrain of intensified class struggles. Consequently, reconstructing the conditions for a hegemonic project today points less to the formation of electoral alliances or medium-range political programs and more to a process of recomposition, of the strategic, intellectual, organizational forms and practices that would change the relation of forces, create new forms of unity and collective intellectuality of the subaltern, offer the possibility to rethink the program as transition as experimentation and rethink tactics as conditions by strategy and a socialist perspective.

From Cultural and Moral Leadership to Decadent Hegemony: The Dilemmas of Right-wing Gramscism in Turkey

Evre Hogsor (Faculty of Business Istanbul Bilgi University Eski Silahtaraa Elektrik Santral Kazm Karabekir Cad. No: 2/13 34060 Eypsultan Istanbul TURKEY)

This paper critically assesses the key features of AKP (Justice and Development Party) hegemony from a Gramscian perspective. Gramsci speaks of three different levels, or types, of hegemony: the integral, minimal and decadent. While the integral hegemony represents a true collective will, mass affiliation or unqualified commitment, decadent hegemony constitutes the distortion of moral and intellectual unity among different sections of the society. The paper argues that although the AKP's hegemonic appeal allows for cooperation among different social forces within a coalition against a common enemy, it at the same time leads to a series of contradictory and unequal power relationships among the subjects of this alliance. On the one hand, adverse global conditions and increasing dependence on domestic consumption-led growth not only prevents the ruling party to formulate a viable accumulation strategy, or at least an imagined recovery, but the social impact of an economic slowdown also has broad implications for politics as the art of the possible. The shortening of policy development cycles, fast-tracking decisions, continuing policy experimentation, and relentless revision of rules and existing political routines both narrows the range of participants in the policy-making process and broadens the cleavages within the power bloc. On the other hand, escalating political instability since the Gezi protests in 2013 and recent developments in the Kurdish provinces and the Middle-East have disrupted its crisis-

management routines. External pressures from Western countries also reinforce the evolving crisis of legitimacy within the single party regime. As the institutional crisis of the Turkish state deepens, the party increasingly seeks salvation in a divine leader, embodied in the Erdoan cult, and exterminates any opposition to his leadership and terrorizes its mass support. The raw coercive power wielded by the AKP rule against opposing groups undermines all semblances of democratic governance. Whether or not it faces serious challenge to its rule in the polls, the party is incapable of commanding unequivocal allegiance from the less favored nation, and thus the potential for social disintegration is ever-present. This situation destabilizes the hegemonic discourses of the party and provokes the search for new strategies (including recovered ones) through the mediation of various social forces. Whether this search among key actors would lead to a relatively durable social compromise is yet to be proven, it nevertheless signifies the inability to go on in the old way through short-term adjustments. Rejection of a compromise will reinforce the crisis of authority and may create a political climate that increases the chances of an alternative power bloc through its influence on opposing forces. Or it will cause social stasis and may strengthen the AKPs attempts to establish a new regime through force, fraud and manipulation. In the worst-case scenario, it may result in a radical solution, for good or ill. Therefore, the crisis has not been resolved but postponed to an unknown future.

What is the Moral Economy Anyway? On Water, Commodification, and the State in Southern Chile

Luis Andueza (King's College London, Department of Geography)

Over the last few years, in the context of the ongoing tectonic shifts in global geographies of energy and finance, the Andean foothills in south-central Chile have emerged as a region harbouring a large potential for new energy rents. Small hydropower projects (SHP) at different stages of development now proliferate on almost every watershed in the region, a process made possible by the Chilean Water Code, famous for being one of the most radical experiments in commodification of water known. This process has given rise to an equal proliferation of territorial struggles that circulate at different scales, from the strictly local, to the national, building on the deeply rooted antagonisms that have defined the regions history since its incorporation into the Chilean state in the late 19th century. Drawing from ethnographic research in the Andes foothills in the southern Araucana region, this paper looks at the hydro-social relations emergent from the historical and socio-territorial constitution of the communities present in these mountain valleys. Through an examination of the conflicts and struggles introduced by the process of commodification and infrastructural development, and to how it relates to the reconfiguration of the states capacities for socio-ecological control, the paper attempts to elaborate on what E.P. Thompson famously called the moral economy, as a perpetually shifting field in which the struggle over the form-determination of social reproduction and ecological relations is waged.

Africana Historical Materialism: A Lens for Marxist Social Inquiry

Sholnn Freeman (Howard University, Washington, DC- USA)

This project establishes a new analytical lens for social inquiry: Africana Historical Materialism. Africana refers to the study of Africa as well as any space occupied by African-descended peoples. Based on a reading of key texts from Marx and Engels, this project contends that a given work can be categorized as a study of historical materialism based on five criteria: commitment to the Marxist base-superstructure metaphor, analysis of mode of production, commitment to Marxist class analysis, attention to historical development, and a normative commitment to social liberation. The inspiration for this approach is based on David Harveys teachings about revolutionary theory, Howard Zinns ideas about the need to reshape theory and history in pursuit of social objectives, and the insistence from Marx that theory be used as a weapon. Black scholars, such as the philosopher Lewis Gordon and Harold Cruse, have made similar calls for theoretical and methodological regeneration. This project was also inspired by the lack of interest in Marxist-style class analysis by graduate students at Howard University, the largest producer of African-American PhD holders in the United States. The goal of the project was to develop a simple theoretical apparatus that other graduate students and even undergraduates could use to do Marxist social analysis. One of the more difficult aspects of Marxism studies for Black students is getting past the conflation of Black works that use historical materialism as an analytical tool and Black works that engage Marxism at a thematic level. As a solution, I developed a categorical arrangement that divides Marxism-related works that center on the Black experience into two categories: Africana Historical Materialism and African-American Marxism. Works of Africana Historical Materialism, or Africana HM, more or less incorporate the five criteria of historical materialism outlined above. An example of a work of African-American Marxism is Cedric Robinsons Black Marxism. Examples of Africana Historical Materialism are Black Jacobins, Black Reconstruction, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, and The Wretched of the Earth. Unlike the Robinson work, Africana HM studies feature historical materialism as an analytical tool. This project seeks to broaden the understanding of historical materialism in the Africana scholar community in the United States. To paraphrase Perry Anderson, its a shame that the ideas developed by Marx and Engels, ideas which still hold great potential for social liberation, are today among the least accessible to U.S. students. This is a disservice to the legacies of Marx and Engels and their quest to present knowledge as lucidly as possible and to maximize its utility in struggle.

Sovereignty of the People in Times of Retreat

Eirini Gaitanou (Dr. in Political Studies (King's College London))

We live in a time when all around the globe, we witness the far-right rhetoric, ideology and material practices rising again. Racism, nationalism, xenophobia, populism and fascism, are massively reappearing in the political scene in many countries. At the same time, the existing capitalist integrations are transformed, hardening their function, excluding any sense of control by the popular factor, denying even the very basic principles of the bourgeois democracy. Democratic institutions shrink, democratic rights and conquests are abolished, and the contemporary democracies seem to contest basic aspects of a democratic regime, even typically. The intra-imperialist contradictions are exacerbated, and the world seems like a boiling cauldron. Austerity and the economic and

political crisis, along with the weakness of the Left to take action, to propose a different, persuasive alternative and to gain the trust of the masses, form the context on which this motion takes place. This reality concerns directly the western countries, both in the EU and the USA. The recent examples of the southern countries in the EU, as different paradigms (Greece, Italy, Spain), but also of the political status in the US, are characteristic. After the first period of the economic crisis that started in 2008, only to be rapidly transformed into a political crisis and a crisis of hegemony in the Gramscian sense, and the rise of social movements all around the globe, we have entered a new era when social protest has retreated, leaving the place for reactionary discourse and practices to rise. At the same time, the role of the nation returns to the foreground in two senses and both from above and from below. On the one hand, there is the change of the paradigm of the internationalisation of capital, the rise of new imperialisms and the evident inability of an internationalisation at the political level, today even more than in the past. On the other hand, there is the resurgence of nationalist ideologies and practices. If the social protests of the previous years made evident the character of the political crisis as a national one, in which different interpretations of the function of the society as a whole come into collision, today, we witness again what Miroslav Hroch wrote: when society fails, the nation appears as the ultimate guarantee. At this moment, what could be a contemporary meaning of popular sovereignty? What is the meaning and the concrete context of the struggle for democracy, for popular sovereignty, for independence from the ultranational, imperialist mechanisms and their policies, without the danger of new nationalisms emerging? What is the actual sense of the notion of the people in this context? What are the contemporary forms of the national issue? What is the level and the context of the conflict needed in order to suggest, form and experiment on a different social and political organisation of the society? What are the actual dangers and what the potentials of this new phase, in the interest of the people?

The Battle of Castanheiras (FORTALEZA-CE, 1968): Counter-Hegemony, Class Consciousness and Fight Memories

**Marcelo Henrique Bezerra Ramos (PhD student in History in
Universidade Federal Fluminense (Brazil))**

At the end of 1968, hundreds of castanheiras (workers in the cashew nut extraction industry) of Companhia Industrial de leos do Nordeste - CIONE (Fortaleza, Cear, Brazil) organized a strike to demand better wages and working conditions, producing a critical to the logic of exploitation and a confrontation with the boss and the state. This is a period of business-military dictatorship in Brazil, marked by increased coercion in society, curtailing political freedoms, persecution of social movements, and tightening on wages and the lives of women workers, in order to guarantee better conditions for production and reproduction of capital in Brazil. We sought to understand here the process of political organization and the construction of class consciousness among these workers, identifying apparatuses deprived of hegemony for the organization of this political action, that faced the hegemonic project and the coercion applied by the State, contributing to the counter-hegemonic movement that marked 1968 as the year of greatest resistance of the subordinates to the military regime, such as other workers' strikes across the country in that period. We, by thematic and methodological choice from what we consider important to highlight from the analysis of the sources (interviews, labor lawsuits, union documents, police investigations, newspapers, etc.) strive to give a deeper strike, the processes of transformation of class consciousness in the process of building the movement and strike, relating the issues of race and gender with the process of class

formation. What was the workers' awareness of their work situation? How did the workers become aware of the need to organize and fight against the boss? How did the class conflict in CIONE, evidenced by the strike, contribute to the construction of a class consciousness among the subjects involved? What were the forms of organization of those workers and how did these forms interact with the daily production of the factory? How does the strike on class consciousness act? Who were the class devices that went on strike? What role do these devices play in building a class political consciousness? Did these private apparatuses manage to effectively compete for hegemony in Brazil 1968?

Which Revolutionnary Alternative Facing the Contemporary Organical Crisis ?

Barot Emmanuel

With Gramsci, Trotsky, Lenin, but also thinkers like Sartre and Marcuse, we analyse the contemporary period, contradictions and instability of imperialism today, and their (far-)rightist and nationalist trends to what Gramsci called organical crisis. Facing this non-revolutionary, even counter-revolutionary situation, even if some political or class struggles phenomenons have recently occurred on the left of old or dead social-liberal parties, a strong pressure to unity leads most of the time the radical and even revolutionary Left to misunderstand which kind, and the nature, of the unite front we have to develop. Around examples like France, we ask ourselves how to re-build today a revolutionary Left, neither sectarian nor propagandistic, but at the same time intransigent on the strategic level and open-minded on the tactical one. Finally the question we want to put at the core of the debate is: which bolchevism 2.0 do we have to defend now for later?

The Economics of Migration, Open Borders and Marxist Political Economy

Nick Deschacht (KU Leuven, Department of Economics)

Migration is one of the central issues of the current period and it is clearly connected with the resurgence of nationalism across the globe. In most countries, the debate on migration is monopolized by rightwing parties and political economists hesitate or struggle to engage in the debate. The migration question is complex and, in some cases, political economists and labor leaders have advocated further immigration restrictions because it is supposedly well-known from Marxian economics that migration is a strategy used by capitalists to suppress wages. This paper analyzes the migration question by first reviewing the history of economic thought on migration in Marxian political economy, both in the works of Marx and those of later Marxists, such as Lenin and the debates on migration within the 2nd International. Next, I review the modern field of migration economics that has developed in mainstream economics over the past 30 years, which has produced important empirical evidence and has structured the debate around clear questions such as the migration decision, the effects of immigration on the wages of natives and the economic effects of open borders. Based on this analysis, I draw two conclusions. First, I argue that the approach to the migration question among Marxist political economists in the past was essentially a radical defense of the right to migrate and of open borders, and this should continue to be, more urgently than ever, the approach today. Second, I argue that a dialogue between political economy and the mainstream field of migration economics can be fruitful for both fields. Political economy can contribute to mainstream economics on various questions, including: (a) the role of

capitalist dynamics for explaining patterns of migration; (b) the analysis of exploitation of immigrant labor; (c) the analysis of discrimination and divisions of the working class; (d) the analysis of conflicts over and effects of income transfer systems such as poor relief.

From Spinoza to Marx And Ilyenkov: Materialist Dialectics and the Challenge of Questioning Contemporary Theoretical Doctrines

Anastasia Matsouka (Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Athens)

From Spinoza to Marx and Ilyenkov: Materialist dialectics and the challenge of questioning contemporary theoretical doctrines. Anastasia Matsouka Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Athens anast.matsouka@gmail.com

Spinoza, Marx, and Ilyenkov represent three different moments in the course of the theoretical development of materialism, and three examples in which theory was developed in order to challenge the dominant ideological doctrine of each period. The brilliant anticipations of dialectics (Ilyenkov, 1960) found in Spinoza's Ethics put the basis for a materialism that, in its time, opposed scholasticism, but also Cartesian rationality. Marx from his side, by turning Hegel's idealistic dialectics on its head, reached his own developed version of materialist dialectics and suggested, in the Capital, a new way of thinking and acting, as opposed to utopian socialists and their abstract thought. Ilyenkov, drawing on Marx and Spinoza, defended materialist dialectics as the logic and theory of the knowledge of marxism, as opposed to a mechanical materialism that was dominant in the Soviet Union. Given the above, this paper aims to explore as interconnected these three moments of materialism, in order to approach materialistic dialectics not as an abstract theory, but as a concrete method of understanding and changing the world. The purpose of the paper is to use dialectics in particular as presented in the work of Evald Ilyenkov, as a key that will allow us to understand the philosophical aspects of Marx beyond the shadows of Hegel. Meanwhile, this point of view is also used to set in motion the practical philosophy of Spinoza, beyond the approaches of static spinozism (Negri). Within this framework, dialectics is also addressed as a way of criticising the readings of Marx that over-emphasise, either on the structure (Althusser) or on the subject (Holloway), and as a way of creatively connecting the Spinozean concept of experimentation with the concept of the act, which is pivotal in the thought of Marx. Overall, this paper will try to argue that a coherent theory of knowledge and a deep epistemological approach of modern materialism is still necessary and the three philosophers have opened a path worth walking.

Book Launch: Crisis, Movement, Strategy. The Greek Experience

Panagiotis Sotiris (independent researcher)

Book Launch Proposal In 2010 Greece entered a period of extreme austerity measures, but also of intense struggles and protests. Social and political crisis led to tectonic shifts in the political landscape and the rise to power of SYRIZA. However, despite the impressive expression of resistance in the 2015 referendum, the EU-IMF-ECB Troika managed to impose the continuation of the same politics of austerity, privatisations, and

neoliberal reforms. This social and political sequence poses important theoretical and analytical questions regarding capitalist crisis, public debt, European integration, political crisis, the new forms of protest and social movements, and the rise of neo-fascist parties. It also brings forward all the open questions regarding radical left-wing strategy today. The contributions in this volume attempt from different perspectives to deal with some of these theoretical and strategic questions using the Greek experience as a case study. *Crisis, Movement, Strategy: The Greek experience* is collective volume edited by Panagiotis Sotiris and published by Brill in the Historical Materialism Series Discussants: Stathis Kouvelakis, Jeffrey Webber and two of the contributors to the volume (will have their names and contact details by panelization)

The Socio-Political Alliance Question in Gramsci

Derek Boothman (retired ex-University of Bologna)

The ongoing publication in Italy of the National Edition of Gramsci's writings, together with other available material, allow us to reconsider a number of themes dealt with in both the pre-prison and the prison writings. Here we sketch out a chronological scheme of development, trying to interpret the modifications taking place in his approach towards social and political alliances. In the early period in Turin, the question seems to be treated in a fairly unproblematic fashion, but the advent of reaction in Europe after the early post-WWI revolts and popular advances showed parts of his position to be unduly optimistic. The Cominterns Third and Fourth Congresses then raised the problem of what a United Front policy meant and how to apply it. Naturally, this included the question of relations with the peasantry, which began to occupy a more central role in the elaboration of strategy, as did the whole agrarian problem in Southern and Eastern Europe. Then from Gramsci's Vienna period (December 1923-May 1924), through the Cominterns Fifth Congress and Fifth Plenary, to the Lyon Theses (early 1926), and then to the essay on the Southern question and other writings, the different aspects of the alliance question began to be more fully sketched out. The Prison Notebooks, and other information which leaked out from prison (such as support for a Constituent Assembly) indicate that, at times, a number of key topics were being subjected to a fairly radical re-reading, which interpreted still now offer valid methodological elements.

Absolute Monarchy, Reformist Assemblies, and The French Revolution

Stephen Miller (University of Alabama at Birmingham)

The focus of this paper is the political transformation of France brought about by the monarchy's creation of participatory assemblies at all levels of the government, including rural parishes, in the 1770s and 1780s. Royal reformers hoped that if the landed elites participated in provincial and district assemblies, they would identify with the regime, understand its problems, build consensus around its policies, and allow the monarchy to overcome its financial difficulties by sacrificing their tax privileges. Reformers hoped that elected assemblies in rural parishes would investigate the landed wealth of the seigneurial classes for the fiscal purposes of the monarchy. I argue that these assemblies proved politically destabilizing because of the particularities of French absolutism. The monarchy differed from its counterparts in Eastern Europe, where royal absolutism had

emerged in conjunction with a manorial reaction. The dominant classes of the East benefited from the unpaid labor of peasants legally bound to remain on their manors. With few limitations on their authority, the nobles stood in no need of compensatory offices within the state. French absolutism differed even more markedly from the English monarchy, where gentry proprietors obtained wealth from monetary rents based on free markets in land and labor, a purely economic form of income. The gentry did not show such deep feelings of respect to the crown, because they did not depend on it for the distribution of pensions, honors, offices, and lordships. They did not compete with each other for these sorts of privileges. The landed classes instead united behind Parliament to insist that the state limit its activities to the protection of the existing property system and cease threatening their private assets through unparliamentary taxation. Research of the last three decades has shown that the dominant classes of France, in contrast, possessed hereditary rights within the government. They enjoyed private ownership of public power as seigneurs and office holders. It was for this reason that the assemblies proved so destabilizing. They presented the prospect that the king would govern and administer the realm without hereditary holders of offices and lordships. The reform thus unleashed widespread protests up and down the hierarchy of royal institutions. The protests demonstrated to excluded subordinate townspeople and peasants that the ruling class of high clergymen, nobles, lords, and office holders sought to maintain power within the monarchy. The assemblies, in this way, led to the crystallization of the political attitudes that made the Revolution in 1789.

Toward a History of Marxism in France

Jean-Numa Ducange, Universit de Rouen

France is one of the countries to have been most influenced by Marxism. In a decisive period from the 1930s to the 1970s the French Communist Party occupied important positions at the political level but also in the intellectual domain, while also giving rise to a broader form of popular 'counter-culture'. Numerous dissident currents to the left of the Communist Party also helped revive many different kinds of references to Karl Marx. If we want to understand Marxism in France, we also need to study the relationship that it has entertained with republicanism, which has been seen alternatively as progressive or as an element of bourgeois domination. In this paper, we support our argument by reference to select examples from the late nineteenth century up to the present day. Xavier Lafrance, Universit du Qubec Montral *Situating the Making of a Working Class and the Rise of Socialism in the Non-Capitalist Context of Post-Revolutionary France* The premise of this paper is that 1789 was not a capitalist revolution. The Revolution actually reproduced non-capitalist social-property relations: small peasant agriculture was consolidated; the ruling class continued to rely on extra-economic/non-capitalist modes of surplus appropriation; customary regulations of artisan and industrial labor remained in place and workers gained substantial new rights a fact still largely ignored in the literature. I am arguing that the French working class first made itself through struggles in opposition to a non-capitalist ruling class. Over the 1830s and 1840s, growing numbers of French workers adopted socialist ideas. They did so less in reaction to capitalism (which had not emerged in France but was thriving in Britain and was perceived as an eventual threat) than as an attempt to consolidate and expand the new rights that had been gained in the wake of 1789. The transition to capitalism in France was made possible by the crushing of this socialist movement under the Second Republic, which paved the way for a capitalist restructuring of social property relations that unfolded over the last decades of the nineteenth century. This transition created a new socio-economic and

political context that triggered an unprecedented wave of strikes and transformed the politics of the French labor movement.

Authors Meet Critics. The Social History of Agriculture: From the Origins to the Current Crisis

Stephen Miller, Robin Blackburn (Professor of Sociology, University of Essex), Michael Zmolek (Lecturer, Department of History, University of Iowa), Eren Duzgun (Assistant Professor, Department of Economics and Administrative Sciences, University of Kyreni)

In this panel, three scholars will offer evaluations and criticisms of the book by Christopher Isett and Stephen Miller, *The Social History of Agriculture: From the Origins to the Current Crisis*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. The first critic, Robin Blackburn, is a professor of Sociology at the University of Essex. He is an authority on New World slavery. The second critic, Michael Zmolek, is a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Iowa. He is an expert on the transition to capitalism in early modern England. The Third critic is Eren Duzgun, Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics and Administrative Sciences at the University of Kyrenia. Duzgun is an authority on the development of capitalism in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. Christopher Isett, Associate Professor in the Department of History of the University of Minnesota, and Stephen Miller, Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, will then respond to the three critics.

Presentation of Vol. 6, 7/1 and 7/2 of the German edition of the Collected Works of Rosa Luxemburg

Evelin Wittich (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung)

The first volume of the Collected Works of Rosa Luxemburg was published in the GDR in 1970. Four more volumes would follow by 1975. 44 years later, the series was continued with volumes 6 (2014), 7/1, and 7/2 (2017). With this accomplishment, all available writings by Rosa Luxemburg from 1893 to 1918 have been published in the German edition of the Collected Works, edited by Prof. Annelies Laschitzka and Eckehard Miller. Alongside numerous journalistic writings, volume 6 also contains important economic texts and numerous articles and discussions on the 1905/6 Russian Revolution as well as on the general and mass strike. Excerpts and notes from books and studies on the English revolution can be found in volume 7/1, while volume 7/2 contains Luxemburg's writings from 1910 to 1918, covering elections, opposition to militarism and war, more on the mass strike and social democracy as well as the Junius Theses. This contribution to HM London 2018 will discuss the content of these new volumes and their significance for studying Rosa Luxemburg today.

Voices from Russia

Marion Schtrumpf-Kunze (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung)

Between June and October 1918, the German-language magazine *Voices from Russia* (*Stimmen aus Russland*) was published in Stockholm by a delegation of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia and the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. Its leading editor was the co-founder of Russian Social Democracy, Pavel Axelrod, together with Socialist Revolutionaries Nikolai Russanov and Vasily Suchomlin. Previously, Pavel Axelrod had published the French-language magazine *Les Echos de Russie*. The journal featured translations from politically left-wing Russian magazines, among them Maxim Gorky's magazine *New Life*, which was published in Petrograd. It was the last remaining non-Bolshevik journal. All other left non-Bolshevik journals were already banned in May 1918. Gorky's magazine was banned in June 1918. But in the provinces, left non-Bolshevik journals continued to appear for some months, and the magazine *Voices from Russia* continued to publish texts from them, in addition to letters and editorials. In total, six issues appeared. The last issue was the double issue 6/7, published on 15 October 1918. The magazine was legally distributed in Germany, and the German press received valuable information concerning the civil war in Russia from its pages. Rosa Luxemburg processed this information in her unfinished text *The Russian Revolution*, writing from prison in Wroclaw. Karl Kautsky quoted *Voices from Russia* on several occasions, and several issues can be found in the estate of Paul Levi. Only a few copies of the magazine survive. Copies of the journal can be found in six libraries, but historians (at least in the German-speaking world) yet to not evaluate them. In order to make this valuable source available to the public, all the texts from this journal are to be republished and commented on in detail, while an exhaustive introduction contextualizes the events covered in the journal.

The so-called Spartacus Uprising of 1919

Joern Schtrumpf (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung)

In March 1919, the Prussian Parliament (the *Verfassunggebende Landesversammlung*) set up a committee of inquiry into the January 1919 riots in Berlin. The committee's report concluded that there had been no Spartacus uprising. Rather was an uprising of the Berlin organization of the Independent Social Democratic Party and illegally operating allies in the Berlin armaments factories, which later stylized by the authorities as the Spartacus Uprising. Their goal was to manufacture an excuse to justify the suppression of the Communist Party (originally Spartacus League). Only five people (Eduard Bernstein in 1921, Richard Mueller in 1925, Heiner Rasmuss in 1956, Teresa Lwe in 1998 and Mark Jones in 2017) have ever had this 525-page document in their hands. No one has subjected it to a scholarly evaluation. Only Mark Jones has made at least one attempt in this direction. In October 2018, this document will be published with a detailed introduction and two annotated registers for the first time, making it available for serious study to historians and scholar alike.

Alexandre Matherons Interpretation of Spinoza and his Place within Marxist-Inspired Spinozism

Nicolas Lema Habash (University of Paris 1, Pantho-Sorbonne)

Alexandre Matheron is one of the most influential commentators of Spinoza's work in France. Although he began studying Spinoza as part of a group of philosophers led by Louis Althusser during the 1950s in Paris, he then proceeded to carefully develop his own and unique interpretation of Spinoza's philosophy seeking to understand him as a precursor of Marx. Insofar as his two main books, *Individu et communauté chez Spinoza* (1969) and *Spinoza et le salut des ignorants* (1971), have not yet been translated into any language, his philosophical work remains isolated as something researched only by French-reader Spinoza scholars and extremely understudied in its own philosophical right, as compared to, for example, the work of other celebrated Marxist Spinozist scholars such as Etienne Balibar, Pierre Macherey, Antonio Negri or Althusser himself. In this presentation I develop some key elements of Matheron's Marxist-inspired interpretation of Spinoza, aiming at understanding his work, not only as scholarly commentary, but actually as a philosophical re-appropriation of Spinoza and as an intervention in the history of Marxist-inspired Spinozism. I specifically focus on Matheron's development of Spinoza's concept of conatus and on how he seeks to extract political consequences from this key term advanced in the *Ethics*. Matheron's interpretation of such a concept, I argue, bridges the intellectualist tendencies in the *Ethics* with the democratic and materialist impetus present in Spinoza's political writings. Unlike other Marxist readers of Spinoza (such as Jean-Toussaint Desanti., Negri or Balibar), Matheron does not sideline the intellectualist aspects of Spinoza's philosophy, but seeks to integrate them into a democratic theory of the development of human reason. The upshot of this interpretation is the proposal of a theory of reincarnation stemming from Spinoza's notion of conatus, considered as the only path towards the total de-alienation of the human subject.

Innovation-Restoration: Money-Culture Consortia in Contemporary Brazil

Luiz Renato Martins (University of So Paulo)

The unwary search for art looking for a moment of relief or even pleasure in the face of the cyclical worries and uncertainties of a dependent economy, does not foresee that there will also be battles and primitive accumulation in art, of a similar caliber to those of the economy. In effect, art synthesises capitals typical and simplest forms of representation such as money and commodity, and is functionally integrated to the global reproduction of capital and to the way of life thus constituted. Furthermore, the new forms which the system has been adopting spring in art throughout deployments of the so-called by Marx fictitious capital. Lately, the sophistication of credit schemes replaces real wealth by virtual one and present time by the conditional future of financial speculation. But the fictitious forms that melt all that is solid into the air need also tangible ballast and corresponding strong forms in sociability. In this sense, the first paper of the panel takes up the concepts of money from Book I to III in Marx's *Capital*, scrutinising the nexus between the forms of money and art as a power of social representation. The next two other papers will exemplify this question, scrutinising farcical strategies before recent crisis in Brazilian economy and art. The second paper explores the links between the Brazilian monetarist reform right on the eve of the 1994 presidential election, and the parallel campaign for restoration of the art object in Brazil. Analogously, the third paper

analyses the dispute for the living historical meaning of May 1968 in a recent film, directed by a prince heir of the main Brazilian financial conglomerate. The postmodern narcissistic and formalist version prevails in the film: the all-embracing discourse, the freedom of manners (as far as it does not alter the class structures), the flexibility market-friendly and against labour protection laws. In fact, expropriation and formalist falsification of revolutionary concepts and experiences by the establishment is inherent in the fiction of class conciliation in contemporary cinema. Once again, the restoration of farce as Marx's Eighteenth Braumaire pointed out...

A Brazilian Love: Money and Form, Born for one Another

Luiz Renato Martins (University of So Paulo)

In recent Brazilian history, more precisely in the course of the economical reforms of the nineties according to global agenda, the diagnosis of the economical crisis and of the Brazilian art crisis converged in the affirmation that the debility of the currency and of form constituted symptoms of a disease, whose cure would be mediated by the active principle of market dynamisation. Beyond conjectures, in fact, there was an operational synchrony between the liberal analysis of Brazilian economy which then gave way to a monetarist plan of reorganisation of the economy, the so-called Real Plan initiated by the launch of a scriptural currency, the URV, on 27 February 1994 and the Brazilian renewal of the formalist art criticism of Clement Greenberg which had fallen into disrepute in the United States since the early 1960s. It is relevant to note that such coincidences, consolidating parallels between doctrines of the strong currency and strong form, did not constitute a singularity made in Brazil. In effect, an analogous astral conjunction was verified in the skies of France a couple of years earlier. In fact, it was in the course of 1993, when the advent of the European single and strong currency started shining on the horizon, that the Centre Georges Pompidou held the Greenberg seminar (Paris, 19-20 May 1993). Let us dive into such a set of coincidences and explore some aspects of it. KEY WORDS: reconstitution of art object crisis and market dynamisation Clement Greenberg - strong currency strong form Proponent: Luiz Renato Martins (Universidade de So Paulo, Escola de Comunicaes e Artes) email: luizmart@usp.br

Badiou/Gramsci: Contributions from the Materialist Dialectic of Alain Badiou to the Meta-Theoretical Grounding of Neo-Gramscian Studies

Jorge Enrique Forero (PhD Fellow ICDD-University of Kassel)

So-called neo-Gramscian approaches have become a fundamental stream within critical studies in both, international relations and political science during the last decades. Gramscis legacy is also prominent in other theoretical insights, like the so-called relational approaches to the state in Poulantzas and more recently in Jessop. Looking at the meta-theoretical grounding of these academic contributions, however, it seems like the meta-theoretical tasks envisaged by Gramscis philosophy of praxis appear only peripherally. Their work is instead ontologically grounded either in classic Hegelian philosophy, in the critical realism of Bhaskar, or even in the post-structuralist discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe. This paper points to an alternative meta-theoretical approach for Gramsci-based research: highlighting some of the ontological problems that

ground the philosophy of praxis, it suggests that Alain Badiou's materialist dialectic can contribute to a better grounding for contemporary Neo-Gramscian research. In the first section, we choose some of the main ontological tasks implied in Gramscian philosophy of praxis. In particular a) the teleological assumptions of historical materialism as a positivist contamination, b) the problematic relationship between structure and political subject and c) the concept of the state and its relationship with hegemony. In the second section, we address these problems using Badiou's contributions: a) the non-existence of the whole, b) the categories of conditions and choice and c) Badiou's own ontological concept of the state. In the third section, we conclude with some brief remarks regarding how this new convergence could contribute to empirical research, using some contemporary neo-Gramscian contributions as examples.

'Well Calculated for any Nation Under the Heavens': Spenceanism, Primitive Accumulation and Transnational Revolt, 1790-1820

Ajmal Waqif (Independent/Marx Memorial Library)

Thomas Spence and his political adherents the Spencean Philanthropists were London-based proto-communist agitators at the dawn of the long nineteenth century. They were notorious for propagating a political programme that sought to recover lost rights by placing all land and productive property in common, commonly referred to as the Spencean Plan. The ambit of Spenceanism was always wider than Britain, with the impact of the French Revolution perhaps being the most evident external influence. However what has gone unresearched is the degree to which Spencean thought and political practise was global, expressing solidarity with struggles in the colonial periphery and placing them at the centre of the Plan. This paper will present two interrelated arguments. Firstly, that Spenceans identified a global process of dispossession and class differentiation as it unfolded. This was of course the same process that Karl Marx would later dub primitive accumulation. The great majority in every nation are dispossessed of their right to the soil throughout the world declared Robert Wedderburn, Spencean leader and son of a Caribbean slave. Spenceans saw the processes of enclosure in Britain, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the dispossession and genocide of colonised populations, and the extinguishing of rights to subsistence generally, in a continuum, producing populations of disinherited, oppressed, or enslaved peoples across the globe forced into capitalist relations in comparable ways, and therefore with comparable interests. Secondly; Spenceanism itself was shaped by the experiences of resistance and revolution in the periphery and sought to shape them in turn, with Spence's developed works consistently pinning the hope of realising his Plan on the success of those insurrections which were flaring up abroad and at home. Spence valorized the protracted resistance of the indigenous people of the Americas to European colonisation. Spenceans not only had an ideological fidelity to the Irish anti-colonial rebellions that punctuated the period, many members most prominently Thomas Evans were indeed veterans of the United Irishmen. Wedderburn was profoundly inspired by the Haitian Revolution as the most successful slave revolt in history; as well as the intermittent guerilla wars waged by Maroons across the Caribbean. Spencean works were addressed, directly and indirectly, to exploited and oppressed groups conventionally excluded by contemporaneous working-class reformers in Britain as well as by later accounts of radical politics in this period embracing them as protagonists and beneficiaries of the Plan. In fact Spenceans often contended that the fire of revolution burned brighter in the colonial periphery than in the core, where class-complacency and repression worked to extinguish it. In assessing, comparing, and synthesising these transnational experiences, and incorporating

them into their Plan, Spencean politics represented a unique and powerful articulation of universalism-from-below. I will demonstrate that the Spenceans hinted at a political, moral, and strategic programme that was adaptable to the struggles of not just proletarians, but slaves, peasants, and indigenous peoples at a critical historical conjuncture defined by both global accumulation and global revolution.

The Fundamentals of Western Marxism: Marx, Lukcs and Korsch

Daniel Andres Lopez (La Trobe University), Konstantinos Kavoulakos (Department of Philosophy and Social Studies, University of Crete), Darren Roso (Independent Scholar)

As Russel Jacoby noted in his work *The Dialectic of Defeat*, Western Marxism was first categorised as such pejoratively, in the Soviet Encyclopaedias of the 1930s. This appellation was reappropriated by Maurice Merleau-Ponty in 1953, in his landmark essay of the same name. While Georg Lukcs and Karl Korsch (and, to a lesser extent, Antonio Gramsci) are widely regarded to be at the centre of this intellectual moment, the rediscovery and publication of Marx's early work gave it powerful impetus. As is well known, Western Marxism became associated with a return to Hegel, to revolutionary humanism and with what Gramsci would describe as absolute historicism. However, Western Marxism has always been a marginal tradition, subjected to misreading and superficial criticism. In this panel, Konstantinos Kavoulakos (author of the forthcoming volume *Georg Lukcs's Philosophy of Praxis: From Neo-Kantianism to Marxism*), Darren Roso (whose work on Bensad has been published in *Historical Materialism*) and Daniel Lopez (who has written on Lukcs in *Historical Materialism* and who has a forthcoming book on the same) will introduce a critical discussion about the fundamental thought of Western Marxism.

Decolonial Communism in a New Globalized World-System

Catherine Samary (Retraite de l'Universit Paris Dauphine Conseil scientifique d'Attac France)

I would present the thesis of my book "Decolonised communism : Democracy and Commons", revisiting and updating strategical issues and failures of Revolutions - in particular Yugoslavia's self management system - of the "Short XXth Century". What concept of "Commons" can draw lessons from the Yugoslav self-management experience ? What changes in the globalized capitalist "World-System" are deeply linked to the end of the "Soviet Century" and opaque 1989/1991 turn? What past/present stakes linked to crossed (class, gender, national/racist) oppressions and relations of dominations from the local to the global ?

Broad Parties or Revolutionary Parties? Reflecting on Mandels notion of revolutionary class consciousness

Kostas Skordoulis (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens)

The appearance of broad left parties such as Bloco, Syriza and Podemos, the Saunders campaign and the election of Corbyn in the leadership of the Labour Party has posed a challenge as to the forms of political representation of the working class. Despite Syriza's failure the dilemma broad left parties or revolutionary parties is occupying the central scene in the debates concerning strategy. In this paper, I will revisit Ernest Mandel's *The Leninist Theory of Organization, Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries and Class Consciousness* and the Leninist Party reflecting on his notion on the development of revolutionary class consciousness. I will argue favourably on the key role played by the building of a revolutionary party in the development of class consciousness, in the generalisation of experience and the continuous transmission of knowledge in the working class and I will emphasize that without the development of a certain level of working-class consciousness and revolutionary self-activity, such a revolutionary party cannot really become a mass party.

Counter-Power to Dual-Power in Our Times: A Theory of Revolutionary Reform and Punctuated Gradualism

Victor Hertzfeld (Democratic Socialists of America (San Diego Branch))

Neoliberalism's interregnum has been marked by attempts to return to mass organizational forms. Where the long-wave of neoliberalization was organizationally defined by distrust and skepticism towards mass organizational forms, the failure that defined this turn has generated an organizational repositioning struggling to be born. Within this formation, the question of revolutionary strategy and transition is back on the table. Given the failure of neoliberal institutions of governance as vehicles of transformation, we argue that we must return to the question of counter-power and dual-power and its development if popular forces will be able to generate a revolutionary process. This presentation draws on theories of counter-power/dual-power, war of position/maneuver, class composition and apparatuses, constituted/constituent power, and revolutionary reformism, to posit a strategy of punctuated gradualism. By this we propose gradually increasing power outside the logic of capital and the state (counter-power) in order to render the (re)production of a social formation dependent on counter-power institutions (what we call dual-power). This process will no doubt be punctuated by periodic moments of (re)productive crises that must be resolved by the left, or engender reaction. Taking the example of the United States, we argue that developing a strategy based strictly on taking parliamentary power will ultimately fail. In order to develop an effective revolutionary strategy, popular forces will have to develop operational control over the currently existing (re)productive apparatuses. Such operational control will on the one hand mean developing enough popular strength that the targeted apparatus can be shut down (i.e. Mario Trontis strategy of refusal), and on the other it will mean establishing a distinct discursive hegemony within the apparatus (if we are to distinguish ourselves from mere reformists). However, if this process of conquest does not consume other apparatuses, and the conquest of existing apparatuses is locked in stalemate (effectively isolating the process of capture), an instability will result that favors the forces of capital.

Such would repeat the isolation of interventions like those at the American academy leaving them prone to both liberal and conservative assaults. Concurrent to such a conquest, a movement must be able to develop popular checks on the repressive state apparatuses, diminishing their capacities over time. In the United States, both the prison- and military-industrial complexes, for example, provide excellent opportunities to divest from. Throughout all of the above, any revolutionary strategy must constantly be on the lookout for finding or developing prefigurative organs (like Lenin did with the soviets) that will end up taking over and replacing (re)productive functions, under a new revolutionary logic. Only so will the process of building counter-power actually establish a dual-power (understanding dual-power to be a very specific formation in which state power depends on the counter-power for legitimacy, following Lenins, Trotskys, and Gorzs observations). And if all of the above is fulfilled, a necessarily unstable situation will develop leading to a possible rupture - but only if popular forces are willing and ready. Otherwise, reaction will consume the process.

A Work Filled With Hope. Critique of Political Economy and Marxist Historiography of the Ancient World in Italy

Sebastiano Taccola (Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa)

In this presentation, I will focus on the activities of the Seminario di Antichistica (Seminar of Ancient Studies) that took place at the Gramsci Institute in Rome between 1974 and 1977. The Seminario di Antichistica was a permanent seminar trying to face the problematic relation between Marxism and the historiography of the Ancient world in an original way. The aim of the seminar was the construction of a morphological historical configuration of ancient societies in which the categories of the Marxs critique of political economy played a central role. In the first part of my presentation, I will briefly sketch the main characteristics of the historical background of the Seminario, namely: 1) the need of a renewal of the whole horizon of the Ancient Studies after the mystifying and ideological approaches that spread during Nazi Fascism; 2) the elaboration of a new conception (neither neutral nor politically disengaged) of the Ancient Studies; 3) the foundation of a new and non orthodox Marxist historiography of the Ancient world to be realized through an open debate with innovative and not necessarily Marxist historiographical currents (such as French anthropology, Weberian historiography, economic anthropology, the Annales school, structuralism, etc.). Moreover, the Seminario was deeply influenced by a new reading of Marx that, mainly thanks to the philosopher Cesare Luporini, proposed an anti-historicist interpretation of Marx. This interpretation lead to a critique of the dominant configuration of historical materialism as it was widely accepted among Marxist Italian scholars at that time and highlighted the theoretical centrality of the system of the critique of political economy in Marxs work. According to this interpretation, historical materialism and the critique of political economy couldnt be immediately identified; rather, their relation was deeply problematic and it was up to Marxist scholars to fill this gap. In the second part of my presentation, I will focus on how the Seminario developed these questions through an activity based on a wide and open debate that, also thanks to an interdisciplinary effort, lead to a series of collective works, in which the need to elaborate a new Marxist historiography of Ancient societies was deeply connected to a new reading of Marxs mature works (mostly, the Grundrisse and Capital). Beyond orthodox Marxism that read historical movement as a linear and progressive succession of modes of production, the scholars of the Seminario, starting from a critique of the present as it was conceived in the Marxian critique of political economy, lead a common reflection on the condition of possibility of a critical

historiography of ancient societies, that is, a new historiographical current alternative both to the one elaborated according to the traditional paradigms of bourgeois historiography and to the one proposed by vulgar Marxism. Conditions of possibility to which, according to Aldo Schiavone, the coordinator of the seminar, Marxist scholars should've devoted themselves with a work filled with hope.

Survival Pending Revolution: Self-Determination in the Age of Proto-Neo-Liberal Globalization

John Narayan (Birmingham City University)

In 1971 the Black Panther Party (BPP) seemingly went through an ideological transformation. Between 1968-1970 the Party had forged strong national and international solidarity and support through a politics of revolutionary armed self-defence and a commitment to anti-imperialism. Yet, in late 1970 as national and geo-political contexts shifted, and as allies, both at home and abroad, became less supportive, the Panthers found themselves on less solid ground. BPP leader Huey P. Newton, realising this shift in the political landscape, now steered the BPP towards the idea of Survival Pending Revolution. This saw the Panthers abandon the idea of immediate armed insurrection against the state and re-orient towards a focus on their community engagement survival programs. This paper argues that Newtons orientation of the BPP away from armed insurrection and towards survival pending revolution was not simply a pragmatic choice of strategy, but rather based on a theorization of what he dubbed reactionary intercommunalism. Moreover, the paper suggests that the history of neo-liberal globalization can be complicated and expanded by viewing Newton as one of the first theorists of neo-liberal globalization and BPP survival programs as one of the first responses to the on-coming era of neo-liberalism in the US.

Guerrilla Strategies Revisited: The 21st Century Resonances of the Guerrilla Concept

Michael Norman Goddard (University of Westminster)

The concept of the 'guerrilla' as a small localised tactical force capable of defeating an enemy superior in resources and weaponry played a key role in 20th century struggles from China, Vietnam, Cuba and other Latin American countries to Western European and North American urban guerrilla groups, as well as other radical political formations. Similarly the idea of guerrilla media, developed in these struggles, soon spread to a range of radical media including film, video, radio and especially 'guerrilla television'. While extending the 'revolution in the revolution' (Debray) of guerrilla warfare into arenas of cultural contestation, arguably this also debased the term, voiding it of its initial meanings and becoming a mere synonym for DIY practices in a neoliberal capitalist context. Drawing on research for my recent book, *Guerrilla Networks*, this talk will re-examine these guerrilla strategies, both as a means for political action and media dissemination and ask what resonances these strategies might have in the 21st Century context of the rise of new right. This seems especially pertinent, given that many of these strategies were developed as a means of combating real or perceived fascism and authoritarian regimes, whether in the global south, or European and American contexts. This talk will argue that it is important not to consign these struggles to historical oblivion as outdated and naive as both Critical Art Ensemble and Alexander Galloway and Eugene Thacker have argued but to learn from them, or even find inspiration in their

belief in the power of radical practices, knowledge and insurrection against powerful state and corporate enemies

Synthetic Identity as a Materialist Category: Adrian Pipers Indexical Presence

Nizan Shaked (California State University Long Beach)

In 2013 the artist Adrian Piper pulled her artwork out of the exhibition Radical Presence: Black Performance in Contemporary Art, during its presentation at NYUs Grey Art Gallery. This, and Pipers ongoing refusal to be classified as a black artist, raises the question: why would an artist that has made so much work based on her experience as a black woman, protest her inclusion in a show about black performance art? The answer is that Piper uses the idea of identity in her work not as a representation of the self or of a community, but rather to isolate it as a case study and examine its function in a social matrix defined by race and class. This accords with her conceptualist practice, which negated subjectivity as an antithesis to the Modernist affirmation of individuality. Through her vast artistic oeuvre, and her criticism of German idealism in her philosophical work, Piper developed a new concept of universalism, which extrapolated the abstract from what she termed the indexical present, rather than attributing universalist traits to the particular. Based on her model, one that has influenced generations of artists, this paper will examine the possibility of articulating a materialist concept of subjectivity and therefore of identity. To this end I examine the recent Marxist criticism by Adolph Reed Jr. and Cedric Johnson of the Black Lives Matter movement and the legacies of Black Power, to ask whether a synthesis is possible between anti-racism and economic-based revolutionary models.

Places of Communal Production

Adrien Durrmeyer (cole Nationale Suprieure d'Architecture de Saint-tienne (ENSASE)<https://www.st-etienne.archi.fr/>)

It is commonly recognized, since the modern era, that the quality of an architectural project should primarily be assessed in view of its efficiency. Whereas this very notion of efficiency would have seemed, at best, extremely distant from any architectural reflection throughout the vast majority of our history, its absolute embedment with the current architectural discourse appears as a particularly relevant object to criticize. The emergence of this intricacy, however, does not strike as a surprise if analysed towards the radical shift operated by the predominance of the position of labour in our societies. It would actually seem, that in the distinction between work and labour, defined by Arendt in *The Human Condition*, the fundamental mechanisms attached to the activity of labour have now expanded to the specific mechanisms of work as well. And this results in the primary search for efficiency in every domains of production. In other words, it has defined a permanent quantitative correlation between an objective and a means, in most aspects of our lives. This correlation is obviously not to be rejected as such, it is evidently its quantitative nature that raises issues. Indeed, as Le Corbusier defines it, architecture is characterized by excess (too much or too little of something that may or may not be present). In this perspective, efficiency as an architectural tool should, to the least be avoided, if not strongly opposed to. It appears important, at this point, to distinguish two very different forms of efficiency: a constructive efficiency and an organisational one. Whereas constructive efficiency generates a sound profitability between the use of raw

matter and its implementation, an organisational efficiency establishes an alienating profitability between self-valorisation and time. Functionality, from this point of view, is to be seen as a system of re-production, therefore intrinsically differing from a system of production. The major question, however, remains: if not on efficiency, on what then could an architectural project rest to address the issue of production? In our view, this reflection requires to develop the specific articulation between politics and aesthetics. Aesthetics should not here be understood in its classical definition, namely the mere imitation of nature. However powerful the products inherited from this past definition may have been, it nonetheless seems to lack potentiality regarding its collective (thus political) dimension. As argued by Adorno, the purpose of aesthetics is to confront the role of culture industry in the commodification of art and aesthetics experience. That is to say, regarding the matter at stake, that an aesthetical approach to architecture has for primary objective to confront the commodification of space. This assertion immediately reinstates the collective at the very centre of its concerns, by raising issues like the dialectic between property and use, the potential indeterminacy of program, or the autonomy of practice. This conference aims to elaborate a specific definition of an architectural practice induced by these very issues: the fabrication of places of communal production.

The Fascist Imagination

**Rose-Anne Gush (University of Leeds), Larne Abse Gogarty,
Dimitra Katouza, Hannah Proctor**

This panel will explore the politics, aesthetics, histories and psychologies of fascism past and present through analyses of artistic practices which deal with irony, body politics and atavism, histories of the construction of nationalism and anti-imperialism in the face of current crises, and psychological histories of Nazism. Working towards an understanding of the persistence of the past in the present, this panel aims to plot out new paths of urgent resistance and solidarity.

Challenging the Populist Hegemony: An Assessment of the Italian Socialist Left Political Strategies

**Matteo Cavallaro (Sciences Po Toulouse), Massimo Angelo
Zanetti (Universit della Valle d'Aosta), Guido Salza
(Universit degli Studi di Torino)**

The paper addresses radical lefts outlook after the 2018 Italian national election. The election has yielded to a clean cut with the past enough to persuade many to speak of Third Republic, that is, the opening of a new era for Italian political history. With the moderate parties plunge, the raising of populist factions and the further weakening of the radical left, the previous political balances have radically changed. We first develop an analysis of last elections political supply and demand. We consider the governments composition and initiative, as well as its programmatic agenda, ratified in the contract of government by the League and the 5 Stars Movement. We describe to which socio-economic groups the new government appeals to so to consolidate its consensus. We conclude by drawing out recommendations for a radical lefts strategy to regain its efficacy. We carry out the analysis of the political supply-side by looking at the contents of the 2013 and 2018 official electoral programs. This shed light on political agendas changes and parties placement dynamics on relevant policies. Among the results we

emphasise: the centrifuge trends inside the centre-right coalition, which has in fact expressed different choices over the participation in the executive; the further shift toward the right by the Democratic Party; and 5 Stars Movement's vigorous opening to the right. We rely on survey data to analyse the political demand-side. The survey, carried out during the electoral campaign, explored the electoral body's attitudes towards those relevant themes which warmed up the political debate. Two main clusters emerge: one which collects the controversial themes, the other characterised by substantial agreement over clear-cut positioning. Among the latter key warhorses of the populist forces stand out, namely, the demand for a cut in the political spending, the hostility towards elites and towards the rigour imposed by the EU, and the aversion towards the last pension systems reform. From the analysis of governments' contract and composition, we extrapolate a series of suggestions on the strategy undertaken by the majority to put together a social bloc able to provide for its political consolidation. We here underline: a fierce competition to stand for productive classes, that are, employers and workers in the manufacturing sector, the latter seen as a strategic branch in an export-oriented country as Italy; the 5 Stars Movement-led Ministry of Labour's effort to strengthen populists' hegemony among the youngsters through interventions in favour of the very wide group of young unemployed and service industry workers, who lack of any trade union culture and are subjected to harsh working conditions; the repeatedly announced cuts back on red tape, jointly with solemn commitment over a substantial tax burden reduction, that suggest the public sector will pay the highest bill in terms of employment and salaries. The public sector is traditionally left-wing oriented and, although disappointed from the last centre-left reforms, appears to be one of the social groups upon which radical-left could rebuild its political consensus. Furthermore, it seems crucial to safeguard the left's historical roots among industrial workers through its presence inside the unions, which not without reason have been object of fierce attacks by 5 Stars Movement during the electoral campaign.

Freud and Social Reproduction

Flix Boggio

Social reproduction theory is an emerging field in Marxist theorizing and practices. Psychoanalysis, through its revival with a new Lacanian school of Marxism, has restarted to be an important field of investigation for Marxist philosophers. However, there is no bridge between these two schools, which can be deemed surprising as: 1/ Second wave feminists have prominently discussed Freud and Lacan, and some of them were prominent Marxists (Juliet Mitchell, Jacqueline Rose, early Kristeva, Michèle Barrett) 2/ Contemporary gender and queer theory have drawn heavily on debates about the contribution of Freud and Lacan to the analysis of desire, sexuality and "perversions" 3/ the locus of Freud's investigation of the social is the family as the site of normalization and conflict. In short, psychoanalysis proposes a theory of society based on the inherently pathological and asocial character of the drives and its consequent normalization through discourses and practices. The clinic can thus be considered as a point of observation of pathologies and sufferings related to the continuous reproduction of society. We propose here an exploration of theoretical approaches that can help to bridge the gap between social reproduction theory and psychoanalytical social philosophy. For instance, Juliet Mitchell is considered as a pioneer of both social reproduction theory and psychoanalytical feminism. In the French structural-Marxist tradition of anthropology, authors like Maurice Godelier and Christian Geffray tried to incorporate some insights from Lacan in researching the reproduction of societies and cultures. This dialogue between psychoanalysis and SRT is aiming at 1/ reinforcing critical currents within the

psychoanalytical community, notably those who criticize patriarchal biases in Freudian and Lacanian circles 2/ contributing to the problematic of Freud/Lacan and the political.

International and Historical Perspectives on the Far Right, Anti-Fascism, and (the) National Question(s)

Kanishka Goonewardena (University of Toronto)

A world-wide phenomenon, the resurgence of the far right today is related to the multiple crises of capitalism since 2008, as various analysts have pointed out. This panel wants to embed conjunctural analyses of far-right nationalism in a deeper historical-geographical understanding of far-right politics and anti-fascism. First, panelists trace connections between the current conjuncture and longer historical forces that have generated far-right politics and left responses: the 1930s and the crisis of the postwar order. Second, panelists treat their respective focal points (Sri Lanka, South Africa, India, France and the U.S.A.) relationally, that is: not as discrete objects (cases) but as moments in wider, also imperial relations. Finally, panelists offer a comparatively nuanced discussion of a thorny question: the place of the national question in left responses to the far right.

The People do it Better? Occupy Sandy and Social Reproduction

Peer Illner (Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main)

Discussions on social reproduction, self-organisation and the commons mostly focus on a distinct range of gendered activities from domestic labour and food provision to care work. Disaster relief is rarely singled out as a unique reproductive activity, despite an ever-accelerating disaster rate due to climate change and environmental violence. Setting out to remedy this shortcoming, this paper examines the exemplary case of Occupy Sandy; a large-scale, self-organised relief initiative launched by the social movement Occupy Wall Street in response to Superstorm Sandy. It firstly discusses Occupy Sandy's presence as the most successful relief provider on the ground, far surpassing the efficacy of the Red Cross and of the Federal Emergency Management Agency FEMA. Secondly, it discusses the counter-intuitive political endorsement of the group by enemies of Occupy such as Mayor Bloomberg and in particular Homeland Security. Situating the bizarre proximity between anarchist social movement and conservative mega-institution in the context of the continued withdrawal of the U.S state from the provision of reproductive services, the paper thirdly questions the function of self-organised relief work in the austere age of abjection (Endnotes). Drawing on Marxist-Feminist theories of social reproduction, my paper studies how Occupy Wall Street's self-organised relief initiative entered into conflict with the state over the provision of disaster relief.

Tendency and Directionality: Elements of Intervention for a Marxian Critique of Politics

Eren Kozluca (Althusserian Marxism)

In this paper, I propose to examine two categories, namely, tendency and directionality that may help us to understand what exactly constitute the correctness of a

class-centered practice of politics. On an abstract level, I define tendentiality as that which refers to the dominance of structurally antagonist dispositives that practically anticipate determinate ends, and, directionality as that which refers to the specific instance of strategically governing the operations of a tendency against a counter-tendency. I argue that it is necessary to study the differential co-habitation of these two dynamics within political practice so as to stimulate further conceptual work (having empirical interest and implications) inside the fragmented field of a Marxian critique of politics, understood as a scientific project adjacent to yet lagging behind the critique of political economy. If appropriately developed, this perspective may lead to formulate better questions that maintain the fragile, controlled and continuous endeavor to circumscribe political forms of organizations in their historicity under conditions of political finitude. Hence, it may be used to remove and take measures against teleological assumptions that illegitimately extrapolate certain elements of political theory and obscure the process of research. I advance my argument by focusing mainly on three interrelated cases from the late 70s - an intense period of theoretical debates in the contemporary history of Marxism. First, I present Trentins contribution in forming an integral conception of proletarian/communist practice of politics. His attempts to radically transfigure and re-conceptualize the division of labor between syndicate and party through an elaborate articulation between politicization of the social and the socialization of the political offer a balanced ground to measure possible future advancements in the direction of a critique of politics. Next, I revisit the theoretical controversy between Althusser and Balibar around the status, role and mode of functioning of a communist party in relation to the State. Hereby, I claim that the relative weakness on the part of both thinkers to openly embrace the tension between tendentiality and directionality results in a mutual misunderstandings and accusations concerning each others positions, strengths and weaknesses. Lastly, I turn to Thernborns concept of political technologies of organization as a solid example of how to find a way of out that impasse.

Working Class Ideas in and on Radical Politics in the Bremen Council Republic, 1918-1919

Gaard Kets (Radboud University Nijmegen)

This paper seeks to clarify how the experiences and ideas of workers and soldiers in their councils related to existing and developing theories of the council. It aims to investigate the relation between the ideas of professional theorists like Knief and Pannekoek, and the working class in Bremen. This will be analysed by studying the minutes of the meeting of the councils, letter exchanges, eyewitness accounts, newspaper coverage, et cetera. The paper will concentrate on four core issues that were of key importance for the experiences in the revolution in Bremen, and for the development of council communist ideology in more or less chronological order. Firstly, there is the issue of the relation between the new powers (the Workers and Soldiers Council) and the old institutions (the Senate and City Parliament). Secondly, there is the important discussion on the National Assembly and whether or not to support the elections for it. Thirdly, the new elections for the workers council and the questions of inclusion and exclusion that accompanied it. Fourthly, the declaration of the Council Republic in Bremen and the debates about how to constitute this new form of government. The revolutionaries had to solve these questions amidst a roaring counterrevolution that attacked them physically, financially and ideologically. The analysis of the council meetings shows the difficulties of combining political theory with revolutionary struggles. Nevertheless, it also shows the

capacity of ordinary workers to contribute to the development of thinking and theorizing about radical democratic politics.

Transphobia and Fascism

Joni Alizah Cohen (Plan C, Women's Strike Assembly, Action for Trans Health London)

My paper will explore the gender politics of historical and contemporary fascism from a trans perspective. It will interrogate the role of maleness a gendered reality that forms one of the pillars of fascism. Fascism is a reactionary movement which seeks to protect certain aspects of society that it perceives to be at threat, notably: whiteness, maleness and property. These institutions, of course, inform and prop each other up. Maleness, and its protection (read: supremacy) therefore forms an integral wing of fascist movements historical and contemporary. Trans people, and particularly trans women, have always been seen as the arch enemy of maleness, and a particular enemy of fascism. It is no coincidence that the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft was destroyed, its research burnt, and its occupants murdered as one of the first acts of the Nazi Party after it came to power in 1933. Trans women are perceived to be an attack on maleness, we are “gender traitors” that corrupted maleness from the inside. This logic plays out on the social and biological level. The right is afraid of the corruption of masculinity as a social behaviour, hence the prevalence of the term “cuck” in contemporary fascist discourse. But it is now also vastly concerned by the corruption of maleness as biological sex, as it sees it instantiated in hormonal and genital materiality. The scaremongering about hormone replacement therapy and a general pervasiveness of oestrogen is understood as a sociobiological threat to maleness, just as so-called “miscegenation” is a sociobiological threat to whiteness and the “Aryan genome”. This logic is not isolated to the alt-right but is found in mainstream press and in the thoughts of policy makers currently in power. It is certain that trans people face an existential threat from the rising tide of fascism, just as we did historically, and therefore an analysis of the logics through which contemporary fascism understands trans people as a cancer of the body politic.

Book launch: Konstantinos Kavoulakos, "Georg Lukacs's Philosophy of Praxis. From Neo-Kantianism to Marxism (Bloomsbury, September 2018)

Konstantinos Kavoulakos (Department of Philosophy and Social Studies, University of Crete)

Georg Lukacs's early Marxist philosophy of the 1920s laid the foundations of Western Marxism and Critical Theory. However the evaluation of Lukacs's philosophical contribution has been largely determined by one-sided readings of eminent theorists like Adorno, Habermas, Honneth or even Lukacs himself. Georg Lukacs's Philosophy of Praxis. From Neo-Kantianism to Marxism (Bloomsbury, September 2018) offers a new reconstruction of Lukacs's early Marxist work, capable of restoring its dialectical complexity by highlighting its roots in his neo-Kantian, 'pre-Marxist' period. In his pre-Marxist work Lukacs sought to articulate a critique of formalism from the standpoint of a dubious mystical ethics of revolutionary praxis. Consequently, Lukacs discovered a more coherent and realistic answer to his philosophical dilemmas in Marxism. At the same time, he retained his neo-Kantian reservations about idealist dialectics. In his reading of

historical materialism he combined non-idealist, non-systematic historical dialectics with an emphasis on conscious, collective, transformative praxis. Reformulated in this way Lukcs's classical argument plays a central role within a radical Critical Theory. All panel participants are experts in Lukcs's Marxist work and will highlight some of the central issues raised in the book, while the author of the book will offer a general outline of its main idea. Table of contents of the book: Preface by Andrew Feenberg 1. Introduction: The Need to Reconsider Lukcs' Philosophy of Praxis First Part: Method 2. The Problem of Content: a Neo-Kantian Theme 3. Flawed Philosophical Alternatives 4. Lukcs' Materialist Theory of History Second Part: Theory 5. The Origins of the Concept of Reification in Lukcs' Early Work 6. The Modern Form of Objectivity 7. What is Reification? Third Part: Praxis 8. From Mystical Ethics to Transformative Praxis 9. De-reifying Capitalism 10. Limits of De-reification 11. Epilogue: The Significance of Lukcs's Philosophy of Praxis Today Participants: Michael Loewy, Rob Jackson, Daniel Lopez, Konstantinos Kavoulakos

Between Research and Organising: Reflections on Workers Inquiries in India And South Africa

Lorenza Monaco (University of Johannesburg)

Drawing on the original conceptualisation of workers inquiry provided by the early Italian workerists (1960s), and on the recent attempt to retrieve it in two different contexts - India and South Africa, the paper reflects on the meaning and on the current value of such a method. In particular, it focuses on four main aspects. Firstly, it questions the very idea that such a research practice (or political experience, as the Italian workerists used to define it) should be confined within methodological boundaries. In turn, this relates to a discussion of aims and tools for data collection to adopt in order to co-produce knowledge for action. Secondly, the paper reflects on the design of a workers inquiry, preliminary phase that involves co-research and mutual learning per se. Thirdly, the paper considers the possible, and desirable, use of a workers inquiry. In this case, the paper intervenes in a broader debate on participatory action research, stretching it towards radical transformation and workers struggles as inherent objectives of the research itself. Finally, the paper questions the role of the militant researcher, reflecting on dilemmas and hindrances arising from the connection between research and organising. Throughout the whole paper, the discussion builds on two difference experiences: a workers inquiry conducted in the Delhi automotive cluster while the Maruti strikes were ongoing (2011-12), and a more recent experiment of co-research launched in Johannesburg, together with a group affiliated to the Casual Workers Advice Office (CWAO).

Conservation by Dispossession: Market Mecanisms of Nature Apropriation in Brazil

Maryanne Galvo (Universidade Federal do Piau/UFPI)

According to Marx the appropriation of nature is a universal phenomenon of life of men and women, of the social metabolism that occurs between them and nature through work. In the capital system, however, the appropriation of nature is distorted, it is seen as a "free gift," and at the same time that the system alienates the social being from itself, the system also alienates it from nature. In this paper we will analyze the appropriation of the neoliberal nature through a initiative of nature conservation and "fight against global

warming” solution, which are part of the so-called green economy, that is, that aim to solve the ecological problem through a market mechanism. We will present a REDD + (Reduction through Deforestation and Degradation) initiative in Mato Grosso, Brazil. Our hypothesis is that these conservation mechanism, besides benefiting financial capital as a capital accumulation strategie, continues the expropriation process called by Marx the primitive accumulation and Harveys ‘accumulation by dispossession’. Keywords: Conservation - accumulation - expropriation - REDD + - Brazil

Postfascism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism

Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen (Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen)

Postfascism is very much a cultural phenomenon. And the conflicts of today occur less as class struggle than as cultural battles. Why is that? I propose to use Fred Jamesons classic text on postmodernism (as the cultural logic of late capitalism) as a framework for considering the new postfascist tendencies that have emerged during the last few years in USA and Europe (Trump, Brexit, Alternative for Germany, Pegida, Le Pen, Wilders Party for Freedom, the Danish Peoples Party etc.). Jamesons analysis of postmodernism supplies us with a take with which we can start mapping these reactionary or postfascist phenomena and embed them in an analysis of changes in late capitalism.

The Emerging Relationship Between Conservatives and the New Right in Germany

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Observing the movements of the New Right in Germany, one finds an evident and growing overlap with conservative intellectuals from all areas of politics, culture, science, philosophy and literature. The networks between conservatives and right-wing intellectuals remain fragile as of yet, but emerging connections can be outlined: 1. The otherwise contradictory political aspirations circle around a nexus of homeland (Heimat), masculinity and a backward conception of nature 2. Common to all is a critique of modernity, including a critique of the political upheavals of 1968 (especially feminism, left-liberal thinking) 3. The fear of “alienation”, which ranges from a proclaimed “conservative revolution” and Christian Democrats notion of a dominant culture (Leitkultur) to plain biological racism (Thilo Sarrazin) 4. The philosophical kernel is the longing for the tragic (Martin Heidegger), intoxication and danger (Ernst Jnger, Strauss) coupled with a desire for a stable identity (rejection of postmodernism), particularly attractive for old and younger male literary figures 5. The biggest split still exists between “people / mass” and “elite”, which they can- up until now - not overcome 6. Moreover, the circle splits over the question of the “cultural war” (homeland) or the “social question” (anti-capitalist wing of the New Right) In this paper, I argue that the situation in Germany could prove explosive should the New Right and Conservatives manage to overcome these divisions and utilise them productively. Given that the Left and Social Democracy are divided by similar cleavages, they must learn from German history and overcome them: which, concretely, means connecting the social question with cultural struggles before the Right does. Although the arguments here refer to the specifics of the German situation, they can certainly be applied to other Western industrial nations: what kinds of left alliances are needed in a state of upheaval in the capitalist mode of

production and a crisis of political representation in order to counter the new alliances on the Right, as well as which “philosophy” this alliance has (Gramsci) and whether it is coherent (as the Right is currently attempting). Not incidentally, the New Right draws on Gramsci’s understanding of “cultural hegemony” to link their institutions, thinkers, media, etc.

Machinery as Automatic Subject. Self-motion, Great Industry and the Expropriation of Subjectivity

Luca Micaloni (Universit degli Studi Roma Tre/ Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici)

In my talk I will deal with Marx’s account of great industry in Capital from the standpoint of the analogy between capital and the (Hegelian) Subject. Whereas such an analogy can be seen as a shared assumption in recent critical literature or at least as acknowledged by some influential variants of a well-established interpretative strand a full application of it to the Marxian analysis of productive processes has not been, thus far, suggested. In the first part of the talk I will give an outline of the analogy between capital and Subject, with particular regard to chap. IV of Capital. In the second section, I will delineate a historical-philosophical reconstruction of the notion of automaton in ancient and modern philosophy, which is relevant to an adequate understanding of the notion of Selbstbewegung in Capital. In the third part, I will offer a re-reading of some key passages from chap. XIII of Capital and I will also propose that modern class struggle could be redefined as a conflict regarding the legitimate ascription of the prerogatives of subjectivity. When applied to production, this framework allows to grasp the anthropological and political significance of technical and technological capitalist rationalization, which should be interpreted as the gradual expropriation of subjectivity (in terms of capacity of initiative, control of labour processes, etc.) conducted by capital against labour-power. Not only the self-motion and the subjectivity that are inherent in the concept of capital (as defined in chap. IV) can only subsist if a process of valorisation in production takes place; also, production is the specific realm where capital’s effort of setting itself as the automatic subject of modernity reaches its highest intensity.

Book Launch for We the Indians - The Indigenous Peoples of Peru and the Struggle for Land by Hugo Blanco

Terry Conway (activist and researcher)

The panel will be comprised of Hugo Blanco, Terry Conway and Oscar Bergund. It will be chaired by Derek Wall. Jeff Webber will act as discussant. We the Indians is a unique narrative, which tells the tale of its protagonist and author, Hugo Blanco, but also of an entire community, inspired and guided by his example and his resoluteness. Blanco’s vivid and direct language takes the reader on an inspirational journey to the heart of Peru - and the struggles for land reform and change in the 1950s and 1960s. Impeccably translated by Leslie Ray, this first English edition retains some of the original Quecha and Spanish in which Hugo writes and speaks. The question of language and culture is central to the issues explored, especially in the section of the book which chronicles the relative contributions of the internationally well-known and profoundly reactionary promoter of neo-liberalism Mario Vargas Llosa and the voice that Hugo celebrates and cherishes; the

indigenous writer Jose Maria Arguedas. For ecosocialists and environmentalists in advanced capitalist countries the chronicling of the relationship with Pachamama (Mother Earth) gives us a powerful example of the ways that indigenous communities relate to the environment. Across the globe, from the Inuit in the Arctic to the Adivasi in South Asia and many more have a deep relationship with the natural world and its fruits, a relationship which experiences the exploitation of the earth and the undermining of her sustainability as an vicious attack on communities themselves. Hugo's writing reminds of us this reality time and again. More about the book: Eduardo Galeano writes these pages, written in bursts, disorderly, jubilant and desperate, tell of the adventures and misfortunes of the man who headed the campesino struggle in Peru, the organiser of the rural trade unions, the man who pushed for an agrarian reform born from below and fought for from below. Hugo Blanco has walked his country forwards and backwards, from the snow-covered mountains to the dry coast, through the rainforests where the tribes are hunted like beasts. And wherever he went, on the way he helped the fallen to get up, and the silent ones to speak. The authorities accused him of being a terrorist. They were right. He sowed terror among the owners of land and of people. He slept under the stars and in cells occupied by rats. He went on fourteen hunger strikes. In one of them, when he could barely go on any longer, the Minister of the Interior made a kind gesture and sent him a coffin as a gift. More than once, the district attorney demanded the death penalty, and more than once the news was published that Hugo had died. He continues to be that smart, crazy man who decided to be an Indian, even though he was not, and turned out to be the most Indian of all. Jeffery R. Webber writes: A red thread runs through these beautiful, scattered reflections, polemical interventions, autobiographical vignettes, and letters Hugo Blancos unwavering stand with the oppressed, and belief in their capacity for self-emancipation. Jailed, exiled, tortured, his spirit of sedition never seems to wane. From student militancy, to factory organizing, to mobilizing with the landless, Blancos first political decades in Peru and Argentina set on course a long life of resolute antagonism to the tyranny of capital across several continents. Sensitive to changing winds, Blancos particular theatres of struggle have altered over time. In accordance with novel developments in capitalism, as well as new modalities of resistance emerging all around him, at home or in exile, he has adapted, without losing sight of his north star. Of late, the terrain has shifted again. Indigenous liberation and ecological justice have moved to the foreground. Blanco has followed community struggles into their uprisings against the latest iterations of extractive capital in Latin America multinational mining, agro-industry, and natural gas and oil. A recovery of indigenous communal traditions from the pre-capitalist past is wedded in Blancos words, and in these movements themselves to a forward-looking vision of a post-capitalist future. An open dialectic rather than an arid dogmatism. Abundant in riches that speak to our unhappy times, Blancos collection calls out to be mined with revolutionary haste. Derek Wall writes: Hugo Blanco is an inspiration. In his 80s but still intensely active in struggles for liberation, ecology and socialism, he reminds us that crisis of climate change and other environmental catastrophes is a product of an entire social and economic system of extractive capitalism. There are many lessons we can derive from the vivid tales narrated so accessibly in this book. Hugo shows, precisely, that we must fight for change in a fashion which is both militant and practical.

Nationalism and the Uneven Development of Europe

Benjamin Brbaumer (Universit Paris 13)

In his *Engels and the 'Nonhistoric' Peoples* Roman Rosdolsky invites the reader to carefully analyse the substance of social antagonisms developing from the relations

between a core and a periphery. Inspired by this approach we will attempt to identify the substance of contemporary euroscepticism. While mainstream politics and some scholars (Toubeau, 2016) equate the rejection of the European Union (EU) with nationalism our paper draws on recent empirical research on the relation of the Europeans to the EU in order to question this assumption. Therefore, we'll proceed in three stages. First we'll outline the increasing economic polarisation of the EU (Celi et al., 2017; Mazier et Petit, 2013). Next, we'll present recent empirical studies on euroscepticism, showing that the rejection of the EU is largely motivated by social and democratic reasons. Finally, we'll use Neil Davidson's (2015) distinction between nationalism and national consciousness in order to understand the rejection of the EU as a moment enabling the development of a strategy coping with the structural selectivity (Offe, 1972) of the European Union.

Aesthetics from Above and Below (Red Wedge panel #3)

Alexander Billet (Red Wedge)

The capitalist mode of production has a distinct way in which it relates to cultural and artistic expression and production. This is true not only in terms of how these expressions are reproduced and distributed, but in the nexus between form and content manifested in the work itself. Neoliberalism has both accelerated and intensified as well as diffused this relationship. With the return of history, a challenge is created in how the left and anti-capitalists might relate to artistic expression and creation that tails neither cultural populism nor hermetic elitism, but highlights the possibility of culture as a genuinely democratic encounter. In his well-known essay *The Work of Art In the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, Walter Benjamin asserts that while fascism aestheticizes politics, communism politicizes aesthetics. This provocative distinction is left mostly unexamined in Benjamins own work. A great many questions are posed by this ambiguity. If a top-down, authoritarian system uses aesthetics to provide the illusion of popular ownership, how might a politicized aesthetic operate differently in both smashing this illusion and providing a glimpse of actual ownership over societys trajectory? What will this politicized aesthetic look like? The same paintings with different frames? Must it be didactic? Can cultural expression be a tool in discovering overlooked facets in the repression or liberation of daily life? Is the process of cultural production changed? This panel will attempt to answer some of these questions and, in doing so, map the difference between top down manifestations of cultural production and those from the bottom up, as well as the way in which the two collide.

Against the EU: The Battle Against the Extreme Right and Fascism Passes Through the Fight Against EU

**Eleni Mavrouli (PhD in General Law Dpt of Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens Greece, Member of Advanced Media Institute, Open University of Cyprus),
Alexandros Minotakis (Dpt of Communication and Media Studies of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)**

The rise of far-right, even in the form of clearly fascist and neo-Nazi parties, swept the countries of Europe mainly due to the profound capitalist crisis that undermines the European structure. To the emergence of this phenomenon, European Unions policy, the policy of an imperialist organization expressing the interests and aspirations of European

capital and, at the same time, Capitals contradictions at national level, plays a key role. European Unions crisis, these last eight years, even though it has its root causes in the economy, it has not only been manifested as such. Since the 2014 European elections, the overall crisis of the European structure and its diminishing legitimacy in the conscience of European citizens emerged, culminating in the majority in favor of Leave of the 2016 referendum in Great Britain. This delegitimation was also expressed at national level through the influences retreat of the parties supporting the unification progress. A retreat accompanied, in many cases, by the rise of far-right racist xenophobic powers, which have made the most of the refugee crisis and have placed Euro-skepticism at the center of their propaganda. These political forces benefited from peoples dissatisfaction and anger caused both by the results of the EU's political choices and by the very way of pursuing these policies that is characterized by an open and brutal contempt for even perfectly legitimate electoral results. The examples of the referendum in Greece in July 2015 and the elections in Italy in 2018, as well as the almost open interventions in the parliamentary processes of these two countries, through the imposition of technocratic governments, will be, briefly, presented. In contrary, EU does not react at all to the election of clearly far-right governments, as in Austria, since they do not, in principle, go against its economic policies and values. Also, three concrete examples of EU key policy options will be briefly presented: the establishment of the ESM, the adoption of the Pact for Competitiveness and the most recent version of the Economic Governance Pact. The aim is to show that, in the midst of this deep crisis of capitalism, the EU is rapidly evolving into an authoritarian mechanism imposing undemocratic measures, even in terms of bourgeois democracy. In the light of an approach mainly driven by the dialectic relationship between economic base and superstructure, it will be examined the way the European left-wing political powers have to articulate their political speech and create common action fronts having as priority aim to further delegitimize and finally the EU's dismantling. Underlining the EU's reactionary nature and the need for its dissolution within terms of a revolutionary popular movement rather than nationalism and intolerance, the left-wing and communist political powers can lay the foundations of an anti-capitalist anti-imperialist front that will neutralize the far-right forces capacity to hijack peoples anger and dissatisfaction in the name of a "supposed" anti-systemic political pole.

Fascism in the State-Finance Nexus

Steven Wexler (California State University, Northridge)

Whither the nation-state in transnational-monopoly capitalism? Where is the political power located that can manage this whole system? (Harvey). It is easy to misread Donald Trumps answer. Trumps roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism looks like fascism proper since Trumps dismantling of some Keynesian institutions (Medicaid, Planned Parenthood) and his amplifying others (U.S. military and border control) work through jingoism and racism. As of this writing, the Trump Administration is separating children from parents based on U.S. immigration status, flip-flopping on trade policy such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and imposing tariffs on steel imports. Yet it is important to note that these nationalist moves are ultimately only another way that capitalist government enables the concentration of wealth. As Marx famously put it, The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. That is to say, Trumps engagement with fascism is less political (intellectual) commitment than it is economic device; Trumps fascism serves Trump, Inc. rather than the Trumpian nation-state. Trumps main objective why Trump ran for office has arguably already been realized: major tax cuts for Trump and Trumps

billionaire donors. Fascism in the State-Finance Nexus suggests that the present deployment of fascism on behalf of the capitalist class is a byproduct of financialization. As such, contemporary fascist ideology—Trump-style nationalism, jingoism, and ethnocentrism—like debt incumbency, becomes rational and ethical for capital and capitalist subjects. To borrow from Robert Brandom, the positive freedom necessary for one to participate in risk and securitization (promised by the ostensible free market) functions in part as a fascist response to negative freedom or perceived individual constraint from the foreigner or illegal. Fascism via financial logic becomes rationally and ethically justified. Hence, this is one reason why Maurizio Lazzarato says, Credit does not solicit and exploit labor but rather ethical action and the work of self-constitution at both an individual and collective level. Trump's role in the state-finance nexus, the union of finance capitalism and global government, is to manage a borderless yet finite material relation through financialized fascism. The paper makes its case with class analysis and Marxist epistemology in the narrow sense, and concludes that the socioeconomic shifts of the last forty-five years, when neoliberalism emerged as an economic and cultural dominant, produced requisite attitudinal dispositions that in turn produced a Trump presidency and the fascist state-finance nexus all on behalf of the capitalist class in its present moment in the epoch.

Working Class Women of Colour in the Parisian Hotel Sectors: Using Intersectionality and Marxist Feminism to Think Through Strategies for Struggle

Malika Amaouche (GLMF (Materialism Feminist reading group))

This paper will address the recent cleaners' struggles in the Parisian area hotel sector. Drawing on materialist feminism, which has allowed us to pursue the thought of Marx in a critical way by its application to domestic labour, and from the work of Intersectional theorists, we will articulate current debates on decolonial feminist and intersectionality, with a view to outlining strategies of struggle for Working Class Women of Color (WCWoC). A recent example of part of this struggle would be the women cleaners who work for the RENAISSANCE TROCADERO hotel in Paris.

Algorithm and Capital: Against “Computational Ontology”

Joseph Goodhew (Stanford University)

Algorithm lies at many intersections of Neoliberalism and the recent rise in Fascism. Symptoms are numerous, from Cambridge Analytica's post-Brexit and Trump election PR stunts to Fascist ideologues increasing use of technological aesthetics and discourses of technological realism, not to mention Algorithmic Finance itself. What we believe is possible for these technologies effects what they will do in the future and what they are used to do right now. After giving a brief investigation of Number and Algorithm (drawing on Badiou, Conway, Luciana Parisi, and others), this paper queries so called Computational Ontologies regarding algorithms, such as those of entrepreneur and computational theorist Steven Wolfram and computational theorist Gregory Chaitin. Although an exhaustive mathematical inquiry is beyond the scope of this paper, it does find strong similarities between the structural claims of Computational Ontology and Marx's foundational description of the structure of Capitalism, in particular between

Wolframs Principle of Computational Equivalence and Marxs Spectral Objectivity caused by a General Equivalent, and between Marxs Absolute Surplus-Value and Chaitins much discussed incomputable number OMEGA. From this follows a warning against the ontological re-inscription of a computational capitalism, both as tool of and bridge between Neoliberalism and the rise of the Far-Right and ideological precondition for the cult of the hard-headed technocrat or entrepreneur.

Abolition as Two Categories of Political Analysis

Marina Vishmidt

This paper will participate in the revisiting of the concept of subsumption as a ‘totalizing’ perspective adopted over a wide range of contemporary critical projects. Many of these uses of ‘subsumption’ can be aligned with ‘abolition’ as two categories of political analysis that tend towards the projection of an unmediated, devouring totality, an undifferentiated and borderless exercise of capital’s metabolism over all human social forms. It can thus be posited as performing an ontological or existential gesture on the ground of political economy. The question then arises as to what resources of critical negativity can be recovered from this ontological gesture, and whether this negativity can be diverted, even if secondarily, to refining our tools of analysis and action beyond such inflationary taxonomies.

Free Lunch

Rob Lucas (member of ENDNOTES)

Concepts like subsumption often name to an intuitive sense that capitalism has somehow become all-encompassing. Yet in the Marxist context from which this term is primarily taken, it is a concept of temporality unsuited to describing social totalities or epochs. The feeling that capitalism has accomplished a sort of inclusion within itself, of terrifying scope, has bases in reality. But the sublime horror of grandiose totalisations can be strategically disorientating: if capitalism is everywhere, where might struggles against it begin if they are to have any chance? How might they reach the awesome scales necessary to overcome an all-embracing global system? If we think in such terms, it seems absurd to place any hope in anti-capitalist movements, given their largely diminutive stature. It may help to turn a critical eye to the conceptual processes implicitly at work when epic wholes are summoned from our everyday experience of life in capitalist conditions. Isn't the sense of their completeness a pre-theoretical one? What sort of totality does capital really include us in, and what is the nature of that inclusion? What might be the speculative outlines of any strategy to overcome it? It may help to perform a certain materialist reduction: food.

Capitalist Subsumption, Time and Subjectivity

Andrs Senz de Sicilia

The rich but cursory discussion of capitalist subsumption to be found throughout Marxs writings sketches a powerful framework for analysing the social and historical dynamics of capitalist societies. The force of Marxs account lies in its depiction of the mechanisms by which capitalist relations regulate the course and character of social life. It is by

controlling and directing social practices in production, through various techniques of command, that capitalist power operates. Yet in order to make sense of the ways in which capitalist control of production comes to shape social life as such - that is, the entire process of social reproduction - it is necessary to extend Marx's account. Whilst thinkers such as Adorno and Negri attempted to do so, they failed to deepen the conceptual scope of subsumption. Instead, they simply absolutized the tendential real subsumption of labour which occurs in production, projecting it onto the social totality as a concept of world-historical periodisation. In one form or another, this diagnosis of a complete or total subsumption of human life persists in much social theory today. In order to understand the global effects of capitalist subsumption, I argue that we have to rethink the conceptions of time and subjectivity at work in these accounts of capitalist power. By regulating social practices in production, capitalist relations also come to regulate the production of time and subjectivity. But this occurs in a manner that is neither unilateral, nor chronologically or geographically uniform. Capitalist subsumption must therefore be grasped as a process constitutively marked by struggle and one that unfolds unevenly across the process of global social reproduction.

From Negation of Mediation to Mediation of Negation

Mattin Artiach

This paper will bring together an ongoing discussion on the notion of real subsumption taking as a starting point a recently translated text by the ultra-left french group Negation *The Proletariat as Destroyer of Work* (1972). Negation uses the notions of formal and real domination in order to periodise capitalism and to point out at the integration of the proletariat in the capitalist mode of production under total or real domination. Their analysis is part of a long discussion that is still ongoing between groups like *Thorie Communiste*, *Endnotes* and the members of this panel that will be reflected in the upcoming book *What Is To Be Done Under Real Subsumption?*. The crucial question is whether Negation's use of real domination and their periodisation is valid or not. If it is, this means that there is very little or no room for politics. As a matter of fact, Negation reject political organizations because they think that revolutionary consciousness can emerge only in and through the social struggles themselves through destroying the fundamental categories of capital such as labour. Their vigorous critique of work, the state, liberal democracy, political rackets (including *Potere Operaio*) and their analysis of counter-cultural movements (like the rockers and greasers) has an urgency that resonates with our times. However Negation's perspective falls into the caricature that Frank Wilderson III has used in order to criticize certain Marxist theories, which he describes in three phases: harmony, disharmony, harmony. First one imagines that before capitalism life was organic and unmediated (harmony). But then this destructive social mode of production broke with it (disharmony). Finally communism will be able to restore this harmony once it destroys capitalist categories such as labour and the value form. A recent distinction made by the philosopher Ray Brassier between concrete-in-thought and concrete-in-reality can help both to deal with the totalising argument of real domination but also with the understanding that communism would be the expression of unmediated life. Brassier follows Marx in claiming that thinking is established in practice. For Brassier concrete-in-reality is practice; all these impersonal practices that cannot be verified in thought. Brassier makes a very clear distinction by claiming that the structure of reality (concrete-in-reality) and the structure of thought (concrete-in-thought) are different and cannot resemble each other. However we can understand the structure of reality through thinking but it takes time because it is not itself transparent and it is not intermediately available. Thinking (concrete-in-thought)

can through abstractions generate representations out of practice (concrete-in-reality) and through this process it become conscious (socially validated) through concrete-in-thought. The problem is that capitalism is getting hold on this process of social validation, but the lesson to learn is that the totality that we are referring to is epistemological (concrete-in-thought), not ontological and that communism would not be some form of unmediated life but instead would be getting hold of the mediations that generate the social validation of practice (concrete-in-reality).

The Myth of “War Communism”

Lars Lih (McGill University)

According to a strong consensus of historians from across the political spectrum, there existed something in Soviet Russia called “war communism” that rose to a climax in 1920, right before the introduction of the New Economic Policy. The distinguishing mark of war communism is the alleged drive of the Bolsheviks to find a “short-cut to communism” or “a leap into communism,” based on the illusion that wartime policies were bringing the country to the brink of fully socialist society. Debate among historians is only about whether the illusion was caused by wartime policies or by long-standing ideology, but few dispute the illusion’s existence. In actuality the Bolsheviks understood their position realistically and knew perfectly well that Russia was far, very far, from any kind of socialism. The evidence is so overwhelming that questions must be raised about professional standards. Debunking the myth of war communism also tells us much about the views of Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and others during this period. The whole episode brings up fundamental questions of post-revolutionary strategy.

Under the Cobblestones: '68, Uneven and Combined Development and the Cultural Heritage of the Long Sixties (Red Wedge panel #4)

Alexander Billet (Red Wedge)

In honor of the 50th anniversary of 1968, Red Wedges sixth issue will explore its international ramifications. From East Europe to the Middle East, the 1968 phenomenon saw an encounter between cultural production and dissident politics often missing in the west. Indeed there was an uneven development to the combined political and aesthetic interactions, the more advanced capitalist social property relations seem to be, the more of a distance there was between cultural producers and political dissidents. This panel will examine encounters both local and universal, in Iran, in the United Kingdom and in Czechoslovakia. Troubling our standard Cold War or pop-cultural history narratives, cultural artifacts dialectic of polysemic quality and historically specific reality will undergo examination situated against the current.

A Hero of Anti-formalism? Or a Formulation of Anti-heroism? Shostakovich and a Figure of Anti-fascism.

Jamil Alessandro Kowcun (UCL and QMUL)

Focusing on the work, intentions and politics of Dmitri Shostakovich I interrogate his artistic tension with the state elevation of art, the popular and the necessary in Soviet music; in doing so trying to offer a way of mapping perceptual, official and political realities drawn out through this antagonism. I attempt to outline what was necessarily bound in the intellectual and institutional transformations wrought by Soviet society, and how they manifested in the so often lauded ambivalence of Shostakovich. Through an exploration of Shostakovich's relationship with the formalism edicts, and in turn their derivation and deviation from statements on philosophy, culture and musicology from the twenties, I challenge liberal analyses of a formless struggle with state apparatus. Taking on the topos of the fourth and the tenth symphonies as typifiers of Stalinist repression, and resultant imprints in the motifs of the fifth and eleventh I challenge a variety of liberal predicates that dictate musicological analyses surrounding the composer. Drawing attention to the historical and political contentions with which he grappled, and that altered his horizons, I ask: In what way were perceptive possibilities inexorably bound to state transformation and how might we trace the imprint of these connections in Soviet music and musicology? Central to my exploration, in the theme of the conference, is a consideration of anti-fascist aesthetics, its incorporation into the state and deterioration in this possibility under the Stalinist consolidation of power. Tracing the personal and musical imprint of the demise of the centrality of thoroughly Marxist underpinnings I substantiate and contrast moments of anti-aesthetics with the political realities of, and subjective involvement in, the task of composing for a popular anti-fascism. I question what this exposes about the relation of the artist to the state, as well as the possibilities distinguishing formalism, patriotism and heroism, from fascist aestheticism. Patriotism, as a moment in this derision, and its imprint on the expectation-horizons of Soviet artists is pitched against heroic realism and frequent typologies of parallelism challenged. The seventh symphony and the string quartets, often subjected in analyses with a highly limited fitting of the personal with the state level creation, are used to establish a remoulded trope of the repressed artist, with the protagonist repositioned, situated as an active and conscious anti-fascist. To add, in the welcome and necessary spirit of the conference, a present/political dimension I also ask how we might begin to position the work of Shostakovich, in contemplating the relationship of popular determinism, artistic receptivity, state elevation in an aesthetics of anti-fascism and how we might consider patriotic limitations to the moulding of artistic responses to struggle. In turn I raise the resurgence and forms of fascist art, and fascist predicates to art that are becoming all too familiar once again. A more genuine presentation of the dilemmas of artistic commitment and individual expression during the period, ultimately this piece has the aim of a convoluted rehabilitation, not of the composer, but of the musicologist; for the purposes of harnessing a symphonic power, to add to a critical understanding of the fascist threat.

Sexuality: Consent and Dispossession

Alan Sears (Ryerson University)

The dominant model of sexual freedom achieved through feminist and queer mobilization over the past 50 years has focussed largely on issues of autonomy and consent. On North American university and college campuses over the last few years, for example, there has been a considerable focus on reducing high rates of sexual assault against women

students by shifting sexual practices to highlight the centrality of deliberate consent. These consent campaigns are ambitious and important, attempting to shift the script in campus sexual encounters to ensure affirmative and enthusiastic consent as an expectation of all parties in any circumstances. These consent campaigns are necessary but not sufficient to accomplish new levels of equity in sexual engagement. Feminist, anti-racist and queer marxisms provide particular tools for understanding issues of consent and coercion in a broader frame that can contribute important dimensions to discussions of sexual freedom. The contractual model of sexual encounter focussed around consent is embedded in a broader set of social relations organized around what Marx described as the double freedom of members of the working class under capitalism at once free owners of their own bodies and free of control over the crucial productive resources in society. Free workers are thus compelled to enter contracts to sell their labouring capacities to capitalists who control the core productive resources. Workers consent to the labour contract is thus based on the compulsion to sell their capacity to work to gain access to the necessities of life. Consent and coercion are thus not opposites in capitalist social relations, but are deeply interconnected. Further, the freedom of members of the working class is differentiated in a hierarchy organized around gendered, racialized and sexualized divisions of labour, practices of colonialism and the persistence of forms of unfree labour. Struggles around consent are crucial, but ultimately mobilizations for gender and sexual liberation need to challenge the broader regimes of differentiated subordination that are central to capitalist social relations.

For a Radical Humanism: Jos Carlos Maritegui and Amerindian Communities Contribution to Left Politics

Laura Lema Silva (PhD candidate Universit Lumire Lyon II / Institut des Amriques)

The aim of this paper is to build on Jos Carlos Maritegui's theories on political action in order to acknowledge Amerindian structures of knowledge capacity to enrich the concept of emancipation. Jos Carlos Maritegui contributes framing a radical Marxist humanism (Alderson and Spencer, 2017) centred on the belief of human capacity to create a new social order by going beyond political resistance. For the Peruvian Marxist theorist, a true revolutionary action is based on the power of a political myth which participates in the creation of a renewed society. Maritegui's insistence on spirituality has to be understood by taking into account its inscription in the materiality of political relations of power. Building a myth is not equivalent of trusting a transcendent force, spirituality is a political battlefield. In that sense, a decadent and a revolutionary soul coexist in a given historical period. According to Maritegui, aesthetic creation is one of the places in which that agonistic spirituality finds an expression, literature and the arts are inscribed in history by being at the same time the laboratories for the building of an emancipated society. In his reading of Indigenista literature, Maritegui draws attention to an indigenous soul revealed by indigenismo, and which is capable of breaking with both colonialism and capitalism. By recognising the existence of an Amerindian myth or soul, Maritegui opens the path for thinking of Amerindian structures of knowledges political capacity and their contribution to left politics. This paper will therefore study the specific contribution of wayuu structures of knowledge carried by the community's contemporary literature to the concept of emancipation. The wayuu are situated in the Peninsula of La Guajira between Colombia and Venezuela. Since the 1970s wayuu literature entered world literary circles and counts with more than 30 writers. Wayuu literature reveals structures of knowledge that, at some extent, go back to pre-Columbian times and connect with other Amerindian cultures by engaging, at the same time, in complex

processes of cultural translation and contact with western structures of knowledge. Wayuu thinking poses questions of great contemporaneity for critical thought as evidenced by the feminist criticism in Ester Cecilia Simanca's literature. This criticism is to think in relation to wayuu social structures and their arrangement with Western culture. Here, the experience of gender relations, in a matrilineal and polygamous society, articulates with a global discourse of protection of women rights while proposing a redefinition of these relations building on the notion of complementarity. Moreover, Miguel Angel Lopez Hernandez's poetics contribute to reframing a literary cosmopolitanism based on diversity and on the formulation of a plural humanism inspired by wayuu mythical thought in dialogue with the West. To think of the contributions of wayuu thinking is ultimately to touch on issues that also concern the conceptualization of power structures and the capacity of a given population to subvert them. It is to understand wayuu capacity of action and to recognize the creative power of the community's literary work beyond the notion of representation of an ethnic identity circumscribed to a local space.

Marxist Temporalities

Joseph Serrano (University of California, Berkeley), Sarah Mason (University of California, Santa Cruz) Vittorio Morfino (Universit di Milano-Bicocca), Elia Zaru (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Recent scholarship in the Marxist tradition has been devoted to understanding the notion(s) of temporality. Indeed, since the very inception of Marxism, questions of time and temporality have been at the forefront of this body of knowledge, from Marx's analysis of the Working Day in volume 1 of *Das Kapital*, to the critiques of the economism and teleological conception of historical time of the Second International by Walter Benjamin and Antonio Gramsci, as well as the explorations of non-contemporaneity in the thought of Ernst Bloch and Louis Althusser. Today, while the question of the rise of far right is again on the agenda, it is not difficult to see why a return to the problem of time is such an urgent matter. This panel will further draw out and specify these questions by examining several thinkers in the Marxist tradition, and attempt to pose new problems for further study and research.

Palimpsest: A Marxist Geo-historical Method for a World of Regions

Majed Akhter (King's College London)

Much critical Anglophone scholarship depends heavily on the concept of neoliberalism to explain shifts in the global political economy since the 1980s. The concept of neoliberalism developed out of the economic experiences of the core capitalist regions of North America and West Europe. The signature political economic processes in these North Atlantic capitalisms was the defeat of organized labour and the reconfiguration of the post-war welfare state. The global south (the national economies of Africa, Asia, Latin America), if considered at all, features in theories of neoliberalism only as a receptacle or a laboratory for neoliberal policies. Conspicuously missing from the concept is the most remarkable economic story of the past half century: the capitalist expansion of economies in the Asian periphery, and especially the geopolitical and geoeconomic ascendancy of Chinese capital. To understand these massive shifts in

geopolitical economy, and how they are restructuring relations between and within world regions, especially the inter-Asian landscape, this paper proposes a new method that draws on debates in Marxist historiography and geography. Rather than draw boundaries between distinct periods, as is common in global political economic analysis, I argue for presentist historiography and regionalist spatial analysis. This means that historical inquiry is based on the problems of the present, and a spatial analysis that revolves around the formation and disintegration of contiguous blocs of territory. By proposing the heuristic of the palimpsest, and drawing on the Marxist historiography and political theory of Harry Harootunian and Antonio Gramsci, I develop a style of inquiry that understands regional coherence, inter-regional connection, and regional histories to be continually forged, maintained, interrupted, and sedimented over time. The palimpsest method prioritizes complex and heterogeneous region-based histories over spatially homogenizing notions of the global political economy as a series of successive periods. Contemporary China-Pakistan geoeconomic relations are a compelling case study with which to develop and illustrate the palimpsest method. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (or CPEC) is considered by both Chinese and Pakistani officials as the flagship showcase of China's export of infrastructure into the Asian periphery. In many ways, the history of state formation in Pakistan makes it an extreme example of the types of regions that Chinese capital is moving into. With Pakistan's consumption-oriented and de-politicized middle class, modest economic growth, highly securitized state, out-sized military, history of patron-client relations with geopolitical superpowers, fractious multi-ethnic society, and a landscape of highly uneven economic development, the country presents in extreme and concentrated form the political and social ills that beset Asia's underdeveloped peripheries. And like other countries in the region, Pakistan also engages almost exclusively with a technocratic model of national development that has understood large infrastructure projects as a means of nation-building and state territorialisation. Deploying the palimpsest method, then, this paper attempts to analyse and evaluate the contemporary China-led boom of hydropower investment in parts of northern Pakistan considering a deeper regional history of river development, territorial conflict, and political marginalization.

Communism, Uncertainty and Spontaneity. Marx and Lenin. Derrida and Ranciere.

Peter Vincent Green (Victoria University, Melbourne)

How did Marx, in his political activities with Engels, French socialists, and others, arrive at his novel explanation of communism? Communism, for Marx, was not a utopian ideal to which reality has to adjust itself but the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. The condition of communism, as Marx wrote to Ruge in 1843, had to start with an admission of genuine uncertainty: we have no precise idea about what ought to happen. Marx was insistent: we have no business with the construction of the future. Werner Bonefeld summed this up by saying that to speak about revolution is to embrace uncertainty. Lack of certainty also characterises what Lenin recognised as spontaneity. Luxemburg understood it, but felt that Lenin and the Communist party played a conservative role, and so compromised that essential spontaneity. Jacques Derrida proved himself incapable of understanding the proletariat as the spectre that haunted Europe. His notion of deconstruction was an attempt to actualise a future without a present without the living present of communist spontaneity. Jacques Ranciere, on the other hand, when he stated that communism is not an ideal it is an actual form of life affirmed what Marx (above) called the real movement. Communism, when it is not stalled under the brutal

and alienating ideology of class and property relations, is a historical and material reality. It is immanent in every one of our material and universal living interactions.

Wizards Capitalism. Reification, Class Struggle and Subalternity in the World of Harry Potter

Paul Guillibert (Paris Nanterre University), Fredric Monferrand (Paris Nanterre University)

The imaginary of Harry Potters saga does not only belong to fiction. If, as literary work, the world of wizards and witches plays with the codes of the historical novel and heroic fantasy, as a representation of a split world, magic reveals the dream of a humanity freed from labor and technological development. It expresses not only a theme of fantasys literature, but also a utopian variation on the social imaginary of late capitalism. Following the works of Walter Benjamin, Raymond Williams or Frederic Jameson, this intervention will offer a short contribution to the Marxist theory of the novel. Focusing on the minor themes of J.K. Rowlings Bildungsroman, we will argue that the possibility of another world, parallel though homologous to ours, expresses a reified representation of reification. In the wizards world, relations of production have been replaced by racialized and subaltern relations of power: no workers but house-elves (domestic slaves), no capitalists but strangely semitic Goblins, silversmiths and bankers, dispossessed of any political power by white human wizards; no bourgeoisie but Pure-blood people who want to purge Mud-blood. In a world where usury capital and commercial capital have subsumed all forms of production, social relations are racialized. Consequently, the two Januss faces of political struggles are limited to anti-fascist fight against the Dark Lord on the one hand and micro-politics of minor bodies on the other.

Shaping the subject in language: Stalinism and neoliberalism as pedagogical projects.

Craig Brandist (University of Sheffield)

While acknowledging crucial historical, institutional and ideological differences between them, continuities between Stalinism and neoliberalism remain striking. Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval's definition of neoliberalism as the set of discourses, practices, and apparatuses that determine a new mode of government of human beings in accordance with the universal principle of competition (2013, 4) could as easily apply to Stalinism. The neoliberal and Stalinist projects both aimed to create a new type of subject (homo economicus and the New Soviet Man respectively), in which all aspects of social life are to be thought, oriented and organized around economized metrics. From the 1930s until the fall of the USSR the bureaucratic mode of evaluation colonized all spheres, with an ethos of competition to be inculcated from cradle to grave, and neoliberalism recapitulates this aim. Both trends thus involve an educational process, and there are some intriguing parallels between the work of leading neoliberals such as von Hayek and the most prominent pedagogue of Stalins time, Makarenko. Critical perspectives on this aspect of neoliberalism has been dominated by Foucauldian approaches, with his undertheorized and overgeneralized notion of discourse positing a relentless monologue of governmentality, rationality and the like. The current paper explores alternative approaches to language developed during the period of the Russian Revolution and its Stalinist degeneration, focusing on the ways in which individuals are impelled to act according to the imperatives of the system regardless of their own interests or volition,

and the ways this is resisted. Embedded in works from the time of the formation of the Stalinist system are incipient modes of analysis and critique that have a potential applicability beyond the Stalin period itself and gain particular traction in relation to neoliberalism. The approaches remained incipient and scattered throughout a number of different kinds of texts, from work on the scientific organization of labour, applied linguistics, literary studies and forms of satirical writing. They nevertheless share important points of orientation that, in contradistinction to the Foucauldian approach, foreground modalities of discursive agency and interaction. The recovery of this tradition helps Marxists reveal that governing discursive forms are interventions in, and the outcome of, ongoing struggle and contestation at the point of production. It also helps us to identify and systematize forms of resistance to these forms of compulsion.

Minorities, Class Struggle, and the Limits of Philosophy

Kai Heron (The University of Manchester)

This paper explores the political and philosophical fecundity of Deleuze|Guattaris concept of minorities. Most extensively discussed in *A Thousand Plateaus*, the minority is Deleuze|Guattaris effort to think the political consequences of post-Fordist, neo-colonial, capitalism. Rather than a rejection of class politics, the minority names and wrestles with the politically ambiguous displacement of struggle from the site of production to the nexus of state and capital and the multiplication of identities mobilized in struggle. Rather than a celebration of difference, the minority is a materialist reckoning with its consequences for proletarian solidarity and for the formation of collective anti-capitalist forms of subjectivity under new conditions. In short, the minority holds open, without filling, the place of the proletariat as a revolutionary subject. For all that, the minority is an inconsistent, even flawed, philosophical figure. This paper elaborates and critiques notion in the hope of recovering it as a useful way to think about the political struggles of our times and as a means to explore the contemporary relationship between Marxist politics and philosophy.

Lessons Learned and Possible Futures: Notes from Social Reproduction Organizing in Small Town America

**Marcela Romero Rivera (Hobart and William Smith Colleges),
Hannah Dickinson (Hobart and William Smith Colleges)
Bret Leraul (Bucknell University) Sara Evinson (Columbia University, Hobart and William Smith Colleges)**

This panel will share the work of two collectives that have been working on radical politics organizing in the context of Central New York State. Two of the presenters were instrumental in the effort to unionize graduate students in Cornell University, in Ithaca, NY, while the other two are members of the Geneva Women's Assembly, a feminist collective with an anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-imperialist political agenda active in Geneva, NY. Social reproduction is a crucial theoretical framework for approaching organizing and mass movements in this region. First because the workers are both female and feminized. Second, because it is not just people's waged work that is under attack, but all aspects of social life. As elsewhere in the US, militarized local police forces fill the coffers of corrupt local government, as well as the overstuffed prisons and detention

centers. Healthcare, public education, and infrastructure border on the non-existent, as the upstate NY proletariat fight for their lives and die from austerity regimes engineered by big capital and their civil subservience. Environmental degradation and exploitation make clear that we are engaged in a struggle that cannot be confined to the workplace and must attend to unwaged labor, struggle, and all aspects of social life. The working groups included in this panel have found ways to use this theoretical framework as a lens to plan the general strategy of their political interventions. The intention of the panel is to serve as a common space to share our work and experience, where we can collectivize the cumulative knowledge that we have acquired as separate groups, with the purpose of learning and applying the gained insights in our future organizing efforts, be them as different groups or even proposing a new articulation of our groups to tackle the advance of the right in our region.

Language Matters in Communist Revolution: Qu Qiubai, Antonio Gramsci and VN Voloinov

Lorraine CM Wong (University of Otago)

Language occupies a problematic position in Marxism. Is language different from all other social institutions because it is non-material? If not, how do we articulate the relations of language to the material processes of history? This paper explores the constitutive relation between language and history in Marxism, which remains under theorized in contemporary scholarship. I argue that a critical intertwining of language and history emerged in the 1920s/30s, when Marxist thinkers Antonio Gramsci (Italy), VN Voloinov (the Soviet Union) and Qu Qiubai (China) echoed each other (unintentionally) in their theoretical writings, which share the concern with language as social/discursive order and society as semiotic structure. In my analysis, the 1920s/30s is a moment fraught with crises and hopes, during which Gramsci was exploring the strategy of Italian revolution in relation to the *questione della lingua* (language question), Voloinov was developing his theory of the ideological sign and consciousness, which questioned the cultural and psychological dominance of the elite class, and Qu Qiubai was introducing the Soviet Unions mass literacy campaign of Latinization into China, which aimed to instill a new revolutionary subjectivity in the masses. I examine how these three Marxist thinkers question the logocentric and mimetic approach to language in Western metaphysics, and in doing so, how they articulate the boundary of language and social life: Unless society becomes a real thing, one does not have a mimetic-representational order in which society refers to a real thing, or the referent. Then, in their articulations of society in and through language, how do Gramsci, Voloinov and Qu ensure that society retains its regenerative (and historical) dynamics without being fixated as the logos of the social, or the signified of society? In forming this theoretical dialogue between Gramsci, Voloinov and Qu, I argue that Qu rivals his contemporaries, Gramsci and Voloinov, in his refusal to accept a transcendental truth in the midst of society, a truth that is independent of linguistic and script-related determinations. This refusal is manifest in Qu's theory and practice of replacing Chinese characters with the Latin alphabet in the Chinese Latinization Movement. For Qu, the notion of knowledge conveyed by Chinese characters discriminated against the illiterate; such knowledge also attached morality to the elite who could read and write. Qu thought that Chinese characters in his time obscured the notion of truthful and scientific knowledge that he would like to translate from Western Marxist methodology into Chinese epistemological horizon. Yet, Qu did not aim to transport universalized content from Western languages into Chinese. As a creator and theorist of the Chinese Latinized script, Qu aimed to create an equal footing for the masses and the elite to locate

social truth and produce accurate knowledge in the common and contested ground of history. In fact, the new (Latinized) script was as much an estrangement to the masses as it was to the elite. Ultimately, this paper suggests that Qu should be better known and accepted into the world of Marxist theory commonly assessed in Anglophone scholarship.

Toward A Praxeological Ontology of Sexuality as a Constitutive Part of the Integrative Ontology of SRT (Ferguson)

Rhonda Koch (MA student (philosophy))

Taking the ontological framework of SRT with its crucial category of human practical activity for granted, it seems useful to expand this notion by concretizing the bodily nature of human practice. Therefore, the issue of sexuality becomes critical. The most widely held position on this question is the Foucauldian notion of sexuality as a discursive and hence regulatory phenomenon understanding heterosexuality as a form of sexual regulation. Sears (2017) demonstrates how SRT helps to understand heterosexuality in its functional embeddedness in the organization of social reproduction. A different approach on sexuality is discussed by the Ljubljana School of Psychoanalysis arguing for the category of sexual difference. Drawing a scenario of a total neoliberal society where reproduction is still feminized though heterosexuality as a regulative praxis is replaced by a new governmental regime of multiple identity, Soiland emphasizes the importance of rethinking sexual subjectivation. Hence, disagreeing with the notion of a total culturalization of the sexual where sex is removed from sex (Copjec 2012) and the question of what sex or sexuality actually is is being left unanswered, Zupancic (2017) suggests an understanding of sexuality that has the ontological status of the Lacanian Real, - being non being. There is an ontological negativity involved in the concept of sexual difference we must grasp. I will argue that both approaches can be fruitfully linked together in terms of a praxeological ontology of sexuality that oscillates between historical body (McNally) and culture, thus constituting a specific ontological phenomenon that entails an emancipatory characteristic against total regulation and reification.

A Womb by any Other Name: On the Emancipatory Potential of Ectogenesis

Oana Uiorean (Goldsmiths, University of London)

This paper will consider the emancipatory potential of ectogenesis, or artificial womb technology. Women's monopoly on gestation has been historically the foundation of their oppression. Are we, therefore, working towards developing artificial wombs, along with artificial gametes, in order to contribute to emancipating women? What do these efforts tell us about gender relations? On the one hand, the answer can simply point to the fact that science is always trying to find better ways to make sure that premature babies have a chance at life, that artificial wombs would allow profoundly infertile couples as well as homosexual couples to fulfil their baby wish without the costly journey of surrogate motherhood or the legal quandaries of adoption, or that outsourcing gestation to a machine would erase the otherness of the female sex and level the playing field with men, removing the disadvantage and mark that biological reproduction represents for women,

and eventually correcting gender stereotypes and gendered divisions of labour once motherhood would acquire an entirely new meaning. I will argue, however, that artificial wombs are yet another instance of misogyny, intended to deepen the oppression of women. Fantasies of men giving birth without women are pervasive in mythology, as is matricide, and efforts to control the female body, and particularly its reproductive function, have a long, well-documented, and uninterrupted history. This means ectogenesis answers to deep-held aspirations that have little to do with achieving equality between men and women, and more with doing away with the need of a mother. This is particularly problematic under capitalism, because of how efficient it is in harnessing human desires and fears and using them to its own ends. Historically, the appropriation of women's labour through biological and social reproduction has been key for accumulation and the production of surplus. But reproduction has also been the site of feminist struggles and continued resistance to oppression. Ectogenesis delivers the ultimate tool for consolidating the control of reproduction and defusing the possibility of resistance, while generating new avenues of exploitation. In conjunction with violence against women legitimised and enforced by the state, ectogenesis is likely to reinforce the privilege of certain groups of women, while deepening the oppression of others, particularly along the lines of class and race. While ectogenesis might mean emancipation in a world that is already designed to be shared equally by men and women, it cannot do so in one that thrives on differentiation and needs to reproduce it in order to reproduce itself, as is the case under capitalism. A technology that forgoes the womb would be more akin to other forms of expropriation that have historically buttressed capitalism. Especially in times such as our present, when misogyny, racism, and xenophobia return to mainstream discourse and are normalised, it is likely to be used to discipline women, to render them irrelevant by completing their devaluation and segregation, and thus to deepen their oppression by ensuring they remain cheap and supremely exploitable.

Marx and the Rabble. Poverty as the Condition of Philosophy

Ari Korhonen (PhD Candidate University of Helsinki)

The rabble is a difficult theme for Marx. As it has been explicated for example by Jacques Rancière, Marx has a double strategy concerning the problem of poverty and rabble. Even though Marx articulates the poor, the proletariat as new political subject, the phenomena of poverty and the rabble seem to be an endless source of irritation in Marx's writings for example in the Manifesto the rabble is that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society. This feature is not a harmless curiosity of Marx's writings but instead a symptom of Marx's difficulty to consider the social phenomena outside the central concepts of work, self-conscious working class and teleological history. As it has been noted in several contexts, the thought of Marx is in this respect characterised by the legacy of Enlightenment. In this tradition the rabble is an impossible subject because even though it shares the part of proletariat in society it seems to renounce the responsibility of self-conscious class and refuse to adopt the disposition of political subject. My aim in this paper is to shed light on this paradox by explicating the notions of rabble and police in Hegel and especially his Philosophy of Right. The idea is that by explicating Hegel's thought as the conceptual background of Marx it is possible: Firstly, to delineate the logic behind the difficulty of Marx with the rabble. The position of the notions of police and rabble are crucial in order to explicate Hegel's complicated articulations of the dynamics of political community and the role of social exclusion in it. The police function as the middle term between civil society and state. It

designates the way of organising the community founded on the idea of common good, but it also functions as social exclusion: it excludes a certain group of people which appear to refuse this service and to have lost the feeling of right, integrity, and honour, which comes from supporting oneself by ones own activity and work, as Hegel writes. In this way police could be seen as a contemporary form of governing the community: the power is not the simple question of guarding the laws but the complex control of life in general. Secondly, to find and emphasise the emancipatory concepts in order to grasp social phenomena outside the legacy of Enlightenment. The central concept in this respect is the rabble, the part without part, claiming their right in society. In this way the fact of poverty for philosophy is the claim of right without any quality that would ground the right to have right. Philosophys attempt to know society and govern it with this knowledge ends up conceiving a part, the rabble, which emerges as the mark of the singularity of politics, the mark that conditions the philosophy.

Can Corbynism Win?

Jonas Patrick Liston

Enzo Traverso once lamented that “the left is a history of defeats.” The most radical exponents of the social-democratic path are not distinct from this trajectory. Time after time, governments of the left have been elected on the promises of extensive wealth redistribution, an inflated social wage, democratisation of the economy and the limited removal of obstacles to greater working-class power. Yet, time and time again, the same governments of the left - from Mitterand to Syriza - have failed to deliver. Despite it’s electoral breakthrough in 2017, and the subsequent consolidation of it’s position, Corbynism isn’t immune from the challenges that have plagued left governments historically. Putting to one side the barriers the project has already faced, if elected a Corbyn-led Labour government would face an enormous barrage of challenges, prime amongst them, investment strikes and the manoeuvres of state managers. In this paper, I will seek to assess the possibilities of Corbynism “winning”. This will include analysing what has structurally changed about Labourism, the potential for a social-democratic class compromise, the current state of Corbynism as “social movement”, and what “winning” actually looks like.

Power and Temporalisation. A Sartrean Contribution to the Debate on Plural Temporalities

Matthias Lievens (Institute of Philosophy, KU Leuven, Belgium)

An emerging debate in Marxist theory centres around the radical understanding of time in terms of plural temporalities and its political implications. Drawing inspiration from Althussers critique of historicism, Benjamins concept of Jetztzeit, or Blochs notion of non-simultaneity, scholars have mobilised this notion of plural temporalities to reinterpret time in Marxs Capital (Tomba), to rethink the concept of hegemony (Thomas), to analyse late fascism (Toscano), to re-interpret classical authors such as Spinoza (Morfino), or to reconceptualise the meaning of strategy (Bensad). This paper takes Sartres Critique of Dialectical Reason into this debate. First, it establishes Sartre as a pre-eminent thinker of a multiplicity of temporalities, pace Althussers depiction of his work as based on a historicist understanding of expressive totality. Sartres stress on the radical plurality of human beings, his analyses of counterfinality and deviation, and his distinctions between different modes of sociality (series, groups, institutions) lead him to a keen understanding

of the fact that there are in fact several temporalisations, and that we must abandon any idea of humanity historialising itself in the development of a single temporalisation which began with the first men and which will finish with the last. Second, Sartre's notion of temporalisation will be related to his analytics of power. In previous work, I have argued that in Sartre's Critique, power is never exercised in a direct way by one human being upon another (as it was in the conflict of gazes in *Being and Nothingness*). On the contrary, it is always mediated by inertia, and as a result is always indirect and even partly anonymous. The central hypothesis of this paper is that temporalisation is a key dimension of Sartre's complex understanding of power and counterpower in the Critique. We can undergo temporalisation and be temporalized, Sartre suggests, which means that time is a vehicle for domination, especially in contexts where individuals are passive and serialised. Third, on this basis the paper aims to rethink the nature of political action, understood by Sartre as the praxis of a group-in-fusion which represents a living temporalisation or a temporalising temporalisation, in contrast to an otherwise inert and finished determination of temporality. Group praxis is an attempt to regain the capacity to temporalise, to project a future, against inert temporalities inscribed in the practico-inert. However, this living temporalisation, I contend, is never a pure and fully autonomous temporalisation. On the one hand, it takes place in specific circumstances, which imply a local diversity of temporalisations, while on the other, group praxis is itself internally split: the group does not only act towards a goal, but it also acts upon itself and its own emerging inertia. Its proper temporality is therefore constitutively plural. Finally, this analysis enables a refined notion of class struggle as a constitutively plural process rooted in a complex interplay of series, groups and institutions which differ at every level through temporalisation (speed, rhythm, etc.).

From Control over Workers to Worker Resistance in the Logistics Sector: Some Insights from Amazon and Food Delivery Workers in Italy

Bartek Goldmann, Lorenzo Cini

Digital platforms have become central in the organization of production and labour of contemporary capitalism. They constitute the infrastructure of current business models through which economic value is created, captured, and distributed. Within this framework of value production, the logistics sector and digital platforms, with their capacity to reduce the space and time of capital circulation, play a strategic role. Over the last ten years, economic sociologists and political economists have widely studied the technological and economic transformations associated with this new economic paradigm. However, the role played by the workers in the rise and development of platform capitalism has been the subject of relatively less scrutiny, and so far no study has examined how workers have challenged or attempted to modify this model of production. This paper investigates two cases of worker resistance in the Italian logistics sector which have been ongoing since 2013, namely, food delivery (ie. Foodora, Deliveroo, Glovo) and e-commerce shipping (i.e. Amazon), to explore how workers have sought to improve their working conditions and to increase their autonomy of action. By exploring these cases, we seek to renew and give new theoretical and empirical insights into one of the classical debates in labour process theory (Braverman 1974, Burawoy 1978, Thompson 2010), meaning, the dialectical relation between managerial control and worker autonomy in the reorganization of the labour process in the post-Fordist economy. The dominant thesis of this debate was the identification, on the one hand, of a process of tendential loss of autonomy and control on the side of workers and, on the other, of a progressive managerial empowerment and an increase in the firm's control over workers.

In other words, no room was left to workers to influence their working conditions and to shape the new organization of labour. Drawing on insights from social movement studies and the Italian Marxist tradition of workerist theory, we claim that digital workers possess the capacity for resistance and an autonomy of action, and under some conditions can successfully influence the processes of labour organization at their respective companies. To probe this proposition, we carried out semi-structured interviews with the workers, union representatives, and managers of these companies and took part in political meetings, strikes, and protest events. References Braverman, H. (1974). Labor and monopoly capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century. New York: Monthly Review Press. Burawoy, M. (1978). Toward a Marxist theory of the labor process: Braverman and beyond. *Politics & Society*, 8(3-4): 247-312. Thompson, P. (2010). The capitalist labour process: Concepts and connections. *Capital & Class*, 34(1): 7-14.

Austrias Latest Authoritarian Turn: A Conjunctural Analysis

Benjamin Opratko (University of Vienna)

For the second time since the turn of the century, Austria is governed by a right-wing coalition of conservatives and far-right populists. In 2000, when the right-wing FP was led into government by Jrg Haider, this was denounced globally, with EU member states imposing diplomatic sanctions against Austria. In 2018, the latest instalment of a right-wing government in Austria has taken place in a completely different domestic and international climate. It is both a product of, and feeds into, the resurgence of far-right racisms, nationalisms, populisms and fascisms across the globe. This paper presents a conjunctural analysis of the current authoritarian turn in Austria, drawing on theoretical and conceptual resources developed by Marx, Gramsci, Stuart Hall and others. The contribution - interprets the change in government as part of a broader cultural and socio-political shift, or a change in the relations of hegemony, in Austria; - situates this shift in the context of a global rise of right-wing projects; - reads the strategy of the Austrian populist far-right as a hegemonic strategy of authoritarian populism, politicising multiple elements of crisis; - presents a description of current politics of right-wing authoritarian populism in power; - and identifies contradictions and possible lines of conflict within right-wing populism, opening spaces for resistance and strategies of the left I draw on previous publications on political developments in Austria written for Jacobin Magazines website (Opratko 2015, 2016, 2017), as well as analyses developed individually and collectively by the editorial board of *mosaik*, the largest left-wing online publication in Austria. — Opratko, Benjamin (2015): Austrias New Right, <https://jacobinmag.com/2015/12/austria-freedom-party-strache-fpo-nazi-right-wing> Opratko, Benjamin (2016): The Alternative in Austria, <https://jacobinmag.com/2016/12/austria-fpo-hofer-bellen-right-fascists-trump> Opratko, Benjamin (2017): Austrias Right Turn, <https://jacobinmag.com/2017/10/austria-freedom-party-far-right-elections>

Labour and Logistics on the Docks: Union Organising Across Scales and Networks

Jonny Jones (Queen Mary University of London)

This paper will examine contemporary dock work and union organising through a critical labour geography framework. Labour geography has since its inception been an effort to see the making of the economic geography of capitalism through the eyes of labour (Herod 1997: 3). Research into logistics work cries out for this kind of lens. The logistics revolution and the rise of transnational supply chains and global production networks (Bonacich and Wilson 2008; Henderson et al 2002; Smith et al 2002) have wrought enormous changes on the world of logistics work. Despite this, Gregson (2015: 2) notes that there have been only a handful of studies that have considered the implications of the logistics revolution for labour. And yet the structural position afforded to workers in the logistics industry gives them significant potential power, raising the possibility of developing links of solidarity across the supply chain. Warehouse workers taking action against WalMart in the US explicitly drew attention to the hidden work of the supply chain and inspired retail workers to take strike action (Eidelson 2013), while in dockers unions there have been a many examples of workers taking solidarity action to support colleagues in different countries (Turnbull 2006; Fox-Hoddes 2017). My paper will discuss attempts by union activists and workers to establish and extend trade union organisation at a major UK port. Via data gathered from interviews with workers and trade union activists I will explore the ways in which campaigners were able to both apply leverage via protests against supply chain customers, engage rank-and-file networks of solidarity with dock workers overseas, involving unofficial action outside the structures of official unions, and take advantage of tight labour markets in skilled work, in order to succeed despite bitter opposition from employers. I will then examine the ways in which the campaign laid the basis for ongoing workers organisation on the docks that has been able to contest management attempts to impose an unfavourable labour regime and to establish forms of co-determination over the labour process on the docks. The research contributes to our understanding of the ways in which workers can utilise various scales and networks in reconfiguring contested social relations in dock work, and the ways in which workers self-activity via official and unofficial channels develops capacity and confidence for further pushing back the frontier of control, while also posing questions about the challenges of replicating such successes in other forms of logistics work.

The Practical Political Consciousness of the Populist Turn

Veronika Stoyanova (University of Kent, Canterbury, UK)

I propose to look at two manifestations of the 'populist' turn in Western and in Eastern Europe today - the UK's referendum to leave the EU and Bulgaria's refusal to sign the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women. I am particularly interested in the clash of ideas which the two events embodied. Rather than focusing on political thought of systematic or doctrinal form in this clash, however, I take an interest in what Gramsci (1971) called the 'common sense' - the fragmentary, incoherent and incomplete practical political consciousness, which as such often fails to fit neatly into the categories of political philosophy's grand labels (liberal, conservative, nationalist, etc.). With this, I aim to counter the dominant approach to populism that sees it as either progressive left-wing or conservative right-wing populism, and instead aim to

recognise potential hybrid and manifold articulations between opposing ideas within one and the same social group's, and indeed individual's 'common sense'. To do this, this paper carries out a critical discourse analysis of political commentary on Brexit and the Istanbul Convention on online social media. I interrogate these (hybrid) political identities, categories, relationships, and stories for their 'utopian' content. Following Ernst Bloch (1986) - who rejects the dichotomy between the real and the utopian, and proposes that the two interweave instead - I propose to examine social actors' narratives, studying the ways in which thought and feelings about the future shape present behaviour, as well as present memory of the past. Such critique takes social actors' (collective) subjective experience of past, present, and future, and their praxis-oriented reason seriously - seeing the realist potential of the apparently irrational (incoherent, internally-contradicting, etc.), highlighting the significance of their lived and felt experience.

The Object-oriented Critique of Political Economy

Lea Kuhar (Philosophical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU))

In the past decade there was a rise of theories that rejected the privileging of the existence of subjective actions over the existence of nonhuman objects, which was reflected in a series of new philosophical positions such as object-oriented ontology, new materialisms, speculative realism, actor-network theory, vital materialism, etc. Regardless of the diversity of their approaches and the variety of areas from which they emerge, their conclusions are often subsumed under the general term new materialism. Proponents of this new materialism, authors such as Emanuel DeLanda, Bruno Latour, Graham Harman and Jenet Bennet among other things denounce the old versions of historical and dialectical materialism claiming the true materialism should include: contemporary scientific discoveries (advocating the authoritative status of science that is usually not explained), the reconceptualization of agency (every living and nonliving thing should count as an agent) and a reliance on a flat ontology (claiming that entities are different in spatio-temporal scale but not in ontological status). According to these critiques, the old Marxist materialism was based on an outdated science; it was treating matter as a passive substance only to be mastered and manipulated by an active human; and it was based on a hierarchical (base-superstructure) ontology in which everything, including objects, was determined in the last instance by the economy. The aim of my paper is twofold: Firstly, I will argue that the dichotomy subject-object was acknowledged, analyzed and overcome in Marxian materialism, understood as a form of praxis in which both of the elements were equally combined. I will do that by presenting Marx's theory of objectification developed in his early writings such as Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 and Theses on Feuerbach. In his theory of objectification Marx doesn't talk about the subject and the objects as separate entities but as the subject-object relation in which the former can be included in the latter and vice-versa without fully colliding. Secondly, following this line of thought, I will make a somewhat paradoxical claim that Marx's critique of political economy is precisely an object-oriented ontology, however, the object of its focus is not given among the other objects, but is produced by the praxis of its theory and can therefore only be seen as such through what Althusser called the symptomatic reading. Marx's materialism can therefore include a special object, a surplus object, that was created only by his theoretical analysis (eg. value, abstract labor, capital). I will show why the kinds of objects that the old materialism produced can't be neither produced nor acknowledged in the flat ontologies of the new materialisms.

Contingency and the emptiness of a distance taken: Althusser and the Agonistics of Aleatory Materialism

Thomas Carmichael (University of Western Ontario London)

<<Mais, ce que je veux dire, c'est que par sa thèse de la déviation-rencontre-prise, picture nous a donné de quoi comprendre justement ce que les idéalistes avaient visé et raté: savoir, le surgissement d'un sujet, lui et pas un autre.>> Louis Althusser, *Le marxisme en philosophie* ([1976] 2015). My paper takes as its point of departure the recent publication of Althusser's hitherto unpublished philosophical and political manuscripts from the 1970s: *Initiation à la philosophie pour les non-philosophes* (Philosophy for non-philosophers), *Les vaches noires*, and particularly *Le marxisme en philosophie* (How to be a Marxist in Philosophy). These texts, I argue, afford us a renewed perspective from which to consider both the genealogy and theoretical practice of aleatory materialism in Althusser's thought. In *Le marxisme en philosophie*, for example, Althusser argues that the absence of a full-blown philosophy in Marx's work is to be understood as something akin to a theoretical necessity. As Althusser puts it, Marx a donc pensé dans la philosophie existante, il n'a pas fondé une nouvelle philosophie. Il a seulement pratiqué d'une manière révolutionnaire la philosophie existante, en adoptant des thèses qui exprimaient les positions de la révolutionnaire du prolétariat (p. 138 [manuscript]). To do otherwise, Althusser argues, would have compelled Marx to engage in a theoretical project governed by systematicity (systematicité): Nous avons vu pourquoi cette systématique: pour soutenir le travail d'unification des catégories destinées à aider l'unification de l'idéologie dominante (p. 139 [manuscript]). Althusser's discussion here sheds new light on the sometimes seemingly discordant observations we find in his unpublished 1982 *Conversation avec Richard Hyland*, in which Althusser asserts that Il n'est pas possible d'être Marxiste et cohérent (5), even as he insists that C'est la contingence qui manque à Marx, c'est là le grand problème: Il n'y a pas de pensée de la contingence chez Marx. My own discussion ranges widely, from the relation of nature to principle in Althusser's early reflections on Montesquieu to Jacques Derrida's discussion of Althusser in his 1975-76 course, published as *Thorie et pratique*; and from the turn in Althusser's own work marked by Lenin and Philosophy to the unresolved question of the becoming necessary of contingency in his late aleatory materialist texts. My paper also draws upon unpublished sources from the fonds Althusser at IMEC. Author:

Althusser as Critical Theorist

William S. Lewis

Like those philosophers and human scientists involved with the Institute for Critical Research, Althusser wanted his philosophical work to aid in the transformation from a political economy based on exploitation and domination to one that, in Horkheimer's words, satisfies the needs and powers of human beings. Again, similar to the inter-war Critical Theorists, Althusser contended that the kind of theoretical work necessary to the transformation of social and economic relations involves a mix of critical philosophy and social scientific investigation. However, unlike the Frankfurt School thinkers, Althusser never emphasized the goal of human emancipation. In fact, he argued that it was an ideological concept. With human emancipation and, indeed the human identified as ideological, the normative basis for criticism of existing social relations emphasized in traditional critical theory is downplayed if not fatally undermined in Althusser's critical theory. Pulling on recent work in Critical Theory and especially that of Amy Allen who argues for a critical theory without the idea of emancipation, this paper will examine not

only the reasons for Althusser's rejection of the normative dimension of critical theory but also argue for and give examples of the explanatory and practical advantages such a downplaying may offer for Marxist politics. Its contention is that, lacking notions of full human flourishing or of unalienated human beings, the critical theorist must instead concentrate on the analysis of actually existing socio-economic tendencies as well as on actually existing rather than transcendental human values.

State, Subject, Global: Althusser and Sassen on the Production and Reproduction of the Conditions of Production

Geoff Pfeifer (Worcester Polytechnic Institute)

One productive way of understanding much of Althusser's Marxism is via his philosophical elaboration of the complex relation between the state and the subject. Central to this project is an investigation into the many ways that this relation acts as the motor that drives what Althusser calls the capitalist reproduction of the conditions of production (Althusser 2014, 47). In this elaboration, we get the famous and much talked about description on the one hand, of the necessary relation between law, the penal system, and hence repressive state apparatuses (RSAs) as one set of modes of this reproduction, and on the other hand, ideology and ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) such as schools, churches, the family etc, as another set of modes of this reproduction. As is well known, for Althusser, these two sets of apparatuses work in tandem to produce subjects that then through their epistemic awareness and material practices serve as the ground of this process of reproduction of the conditions of production. Notice here that all of this depends generally on the existence and dominance of the state as that through, and within which these processes are animated. In the contemporary moment however, we find many questioning the dominance of the state and thinking instead of the role what we now call the global might play in a way not seen in the past. The contemporary moment for these thinkers reveals a weakened state in the face of the increasing power of global capital and multinational corporations with no one geographic home (Sassen, 2008; Baumann 1998). We also find global cities that are connected to one another via complex networks of trade, labor and human migration, and even individuals armed with technologies that can circumvent and challenge the power of Althusser's RSAs in ways some argue, that we have not seen before (Sassen 2005; Castells 2012). In one such theory, Saskia Sassen argues that with the advent and acceleration of globalization we are watching a process of denationalization (Sassen 2008). To be sure, in Sassen's view, we are not yet seeing the death knell of the nation-state and its organizational structure, but we are witnessing many ways in which certain processes, or in her terms, capabilities that were produced within the nation state system become partially unhooked from that system in favor of emerging non-state, or extra-state assemblages (Ibid). These assemblages come together in ways that make them exist partially outside of nation states even though the capabilities that first produce them arise within the nation state system. For Sassen then, the emergence of the global conditions (and is conditioned by) denationalization- capabilities that were once national become denationalized in becoming a part of the emerging capabilities of the global (Ibid.). These assemblages then become the primary source of production (and reproduction) of global structures and subjects for Sassen. This paper takes Sassen's notion of denationalization as exemplary of these new theories of the global and puts it in dialogue with Althusser's own conception of the process of the reproduction of the conditions of production. I argue here that even though Althusser does not have much to offer by way of a theory of the global insofar as he locates social production and reproduction via the combination of

RSAs and ISAs which remain state-based and produce and reproduce what I call here state-bound subjects, his conception of the process of subjective production can be extended in fruitful ways that can add to theories like Sassens when thinking about the emergence of the global in the contemporary moment. I will also show how such an extension can be helpful in thinking about the ways within the emergence of the global, we find new subjects, processes, and potentialities for resistance to globalized capital.

Governing Through Numbers: Reconsidering Corruption

Iliia Xypolia (University of Aberdeen)

Since the late 1990s corruption has become a buzzword at the discourse for Global Governance. This paper explores the idiosyncratic problems in the study and measurement of corruption and the political repercussions of its misconception. In doing so, the shortcomings of its conceptualization and measurement are analysed. The peculiar nature of the phenomenon corruption that takes place behind closed doors as a covert activity, poses exceptional problems for its measurement. Same for all the concepts in social sciences, there is not a widely accepted definition nor a consensus on its measurement. This paper argues that there are serious political repercussions when the wide-acceptance of indexes that purely measure perceptions of a phenomenon as reflections of the empirical reality or even the experience of the phenomenon. In particular, the methodological and conceptual choices made by the worlds most prestigious global index of corruption compiled by the international NGO Transparency International will be examined. The argument put forward here is that an adequate conceptualisation and measurement of the phenomenon has had a profound impact on development aid and global politics. In particular, it will highlight that the definition and measurement of corruption as an only public sector issue is inadequate for grasping the various facets of the phenomenon. It will then be explained that the boundaries set by the artificial in many cases dichotomy of public and private sectors and interests are compatible with the dominant paradigms neoliberal panacea that advocates the reduction of the amount of state intervention to the bare minimum. In the same vein, international institutions like the World Bank have been pressuring for structural adjustments of the state-owned enterprises in developing countries as part of their anti-corruption initiatives.

Identity and Identity Politics: A Cultural Materialist History

Marie Kathryn Moran (UCD, Dublin)

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 novel concept in Western thought, politics and culture. The claim is not the standard one that peoples identities became more important and apparent in advanced capitalist societies, 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. From a cultural-materialist perspective, the emergence and evolution of this idea of identity can only be properly understood in relation to the social contexts of its use, namely, the new contexts of consumption of capitalist societies, and the development of new forms of group-based struggle from the 1960s. What the analysis shows is that it was the commercialisation and

politicisation of older essentialist understandings of selfhood and grouphood in these contexts that has given rise to the concepts of personal and social identity as we know them today. By exploring the material conditions that have given rise to the contemporary powerful attachment to identity, this paper offers a new point of departure from which to pursue many issues of concern to critical theorists and radical activists today, including the conflict over identity politics in radical circles, the historical and social processes behind their development and at least partial co-option, and their relation to neoliberal political-economic formations today.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky on the Prospects for a Socialist Democracy

James Muldoon (University of Exeter)

The emergence of workers' and soldiers' councils across Germany during 1918 brought an end to the Kaiserreich and opened the possibility of radical social and political transformation. With conservative and reactionary groups temporarily obstructed and overwhelmed, the Executive Council of the Workers and Soldiers Councils declared itself the highest political authority of the Socialist Republic of Germany and ordered that the councils power must be secured and expanded so that the achievements of the revolution will benefit the entire working class. Various political theorists and actors within the council movement developed different, sometimes competing, conceptions of how Germany could be transformed into a socialist or workers' democracy. In this paper, I analyse two visions for the future of German politics inspired by the revolution and contrast the different strategies, institutions and goals of revolutionary struggle in the political writings of Karl Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg.

Two Soldiers fighting for their Cause: Gershom Scholem, Werner Scholem and the German Revolution of 1918

Ralf Hoffrogge (Institute for Social Movements, Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

The Revolution of 1918 was not only decisive for the fate of Germany and the international labour movement, it was also a decisive moment for millions of individual biographies. Kautsky and Luxemburg had bitter disagreements, Revolution broke old alliances and brought about new political constellations. But Revolution was also formative for a younger Generation. Werner Scholem (1895-1940) and Gershom Scholem (1897-1982) were barely 20 years of age, both common soldiers during the Great War of 1914-1918. Both had started their political biography within a Zionist circle called "Jung Juda" but Werner left in 1912 and joined the socialist Workers Youth. Only in 1914 both brothers found common ground again abhorred by the pro-war decision of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), Werner started correspondence with Gershom. At the same time Gershom read marxist classics again and thought of joining the independent socialists (USPD), the anti-war current that had been expelled from SPD in 1917. Werner was a supporter of this party already and would become a fulltime activist later. In the very same year 1917, both brothers had a controversy on Zionism vs. International Socialism, but on the same time on the nature of the desired social change: would it be a Revolution in the bolshevik sense as Werner fathomed, or

something very different: a revelation, a transcendent event that subverted party politics? Gershom Scholem opted for the latter, abhorred by the economism of Kautskyan Marxism that he found in both popular pamphlets and the letters of his brother. His transcendental idea of socialism as not linear progress, but a break out of linear time would later influence Walter Benjamin. While the idea of Revolution had connected the brothers, the actual revolution separated them: Werner was energized when political upheaval actually came into being. He could not understand his brother's ideas of transcendence, nor did he need the Zionist utopia of a socialist Palestine anymore, when socialism seemed to be at arms length in Germany. Gershom, on the other hand, had left Germany before the Revolution happened studying in Switzerland, he looked upon the events with "benevolent neutrality".

The German Revolution 1918 - Spartacists, Councils and the birth of Communism

Ralf Hoffrogge (Institute for Social Movements, Ruhr-Universität Bochum), Sean Larson

One hundred years after the German Revolution this panel seeks to explore the social origins of the social upheaval that toppled the Kaiser, ended the Great War and established the first democracy in Germany including votes for women. The German Revolution was started by desertions and mutinies in army and fleet, but soon came to be dominated by the different factions of the Labour Movement. One might argue that Germany was the Marxist model revolution: while in Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire peasants and oppressed nationalities were the driving force, in Germany it was urban class conflict and the labour movement. Nevertheless, this labour movement was not united: the German Revolution became the point of bifurcation where the historical split between Social Democracy and Communism took its definitive form.

Althusser's Knots: The Difficulty of Being a Marxist in Philosophy

Roberto Mozzachiodi (Goldsmiths College)

In a letter written to Franca Modona on the 16th February 1971, Louis Althusser cited Lenin of the Philosophical Notebooks where he stopped before the phrase in Hegel's Logic the web and the strong knot. Althusser would proceed to use the metaphor of the knot to connect the difficulties he was facing in producing a preface for Marta Harnecker's *Principes Elementaires du Materialisme Historique*, the role of the topographic in Marx's analytical method, his fraught relationship with his own theoretical past and the practical modality of philosophical theses. While Althusser was adamant to withhold these emerging strands from public view in 71, read in light of the preface he did eventually provide Harnecker (*Marxism-Leninism and Class Struggle*, 1971), it is apparent that the contents of this letter prefigured many of Althusser's theoretical modifications of the mid-seventies (*Is it Simple to be a Marxist in Philosophy* (1975), *Elements of Self-Criticism* (1975) *The Transformation of Philosophy* (1976)). Not only is it possible to trace the theoretical formation of these late revisions from this letter, it is also possible to discern the real difficulties Althusser faced as a Marxist in philosophy. This paper will use Althusser's 1971 letter as a prism to clarify Althusser's reconceptualisation of the relation between philosophy and Marxism in his late writings. It will do so in order to shed light

on some of Althusser's unpublished work and provide a rationale for their concealment from public view.

Contradiction vs. Antagonism: A Re-Examination

Giorgio Cesarale (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

Ernesto Laclau claimed that the relations of production, whereby the worker is reduced to the category of seller of labour-power, and the capitalist to the buyer of labour-power as a commodity, do not involve antagonism, because the fact that the capitalist extracts surplus labour from the worker does not suffice to produce antagonism unless the workers resist such an extraction. But that resistance can be generated only outside the productive sphere, at a social and political level. At the same time, Laclau differentiates between the notion of antagonism and the notions of opposition and contradiction, thus aligning himself with the lesson of the Della Volpe school. According to this view, contradiction should be assigned to the logical field, while opposition should be referred to the physical field. Only antagonism could designate the relations of conflict within the social and political field. The aim of the paper is to examine the philosophical background behind these assumptions, by considering if the expulsion of the notion of contradiction and its Hegelo-Marxian anchorage from the social and political vocabulary is justified.

The Question of Passive Revolution Revisited: Trajectories of the AKPs Populism in Turkey

Irem Tascioglu (Goldsmiths, University of London)

This paper offers a new perspective on the trajectories of the AKPs populism by revisiting the question of the passive revolution in Turkey. In the wake of the publishing of Cihan Tugals ground breaking work, *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge*, the concept of the passive revolution became a common reference point to explain the absorption of the anti-systemic Islamic movements to the process of neoliberal transformation in Turkey in the beginning of the 2000s. The book's major contributions notwithstanding, its emphasis on the rearticulation of Islam and neoliberalism side lined the question of the long history of passive revolution in Turkey the effects of which helped the AKP consolidate its power via populist strategies. Based on these insights, this paper does two things at once, relying on different yet interrelated conceptualizations of passive revolution. First, this paper traces the AKPs passive revolution in the long period of the continuum of the passive revolution in Turkey. It argues that the continuum of the passive revolution in Turkey is intimately tied to the authoritarian origins of the Turkish Republic, namely the Kemalist modern-nation state formation that unfolded in the second and third decades of the 20th century. Second, it seeks to substantiate and complicate this point by arguing that the AKPs passive revolution is also a reaction to Kemalism the hegemonic failures of which are used as leverage points to fuel the AKPs populist power strategy and to solidify its base. The argument is that in the pursuit of this latter goal, the AKP antagonizes the Kemalist-Republican elites and consequently, uses the hegemonic failures of Kemalism to further its own passive-revolutionary agenda. While the continuum of passive revolution reveals the continuing legacy of the lack of popular politics and the persistence of authoritarianism in Turkey, the AKPs response to the hegemonic failures of Kemalism brings forward the particular way(s) the passive revolution combines with populism. In

order to understand this combination, I pick out a certain period of time in the AKPs rule that succeeded in forging a populist bloc via the incorporation of liberal and left-liberals against the authoritarian legacy of Kemalism. This historical scene, namely the populist co-optation of liberals not only reminds us of the inadequacy to map Western political imaginary around the binary of populism and liberalism directly onto the Turkish context but also, offers us new ways to imagine the historical trajectories of the populist question in Turkey, one of which is the passive revolution.

Defining my own Oppression: Neoliberalism and the Demands of Victimhood

Chi Chi Shi

This article explores a central paradox of contemporary identity-politics: why do we look for recognition from the very institutions we reject as oppressive? The article puts forward the case that neoliberalism's continued assault on the bases for collectivity has led to a suspicion that the collective as an essentialising concept. The assault on the collective coupled with the neoliberal imperative to create an authentic self has led to trauma and victimhood becoming the only bases on which people can unite. This manifests discursively and theoretically in the primary trope of contemporary activism: intersectionality. Mobilising around this analytical concept has led to an analysis of oppression that, even as it claims to be systemic, is totally dematerialised and relentlessly individualised. Instead of building collective power, we are left with a politics of individual demand coming from a coalition of dispersed subject-positions.

Appropriating the Alien: A Critique of Xenofeminism

Annie Goh (Goldsmiths University of London)

The artist-academic collective Laboria Cuboniks launched the Xenofeminist Manifesto in 2015, apparently providing the antidote to the “macho techno-nihilism” of Alex Williams and Nick Srnicek's 2013 Accelerationist Manifesto. Proposing a technology-proficient vision of feminism with an emancipatory agenda based on neo-rationalism, a reclaimed universalism, Promethean innovation and an ardent anti-naturalism, it was enthusiastically received in certain contemporary art and new materialist academic circles. Marketed as “one of the most exciting intellectual trends in contemporary feminism,” xenofeminism has successfully struck a chord with left accelerationism's rousing cries to redefine left politics with a technology-savvy, daring and affirmative post-capitalism balancing it against the language of social justice encapsulated with newly invigorated strands of intersectional feminisms. Yet whilst hitherto no extensive critiques of xenofeminism have surfaced, I will argue that its name and definition as “a politics for alienation” conceals a number of problematic propositions which deserve greater interrogation. In one sense, xenofeminism silences the traceable fixation on the “xeno-” prefix from the renegade British philosopher turned figurehead of the neo-reactionary movement Nick Land and correspondingly willfully elides the very real xenophobia of Land's later eugenicist and racist writings. In a second sense, xenofeminism's affirmation of “alienness” crucially overlooks Black feminist theory and feminists of colour writing on the unequal stakes of humanness and subjecthood in relation to the foreigner as alien. In insisting upon the provocative prefix “xeno-”, it appropriates notions of “alienness” devoid of a robust racial politics. The careless proliferation of the prefix “xeno” with its Landian connections sits fundamentally at odds

with xenofeminism's purportedly emancipatory, intersectional feminist agenda. As women's rights are increasingly mobilized by racist, xenophobic and in particular Islamophobic far-right rhetoric, uneasy alliances between "feminist" politics and the far-right cannot go unchallenged. An insufficient disentanglement of xenofeminism from its intellectual inheritances is, I suggest, sustained by an existing appetite for Land's distinct strand of anti-humanism evident in a simplistic valorisation of alienness. The model of humanness and subjecthood in xenofeminism which is implied in its support of neorationalism and a reinvigoration of universalism sits at odds with many of the approaches of social reproduction theory. In sketching out some of the theoretical underpinnings of xenofeminism, this paper aims to elucidate some of its central shortcomings which resonate uncomfortably in the context of the contemporary resurgent far-right.

Queer Resistance in Diaspora and The Rise of Ultra-Right

Sabra Rezaei Farimani (University of Toronto)

My research applies a Queer Marxist framework to examine multiple interlocking oppressions facing the Iranian queer/trans diasporic community in Toronto. Using a feminist intersectional framework helps us to understand how homophobia itself can not be the only source of oppression for this community. In addition, through incorporating an intersectional anti-racism and feminist framework we can specifically look at the role of racism and sexism in the experiences of Iranian LGBTQ diasporic community in Toronto. This framework, I argue, is important for queer pedagogies of community building in the context of border imperialism and the emergence of the ultra-right. My findings reveal that multiple and interlocking power systems play an important role in the lives of LGBTQ diaspora in Toronto. My analysis focuses on white supremacy as a mode of oppression along with racism, sexism, homophobia and class oppression and the intersectional result of these on the lives of this specific population. In addition, with the new policies that was implemented after the Trump's administration which specifically targeted 7 different countries including Iran. These policies directly targeted the Iranian LGBTQ community and more specifically the ones who ended up in Turkey for their refugee status. However, in this paper, I want to focus on the ways that queer diasporic communities resist and fight back these systems of oppression by building communities and creating spaces to bring the community in places that are mostly identified as white heterosexual spaces. More specifically I want to look at the recent event that was organized by Iranian queer community in Toronto called Queer Art of Resistance Festival and draw the connection between art and resistance as a form of community building and community organizing. My paper addresses this issue in terms of implications for queer diasporic community building.

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The Voices of Capital: Poetics of Critique Beyond Sentiment and Cynicism

Daniel Hartley (Durham University)

This paper offers a consideration of Capital as a polyphonic text. It aims to articulate the theoretical and political ramifications of Marx's formal instantiation of a vast multiplicity of nineteenth-century voices; in particular it argues that Marx's method of citation is integral to a historical materialist poetics of critique. By adopting this approach, I hope to contribute to two heterodox ways of reading Capital: the first sees it as a discursive intervention in, that is at the same time a response to, a textually mediated class struggle (e.g., Rancière's *Mode d'emploi*; Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*). The second stresses the conceptual agency of literary form (Kornbluh 2014: 120): that is, the idea that the form and style in which Marx writes are constitutive elements of his theory and cannot simply be set aside as the mere dress of thought (e.g., Keston Sutherland; Anna Kornbluh). More broadly, however, I wish to connect this reading of voice and style to the question of what the early Marx calls the essential pathos [*wesentliches Pathos*] of critique that is to say, the motivating feeling or affect of critique, which at that point in 1843 Marx understood as indignation (*Early Writings*, 246). In other words, I aim to show the way in which critique might be understood not only as a philosophical and political project, but also as an inextricably formal (literary) and affective operation.

Land, Work, and Food: Untangling the Reproduction of Gender Inequalities in the Uzbek Economic Transition

Lorena Lombardozi (Open University)

Despite an important body of work that has been developed by the international political economy literature on capitalist market transition, the gender dimension has been rarely explored. Marketization often changes the configuration of intra-household division of labour and the access or distribution of assets. Yet, income increase and assets accumulation can extend the space of women's bargaining power and purchasing power but also expose them to dynamics of expropriation (Folbre, 1994). Nonetheless, women's work is fundamental for the survival of the household, by supporting males' participation in the formal labour market and by managing the household's assets and services such as meals and facilities. Furthermore, women assume an important role in the process of commercialisation for instance by selling agrarian commodities. Gender is therefore a crucial analytical lens to comprehensively understand processes and outcomes of market transition (Angeles and Hill, 2009:7; O'Laughlin, 1996). Women often face institutional, social and cultural barriers to access power and capital (Kabeer, 2003). In Uzbekistan, empirical evidence shows a clear gender bias in the way women access land, means of production, and jobs which are shaped both by changing state policies and by economic local dynamics (1998, 2003). This raises issues around the recognition and classification of women's work in society and the consequential rewards allocated to them. Through a feminist Marxist political economy perspective, and based on primary data, including a farmers survey in Samarkand, this paper first investigates empirically the gender dimension of how food is socially produced, accessed, prepared and redistributed within the household. Second, drawing from such results, it argues that the gendered tensions about who manages and controls the use of assets, responsibilities of reproductive work and incomes hold strong effects on labour relations and hence to the dynamics of market transition. Finally, this paper contributes to the development of feminist political

economies of work by untangling the underlining gender inequalities linked to market transition in the Global South.

Theodor W. Adorno & Paulo Arantes: On the Possibility of a Critical Theory on the Periphery of Capitalism

Frederico Lyra (Universit Lille 3)

In this paper, I'll discuss the presence of Theodor W. Adorno's thought in the work of Brazilian philosopher Paulo Arantes by analyzing the role which the former plays in Arantes's project of building a Critical Theory in and from the point of view of the periphery of capitalism. As one of the most prominent critical theorists in Brazil, Arantes's work considers the historical conditions of the country and exposes the paradoxes of its society in a direct reflection with the center of the capitalist world, bringing into account the center-periphery dialectic. Faithful to the program of Adorno's philosophy, Arantes develops a philosophical project that does not seek to abstractly solve the concrete contradictions of Brazilian society by standing, nonetheless, against the dominant situation. Arantes seeks to develop what could be seen as a variation of Adorno's negative dialectics, a variation that assumes a specific point of view: the point of view of the periphery of capitalism. However, this effort implies some theoretical tensions that are difficult to solve in an easy way. On the one hand, most current readings of Adorno's work point out that he should be read as an author who is both one of the most Eurocentric and elitist thinkers of the 20th century. His writings dealing with popular music and jazz would endorse this argument. And also the fact that, besides living during the Cold-war, he almost not deal positively with subjects coming from outside of Europe. On the other hand, in the introduction of his major opus *Negative Dialectics*, Adorno affirms that dialectics is not a standpoint. Hence the question: how to deal with those important problems, Eurocentrism and elitism, by keeping attached to Adorno's philosophical project? I'll try to show that Arantes's effort consists of solving this apparently impasse by pushing Adorno's claims to focus on the micrological and non-conceptual aspects of his philosophy. By doing so, Arantes goes, in a certain way, far beyond the German philosopher himself. The aim of this paper is, in this sense, to shed light on a possible re-ignition of Adorno's work which brings into account the most radical aspects of his thought and seeks, at the same time, to re-evaluate it outside the center of the capitalist system by expanding dialectics through the analysis of new objects.

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Notes from Below and Class Composition

Jamie Woodcock (University of Oxford)

In this panel, the editors of *Notes from Below* will introduce the project and its use of workers' inquiry. This draws on methods and theory from the class composition tradition, which seeks to understand and change the world from the workers point of view. The project attempts to ground revolutionary politics in the perspective of the working class, help circulate and develop struggles, and build workers confidence to take action by and for themselves. We argue that an understanding of class composition, that is to say, how the classes within society are formed and operate, is an essential task for contemporary

socialist militants if we are to develop strategies adequate to our moment without relying solely upon the past for guidance. In particular, the panel will introduce the three-part understanding of class composition that Notes from Below has been developing. This involves technical composition, the knowledge of how workers are organised, that is to say technically arranged within any given work; how our time is managed or dictated, what we must produce and in what conditions, what talents or skills we must use and what managerial or technological mechanisms mediate our work. By extension technical composition also explains where workers may sit in a larger production cycle or distribution circuit. These arrangements are in part informed by the social composition of workers and the political power we are able to exert over these conditions. The panel will introduce the understanding of social composition, not previously included in compositional analysis. We understand this to be the knowledge of how workers are composed in society; where we live and in what conditions, what familial relationships we hold, what our cultures are like, what access to support (such as the welfare state or citizenship) we are afforded and how these factors impact upon our technical and political composition. Finally, the panellists will address political composition, understood to be the knowledge of how workers are organised politically; what forms of political organisation we engage with, create or attempt to influence in order to exert demands drawing from our own knowledge of our technical and social compositions.

The Separation Between State, Market and Civil Society in Capitalism: A Marxist Approach to Civil Society in (Neoliberal) Capitalism

Mathias Hein Jessen (Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy Copenhagen Business School)

Since the 1980s, and increasingly throughout the 1990s and continuing up until today, civil society has become a central notion in Western liberal-democratic societies. Although a central concept in the history of (liberal) political thought, following a hiatus it has re-emerged as a central concept in contemporary (neo)liberal governance. One the one hand civil society plays a pivotal role in the liberal-democratic imaginary as a normatively privileged site or sphere of communication, voluntarism, social cohesion, democratisation processes, critique and resistance which must be protected from the encroaching logics of state and market. On the other hand, and at the same time, civil society is increasingly seen as a resource of public governance which can alleviate the pressures on the welfare state by supplying the social and welfare services that the state can and will no longer provide. This language and notion of civil society is deployed as a means to open up public provision of welfare and welfare goods to austerity, cut-backs, privatization and competition. This paper analyses the doubly legitimatory function civil society has played and plays in the current hegemonic order of neoliberalism and austerity in both 1990s Third Way Social Democracy and the post-Financial Crisis conjuncture: Civil society at the same legitimises the progressiveness of liberal democracy by underlining the necessity as well as factual existence of a delineated and free sphere of debate, democratic processes and social critique, while at the same time civil society as a privileged sphere with inherent (good) values is hailed as the arena which can aid, assist and overtake the stale, cold, ineffective bureaucratic state in the provision of welfare services, thereby legitimising the scaling back of and introducing competition and private business solutions to the provision of welfare state services. The separation of state, market and civil society is a distinct and constitutive feature of modern, Western political modernity and liberal, representative democracy. By delineating civil society as a separate sphere with inherent (good) values, it it

depoliticised and can at the same time legitimise the progressiveness of liberal-democratic societies and is appropriated to legitimise austerity measures. In doing so, it also casts civil society as that which supports and upholds the status quo, depoliticizing and delegitimizing movements and political alternatives to the existing social, political and economic order. The paper thus seeks to develop a Marxist approach to the role and status of civil society in (neoliberal) capitalism.

Notes from Below Workers Inquiry 1

Jamie Woodcock (University of Oxford)

In this first of two panels, the editors of Notes from Below will co-present with workers involved in ongoing workers' inquiry projects. Following on from the success of this kind of panel at Historical Materialism London 2017 (where a Deliveroo driver and Sainsbury's worker presented), we are intending to present original research into class composition (framed in terms of its technical, social and political formations). The exact detail of the panel is to be confirmed as they are part of longer term organising projects. It is also difficult to get worker-activists to confirm five months in advance. The first panel is themed around new forms of worker organising - including speakers from the IWGB/UVW campaigns with outsourced workers and the so-called gig economy.

Feminism Against Crime Control: On Sexual Subordination and State Apologism

Koshka Duff (University of Nottingham)

Its critics call it feminism-as-crime-control, or Governance Feminism, diagnosing it as a pernicious form of identity politics. Its advocates call it taking sexual violence seriously by which they mean wielding the power of the state to punish perpetrators and protect vulnerable women. Both sides agree that this approach follows from the radical feminist analysis of sexual violence most strikingly formulated by Catharine MacKinnon. My paper tries to rethink the Governance Feminism debate by questioning this common presupposition. It asks whether taking MacKinnon's analysis of sexual violence seriously might, in fact, itself give us reason to be critical of political strategies that embrace the punitive state. By raising this question, my aim is to persuade radical feminists to listen to critics of carceral politics rather than dismissing them as rape apologists, and critics of carceral politics to listen to radical feminists rather than dismissing them as state apologists.

Hegemony in the Restructuration of Welfare State in the Age of Fiscal Consolidation the Case of the Finnish Municipal Service System Reform

Petro Leinonen (University of Tampere)

In my paper I focus on the role of productivity in the hegemonic reform of the Finnish welfare state. Ministry of Finance plays a pivotal role in welfare state reform as the developer of both the budget and municipal legislation. The Finnish welfare state is largely based on public basic services, delegated by legislation to constitutionally

autonomous municipalities. The financial crisis of 2008 has seen a continuation of the dominant trend of austerity politics, as the crisis response has reflected the traditional Ministry of Finance line of fiscal consolidation. The fiscal policy line is implemented in the structures of public governance through tightened financial control. Productivity is sought in structural reforms, best practices, ICT and market solutions. In a context of ageing population and slow projected growth, rising productivity is seen as a way to make savings before the inevitable retrenchment of basic services. In my analysis I draw on the state theoretical concepts of Bob Jessop in delineating the relationship between the dominant model of accumulation and hegemonic project of welfare state reform. I focus on policy documents published by the Ministry of Finance from 2010 to 2015, paying special attention to documents intended to guide upcoming governmental policy before parliamentary elections. Keywords: state theory, hegemonic project, welfare state, public sector reform, austerity

Notes from Below Workers Inquiry 2

Jamie Woodcock (University of Oxford)

In this second of two panels, the editors of Notes from Below will co-present with workers involved in ongoing workers' inquiry projects. Following on from the success of this kind of panel at Historical Materialism London 2017, we are intending to present original research into class composition (framed in terms of its technical, social and political formations). The exact detail of the panel is to be confirmed as they are part of longer term organising projects. It is also difficult to get worker-activists to confirm five months in advance. The second panel is themed around technology and worker organising - including speakers from the Tech Workers Coalition and Game Workers Unite campaigns.

Global Commodity Chains, Gender and Social Reproduction

Siggie Vertommen (King's College London), Alessandra Mezzadri (SOAS)

Since its emergence, capitalism is constituted in and through global commodity chains i.e. networks of labour and production processes resulting in finished commodities (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1986; Gereffi, 1994; Bair, 2005). Although often overlooked in the productivist literature on global commodity/value chains, social reproduction with its messy regimes of gendered and racialised difference (e.g. Tsing, 2009) - plays a key role in the structuring of chains. For one, the household is a key site of surplus extraction and commodification within global commodity chains and networks (Dunaway, 2013). More broadly, different chains and networks entail distinct patterns of social reproduction of both capitalist relations as well as of the vast army of labour drawn into their complex patterns of production, exchange and distribution. In fact, it can be argued that social reproduction itself including domestic, care and sex work, but also transnational surrogacy, or egg donation - is increasingly commodified and organised in global commodity chains and networks (e.g. Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2004). This panel, consisting of two sessions, seeks to explore the ways in which gender and social reproduction shape the constitution, the division of labour, and the very functioning of global commodity chains and, in turn, how social reproduction is increasingly re-constituted as a global social formation, stretching across different regions of the world.

In so doing, the panel aims at contributing to long-standing debates on the counter-geographies of globalization (Sassen, 2007), and to renewed debates on social reproduction (e.g. Bhattacharya, 2017) and its relevance in shaping the world of production and value (e.g. Federici, 2004). Crucially, while addressing these debates, the two panel sessions aim at exploring both the theoretical and political implications of the global transformations analysed, and the extent to which they shape new opportunities or threats for women and/or other marginalised groups.

Daddy Got no Secrets Anymore Challenging Authority in a Time of Monsters

Jan Niggemann (Alice Salomon University of Applied Science)

In this short talk i will focus on Gramscis perspective of reproducing hegemonic consensus through connecting political leadership, its challenging and transformation through educational praxis. We will take a closer look on how a deeper understanding of authority helps to strengthen claims of critical education. A sensitive approach to authority supports the self-education processes that are necessary to break the violent circle of subordinations under capitalist realism.

State, Subject, Global: Althusser and Sassen on the Production and Reproduction of the Conditions of Production.

Geoff Pfeifer (Philosophy and International and Global Studies Worcester Polytechnic Institute Worcester, Ma USA)

One way of understanding much of Althusser's Marxism is via his philosophical elaboration of the complex relation between the state and the subject. Central to this project is an investigation into the many ways that this relation acts as the motor that drives what Althusser calls the capitalist reproduction of the conditions of production (Althusser 2014, 47). In this elaboration, we get the famous and much talked about description on the one hand, of the necessary relation between law, the penal system, and hence repressive state apparatuses (RSAs) as one set of modes of this reproduction, and on the other hand, ideology and ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) such as schools, churches, the family etc, as another set of modes of this reproduction. As is well known, For Althusser, these two sets of apparatuses work in tandem to produce subjects that then through their epistemic awareness and material practices serve as the ground of this process of reproduction of the conditions of production. Notice here that all of this depends generally on the existence and dominance of the state as that through, and within which these processes are animated. In the contemporary moment however, we find many questioning the dominance of the state and thinking instead of the role what we now call the the global might play in a way not seen in the past. The contemporary moment for these thinkers reveals a weakened state in the face of the increasing power of global capital and multinational corporations with no one geographic home (Sassen, 2008; Baumann 1998). We also find global cities that are connected to one another via complex networks of trade, labor and human migration, and even individuals armed with technologies that can circumvent and challenge the power of Althusser's RSAs in ways some argue, that we have not seen before (Sassen 2005; Castells 2012). In one such theory, Saskia Sassen argues that with the advent and acceleration of globalization we are

watching a process of denationalization (Sassen 2008). To be sure, in Sassen's view, we are not yet seeing the death knell of the nation-state and its organizational structure, but we are witnessing many ways in which certain processes, or in her terms, capabilities that were produced within the nation state system become partially unhooked from that system in favor of emerging non-state, or extra-state assemblages (Ibid). These assemblages come together in ways that make them exist partially outside of nation states even though the capabilities that first produce them arise within the nation state system. For Sassen then, the emergence of the global conditions (and is conditioned by) denationalization- capabilities that were once national become denationalized in becoming a part of the emerging capabilities of the global (Ibid.). These assemblages then become the primary source of production (and reproduction) of global structures and subjects for Sassen. This paper takes Sassen's notion of denationalization as exemplary of these new theories of the global and puts it in dialogue with Althusser's own conception of the process of the reproduction of the conditions of production. I argue here that even though Althusser does not have much to offer by way of a theory of the global insofar as he locates social production and reproduction via the combination of RSAs and ISAs which remain state-based and produce and reproduce what I call here state-bound subjects, his conception of the process of subjective production can be extended in fruitful ways that can add to theories like Sassen's when thinking about the emergence of the global in the contemporary moment. I will also show how such an extension can be helpful in thinking about the ways within the emergence of the global, we find new subjects, processes, and potentialities for resistance to globalized capital.

Socialist Democracy Against Fascism: The Late Georg Lukacs as a Thinker for our Times

Victor Strazzeri (University of Bern), Anita Zsurzsn (Etvos Lorand University Budapest), Alexander Minotakis (University of Athens), Konstantin Baehrens (Universitt Potsdam), Kostas Gousis (Roehampton University)

The purpose of the panel is to address the mostly untapped potential of Georg Lukacs' later works and engagement (1930s onwards) to the ongoing renewal of Marxist thought and the critical analysis of current political trends, above all the rise of the far right. Lukacs' works from the 1930s and 1940s can be seen as an attempt to lead a struggle in the realm of culture and philosophy against fascist ideology and, indeed, many of the characteristics Lukacs had attributed to fascist thought - irrationalism, a neo-romantic faux critique of capitalism that culminated in indirect apologetics - can be found in today's right-wing movements and their intellectuals. The panel participants believe that the legacy of the Hungarian philosopher deserves a new appraisal as a weapon in the current battle of ideas, of which his own archive in Budapest has been a victim in recent months. Late in his life, Lukacs made a clear call for the rebirth of Marxism. While this call remains valid, Lukacs' vast late output - which has much to offer to the contemporary reader - has not been sufficiently explored due to a lingering emphasis on his early works, from the pre-Marxist *Theory of the Novel*, written in 1915, to *History and Class Consciousness* of 1923. The notion that the later works are the product of a capitulation to Stalinism, though mistaken, has also been a key hurdle for their wide reception. While Lukacs' relationship with the bureaucracy and party elites of the USSR and Hungary is far from unproblematic, his lifelong commitment to a dialectical renewal of Marxism and his radical critique of Stalinism call for a reappraisal by a new generation of scholars. The panel will show how six scholars of four different countries and working in different disciplines have found in Lukacs a common springboard for critical scholarly engagement.

The late Lukcs, the panelists claim, is a thinker for our time in that he provides key insights not only on historical but, crucially, for many contemporary issues of social life under a crisis-ridden capitalism; a setting that again seems to offer the ideal breeding ground for those ideas and practices that gave rise to Fascism.

Reading the Enemies

Jaakko Karhunen (Loughborough University)

In the Historical Materialism 2018 conference, I would like to present a collective research project titled Reading the Enemies. The project is directed by myself and Jussi Palmusaari in collaboration with The Finnish Association of Researchers (Tutkijaliitto), Middlesex University, and Kone Foundation. The research project consists of a series of workshops where invited researchers from the broad range of humanities present readings of their enemies texts or discourses that they assess to be manifestly in opposition to their own theoretical and political premises. During the spring 2018 we organised four workshops: Peter Ely on the figure and rhetorics of Margaret Thatcher, Maija Timonen on mis-readings of psychoanalytical thought in certain strands of feminism, Robert Kiely on the enemy as the addressee in contemporary poetry and Maria Chehonadskih on the intersection of racism and nationalism. These workshops were held in London and will continue in the autumn 2018. The summer school of The Finnish Association of Researchers will also be organised around the theme of the project. In the paper, I will present the overall problematic of the project and give an overview of the workshops. The project looks into different ways in which political positions take form in theoretical, artistic, and research practices. The speakers explicate and analyse the positions that form the background of their readings, and reflect on the intellectually and politically legitimating principles at work in them. Their readings help analyse the political stakes of the respective fields of the participants and map out the dividing lines of their theoretical practices. The workshops address the question of how theoretical practice gives rise to the principles that guide and qualify it, and how this kind of work relates to its material, historical and institutional conditions. At the core of the project is the apparent contradiction between the notions of reading and of enmity. It appears impossible to read enemies in the sense that reading implies a shared space of meaning, while enmity implies precisely the absence of such a space. Thus, if reading is successful, enmity (and politics) disappears or at least decreases in degree, risking the legitimization of the discourses that are to be denounced or criticised. On the other hand, it can be said that reading fails if enmity is maintained. This approach risks producing a straw man of the enemy, but it can at the same time politicise the practice of reading. Both lead to problems that can only be resolved by reflectively addressing the politics and methods of one's own theoretical or artistic practice. Thus, Reading the Enemies is precisely about the problematic of taking on the right: on top of empirical analyses about the reasons for the recent rise of the right-wing movements, it is necessary to theorise how the left should engage (or not) with the theoretical and political discourses of those movements.
webpage: <https://www.readingenemies.co.uk/> Streams: General, Strategy, Marxism and Philosophy

A Documentary film on Evald Ilyenkov

Paula Rauhala

A documentary film by Alexander Rozhkov on the most important Marxist philosopher of the thaw period in USSR. Director presents the film and after the film a discussion. Film is 80 minutes.

Marxism and Panpsychism?

Graham Jones

This paper engages with the recent philosophical trends of new materialism and speculative realism, asking if they can be integrated with Marxist insights to produce a critical framework appropriate to the contemporary moment. Although these philosophical movements are extremely broad, I will argue that those Alfred North Whitehead-inspired ontologies that focus on process and interconnection are appropriate for integration due to their 'dialectical' nature. However, as Whitehead's metaphysics is often described as 'panpsychist', it is open to being dismissed as an 'idealism', and thus incompatible with Marxist materialism. I will show that this is based on a mistaken reading of Whiteheadian metaphysics, which rather than positing reality as being created by the mind, is instead investigating what it is about matter that allows minds to emerge. Even with this misreading set aside however, there are still elements of Whitehead's panpsychism that may prevent its integration with Marxism, and which therefore require alteration. I show that these can be surmounted by drawing from theories of complex systems science, particularly those related to embodied cognition and biological autopoiesis. For Maturana and Varela, a cognitive body is any one which is self-reproducing and which co-evolves with its environment, with internal changes emerging through reaction to sense stimuli. This 'mind as a process' and cognition as the 'bringing forth of a world' is an expanded notion of mind that can incorporate not only humans and other mammals, but also bodies down through all cellular organisms, and up through social groups, organisations, and cities. Mind is not then something inherent in all matter, but is a potential of all matter that only emerges at a particular level of complexity. Consciousness remains a special form of cognition, based on the complex nesting of many processes of cognition. By here returning to questions of capitalism, we can use these soft-panpsychist insights to better understand the emergence of capitalist subjects in co-evolution with their environment, the reproduction of ideology as the bringing forth of worlds, and the arising of 'class consciousness' in relation to consciousness in general. Such a framework also allows Marxist theories to be brought back into dialogue with natural science, returning to earlier attempts by Engels and Bogdanov to investigate the 'dialectics of nature'

Marx 150 and Marx 200 what has Changed?

Paula Rauhala

In 1968, Marx's 150th birthday was celebrated in a different historical situation than Marx's bicentenary today. I ask why the 1968 generation of the Frankfurt school, in its reading of Capital, emphasized so much the concept of fetishism as a key to Marx's critique of political economy. I argue that 50 years ago the Frankfurtian readers of Marx, the students of Adorno, Alfred Schmidt, Hans-Georg Backhaus and Hans-Jürgen Krahl,

had a good reason for emphasizing fetishism and downplaying the contradiction between capital and labour. Due to the competition between capitalism and socialism, the capitalist countries offered their working classes a better standard of living than the socialist bloc ever achieved. Consequently, the working class did not seem to be the potential subject of revolution anymore. Now situation has changed. All sectors of the economy are again subsumed under profit motive, labour is re-commodified and exposed to the laws of competition. I argue that the most topical reading of Marx today emphasizes that the essence of capitalism is private profit making at the expense of wage labour. The role of commodity fetishism is secondary to this: it hides the fact that profits are nothing but unpaid labour. Therefore I argue that the Capital-reading of the Frankfurtians makes sense in the specific space and time, in FRG around 1968. Today, another reading is needed. I argue that the Frankfurtians also went too far in their emphasis on fetishism. It is not only secondary to exploitation in Marx's critique, but it also has existed before modern capitalism and might exist to a certain degree even after.

Jewish Identity Formation between Zionism and the Nazi Genocide

Sai Englert (SOAS, University of London)

In the context of the growing popularity of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement and key electoral victories of its supporters, solidarity with Palestinian liberation is increasingly depicted as being motivated by covert anti-Semitic intentions. If this political approach is not new, the political references used to do so have taken a new form. One noteworthy aspect of this process has been the mobilisation of a vocabulary and set of arguments traditionally associated with identity politics. The argument is made that oppressed groups (in this case Jewish people) should be able to name and define their oppression (anti-Zionist critiques of Israel). In the process, Jewish identity is presented as static, a-historical, and aligned with both Zionism and Western states in uncontentious ways, despite long and complicated histories of Western anti-Semitism and Jewish rejections of the Zionist project. This paper, based on my contribution to the HM Special Issue on Identity Politics, explores contemporary Jewish identity formation and the centrality of official Holocaust memory and Zionism understood as the on-going settler colonial project aiming at the formation and maintaining of a Jewish exclusivist state in Palestine to this process. It argues that mainstream approaches to Jewish identity politics reproduce the essentialisation of Jewish communities under the banner of Zionism and official state history. Instead, this paper aims to show how the process of identification between Judaism, official Holocaust memory and Zionism has been a state-led process, rooted in the historical development of anti-Semitism and European colonialism. In order to do so, it builds on a critique of classical Marxist analyses of the Jewish Question. It finally proposes a different approach to understanding identity, which centres the state in process of identification and understands them as socially constructed, contested, and subject to political contestation.

Film Representations of Labour in Neoliberal Times

Alejandro Pedregal (Aalto University)

Due to the shaping of the social order imposed by the neoliberal policies during the recent decades of late capitalism, the changes in the conditions of labour and the working class have taken a significant space in recent cinema. By critically approaching the way

we conceive the current state of labour, certain film works have managed to challenge the naturalization and imposition of this new order. Among other themes, these titles have dealt with questions as varied as: the dismantling of the industrial production and the welfare state in the Western world and its effects in the reserve army of unemployment (I, Daniel Blake by Ken Loach and Mondays in the Sun by Fernando Len de Aranao); the precarious working conditions that these policies implement, along with the coercive features of corporative power (The Invisible Hand by David Macin); the instrumental utility of the working class in the fight for political power, within a context of state corruption and bureaucracy (Glory by Kristina Grozeva and Petar Valchanov); the migratory movements and poverty provoked by economic policies in the dependent periphery (The Golden Dream by Diego Quemada-Dez); or the psychopathic features of the freelancer class in aiming for successful entrepreneurship as a result of the social reorganization of post-Fordism, within an ideological context dominated by a narrative of meritocracy and individual success (Nightcrawler by Dan Gilroy). Considering the hyperatomization and commodification that dominates the cultural realm nowadays, it is seminal to analyze and explore these cases for elaborating the narrative and formal strategies that a critical cinema could engage in representing the current conditions of labour and the working class. This exploration is absolutely necessary for joining forces with other active social and political agencies in subverting and transforming the dominant conformist cultural scene we live in and its hegemonic conceptions of the world. A critical film theory and practice can become a significant contribution to a broader collective process meant to transcend and change the current status quo, often naturalized as if there would be no alternative. Thus, through the critical study of the possibilities these examples can offer, and by rethinking paraphrasing Walter Benjamin the forms appropriate for representing the energy of our times energy which springs, above all, in the current state of the struggle between labour and capital, this paper aims at tracing a series of reflections meant for exploring the radical potential of cinema in serving this purpose.

Russian Marxism in Reactionary Times: Anatoly Lunacharsky and Religion of Labour

Marina Simakova (European University at St. Petersburg)

This paper is a critical investigation of Anatoly Lunacharsky's early philosophy in the context of intellectual and political debates in Russia during the years of political reaction which followed the 1905 Russian Revolution. As Perry Anderson once noted, the theoretical grandeur of the Western Marxism, as well as the shift from revolutionary praxis and militancy to scholarly work, was a product of defeat and despair. Looking back at one of the theories outside of the Western context, which emerged in the aftermath of political defeat, I propose to see it as a prerequisite for further victories and as an example of theoretical inventiveness and political cunning. Considered heretical and premature, Lunacharsky's early writings were cut out of the canon of the Soviet Marxism, ignored by the post-Soviet theorists and remain largely unknown to the Western reader. Revisiting them today allows to see one of the programs of social change developed at the moment when frontal assault on the state was not possible. Lunacharsky's approach is presented as a strand of heterodox Marxist philosophy arising from the most acute themes of discussion in social-democratic circles, such as polemics about matter and materialism, atheism/seeking for new forms of religion, and working on the relevant political practice. Lunacharsky's aesthetic Marxism abandons economic determinism, naturalisation of dialectics and schematic base/superstructure model. Refuting all these postulates attributed to the classic Marxist dogmatics, Lunacharsky

advocates for an aestheticized collective experience, which is based on creative work (tvorchestvo) as a means of social organisation, realisation of popular beliefs and material transformation of the world. In his *Religion and Socialism*, Lunacharsky engages in a radical rethinking of religion, its socio-political function, and various ideas of the divine together with different versions of materialist philosophy. Understanding religion as a dynamic connection between human and physical world, the individual and the universal, the real and the ideal, Lunacharsky offers a concept of the secular, immanent and social god subject to collective creation and to creative sublation at different historical stages. In that vein, Lunacharsky suggests considering socialism to be one of the religious forms, prompting collective creativity (cultural production) and political mobilisation of the masses. On the basis of his analysis of the history of world religions, mystical and materialist doctrines, Lunacharsky develops an atheistic social theory. At the heart of this theory lies not only social ontology of religion but the real movement towards socialism in the form of an already existing social, quasi-religious bond. Religious attitudes as a constitutive part of the Russian popular culture were enhanced by reactionary politics, and yet, this is precisely why they can and should be subverted by the social-democratic movement. In line with Feuerbach's task of elevation anthropology to theology but on different epistemological grounds Lunacharsky injects the element of political heresy in the very concept of religion, turning it into a mediator of social life and a tool of political struggle.

Anti-racism of Fools or Allies in Struggle Against Far Right in Europe? Pro-Akp Diaspora Politics in the Netherlands

Maral Jefroudi (IIRE)

This paper elaborates on the prospects of alliance with political agents that share the leftists anti-racist concerns in Europe, while supporting nationalist, authoritarian politics elsewhere. It aims to compare and clarify the positions taken by parties involved both in discourse and in practice. The DENK Party (meaning think in Dutch and equal in Turkish), formed by two Turkish originated former Labour Party (PVDA) deputies in 2015, describe the setting of their politics as that of post 9/11. They claim that the Dutch aspirations for a multicultural society were interrupted by post 9/11 us versus them discourse and that, for electoral success, political parties distanced themselves from the value of diversity. Their mission is defined as restoring the balance. DENK, which got three seats in Amsterdam city council in the 2018 elections, gets its support from the Netherlands migrant population, mainly from Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds, who face ethnic discrimination and racial profiling on a day to day basis. However, a majority of its Turkish originated supporters, those who are involved in diaspora politics, do vote for AKP, the governing authoritarian party, in Turkish elections. While the keywords they use for politics in the Netherlands are diversity, tolerance and acceptance, they do not recognize ethnic diversity in Turkey, support oppressive measures against freedom of expression in Turkey, and do not refrain from labeling those in Turkey and in the Netherlands who oppose the AKP government as terrorists, therefore contributing to polarisation. Some segments of the Dutch left take DENK as a progressive party and part of the leftist spectrum. The Dutch right is focused on exposing its links with Erdogans regime and calling the party 'Erdogans right hand' or a satellite party. The party, fighting against racial profiling and underlining the inequality between Dutch citizens of migrant background and others, shares the anti-racist discourse of the left in Europe. The two groups join protests in solidarity with refugees and with Palestinians under Israeli occupation. However, their collaboration has limits. By analyzing DENK's political

program as well as the discourse of their prominent members aiming at different audiences (in Turkish and Dutch), I will explore how their vision of a just society and of the means to achieve it, differs from that of the left. I argue that the racist politics of the Dutch right and the colour-blind politics of some segments of the Dutch left together with the intellectual climate that has replaced emancipatory politics with identity politics have strengthened nationalist politics in diaspora fighting racism with nationalist pride.

Technoscience Within and Beyond Capitalism: From Classic Marxist Debates to Current Ones

Les Levidow (Open University)

From Marx's insight that capitalism turned science into a productive force, this has been a contentious topic in the Marxist tradition. The dominant approach has seen technoscience as progressive 'forces of production' which must be freed from capitalist social relations in order to create socialism. Such a perspective underlies current debates in post-structuralist Marxism about pathways beyond capitalism. In particular, given the new liberatory and cooperative potentials of ICTs, a prominent agenda seeks to accelerate automation in order to supersede drudgery and capitalist domination alike. Yet this agenda internalises capitalist assumptions about individual autonomy through 'smart' technology. In an analogous debate, the Bioeconomy is seen as the real subsumption of nature to capital, potentially liberating humans. According to critics, however, this view occludes the bioeconomy's systemic dependence on human cooperation and labour exploitation alike. These current debates have analogies in earlier Marxism. During the Third International, leading Marxists interpreted the concept of 'freeing the productive forces' in divergent ways. Some appealed to the natural sciences as a model for the knowledge necessary to achieve technical control of production and thus the basis for abundance. By contrast, dissenters warned against fetishizing bourgeois science, likewise against treating technique as a neutral tool. Such critiques were later elaborated by the Frankfurt School, whose writings became known collectively as Critical Theory. This sees capitalist social relations as constituting productive forces, not simply as an external constraint, thus requiring a dual transformation for any post-capitalist society. Recent Marxist debates on technoscience have been unwittingly replicating such tensions from earlier ones, thus limiting critical perspectives. This paper will make explicit some historical analogies with earlier debates, as a means to push Marxist approaches beyond them.

Thinking about Feminist Solidarity

Hester Eisenstein (Queens College and the Graduate Center, The City University of New York)

In this project I want to explore the idea of solidarity as it pertains to the international women's movement. In recent years there has been an explosion of feminist activism, from the Me-Too movement and the women's marches in the United States to the successful pro-abortion vote in Ireland, and the mobilization against abortion restrictions in Poland. In Argentina the Not-One-More movement against violence has mobilized thousands of women and their male allies. But what kind of a social movement is feminism, broadly defined, and to whose notions of solidarity does it appeal? This issue is complicated by the fact that in the contemporary scene, feminism is seen simultaneously as referring to a number of levels of analysis. Individually it is seen as an issue of

personal identity and transformation. In intimate life it is seen in relation to personal relationships, sexuality, and marriage. But then the meaning jumps scale to refer to a social movement seeking to affect the roles of women in the public world of work, politics, and culture, as well as in the private sphere. What does it mean to talk about solidarity among all women, a category that, unlike the Marxist category of the proletariat, elides class, racial and national differences? One issue that immediately leaps to mind is defining women as a group as opposed to the male perpetrators of sexual aggression. In this case it would appear that solidarity among women precludes solidarity with men, at least that category of men who have the capacity and the proclivity to attack women for their own pleasure. In this case does solidarity among women require a united front against all men? Against only predatory men? Can a majority of men express solidarity with women against these predatory men? What would this look like?

Transformation of AKP in 16 Years: From Neopopulism to Neofascism

Mert Bykkarabacak (Yildiz Technical University)

As a political Islamist and populist party, AKP was the result of a moment represented by a coexistence of a socioeconomic crisis and a lack of counter hegemonic political project. AKP had the ability to use the social reaction caused by the class conflict in order to use its political project which in fact based on the Anatolian Tigers, the peripheral bourgeois fraction. Consecutive economic crisis of the 1990s which reached their summit with the one in 2001 vanished all the hegemonic capacity of the finance capital, political parties and eventually AKP came to power. Standing on a peripheral fraction of bourgeoisie which is weaker and needs political power to catch up with the finance capital, the leading fraction of the bourgeoisie, accounts for the transformation of the party from a neopopulist to a neofascist one. We can divide 16 year of AKP governments into three sub periods: 1- 2001-2007: AKP could not gain the control of the state institutions at once. Although finance capital parties liquefied quite instantaneously, their strongholds in the state tried to defend the status quo. During this period, AKP could find allies among the democratic political actors. Just like the other neopopulist political leaders all around the world (Fujimori, Shinawatra, Orban etc.) he could be able to adopt the subaltern classes support to a neoliberal socioeconomic transition. The precariat dwelling in the shanty towns of the metropolitan cities, generated by the export oriented accumulation regime after 1980s had been the political Islamist movements constitutive stronghold. The equilibrium with AKP and the state as the representative of the ancient regime paradoxically resulted in a relatively democratic political period in the Turkish political history. 2- 2007-2013: The election of the president by the parliament in 2007 turned out to be a battle between AKP and the state institutions acting as bases of resistance to the AKP power. AKP with the alliance of the Fetullah Gulens organization in the state managed to dislocate the tutelage of some state institutions such as the military. But opposite to the expectations of the liberal leftist intellectuals, collapse of the military tutelage over the political system gave way to a much more repressive and fascist state intervention of the state against the organized subaltern class movements, Kurdish resistance and the socialist parties. The Islamist agenda of AKP unfolded much more clearly in this period,too. 3-2013-2018: Gezi Uprising against the totalitarian aspects of the AKP politics resulted in the government partys lost of the capacity of manufacturing consent. The collapse of the alliance between Erdoan and Gulen had serious damaging implications in the repressive and political capacity of the state. Intervention in the Syrian civil war complicated the Kurdish issue. Empowered Kurdish political existence in Rojava is taken to be a major security threat. The changing direction of the global capital

flows also prevented the government to continue its accumulation strategy based on construction industry. All these factors account for the transformation of AKP from a populist to a fascistic party.

Abortion as Disruption of Social Reproduction: The Case of USA in the Light of the Authoritarianism of Neoliberalism

Alessandra Spano (University of Catania, Department of Political and Social Sciences)

In this paper I will analyze, from a Marxist-feminist standpoint, how the attacks on abortion rights are revealing the inner authoritarian character of neoliberalism, focusing on the case of the United States. Here, the most recent transformations in the regulation of abortion in terms of policies as well as welfare cuts from Trumpcare to the Iowa restrictions on abortion rights approved last May can be read as part of a hierarchization and devaluation of the womens labor force. These changes (that can be dated back to the late 90s) constitute an attempt to discipline women by means of their reproductive capacity and the role assigned to them as reproductive functionaries, to assure and maintain the neoliberal order of society. The neoliberal turn on abortion legislation follow on from the transformation of womens struggles for freedom of abortion into claims for the right to choose and property of the body, and so erasing the collective, political and social meaning of reproduction. This right to choose for her own body has been progressively turned into a form of authoritative freedom posing becoming mother as a kind of skill that must be sold in the labor market. Consequentially, womens work has been devaluated as a whole and increasing welfare cuts are disproportionately affecting women, with the effect of binding them to the double burden of productive and reproductive labor and of weakening their social and economic position, as well as their bargaining capacity.

Whats Queer About Communism and Whats Communist About Queer ? Insights From 2017-2018 French Social Movements

Gianfranco Rebutini (EHESS - Paris)

In the 11 Theses on Possible Communism, a manifesto written in 2017, the C17 collective aimed to assess the condition of contemporary capitalism and to plan communist strategies for our present (2018). The collective proposed then eleven theses highlighting major aspects by which communism still is an open process challenging capitalism in its own roots. An important part of the theses are dedicated to social reproduction labor-power, gender, form of life, multiplicity of the proletariat, organization and the loosing of centrality of mere economic class struggle. As they interestingly put it clear the economic struggle, historical delegate to the trade union, loses its boundaries, flooding continuously onto the terrain of sexuality, education, the right to the city, anti-racism, and communication. In this sense, the traditional distinction between economic and political struggle has collapsed; if anything, we are witnessing processes of politicization that press and displace as much in production as in social cooperation, in behaviour as well in defence of the commons, in intimacy as well in relationships (2018; these 5). This focus on relationships, intimacy, cooperation,

sexuality, show how the new processes of politicization leading to a possible communism have a lot to share with the aim of social queer movements and theory for a queer world (Floyd 2009). In this paper then, I would like to stress the fact that recent social movements in France and especially queer movements and radical groups that participated to the major mass contestations to neoliberal politics of Macron government, could be a special space and occasion to understand what's queer about communism and what's communist about queer in contemporary social struggles. I will focus especially on forms of prefiguration and traces of new worlds that are present in these social struggles, in their organization as in their projects, in their construction of a possible future as in their forms of life.

The Capitalist Form of Debt and its Historical Presuppositions

Bruno Hofig (SOAS)

This paper explores the hypothesis that the recent explosion in household indebtedness in the United States cannot be completely explained in terms of the parameters and inputs of the functions of credit supply and demand; rather, it must be understood in its association with the emergence of properly capitalist relations of personal credit and debt. It shows that the economic literature on the topic usually relies on a hidden presupposition: that decisions to lend are preceded by valuation processes that render the economic courses of action available to prospective lenders comparable in quantitative terms, thus making their decision-making process consistent with the form of rationality that prevails in the context of the capitalist mode of production. The paper contends that such value judgements, which make the modes of behaviour presupposed by economic theory possible, and thus constitute a condition sine qua non of the credit supply function, can take place only under very singular historical conditions. It argues, in particular, that such conditions have emerged in the United States only in the last few decades, when the development of a calculative infrastructure based on the FICO score allowed prospective lenders to reduce the uncertainties regarding the outcomes of a loan to the form of measurable risks, thus making the present value of the income streams derived from personal loans determinable. Based on this insight, the paper concludes that the recent changes in the amount and price of personal credit in the U.S. cannot be accounted for merely in terms of changes in the parameters and inputs of credit supply and demand functions; rather, a proper explanation of such phenomenon must take into consideration the historical conditions that made the modes of human behaviour presupposed by such functions possible.

Rethinking Transition: Bettelheim and Linhart on War Communism and the New Economic Policy

Dimitris Papafotiou (Independent Researcher), Panagiotis Sotiris (Hellenic Open University)

Both Charles Bettelheim and Robert Linhart devoted a large part of their theoretical energies to questions of war communism and the New Economic Policy. Their theoretical effort also led them to confront important questions regarding revolutionary strategy and included a close and attentive reading of the Lenins last theoretical and political interventions. We think that approaching their interventions in comparative mode is of great interest, because of both their points of convergence (they both entered into a

dialogue with the work of Althusser, were influenced by the Chinese experience, stressed the importance of the New Economic Policy and of the contribution of Lenin, and share an emphasis on the primacy of the relations of production and of social structures), and their particular divergences (regarding the question of over-determination by ideology and politics and the question whether to define revolutionary strategy as a developing theoretical corpus or as a process of setting in motion contradictions and their dynamics within the conjuncture). Moreover, both theorists offer two different yet to certain extent communicating approaches regarding the interpretation of the conceptualization of revolutionary strategy in Lenins last works and interventions. Returning to this dialogue, by itself an important moment in the broader debates within West-European Marxism, in light of more recent developments in the historiography of early Soviet transition is both theoretically and political pertinent to contemporary debates regarding socialist transition.

#Metoo and Its Limits: Solidarity on the Left, Feminism on the Right?

Lisa Marie Cerami

The #metoo movement wields serious discursive power and is not without liberatory potential. As many of the contributors of Versos recently released compendium *Where Freedom Starts: Sex Power Violence #MeToo* argue, despite being a creature of celebrity culture, #metoo can be effectively redirected toward the struggles of women in the workplace. I understand this to be an implicit critique on the limited scope of #metoo to date, one which might be expanded with better intersectional analysis, which might better make visible other sites and facets of structural oppression. An internationalist perspective can also shed much needed light. Watching #metoo unfold from Germany, for example, one may observe how ripe the ubiquitous meme is for right-wing appropriation. I am thinking in particular of the identitarian video campaign #120db (120 Dezibel), in which, in the universalizing style of #metoo, German women add their names to the ranks of those sexually harassed or assaulted by immigrants, and demand state protection from these dangerous infiltrators. In this paper, I argue for a strong, internationalist left critique of #metoo is necessary if it is to be shored up against right-wing appropriations of this sort. The necessary shift is in no way cosmetic. Indeed, as I argue, the hyper-individualism at the heart of #metoo better lends itself to conservative mobilization than it does to left-wing organizing. #metoos decontextualization of sexual harassment and violence from the broader constellation of labor injustice obscures the systemic exploitation that characterizes the contemporary workplace, and its decontextualization of sex from other social practices leads to similar obfuscations. Most in need of critique, however, is #metoos constitutive carcerality. To date, the neoliberal me whom #metoo identifies as harmed implicitly demands the social ostracism and punishment of the perpetrator as the necessary means for social repair. As is perennially the case, state (or symbolic) violence becomes the tool for effecting justice and for making people whole. Not only in the United States is this reflex a dangerous one. Examples like Harvey Weinstein notwithstanding, already marginalized or dehumanized individuals with migration backgrounds, racial minorities, the formerly (or currently) incarcerated, the economically precarious, the mentally ill become the obvious targets for punishment and ostracism. As evidenced in the #120db campaign, the carceral antagonism at #metoos core is the same as that of right-wing nativism, with or without its patina of feminism. Borrowing from Chi Chi Shis argument in *Defining my Own Oppression: Neoliberalism and the Demands of Victimhood*, my critique ends by questioning the limitations of shared victimhood as the purported basis for solidarity.

Glowing the Arcades: Marx Through the Eyes of Walter Benjamin

Zachos Christodoulopoulos (National Technological University of Athens)

Benjamin's philosophy of history draws on three very different sources: German Romanticism, Jewish messianism and Marxism. The text focuses and follows the formation of Walter Benjamin's marxist approach. In his influential, revolutionary, fragmentary, magnum opus *Das Passagen-Werk* [1] Walter Benjamin creates an unrivaled collage describing aspects of modern life. Paris as a metropolis, The Capital of the Nineteenth Century, was his place of exile but also his starting point to the journey between the arcades as a passageway and a critique to modern, everyday life. In this critique he is in constant dialogue with Marx. Marx's influence was crucial to the evolution of Benjamin's thought. In his work *On the Concept of History* when he speaks of the defeated of history he is thinking also of himself and his generation. Therefore he stood by the side of the working class not from the point of view of a philosopher-intellectual but a fighter. According to Benjamin's XII thesis The subject of historical knowledge is the struggling, oppressed class itself. Marx presents it as the last enslaved class - the avenger that completes the task of liberation in the name of generations of the downtrodden. He highlights the importance of class struggle, not only for its liberating prospect-dimension but for the salvation of the planet from the coming disaster. Class consciousness and knowledge produced by the struggle, the experience of the working class. Benjamin was influenced by Karl Korsch, - Marxism and Philosophy was one of the more often cited works in the *Arcades Project*- but also by Gyorgy Lukacs -mostly from "History and Class Consciousness-. Their contributions to Benjamin's approach were significant. However Benjamin's marxism had new, original, radical elements. Michael Lowy rightly claims that From this point of view, the position Benjamin occupies in the field of Marxism in 1939-40 is unique, unprecedented and unmatched. He is isolated, being too far ahead of his time. His Marxist approach combined with his "revolutionary" romanticism creates an explosive mix. His perception of historical materialism and the liberation of history from historicism, combined with the struggle against repression and alienation of the working class. The attack on the ideology of progress is not made in the name of conservatism, but of revolution. We find this interpretation again in his lecture on *The Life of Students and on Oneway*. He is a pioneer, a revolutionary critic of the philosophy of progress. In our days when the capitalist economy within the context of the knowledge societies is going through such a serious ideological and political crisis, it may be pertinent to note that criticism to science and progress is a presupposition for any kind of criticism and for liberation. [1] *The Arcades Project*

Lessons for the Modern Prince: Civil Society in Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis

Moinak Choudhury (Graduate Student, Department of English, University of Minnesota Twin Cities)

In light of the renewed commitment to concrete analyses of present challenges, particularly with regard to the unification of the Left, the organization of dissident camps is a pressing demand. While contemporary grassroots movements based on specific identities have found a footing, the variegated mode of resistance will benefit from an

amalgamated, sustainable vehicle in the form of historical materialism. This necessity for rebuilding recalls elements of Gramsci's inquiry in the Prison Notebooks. Albeit located in a specific moment, Gramsci recognized the gap between, on the one hand, over-intellectualism of the Communist Party, and on the other side, the spontaneous uprising of workers. The affirmation of education as intellectual and moral reform for the Modern Prince i.e. the Communist Party, was based on the necessity for correcting the divide. I argue that this emphasis on education holds currency for our coeval era especially in Gramsci's avowal of the notion of civil society. It also bears significance with regard to the incorporation of experience as a subaltern, defined as subjects involved in the production process. This attention given to experience within the project of reorganizing the political party is a vital aspect missed in readings of Gramsci's philosophy of praxis. In this regard, I will be pointing to the constitutive role given to Hegelian civil society in conceptualizing the political party as an integral state, harnessing the tension between state and society. The paper will contend that Gramsci follows and develops a specific conception of civil society in the Prison Notebooks. A civil society which still includes economic relations, as put forward by Hegel in *The Philosophy of Right* and as criticized by Marx in *On the Jewish Question*. While identifying with Marx's critique of bourgeois notions of rights and society, Gramsci retains the sublated notion of civil society a distinction which he seeks to preserve and unearth in the service of activating the intellectual faculties of the worker towards attaining hegemony. By considering that every social form contains its *homo oeconomicus* i.e. its own economic activity, economic behavior is placed firmly in the foundation of civil society (Selections from Prison Notebooks 208-209). Gramsci notes that the separation of economic activity from political action is central to the fissures in the organizing capacity of the party. Skill and class, the economic and the political, are coalesced into the term *instrumental class* or *classi instrumentali*, used interchangeably with *classi subaltern* or *classi subordinate* (27). I argue that this unambiguous notion of the subaltern needs to be maintained in order for its application in revitalizing the Left. Furthermore, Gramsci's reading of the merit of experience is essential for unraveling the Gordian knot regarding its place in historical materialism. In this respect, the acknowledgment of civil society as the impetus for forming an integral state points to a potential unification of the numerous resistant camps through the 'philosophy of praxis.'

The Majority of the People: a Spinozist Analysis

Bernardo Bianchi (Free University of Berlin)

In this presentation, I start with the assumption that childhood is the image of alienation par excellence in modern political thought. The Latin word *mancipatio*, derived from the verb *mancipare*, from the expression *ex manus capere*, literally means "to take off hands". In Roman law, this referred to the figure of the slave as well as to that of infants. Indeed, the child is the one who does not speak (*in + fns*). In German, maturity and civil responsibility are associated with speaking, with having the floor, whose words *undig* and *undig* bring together both meanings. Under the pen of Abb Sieys, to whom we owe the expression *multitude-child*, childhood comes associated with the reverse side of citizenship, just as the multitude (and the crowd) is the opposite of the people. With Spinoza, the becoming-active of the child and the development of political communities can be connected. From the analysis of the Hebrews under Moses, we see in Spinoza the positive role that imagination and religion are likely to play for a people in a state of childhood. The question of the supernatural and of belief is thus conceived beyond the image of a mere speculative error or deception. Spinoza's analysis, on the other hand, suggests how a people, even in a state of childhood, a *multitude-child*,

according to Sieys, incapable of democracy. Accordingly, the development of a collective body cannot be completely identified with the transition from childhood to maturity. In fact, we find in this problematic of the people-child a reversal of the modern perspective (which we find in Sieys) of a multitude-child, that is to say, of a multitude which, because of its ignorance, is not politically capable. This question also refers to the efforts of the theology of liberation as well as the pedagogy of the oppressed, developed by Paulo Freire in Latin America, which affirms the full political maturity of a people otherwise conceived by the presupposition of its minority. On the other hand, this question touches on what Jacques Rancière developed with the notion of an axiomatic of equality - by which he rejects the idea of a hierarchy of the capacities - and rather affirms the intellectual equality of all. For this reason, he proposes that each person is able to become a "master" for the other, able to support another in his or her intellectual development.

Taking on the Right to City: Peasant-worker into Urban Resident and the Urban politics in Today's China

Qiang Naishe (senior editor, Institute of Philosophy, Chinese Academy of Social Science)

The main body of Chinese working class is peasant-worker, not worker. The formation of working class in today's China is changing a lot since 1978. How will the peasant-workers, almost to 1.74 hundred million persons by the April, 2018, become workers in the future? And this will bring new outlook for politics in China. 1. The key for this event is the right to city. One Chinese Peasant-worker has two identities at least: peasant and worker. According the situation of China, she should at first has the right to housing and job. Urbanization in today's China is new and fast, but the sharing of the urban space is not so easy. Housing and job are the spatial events and we should pay the most attention to the right to space: space for the peasant to changing into worker. 1.1 The essence of housing is the space sharing. So the spatial justice is important. The public policy emphasized on the housing for shelter and not for speculating. So many peasants have a periodical life between countryside and city. Residing in one place will bring one identity, a life of being trans-local often means trans-identity, or semi-peasant and semi-worker. 1.2 The right to job in cities is the key for the changing of peasant-worker into industrial worker. Because in today's economy, labor market is almost the only place where the peasant-worker has the job and gain their income. Enough income means enough housing, foods and other life condition. 2. Semi-peasant and semi-worker will be fused into one identity. It means a lot: 2.1 The Hukou (registered permanent residence) system played a great role in the changing: at first it limits and prevent the peasant to become the worker and urban resident, and now, vice versa. It is a common sense: a peasant at least has right to have a piece of land for rural housing and limited land for planting for bottom-line life, freely. 2.2 The poverty in countryside will be dissolved accurately. At least, the public service will serve more and more peasants, residents in countryside. 2.3 The changing process means becoming of weak, opaque, marginal identity of peasant, means the fast urbanization, changing of dual construction of rural and urban relation, the openness of infrastructure, the changing of registered permanent residence, the same work and same salary, etc. 3. The result of changing will bring the new political spectrum: It is beyond the traditional working class and factory politics. The formation of politics is urban politics. More and more peasant-worker become the urban and industrial labor, it is because more and more people leave the countryside for city. So the politics in today's China will see new appearance: urban politics. The further politics includes: camera politics, fence politics, safety checking politics, and traffic and packed politics etc. In a word, street politics may be the most important.

Marxism, Neoliberalism, and Music (Red Wedge panel #2)

Alexander Billet (Red Wedge)

The neoliberal turn of the 1970s dramatically reshaped music's relationship to artist and audience, culture industry, and the radically shifting organizational spaces of the poor and working classes. As the infrastructure of dissent was smashed by the employers' offensive, notions previously taken for granted regarding the existence and roles of counterculture and musical expression were thrown into deep question. Artists were forced to rethink and reinvent themselves and their work, for better and for worse, leaving many challenges and unanswered questions regarding contemporary politico-musical praxis. This panel will examine the historical economic and political forces that were at work at neoliberalism's rise and artists' varied reaction to them, as well as current debates and challenges facing the recomposition of a counterculture that can provide space for oppressed peoples to discover a common aesthetic language in opposition to capital, racism, and nationalism.

Globalized Capitalism Aboard

Heide Gerstenberger (University of Bremen)

In the course of capitalism seamen experienced four revolutionary changes of their working and living conditions. The first one occurred when ship-owners started to internationally compete with prices and speed. If coastal seafaring continued to more or less adhere to customs, on merchant ships which were destined to far away ports command came to substitute custom. This necessitated the change from skipper to captain. The second change was the introduction of steam engines. While seamen working in the engine room tended to conceive of themselves as workers and quite often were members of a trade union, seamen working on deck still more or less refused to conceive of themselves as workers. The third revolutionary change occurred with the advent of containerization. My paper will focus on the fourth revolutionary change. It started in the 1970s when economic crisis resulted in a severe reduction of the growth rates of sea transport. All of a sudden, there were too many ships. Shipping companies started to make use of flags of convenience. They also outsourced the economic and technical management of ships. Most important is the practice of outsourcing the management of the seafaring personnel. Today, most seamen are employed by an agency which is situated in their home country. These agencies also function as disciplinary institutions, refusing to employ seafarers who have raised protests during former voyages. After many losses, IMO instigated reforms of training and controls of the adherence to ecological norms aboard. Port states concluded the control of foreign ships in their ports. Improvements were achieved. They are limited. For seamen the outsourcing of the economic operation of ships to charterers has especially severe repercussions. These firms not only rent out the freight capacity of ships but also decide on the logistics of voyages. In 2006 the ILO decided the "consolidated maritime convention". This - once again - confirmed the right of seafarers to shore leave. But markets tend to overrule conventions. Therefore, more often than not, seamen stay aboard for many weeks and even months without ever being able to go ashore. If this would have been always hard on crews who not only have to work but to also live together, it is especially hard on crews which consist of very few seamen who often come from different countries and are not able to have conversations which transcend Ship-English. Today seafarers cannot dare to organize, and if in former times workers in port often decided to help crews by refusing to unload or to

load a certain ship, this possibility is reduced since more and more ports are privately owned.

Black Snake in the Grass: The New Political Economy of Pipelines

Troy Vettese (New York University)

Activists leading the climate change movement failed in their efforts at mass mobilisation in the early 2000s, and only began to attract a critical mass during the campaign against the Keystone XL pipeline. This mobilisation succeeded in stalling that specific project, but also more generally in politicising climate change and spawning new movements that targeted other pipelines, such as Line 9, Line 5, Line 3, Energy East, Northern Gateway, and DAPL. Until the fight against the Keystone XL, pipelines used to be uncontroversial infrastructural projects, shrouded in political invisibility. Now, a decade after the fight began, pipelines remain controversial but one must also note that the political economy underpinning the industry has drastically changed. One needs to trace these developments to reformulate new tactics so the climate change movement can continue its struggle against the fossil-fuels industry. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau approved last year three massive pipeline projects (Line 3, Trans Mountain, Keystone XL) to ship more bitumen from Alberta to foreign markets. To understand these new projects, one must analyse their economics, their environmental impact, and their implications for the climate change movement. The crux of the issue is that transporting tar sands dilbit is much more dangerous than conventional petroleum because pipelines are more likely to leak and have a worse impact when they do, but they are not as important strategically as they were a decade ago. This is because pipeline industry is no longer the bottle-neck it once was within the fossil-fuel sector. A spread between WTI and Brent—which made the Keystone XL campaign so successful in putting pressure on the fossil-fuel industry—is unlikely to appear again. If anything, fracking is the new most vulnerable point within the fossil-fuel sector, due to the level of capital invested and the unlikelihood of the industry's debt being repaid. Thus, activists must decide to focus on preventing almost guaranteed damage with a local impact (e.g. stopping dilbit pipelines) or putting pressure on the fossil-fuel industry by attacking its profit margins, and thus tracking to win a more systemic victory.

Oppression, Exploitation and Expropriation: Intersectionality, Social Reproduction and (on-going) Primitive Accumulation

Rhaysa Sampaio Ruas da Fonseca (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), Brazil), Olena Lyubchenko (York University, Toronto, Canada)

Today, under the expansion of formal rights of minorities, processes of on-going primitive accumulation work through austerity to further disadvantage people enmeshed in unequal relations of race, class, and gender. Intersectionality, which has gained popular currency as a pluralist emancipatory tool, used by political leaders for further institutionalization of neoliberal policies, becomes an uneasy witness of and an accomplice to processes of oppression, exploitation, and expropriation. Meanwhile, the right-wing movements are on the rise and critical academia/activist circles are divided

along the uncomfortable race-class-gender nexus. The current context serves as the point of departure for the following question: how can the Marxist tradition theorize race/racialization and gender when demystifying the workings of global capitalism, including in non-Western, non-liberal democratic, transitioning societies, in order to offer a stronger alternative for praxis? In this collaborative paper, we propose an immanent critique of intersectionality by bringing together recent contributions to Social Reproduction Theory, newer Marxist scholarship on capitalist accumulation and Marx's late writings (Battacharya, 2017; Shanin 1983, Anderson, 2010, Pradella 2015). Our aim is to contribute to the development of a holistic understanding of oppression in relation to capitalist accumulation in order to come up with a useful methodology for both empirical research and political activism. While intersectionality is historically born out of working-class struggles, contributes to the denaturalization and politicization of the everyday experience of those who suffer the interlocking of direct violence, and thereby brings materiality to class struggles forcing Marxism to re-think its theory, praxis, and role inside current reality, it hides the violent essence of capitalist expropriation and exploitation, behind multiple and autonomous axes of oppression. Instead of highlighting multiple axes of oppression, where each individual form of suffering is morally and ontologically distinct, we argue that a Marxian comprehension of capitalist complex totality which identifies the so-called oppressions as an appearance (real abstraction) that hides the essence of capitalist expropriation and exploitation, can be key in conceptualizing identity in the current financialized era of global capitalism. To this end, we suggest that Social Reproduction Theory with a view towards expanded production, amended with a historical and simultaneously global, uneven and combined, understanding of capitalist transition and universalization can be a rigorous approach to explaining the current context of neoliberal expropriations, left fragmentation, and growing far right-wing movements.

The Ideal and the Dream-world: Evald Ilyenkov and Walter Benjamin on the Significance of Material Objects

Alex Levant (Wilfrid Laurier University)

This paper offers a reading of Walter Benjamin's concept of the dream world through Evald Ilyenkov's concept of the ideal. It examines certain similarities and differences in their life paths and their intellectual contexts; and in the course of this investigation, it invites us to reflect on the categories of Western Marxism and Soviet Marxism. It draws on Ilyenkov's claim that thought does not simply reflect the material world, but that matter is idealised in human activity, and given the specific organisation of activity in contemporary society, culture moving to Benjamin exhibits the characteristics of dreams. Benjamin's concept of the dream world helps to understand unconscious processes in the idealisation of the material world.

Communication and Experience: Deriving Communicative Patterns from the Experience of Chainworkers

Gkhan Bulut (Ankara University, Communication Faculty)

The concept of experience, as used by E.P. Thompson, is often adopted by the analyses of working class movements, especially in Marxist studies of history. However, the analytical value and extent of the concept is quite adaptable to other areas of social sciences. This study aims at addressing the analytical potential of the concept of experience in connection with the accumulation of knowledge in communication studies and thus going beyond debates of representation and cultural studies in working class analyses within communication studies. The problematique of this study is how experience, which is one of the basic concepts of class analysis, can be utilised in communication studies as part of the attempt to build a relation between two fields. The concept of collectivity is examined as a common determining factor of both communication and experience. The main suggestion of the study is conceptualising communication as experience. Building such a relationship between class analysis and the field of communication is considered as crucial for both understanding social reality in all its different aspects and enriching scientific activity on an extensive factual basis. The discipline of communication involves areas and frames of inquiry due to its interdisciplinary quality. However, the issue of social classes has relatively lagged behind within this extensive literature. The studies which conceptualise problems of communication in a class-based manner or in relation to class studies are relatively low in number and marginal within communication studies. The lack of interest in class studies within the discipline of communication is a tendency shared by social sciences overall. The last few decades have witnessed the production of a politically apathetic content in social sciences. The study argues that the concept of experience, understood as individual lives turning into forming patterns of collective understanding, value, orientation and action, can overcome this apathy. Communication can be conceptualised as a process of learning and creating which is itself a form of experience and allows the formation of other kinds of experience as well. The fundamental mechanism which sustains communication as a historical and social experience is the collectivity it pertains to. Such a commonality between communication and experience needs to be considered as a crucial dimension of the relationship between the discipline of communication and class studies. Thus, the relationship between communication and class studies can go beyond the content and representation-oriented research agenda and class studies can benefit from the field of communication more extensively. This study will draw an example for such a conceptualisation of communication and working class through an analysis of communicative patterns of chainworkers employed by a global retail company, derived from the interviews conducted with the workers concerning the boundaries of communication within their labour process.

The Autonomy of Resistance Marx, Spinoza and Primitive Accumulation

Jakub Krzeski (Adam Mickiewicz University in Pozna), Anna Piekarska (Warsaw University)

The prerequisite for the domination of capital lies not only in exploitation itself but also in the reproduction of the relationship of servitude. Although the majority of Marx's

analyses do indeed focus on the first aspect, the latter - the very question of subordination - is also present in his thought, that is, he takes up the question of directing the individual desires in such a way that they serve valorization of capital. Capitalism, therefore, strives to establish its order as something both natural and inevitable. This gravitation of capital towards total domination - becomes clearly visible for the first time in parts of Marx's works devoted to the emergence of relation between capital and work, most notably - in part seven of *Das Kapital*, that is primitive accumulation. It is this very process that not only strips away proto-proletariat of its material conditions of social production and reproduction but also destroys and reconstructs the forms of their subjectivity. This paper is an attempt at a simultaneous reading of Marx and Spinoza as authors who enable us to flesh out the aforementioned aspects of domination in capitalism. We venture to show that the immanentistic ontology and the political anthropology of the latter enrich the critique of capitalism with a better understanding of a subjectivity's function in the process of creating a servitude. At the same time, we view this process as incomplete. This view is enabled by the use of Spinoza's concept of imagination, which is crucial to our endeavor. Imagination is understood as an ambivalent conductor of affects, which, according to the circulating desires, can work to the effect of both subjectification and emancipation. To prove its usefulness, we inspect Marx's analysis of primitive accumulation, along with the works of historians from below, especially the Warwick school. Our reconstruction of the beginnings of capitalist system highlights the visions of equal order and their relevance to the proto-proletarian resistance against emerging capitalism. Richly described by the aforementioned authors, the history of the turbulent period of transition between feudalism and capitalism contributes to and illustrates the relevance of the question of subjectivity. It allows us to see not only the need to create new subjectivity, useful from the point of view of the development of the capitalist system but also the continuity of existence of ungovernable surplus, constantly exceeding capitalist forms. The history of the working class, capable of creating its own autonomy and grassroots institutions, shows that its struggle was not just a passive response, caused by changing forms of domination, but also by the desire for communization.

Women, Class and Race: Between the Barriers of Oppression and Revolutionary Potentiality in Brazil

Nathalia Assmann Goncalves (Ongoing master's degree in law from the State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brasil.), Amlia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel (Ongoing Doctoral's degree in law from the State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brasil)

Official Brazilian data (IBGE) shows that since 2012 women participation in labor unions is approximately 11% of total feminine workers. These data show that union membership of workers is generally low, and is even lower among women. This reality can be read as a consequence of the patriarchal culture that determines the positions of the sexes in society. Through the sexual division of labor, that Marxists call "social reproduction theory", the woman is responsible for the domestic activities and the family care, i.e., for the renewal of the work force, carrying out an overload of activities, insofar as she is also demanded for the production of surplus labor together with the man worker. Engels asserts that within the family context the class structure of society is reproduced, where "man is the bourgeois and woman represents the proletarian." The advancement of the neoliberal model and the consequent reductions in public policies deepen this inequality by giving women more responsibility for care, affirms Flavia Biroli. These conditions make it difficult for women to participate in the struggle, making these spaces mostly male. Another research (2017), made by the IPEA in partnership with UN, finds that

black women are the people who spend most of their time doing householdcare, without giving up paid work and with a lower income in Brazil. This same research reveals that among women, black women are those who die the most from violence, demonstrating that they are the most vulnerable people within Brazilian society. Therefore, for the voice of a black woman to be heard, it is necessary to overcome the barriers imposed by racism and, also, by patriarchy. For this reason, when discussing gender inequality in Brazil, we must also consider issues related to class and race. Marielle Franco (political woman, black, lesbian and from the favela), brutally executed in 2018, is the current Brazilian symbol of the condition of oppression. It is suspected that the cause of her murder, was not just because of her denunciations of police violence during the military intervention in Rio de Janeiro, but also could have been a result of the advance of the intolerant right-wing in Brazilian politics which legitimizes hate speech against the oppressed strata. Even with all of these obstacles imposed, and with a low adherence to the trade union movement in Brazil, women had/have a prominent position as verified in by the first general strike from women in the textile industry in 1903. Also in 2016, the student spring, the movement of occupation in Brazilian public schools, was predominantly with feminine leadership. So, the present paper approaches the Brazilian woman's struggle in an intersectional way, insofar racism and sexism can prevent their engagement. Angela Davis affirms, to change our society we have to see oppressions in an intersectional way, combining the anti-capitalism struggle with anti-racist and anti-sexist. So, when a working woman are in the struggle, she faces the oppressive structures that sustain society, as well as facing capitalist exploitation. This shows woman's revolutionary potential.

Between Power and Opposition: Strategic Debates for Broad-Left Parties in Europe

Catarina Principe (Bloco de Esquerda (Portugal), Jacobin)

During 2015 a new wave of possibility for the left took over Europe. SYRIZA's first electoral victory created a hurricane that put broad-left parties in an unexpected road to power. But the capitulation of the Greek left-government towards international financial powers blocked that path of possibilities. Meanwhile, Bloco de Esquerda in Portugal is supporting a government of the social-liberal Socialist Party, there is a new political moment in the Spanish State, and Corbyn's Labour is a hopeful although different experience of the strategic questions posed to the left today. With the crumbling down of the parties of the Socialist International, a process we now call pasokification, it is unclear how the center-left will reassemble. We witness different tendencies the harsh liberal Macron government in France and the grand-coalitions in Germany, or the Portuguese experience, where social-liberalism is capable of softening austerity while at the same time co-opting the left into softening their programs for the sake of lesser evilism. In this context, this paper aims to analyze the strategic difficulties of broad-left parties: the complications of the dual strategy, the to be or not to be syndrome between opposition and power, the space for politics between the center and the radical left prompted to transformation. This debate cannot be held without thinking neither the relation between the left and the European Union nor what type of political instruments the left needs. Party forms and practices, as well as the relation with the social and labor movement are of central importance again today, as is the relation with institutional power and what to make of it. This paper aims to propose hypotheses for the strategic debate on the relation of left parties and the state today, as well as what forms of political organizations we need in order to re-open the space for transformative programs in Europe today.

In Defense of the Concept of Landowners as Third Class

FTC Manning (CUNY Graduate Center; LIES Journal)

Despite Marx's clear argument that landowners are the third class of the capitalist mode of production, and that ground rent is a revenue stream categorically distinct from profit and wages, most Marxist commentators on the topic have demoted landowners to something less than a class, and often conflated or significantly blurred the line between ground rent and economic rent or interest (a conflation that Marx explicitly criticizes - See Capital v3 ch37) There are only a very few Marxian theorists who take the landowning class as the third class, and who integrate the category of the landowning class and the attendant category of land rent into their work (most notably are Roman Rosdolsky (1989) and Martha Campbell (2001)). Importantly, this short list includes almost no marxist geographer or marxian theorist of space From David Harvey, to Matthew Edel, to Doreen Massey, Michael Ball, Michael Neocosmos, all of these thinkers who take on the project of analyzing capital as it exists spatially, geographically, on and in land, disagree with the notion that landowners are the third class of the Capitalist Mode of Production (CMP), and believe that landownership is not technically necessary, or inherent, to the CMP. Most of these theorists do not acknowledge Marx's arguments about the landowning class. In this paper, I will review self-purported Marxian theories of land and landownership in capital and offer a defense against their dismissal of the landowning class as the 3rd class of the CMP. At stake in this conversation of the 3rd class is the nature and meaning of "class struggle," and I will point briefly to some of the implications to be drawn.

Radical Democracy and the Kurds - A Joint Panel by Pluto Press and the Region

**Rosa Burc (University of Bonn, Institute for Political Science and
Sociology, Department for Comparative Government)**

While Paul Rich notes rather politically that the non-existence of Kurdistan is what makes it so crucial to the anomalous structure that has long been part of the Middle East conundrum, this panel shifts the angle of analysis and focuses on recent communalist developments that have unfolded in the wider region. The redefinition of democracy in radical terms, hence the creation of new political spheres based on grassroots structures and women's liberation, as well as the reinvention of nationhood beyond ethnic dogmatism, has been articulated under different political conditions in Bakr/Southeastern Turkey, Rojava/Northern Syria, Basr/Northern Iraq, Rojhelat/Western Iran. This panel aims to engage with radical, bottom-up left politics put forward across the wider Kurdish region. Kamran Matin will focus on leftist radicalism that was semi-hegemonic in Iranian Kurdistan in the 1980s, long before the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) even started its armed struggle. He will engage with the experiences of revolutionary Marxist organisation Komala in order to shed light on the revolutionary encounters of today, in Rojava or elsewhere. David Graeber, who has visited Rojava more than once, will speak on the processes of society building in Rojava and examine the extent to which the dual power system bears a revolutionary character. Mohammed Elnaiem will address the Kurds' experiences with statehood in Iraqi Kurdistan and across the border, in order to assess the paradigms under which the Kurdish left has redefined self-determination. Rosa Burc will engage with the recent authoritarian shift in Turkey from a gendered perspective and argues that it can also be read as the states attempt at restoring male hegemony in light of the successful introduction of a new politics of radical democracy and women's

empowerment by the pro-peace left alliance HDP, which is rooted in the Kurdish freedom movement. This panel is jointly organised by Pluto Press and The Region.

Greek Left and Revolutionary Politics in Post-SYRIZA era

Melpomeni Galani (PhD student, Medical School, Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Austerity measures and neoliberal politics that aim to overcome the crisis led in a rapid and violent degradation of the living standard of the working class in Greece. This resulted in a widening of the gap between the objective capacities for an improvement of living conditions and the actual non-fulfillment of the basic needs of the society. At the same time the class struggle in Greece set the stage for a concrete development of revolutionary politics that had the potential to embrace a significant portion of the workers and the youth. The fight against the austerity politics during the turbulent period 2010-2015 put to the test the effectiveness of the parties of the Left and their capacity to adapt their tactics under new circumstances while developing a strategy that would transform the strikes and the demonstration into a frontal confrontation with capitalist class. A lot of political groups and parties of the anticapitalist Left put their strategy to the practice, formed alliances, engaged in a constant debate which sometimes proved beneficial for the social movements. However, all those efforts revealed their limits and the reformist strategy of SYRIZA managed to gain a significant dynamic which culminated in the formation of a new government, in collaboration with the far right party, ANEL, in January 2015. The failure of their attempt to end the austerity measures was made clear when they signed a new bailout plan in August of the same era. This led in the collapse of the hopes of Greek people and ushered the class struggle in Greece in a new period where a sui generis Left TINA threatens to erase the militant dynamic of the previous years, especially the result of the referendum that proved that a majority of the people was prepared to confront the IMF and the EU. At the same time, the anticapitalist Left faces a severe crisis of strategy as it failed to present a political alternative despite the fact that the strategy of compromise with the imperialist powers proved to be utterly inefficient. A new contradictory situation is developing, as militants and trade unionists abandon the paradigm of SYRIZA while the traditional parties of the anticapitalist Left are facing internal strife and splits. By examining the rich experience of Greece, we can approach the major issues of our era concerning an alternative to austerity and the institutions that implement it while developing a revolutionary strategy that is rooted in contemporary struggles. Konstantinos Gousis, PhD, Roehampton University, London
Melpomeni Galani, PhD, Medical School, Kapodistrian University of Athens

History and Politics: Reexamining Eric Hobsbawm's Legacy

George Souvlis (European University Institute)

Erik Hobsbawm who died six ago has been celebrated as Britain's most distinguished historian and a standing intellectual whose influence reaches most of the parts of globe. He had achieved this position despite his insistence against the dominant trend to be self-described till the end of his life as a historian whose work can be considered an organic part of the Marxist tradition. Though, his work was mainly informed by the problematics and the concepts of Marxist tradition, though not exclusively by this. In

terms of political affiliation Hobsbawm was connected with the Communist Party of Great Britain and consequently till the end of his life he considered USSR non-capitalist internally and antiimperialist externally on account of its support for the anticolonial struggles in the global south in postwar decades. This panel will attempt to decode Hobsbawm's relationship between his historiography and his politics. The first paper of ar diman rexamines the definitions of capitalism that has informed the work of the British historian. Challenging Hobsbawm's historical account of a failed dual bourgeois in the post-Medieval historical era he argues for a Long march of capitalism already in the 16th Century. The next paper of David Broder attempts to offer an examination of the role that idea of an 'An Italian Road to Socialism" in the version of politics that the British historian adopted during the 1980's. Far from being a marginal influence Broder argues for a centrality of the Italian Eurocommunist political paradigm in the debate that developed in the 1980 about the future of labor movement in the pages of the theoretical journal of CPGB, Marxism Today. Matt Myers focuses on Eric Hobsbawm's political interventions in the British 1980's tracing back the class-based politics he suggested in the experience of popular front in the 1930. He argues that the projection of past strategic insights in regards to subaltern classes in the historical conjuncture of the neoliberal 1980's can account for the failed encounter with new political subjectivities and their practices that emerged during this period. Last but not least, George Souvlis's paper suggests a distinction between the Marxist methodology that Hobsbawm used as his main, not though the exclusive, analytical framework, and his popular-frontist understanding of politics as well as his support for the USSR in the postwar era. He claims that the former was not reducible to the latter, or vice versa. Thus, The reason why many of his critics rejected his historiography as legitimizing discourse of Stalinist crimes was not because he endorsed the USSR, which failed to offer radical alternatives to the capitalist order of things. The reason lies in his non-acceptance of the neoliberal political spectrum and refusal to reject Marxism as a valid analytical repertoire, especially after the collapse of the Soviet world.

Anti-communism: How the Right Constructs Its Hegemony

Krystian Szadkowski (Adam Mickiewicz University, Pozna, Poland)

Anti-communism has a long history in Europe, one interwoven with the continents elites laying the ground for domination and exploitation and the suppression of collective uprisings against the rule of capital and all that capital favours, enlisting them as allies. Despite capitals global victory in the late 20th century, today anti-communism continues to be activated as a key discourse and in some cases, also practice in the organisation of political life- conducive to reproduction of the Rights hegemony. As the papers presented in this panel demonstrate, anti-communism can play out in diverse, if ultimately interconnected, fields (culture, historiography, or the range of social conflicts and debates defining realpolitik) while it can conveniently present itself both as populism and a sophisticated critique of the latter. Indeed, anti-communism can be present even within the Left depending on the forces that determine its contextual realisation. And although anti-communism always appeals to the past, it decidedly seeks to dictate the future. The panel presentations combine case studies with theoretical reflections to ask why anti-communism continues to provide an indispensable arsenal to the Right and which channels the latter uses to expand its efficacy.

Capital not Market. A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy of Science And Higher Education.

Krystian Szadkowski (Adam Mickiewicz University, Pozna, Poland)

The contemporary reflection on the commercialization processes of the higher education and science sector is vibrant. Alongside the theory of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004) or Polanyis indebted concept of market-making (Komljenovic & Robertson 2016), there are positions rejecting even the possibility of establishing capitalist markets in higher education due to its unique specificity (Marginson 2013). In turn, within the dominant forms of Marxist critique, the contemporary university, like a Fordist factory, loses its character, melting in the standardized and rhythmic production of commodities (Almer 2018). In this paper, I will go beyond the limitations imposed by the above-mentioned propositions by proposing the clarification of the Marxian concept of capital for the analyzes of higher education. On the one hand, it allows to emphasize the antagonistic relationships taking place within the field of higher education, and on the other hand, to preserve the sensitivity to the specificity of the sectors internal dynamics. To this end, I will present a Marxian scheme of the circulation of industrial capital in contemporary global higher education (in its three interrelated circuits: productive capital, monetary capital, commercial capital). For this reason, I will use previously formulated theories of the diversified subsumption of academic labour under capital (Szadkowski 2016a) and the law of value in the field of academic production (Szadkowski 2016b). I assume that the precise determination of relations between capital and academic labour implies not only the possibility of effective political mobilization that could exceed the boundaries of higher education, but also the possibility of the future undertaking, understanding and solving problems affecting the sector. References Allmer, Thomas (2018). Theorising and Analysing Academic Labour. *TripleC* 16(1): 49-77 Komljenovic, Janja & Robertson, Susan L. (2016). The dynamics of market-making in higher education, *Journal of Education Policy*, 31(5): 622-636. Marginson, Simon (2013). The impossibility of capitalist markets in higher education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(3): 353-370. Slaughter, Sheila, & Rhoades, Garry (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy: Markets, state, and higher education*. John Hopkins University Press. Szadkowski, Krystian (2016). Towards an orthodox Marxian reading of subsumption(s) of academic labour under capital. *Workplace: A Journal for Academic Labor* 28: 9-29. Szadkowski, Krystian (2016). Socially necessary impact/time: Notes on the acceleration of academic labor, metrics and the transnational association of capitals. *Teorie Vdy/Theory of Science* 38(1), 53-85.

Lesbians and Gays Against the Right: Learning from Organizing Against Neoliberal Moral Conservatism, 1977-1984.

Gary Kinsman (Professor Emeritus, Sociology, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.)

This paper draws on some of my work on The Making (and Unmaking) of the Neoliberal Queer. The first form of neoliberal capitalist organizing that the gay/lesbian and feminist movements confronted in the late 1970s /early 1980s in the 'north' and 'west' was a moral conservative one that was overtly anti-feminist and anti-queer. This moral conservative neoliberal organizing was also deeply racist and supportive of white

supremacy but this was less often focused on in queer and feminist organizing in these years. Defence of the family was coded in moral conservative discourse with whiteness. In response there was the generation of a series of anti-right groups in gay/lesbian organizing ranging from groups like Lesbian Against the Right and Gay Liberation Against the Right Everywhere in Toronto, to Dykes Against Racism Everywhere in NYC, to mass organizing against Anita Bryant across the US and in Canada, against the Briggs Initiative in California, and to those fighting against the anti-proselytization measures of the Thatcher government. This anti-right organizing was both specific to concrete locations and also shared some general features. This anti-right organizing achieved important successes but also had significant limitations we can learn from for anti-right organizing today. This wave of struggle generally became disoriented and started to decompose with the emergence of neoliberal forces who supported limited gay/lesbian and womens rights while agreeing with the overall class and racial politics of neoliberalism. The emergence of this non-moral conservative form of neoliberalism was both a result of queer and feminist struggles but also served to undermine these forms of organizing since moral conservatism had been seen as the only form of neoliberalism. Victories against moral conservatism were seen as victories against neoliberalism itself when this was only everpartly the case. This was combined with the decomposition of lesbian feminism, which despite all if its limitations, had been a barrier to neoliberal capitalist penetration of lesbian and to some extent gay community formation. The emergence of non-moral conservative forms of neoliberalism also helped to open up the space for the emergence of the neoliberal queer largely white middle class (and often male) layers who were accomadated with the relations of neoliberal capitalism. In reviewing this wave of activism I draw out some learnings regarding the need to oppose all forms of neoliberalism and not only the moral conservative kinds; the need to much more centrally target racism and in the US/Canada settler colonialism in anti-right organizing, including the specificities of anti-Black racism; and the need to see this struggle against right-wing forms of neoliberalism as part of a broader class and social struggle.

Imperialism, Austerity & Oppression in the Caribbean

Robert Cuffy (Socialist Workers Alliance of Guyana)

Changing forms of imperialism, and their connections to austerity, capitalist crisis, dispossession, primitive accumulation, and the global colour line. The modern capitalist system has yet to recover from the economic effects that came about with the sub-prime mortgage crisis. Capitalisms long-term crisis of profits leads it to be imperialist by seeking new resources, new markets and cheaper sources of labor in its drive to accumulate. In the 19th and 20th century world imperialism began to expand to every known corner of the world, however, a series of political revolts in the third world pushed back against colonial domination, especially when the system was weakened around the first and second World Wars. The major concession granted to the colonies was nominal politically independent rule. Thus a new class of neo-colonial figures and regimes arose, usually out of anti-colonial mass struggles, to take the place of the former colonial administrators. While the imperialists retreated from direct political rule, they still dominated the economies of their former colonies because the majority of the means of production, often concentrated in agriculture of extractive industries, remained in the hands of the imperialist business and political tasks. Many anti-colonial movements led to the nationalization of foreign holdings, as was the case in Guyana under Burnham and the Peoples National Congress. These government takeovers usually involved hefty compensation payments to the company owners, as Burnham did with Bookers for the

sugar industry in Guyana. Walter Rodney's Working People Alliance described this process as such, Instead of confronting the companies to demand compensation for the exploitation of Guyanese people and resources the government has negotiated to buy back what was ours. The result is that the peoples assets are instantly converted into national debts. (PNC in Crisis, 1977) The nationalizations of major industries across the third world functioned as a double-edged sword. It helped the burgeoning neo-colonial classes consolidate their class rule by bringing the means of production into state hands, however, it also emboldened the working class to think of these industries as belonging to the people to some effect. Unsurprisingly, when capitalism's economic crisis reasserted itself at the end of the post-WWII economic boom, it forced many of these third world regimes to liquidate national assets and enter into even more exploitative economic debt agreements with imperialist countries and their financial bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. In the Caribbean, where the neo-colonial ruling class has been unable to develop the economy beyond the old agricultural and extractive industries from the colonial era this has led to the implementation of austerity programs overseen by international creditors which has lowered the living standards of the masses through cuts in wages, healthcare, pensions and infrastructural spending. Many of the regions bourgeois historians see the problem as one of financial strategy, such as those who suggest Guyana's sugar industry could be saved if the current government simply pursued a policy of economic diversification. However, what the current narrow confines of the Caribbean economy demonstrate is the active underdevelopment of the economy that is part and parcel of modern day imperialism with which the neo-colonial bourgeoisie is 100 percent complicit. The WPA explained the process behind this economic process, Selling primary products on the capitalist world markets is the worst thing a country can depend on. These prices fluctuate or move up and down all the time. Capitalist merchants speculate on them. Moreover, every time there is a boom or recession in capitalist countries the prices of these products are hit the hardest. The result is that the incomes earned by Guyana on these products also fluctuate. It is in this sense that the economy is still what it was in colonial times. It is tied up fully or integrated into the capitalist economy. (PNC in Crisis) As the global economy continues to sputter, the Caribbean economy remains stagnated. Considered to be the backyard of American imperialism the region suffers under a heavy international debt burden to the point that many Caribbean nations pay significant sections of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) towards servicing these debts. Imperialist debt is the mechanism through which world imperialism keeps the Caribbean under its thumb, however, the Caribbean masses have not been passive and have actively fought back. When the US invaded Grenada and crushed their revolutionary process in 1983 it sent a strong message that mass struggles come at a cross, nonetheless the masses continue to rise in response to austerity attacks. In 2017, for example, the people of Dominica took the streets, and were met with riot police with billy clubs, when they protested the Citizenship Investment Program through which the government earned kickbacks when a wealthy Iranian Citizen sought to launder state funds by investing in the country's economy. The Dominican Republic has had a couple of years of Green Marches, a series of demonstrations against impunity at the hands of the single party and the largest series of mobilizations since the 1990s. Imperialism imposes a debt burden, however, it is the local ruling classes, which are responsible for keeping the masses in line. Given the defeats and weakness of US imperialism due to its invasions and occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, it is not as ready to invade as it was in Grenada in 1983 so the responsibility for stopping mass struggles has fallen more and more to the neo-colonial ruling classes. In places like Venezuela and Nicaragua Maduro of the PSUV and Ortega of the Sandinistas have unleashed the police and military on protestors spiraling their countries into political crisis. Direct state intervention is an important tool the comprador ruling class uses to keep the masses in check, but the continual use of force has a destabilizing effect which could earn rebuke from their imperialist masters. Thus, military and police

intervention is seen as a last resort when the masses rise up against the effects of neo-liberal austerity programs force upon them to service foreign debts. A more common and consistent response in the Caribbean has been to try to divide the working masses against themselves to prevent mass movements. The role of racism, particularly anti-Black racism, has played a decisive role in undermining mass struggles in the region. In places like Trinidad & Tobago and Guyana the Black masses are played off against the members of the Indian working class. Dominican Republic and Haiti share an island and plenty of traditions, but different views on blackness divide them in efforts against garment factory work breeding competition between the two countries. Across the Caribbean anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise as migrants from the countries most devastated by economic crisis seek to find a better life in neighboring countries. Thus we see the old divisions instituted by the colonial regimes being refitted by the neocolonial regimes to divide and conquer the masses. The grandson of Dominican dictator Trujillo can be quoted saying, We will build a wall and we are going to kick out all the illegals A wall would only be useful to separate both sides of the island and not necessarily useful to kick out the thousands of Venezuelan that have grown to be greeted with contempt by the Dominican Republic, but the difference is that Haitians identify as black. The backlash against LGBTQ people is also an important way in which the neo-colonial class attempts to divert united working class struggle. It is quite instructive that in the indigenous cultures which predated European arrival to the Caribbean as well as in Africa and India where the majority of slaves and indentured laborers were forcibly brought, there were no strict codes against gay or transsexual people. Yet when the colonial powers departed they left the Caribbean people with a legacy of homophobia and transphobia embodied in legal codes such as anti-sodomy and anti-cross dressing laws. Fighting back against the imperialist debt burden, the complicit local ruling classes and their promotion of divisions within the working class requires a regional and international perspective. A great lesson was given by the women of the Caribbean in 2017 when in the wake of the Womens March in the US, organizations that have worked in the shadows for womens rights came to prominence in Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana and Trinidad to highlight and combat violence against women. In Jamaica they were known as the Tambourine Army, in Barbados they organized under the hashtag #LifeinLeggings which soon took on Caribbean-wide significance. Following the example of these women, the Caribbeans working masses need to overcome the sectoral divisions of their ruling class to fight in a united struggle to repudiate the imperialist debt and its resulting austerity. The shared misery of the debt burden lays the foundation for a regional movement that could culminate in general strikes against austerity. Puerto Rico had a general strike in 2018, how many more will follow? This panel aims to examine the situation in key Caribbean nations to show the potential for united struggle in the region. The goal is to build a Caribbean wide anti-austerity coalition which pushes labor and left organizations to challenge the neo-colonial ruling classes to refuse to pay the imperialist debt. Speakers: Natalie Matos: is a Dominican woman who studies anti-Black racism and its role in dividing the working people in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. She is also a lead organizer with the International Womens Strike. Natalie will explore the role anti-Blackness plays in retarding cross border solidarity between Dominican and Haitians and the way this anti-Black anti-Haitianism is dominant in the Caribbean and manifests in specifically anti-Haitian immigration policies despite Haitis membership in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). natalie.matos@gmail.com Robert Cuffy: Is a founding member of the Socialist Workers Alliance who is influenced by the ideas of CLR James and Walter Rodney. Robert will focus on understanding the relationship between the imperialist ruling class, the neo-colonial ruling classes and the Caribbean masses by exploring not just inter-class relations but also the concrete historical circumstances of intra-class dynamics and what they can yield in the formation of an anti-austerity politics in the region. ratmrbg@gmail.com Jos Sanchez Is a member of the N.Y.C. chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America, the U.S.s largest socialist organization. A graduate of

Rutgers University, he holds a minor in Latino and Caribbean studies and is a graduate of the City University of New Yorks Union Semester program. He'll be exploring the historical roots of Puerto Ricos ongoing debt crisis, austerity, and PROMESA.
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Activate the Party: Reassessing the Origins of the United Front Policy in the German Revolution 1920-21

Sean Larson (New York University)

This paper presents new evidence from the KPD archives challenging the predominant narrative and explanatory framework for three core developments of the German Revolution: 1) the formation of the first unified mass communist party in the West (VKPD), 2) the origins and authorship of the Open Letter policy that went on to become the Cominterns United Front policy, and 3) the reasons for the infamous March Action of 1921. I examine previously unseen archival material from KPD party schools, party congresses, and meetings of leading bodies to outline a strategic debate and mood among the party ranks within the KPD and USPD Left from October 1920 to March 1921. According to the narrative propounded by Paul Levi at the time, the main strategic debate gravitated between those advocating patient building and cooperation with other Left forces, and Comintern-inspired hotheads advocating political purity and putchist actions. The archival materials however show a different kind of discussion occurring at the time, one characterized by a push to take concrete partial actions within trade unions and in cooperation with other left forces, against a political passivity exemplified by Paul Levi. This paper will also provide a historiographical explanation for how the Levi narrative came to dominate amongst historians of the period, both East and West.

Problematic Subjects: Object Oriented Ontology, New Materialism and T.W. Adorno

Kathy J. Kiloh (OCAD University Toronto, Canada)

Adornos attempt to reorient philosophy towards the primacy of the object is motivated, in part, by a desire to achieve a redemption of the non-identical as that which has been subjected to domination. There is, in this, some common interest between his thinking and the practitioners of various kinds of new materialism and object-oriented ontology, but there are also significant differences which, in the case of the contemporary philosophies, prohibit the development of a Marxist understanding of the mediation of subject and object. The differences among these contemporary thinkers are themselves considerable, but they all tend to decry critical theorys emphasis on language over materiality and seek to dethrone the subject by rejecting both Kantian epistemology in general and the Kantian method of critique in particular. Object oriented ontologists like Levi Bryant, for example, claim to do this in the name of liberating the object and the objective from the domination of the subject. But they fail to take seriously that which is central to Adornos approach: the subject, under current reifying conditions, resembles a lifeless object more than it does a powerful agent of critique. Both object oriented ontologists and the new materialists overlook this reification of the subject because although they claim to eschew critique entirely, their thinking operates upon the foundations of an overly simplified and ultimately flaccid critique of subjectivity. Jane Bennet, in *Vibrant Matter*, argues for the vitalism of matter, currently repressed within human knowledge. Drawing upon Adornos critique of Gyorgy Lukacs reification thesis in

his Negative Dialectics, I argue that an emphasis on the vitality of matter is likely to reproduce reified subjects: or, in other words, it is likely to increase rather than decrease the amount of domination in the world. With reference to Adorno, I argue that such a turn to the object without thinking through the mediation of subject and object, like that advocated by the new philosophies, risks capitulating to the very idealism that these thinkers want to reject. What is necessary instead, is a return to Adornos negative dialectic conceived as a Marxist thinking through of the problem of Kants constitutive subject.

The Road to the KPD: Germanys Radical Left between Politics and Education

Sean Larson (New York University)

This paper examines the peculiar origins and development of the three constituent groupings that came to found the German Communist Party (KPD) two months into the German Revolution of 1918/19. In particular, it will highlight a commitment to radical education as the common thread running through all of their histories, and explore how their educational backgrounds influenced their political perspectives overall. Throughout the four years of the Great War in Germany, the radical Left was marginalized, organizationally fractured, and in many key respects ideologically incoherent. Rebuilding a unified left tendency critical of the war and of the Social Democratic Party that had supported it was slow and difficult. By the time the November Revolution broke out in 1918, none of the small left groupings were positioned to decisively influence events on a national scale. It was only two months of revolution that finally effected the confluence of the three major streams of the German radical left. Each of these streams gathering around the journal Lichtstrahlen, the Bremen left-radicals who eventually formed the Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands (ISD), and the Spartacus Group (initially the Internationale Group) around Rosa Luxemburg arose out of specific circumstances. All of the left wing of the party were pedagogues, and how each group conceived of learning bears directly upon the development of their respective political strategies. This paper is part of a panel submitted by Ralf Hoffrogge (ralf.hoffrogge@rub.de), with the panel title "The German Revolution 1918: Spartacists, Councils and the Birth of Communism"

Challenges of Collective Will Formation against Authoritarianism: The Parable of Gezi Resistance and its Aftermath

Aylin Topal (Middle East Technical University Department of Political Science and Public Administration)

This paper argues that Gezi Resistance of June 2013 in Turkey cannot be conceived as a single step political practice. Rather it should be seen as a tipping point of a process of articulation of plural and partial wills into a newly constructed subject position. Based on two rounds of in-depth interviews conducted first in 2014 and 2018 with representatives of various organizations actively involved in the Gezi Protest, the study provides an historical account of an articulation of various demands, which can be traced back to first right-to-housing initiatives in the aftermath of the 1989 Earthquake. The process of articulation behind the Gezi Resistance entails a chain of equivalency among different struggles, and unmet demands under the AKP rule in the 2000s. The Gezi Resistance

corresponds to a rupture when the institutional system is unable to absorb such social desperation. Yet, the aftermath of the resistance proved that such a popular protest embodying plurality of demands required an impossible object. What is referred to as Gezi Specter embodied an unachievable fullness in terms of setting a ground for new political project. While setting a horizon for counter-hegemonic struggle, the aftermath of the Gezi Resistance also unearthed the crisis of the counter-hegemonic project of the subordinate classes.

Ripples of October: The Soldiers' Uprising of 1918

Jana Tsoneva (CEU)

Ripples of October: The Soldiers' Uprising of 1918 Jana Tsoneva, CEU In the fall of 1918, a period of agitation and sporadic mutinies among Bulgarian soldiers in the trenches of the Southern Front culminated in a full-blown uprising. The decisive moment came with the so-called Battle of Dobro Pole on 15 September, when Franco-English-Serbian forces crushed the Bulgarian army, precipitating its chaotic retreat. Many soldiers the vast majority of whom were of peasant background returned to their native villages. Nearly 30,000, however, embarked on a perilous journey to Sofia, motivated by revolutionary calls to overthrow the monarchy and punish those responsible for Bulgaria's catastrophic wartime adventures. Our enemy is not across the trenches, the soldiers murmured as they marched back, the real enemy is in Sofia. Go back! Hurray! Forty kilometers from the panicked capital city, the soldiers declared Bulgaria a Republic and prepared for the final battle. Observing events from afar, Lenin endorsed the uprising and wrote that it was one of the earliest international ripples emanating from the October Revolution. Unfortunately, the soldiers were defeated with the help of German auxiliary forces that rushed to the embattled monarchy's defense, and a phase of harsh repression descended upon the revolutionary army, marked by torture, murder and imprisonment. This paper reconstructs the timeline and tactics of the uprising by placing it in the international context of the time, shot through with revolutionary rumblings and war. I treat it as an instance of class war in the middle of the trench war, presenting evidence such as soldiers' letters, newspaper agitation and military communiques from extensive archival research conducted in 2017. My main argument is that the analytical distinction between Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses becomes increasingly blurred during periods of revolutionary upheaval.

Book launch: Crises and Hegemonic Transitions. From Gramsci's Quaderni to the Contemporary World Economy

Lorenzo Fusaro (Universidad Autnoma Metropolitana)

Historical Materialism Book Series (currently in production) Crises and Hegemonic Transitions reworks the concept of hegemony at the international level and analyses its relation to world market crises. Returning to the critical edition of Gramsci's Quaderni and maintaining that the authors work is permeated by Marx's Capital and the law of value, Fusaro argues that imperialist states strive to constructing hegemonic relations in order to secure capital accumulation using domination and leadership, coercion and consensus, and that economic crises have only the potential to provoke crises of hegemony. Tracing the vicissitudes of US hegemony from the interwar period to the present and assessing the Great Depressions and the Great Recessions impact, Fusaro

provides a novel way to interpret past and present developments within the world economy.

Time that Precedes Us and Survives Us: Registering the Anthropocene in Late DeLillo

Thomas Travers (Birkbeck, University of London)

From *The Body Artist* to *Zero K*, Don DeLillo's post-Underworld novels strain towards a renewed or modified realism that is able to encode the economic, social, political, and environmental crises that afflict the United States in the twenty-first century. These late novels demonstrate a considerable departure from the sprawling capitalist epics that had previously characterised his work, and have been celebrated for their depiction of intimate, domestic settings, and the possibility of reconstituting the psychically wounded liberal subject. This paper will argue, however, that DeLillo's late novels are in fact engaged with, and responses to, the question of what happens to the novel once its enabling condition modernity begins to collapse. With close reference to *Point Omega*, the paper will draw on Lukács's suggestion that the novel bifurcates into narratives of narrowing downplots that seek to escape from the largeness of the world through flights into the private sphere and narratives of polemical impossibility that gesture towards the unrepresentable largeness of the world of capital. I will contend that DeLillo occupies the genre of the restricted or modest bourgeois epic in order to more forcefully signal the impossibility of escape from the horizon of climate change. Yet the emergence of the Anthropocene, and the climate as a planetary agent, disrupts the Lukácsian interpretation of history as an anthropomorphic mission and the novel as its registering device. *Point Omega* can be situated at the intersection between the limits of a historicist reading practice organised around the symptom and a more ontologically inflected Marxism which, as Anna Kornbluh notes, positions the novel as a mode of knowing. The presentation, then, will consider whether it is possible for the novel to imagine history after Lukács; that is, a history that is beyond or without the species.

Canadian Class Composition Analysis in 1970s Radical Organizing and the Present

Gary Kinsman (Professor Emeritus, Sociology, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.)

By Gary Kinsman This paper brings together my work for a book on 1970s Radicals which traces out autonomist Marxist organizing in the Canadian context with more recent analysis of class composition in the Canadian context. The existence of activists using class composition analysis in 1970s Canada has largely been forgotten with the narratives of more established left forces gaining hegemony. I begin by reporting on some of the organizing in the New Tendency in the early to mid 1970s that includes doing ethnographic investigations of various waged workplaces including analysis of the social, political and technical forms of class composition and recomposition in the Windsor auto plants and the post office based on learning from workers and their struggles. An important part of the New Tendency was the Windsor Labour Centre. This was extended in more limited ways to community forms of organizing and non-waged work in the social factory. With the collapse of the New Tendency there is the emergence of Wages for Housework, Wages Due Lesbians, the Struggle Against Work Collective and various other groups continuing to use various forms of class composition analysis. However

with the decomposition of the cycle of struggle that included working class insurgencies that moved partly beyond union leadership control by the mid-1970s the basis for this form of radicalism began to be undermined in the Canadian context. There was also a turn away from the ethnographic investigations of both wages and unwaged workplaces that informed earlier organizing using class composition analysis as the various red strands emerging out of autonomist Marxism became further divorced from class and social struggles. More recently in the Canadian context there has been a certain recomposition of class and social struggles. Some of this takes the form of organizing around precarious work through Workers Action Centres and the 15\$ and Fairness campaigns, while others pose question of social reproduction in relation to Indigenous based struggles, and settler and sometimes worker support for campaigns against dam developments and pipe-lines. These struggles can become central to obstructing the plans of capital and resituate Indigenous struggles as central to class and social struggles. The paper concludes with a re-affirmation of the importance of class composition as a crucial form of class struggle analysis.

Radical Left Strategy in the Brazilian Context: Debates Within the Left Reorganization

Marcelo Badar Mattos (Universidade Federal Fluminense - Brazil)

The political context in Brazil is quite unstable and subject to interpretation controversies in the left debate. The meaning of Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in 2016; the autocratic way of imposing austerity measures by Temer's government; the militarization of the social question; the role of the far-right in the social arena and in the 2018 general elections; the strength/weakness of organized labour movement; the importance of wildcat strikes and "spontaneous" protests from the most precarious fractions of the working class; all these aspects of contemporary reality are subjected to intense polemics between analysts and political organizations from the left. From different ways of interpretation, it is possible to observe distinct, and sometimes opposite, political tactics from these organizations. This paper will address these issues from the strategy point of view. It aims to face the necessity of actualizing the structural and historical analysis of Brazilian society, in combination with the urgency of surpassing the so called "popular democratic" strategy, originated in the Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT (Workers' Party). The task of formulating a new strategic program for the left will not be solved by a simple intellectual exercise, as it depends upon the concrete social and political movements from the working class. Nevertheless, it is important to establish new points of depart for the debates we urge to do on programmatic and strategic issues. Classical references and previous debates are inescapable, but also need to be refreshed by the understanding of capitalist forms of peripheral economies, the nature of the State and the ways of class struggle nowadays. In the paper, we will summarise and update the arguments from a book launched last year on these debates (Sete notas introdutórias como contribuição ao debate da esquerda socialista no Brasil/Seven introductory notes as a contribution to the debates of the socialist left in Brazil).

Transforming Turkey? The Emergence of a New Form of Authoritarian State in an EU Candidate Country

Galip Yalman (Middle East Technical University)

Transforming Turkey? The Emergence of a New Form of Authoritarian State in an EU Candidate Country Turkey has been one of the test cases of the neoliberal transformation since the 1980s manifesting significant changes in both the role of the state in the economy and its mode of integration with the world economy. In fact, what the Turkish experience of the 1980s illustrated was the possibility of constructing a new class hegemony under an authoritarian form of the state. This is pertinent to underline given the recent tendency to refer to authoritarian neoliberalism as an important global trend of the post-2008 global financial crisis era. Yet, the Turkish experience from the late 1980s to the present can be seen as a perfect example of crises in neoliberalism, as these crises experienced intermittently at different intervals functioned as the main driving forces of neoliberal transformation. Thus, it will be contended that they should not be characterised as organic crises in Gramscian terms. For it were the case then it would have implied that they were ipso facto crises of neoliberalism, whereas they did not turn out to be as such. On the other hand, eyebrows have been raised about the nature of its neoliberal transformation during the sixteen years of AKP rule, as particularistic and informal relations between selected business groups and the political authorities have come under scrutiny. A major thrust of such questioning has been to contrast the particularities of the Turkish political economy against an ideal type depiction of a market-based order that is assumed to reflect the distinctive features of Western capitalism, particularly in the neoliberal era. While the AKP was initially portrayed as the carrier of the mantle of the democratising force in Turkish politics in the early 2000s, there occurred a shift of perception as criticisms mounted for the party in power being increasingly authoritarian in its political behaviour. This entailed an acknowledgement of significant backsliding in the areas of freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, the erosion of judicial and regulatory independence, wreaking havoc with the rule of law and the principle of separation of powers considered essential for a functioning market economy as well as for a democratic form of government. This paper will aim to highlight the limitations of the transformative power attributed to the EU - itself a neoliberal construction in crisis, as Turkey shifts towards further authoritarianism. This presents itself as an intriguing case to come to terms with a state transformation process in the context of an authoritarian form of state. In the absence of any credible political alternative when the possibility of a systemic alternative would not even be contemplated, this brings on the agenda the question of transition from one authoritarian form of state to another. Hence, this seems to have involved a crisis of crisis-management, indicating inability to go on in the old way and demanding more radical innovation.

Black Leninism in the Mid-20th Century

Robert Maclean (Independent scholar)

Five years before his assassination by car bomb, Guyanese Black Leninist historian and activist Walter Rodney addressed U.S. Black revolutionaries on the question of whether Marxism had any relevance to the Black struggle for liberation. Rodney insisted that American activists and intellectuals pay attention to the history of how Marxism had been taken up by revolutionary movements, especially in Africa. Marxism, he asserted, was being discussed on every continent everywhere the oppressed found in Marxist theory emancipatory tools, and in doing so, revolutionaries were taking up Marxism (and

Leninism) as an analytical and organizational method: there were no fixed categories in Marxism. Rodney cited the recently assassinated Amilcar Cabral, for whom a materialist analysis of the colonial situation led to the conclusion that the classical categories of Marxist political economy, including proletariat and (petite) bourgeoisie, were inapplicable to the colonial situation. In 1975, Rodney was speaking at we only latterly can see as the end of a historical process of black liberation across multiple continents that explicitly named itself Marxist-Leninist. There still existed a prominent New Communist movement in the U.S. in which multiple political formations identified themselves as Maoists, Third Worldists, and/or anti-revisionists; it was only into the 1980s that imperialism successfully rolled back Marxist revolutions in Burkina Faso, Grenada, and elsewhere. This paper argues that there was an epoch of Black Leninism that to a certain extent spanned, and defined, the 20th century. It is confined to the middle of the century by various historical circumstances: it began, arguably, when black revolutionaries around the world heard the news of the successful Bolshevik revolution in 1917. In the United States, the 1917 Revolution spurred the coalescing of the African Black Brotherhood, which would become the nucleus that theorized the CPUSA's official policy (after 1928) of the Black Belt and Black National Liberation. The epoch includes revolutions and mass movements—some successful, others defeated—around the world, sustained by an international formation of anti-fascist and anti-imperialist activists and intellectuals. For many, the world appeared at mid-century on the cusp of an epochal and final victory over the forces of fascism, racism, and imperialism; from this vantage, the Cold War appears less like an inevitable change in political climate, and more like a determined counter-revolution. A comprehensive account of Black Leninists would not even be confined to the African continent and the Atlantic-American diaspora, but would necessarily include all those Black Communists who traveled to and worked alongside comrades in Asia or Europe, all those migrants and displaced persons and refugees and deportees who took up residence in the various metropolises, but also indeed all those theorists of Marxism-Leninism—including the important example of Lenin himself—who took up the Black struggle for liberation as a central object of theoretical reflection. In short, the mid 20th century is defined—however much this definition works through a subterranean current or ordinarily appears only as a rumbling basso profundo by the struggles (over, for, and against) Black Leninism.

Social Reproduction and the Welfare State: The case of early 20th century-Britain

Jasper Stange (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The recent interest in the history of capitalism following the crisis of 2008 has opened a window for a renewed history of labor to emerge, transcending a narrow focus on free wage labor. Highlighting the coexistence of various labor regimes, recent studies have brought slavery into the focus of our understanding of the history of capitalism. Notwithstanding a recent upsurge in theoretical work, a different kind of labor relation, that of social reproduction, has yet to be given the attention in empirical historiography that it deserves. A history of reproductive labor can reveal the reliance of capitalism on labor performed outside the market and deepen our understanding of the entangled power relations between the state, the economy and private households. The period around 1900, when several countries made significant steps towards modern welfare state-policies, constitutes a major shift in these relationships. In the case of Great Britain, the US and Canada, according to Adrienne Roberts this process was characterized by a deepening of state control over processes of social reproduction via the disciplining of women as mothers and housewives and the stigmatization and criminalization of those

who failed to perform these duties according to established norms. Following Rudi Batzells reminder that the role of the state in reshaping social reproduction demands more scholarly attention, I will argue that the British liberal welfare reforms of 1906-1914 represent such a permeation of private households by state power, an aspect neglected by other research on these reforms conducted inside a social reproduction framework. The discussions preceding the reforms, and the institutions that were established as a consequence, amounted to a significant shift in the role of the state towards processes of social reproduction. An intricate system of institutions and state representatives was set up, seen in the eyes of contemporaries as responsible for collecting knowledge about activities inside working class households and disseminating guidance on the correct conduction of reproductive labor, an often extremely coercive practice. A close empirical investigation, linking the high politics of the welfare state with the microcosm of working class households and neighborhoods, shows the outcome of these developments to be contradictory regarding the autonomy, status and material condition of working class women. On the one hand, it meant an expansion of the responsibility of the state to materially recognize and support reproductive labor and motherhood. On the other hand, it entailed the subjectivisation and disciplining of working class women along the emerging norm of the housewife dependent on a family wage. This increasing role of state interventions into processes of social reproduction, especially its promotion of motherhood, can only be understood in the context of discourses of nationhood and empire.

The Second Theoreticism of Louis Althusser

Matija Jan (Institute for Labour Studies (Slovenia) Radio Student (Slovenia))

In Elements of Self-Criticism Louis Althusser famously denounced the version of his theory of epistemological break, as it was conceptualized in For Marx and Reading Capital, accusing himself of falling into a theoreticist deviation, reducing a rapture between science and its ideological prehistory in Marx to a rationalist-speculative opposition between truth and error. From Philosophy and Spontaneous Philosophy of Scientists onward the possibility of epistemological break became grounded on a condition of a prior break in the realm of politics, leaving behind the definition of philosophy as theory of theoretical praxis used in the writings of 1965, viz., a posterior reflection of scientific work and putting in its place a new definition: philosophy is class struggle in theory. The absence of connection between theory and politics in his earlier writings, the cause of his theoreticism, was according to Althusser's confession a result of his Spinozism. A supposed break with theoreticism-rationalism therefore also meant a break with Spinozism. As Althusser says, Marxism is not rationalism, and yet it is rational. The problems that follow from such a thesis are numerous. The first being, that this image of Spinoza simply does not apply to Spinoza himself, as his theory of distinction between inadequate and adequate ideas, extrapolated to Althusser, as distinction between ideology and science, was never a simple rationalist opposition of error and truth. Because of that you could then say that if Althusser's accusation of theoreticism could not in principle find in him the object of his critique, Spinoza is either not a rationalist and yet rational, or that you should broaden the category of rationalism as such, including in it also Althusser. Another problem is that Althusser never sufficiently shows how some specific class theoretical position is a precondition for scientific knowledge, as the only evidence that he puts forward, when trying to connect philosophy to politics is either a mythical image of the working class as a knowledge position, or an analogy: Philosophy, like politics, divides, draws demarcation lines. The problem of the

first argument proletarian ideology being the precondition for scientific knowledge of social formations lies in that Althusser's theoretical achievement was in leaving behind not only bourgeois but also proletarian ideologies. The problem of the second argument is that because it is only an analogy, the only effects that follow from philosophico-political demarcations are new distinctions between science and ideologies: knowledge-effect, not political effects. Contrary to his assessment, that philosophy is class struggle in theory, we should instead posit that Althusser once again subsumed the political praxis under philosophical praxis, hiding this reduction in terminology that seems close to politics, however, its only ground is an analogy, under which everything can be subsumed. The end result of Althusser's self-criticism is his second theoreticism, now hidden within the terminology of politics.

Abstraction and Racism after Postone

Neil Levi (Drew University)

The late Moshe Postone argued we should see modern antisemitism a particularly pernicious fetish form that becomes virulent during structural, political, and cultural crisis, revolting against history as constituted by capitalism, misrecognized as a Jewish conspiracy. It's a theory that might speak to and illuminate our own moment. I will raise three questions about Postone's theory and sketch tentative answers to them. One, how is the fetishistic understanding of the Jew as personification of capitalism different from all other fetishisms? In other words, is it properly understood as a fetishism at all? Two, given that Postone's various articulations of his theory all appear in conjunction with a critique of either anti-Zionism, anti-imperialism, or both, does the theory somehow entail a particular position on, even defence of Zionism and Israel? Three, Postone promises that his theory will explain how modern antisemitism understands the Jew as responsible for both capitalism and communism. But when he explains how the Jew personifies capitalism, there is no mention of communism. Where did it go, and what might we see if we look for it? My suggestion will be that it is here that, despite Postone's claims for the specificity of what, his theory might help us approach from a new angle the relationship between antisemitism and Islamophobia.

The Political Action of Relative Surplus Population: The Organization of the Inhabitants of the Shantytowns of the City of Buenos Aires (1946-1983)

Julieta Pacheco (CONICET-UBA)

The analysis of the shantytowns organizations became relevant in Argentina after the social explosion of 2001. The territorial work, developed by social and political parties and organizations, was presented as a product of the implementation of neoliberal plans promoted since the last military dictatorship (1976-1983) and deepened during the two governments of Carlos Menem (1989-1999). The so-called process of deindustrialization would have led to the emergence of a new way of doing politics through territorial work in the poorest neighborhoods, appearing as a kind of social activism that would escape the classical forms of political action of the factory worker. However, the origin of territorial work dates back to the end of the 50s when the situation of permanence in shantytowns was irreversible. The appearance of specifically shantytowns organisms was related to an advance over the living conditions of the working class, particularly the relative overpopulation that inhabited the towns of the City of Buenos Aires. The

inhabitants of the shantytowns are part of the relative overpopulation, this is a fraction of the unemployed working class or with precarious work, which is redundant in relation to the conditions of exploitation of the average capital, that is, those that govern productivity from work. In the case of the so-called shantytown, their surplus condition is expressed in the precariousness of their living such as illegal occupation of the territory and the lack of the minimum basic services, to lead a healthy life that is to say their not having public lighting, drinking water and the like, all of which undermine the ability to reproduce their work force under normal conditions. As well as with the characteristic of being unemployed, underemployed or occupied, but where his salary does not allow them to access a home that enables them to reproduce his conditions as an average worker. Defining the shantytown population as part of the relative overpopulation and, therefore, the working class is fundamental to understand the continuity in the political action of this social sector during the second half of the 20th century. In this work we will take a tour of the forms of organization of the inhabitants of the misery villages during the years 1946-1983. In this development, we observe three stages: 1946-1955, 1955-1976 and 1976-1983. In each of them we will see changes in the forms of organization of the relative overpopulation that inhabited the slums of the City of Buenos Aires. For the first case, we consider that the lack of civil society organizations was due to the fact that these actors, as an employed working class, channeled their demands through the institutional-union path. This situation will change at the end of the 1950s when the first nucleated organisms appeared, based on the specific problem of shantytown synthesized in the request for access to a home of their own. This will remain constant until 1976, when the shantytown dwellers gathered from the church, expressing a precarious form of organization and failing to implement the eradication policies.

Politics of Emotion: Class, Gender and Race within the Swedish Far-Right

Why are certain groups such as white men from lower-middle class background over-represented among far-right supporters? And how come seemingly contradictory groups such as women and migrants also support far-right parties? Drawing on Marxist theories on ideology, psychoanalysis, critical studies of race and gender and sociology of emotions, this paper presents preliminary findings of an in-depth case study of the support for the Swedish far-right party The Sweden Democrats. Based on critical discourse analysis of interviews with Swedish far-right supporters of various backgrounds and political campaign material it analyses ideological and psycho-emotional political narratives. The findings suggest how far-right parties draw on emotional regimes related to ideological constructions regarding class, gender and race to mobilize political support. Given that few studies have relied on in-depth interviews and critically analyzed the psycho-emotional narratives of far-right supporters, this paper offers rare empirical data, but it also contributes to a theoretical discussion on the emotional aspects of intersectional discussions of ideology.

Surplus Proletariat, Circulation Struggles, and the New Right

Dennis Buescher-Ulbrich (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel (Kiel University, Germany))

Since the neoliberal state whether dominated by liberal or authoritarian forces is at once both the precondition for and result of post-Fordist globalized conditions of capital

accumulation, the present crisis of capital also expresses itself as a crisis of the state that is characterized by debt, austerity, circulation struggles (Clover 2016), and repression, as police are concentrated in areas emptied of capital (Surplus Club 2015). State administration of the surplus proletariat corresponds to a globalized geographical zoning of labor forces expected to take on mounting importance in accordance with massive immigration and refugee flows. In the United States, the carceral state functions as a spatial fix to capitalist crisis as it provides the means for managing racialized surplus populations, fixing the surplus absorption problem (Gilmore 2007, Wacquant 2009, Chen 2013, Taylor 2016, Wang 2018). It is thus mistaken to even try to disentangle race and class relations. Rather, the process of racialization is itself intimately entangled with the production of surplus populations, each functioning to constitute the other according to varying logics of profound exclusion: The rise of the anti-black US carceral state from the 1970s onward exemplifies rituals of state and civilian violence which enforce the racialization of wageless life, and the racial ascription of wagelessness (Chen 2013). Marx famously analyzed the production of relative surplus populations alongside the reproduction of the wage-relation in *Capital*. Clover has aptly termed this dialectical process the production of nonproduction, which emphasizes the fact that the twin phenomena of exploitation and exclusion are not simply opposed to each other, but both mediated by the historical dynamic of capitalist accumulation, in which racialized workers became the exemplary subjects [] of a global recomposition of class within which the riot of surplus populations is not a likelihood but a certainty. Since the 2000s the hyperghettoized global banlieues (from Clichy-sous-Bois to Ferguson) have seen a resurgence of a new kind of riot, often structured by racialized antagonism and triggered by police killings of black youth. Yet from the vantage point of Marxian crisis theory, riot is in the last instance to be understood as a circulation struggle. For if the neoliberal states solution to the problem of crisis and surplus is austerity and carceral management, the riot is a contest entered directly against this solution a counterproposal of unmanageability (Clover). At a time when the most precarious and stigmatized sections of the working class and those rendered surplus by the production of non-production are put at an ever greater risk of falling victim to state violence as a consequence of racism and wageless life (Denning), Trumpism is pitting the exploited against the excluded without remorse. Yet while the path of global class restructuring that capital has taken since the 1970s has been one of intensified differentiation and inequality, the much greater inequality is between plutocratic capital and both wage laborers defined in nativist terms and surplus proletarians. Oakland or Charlottesville: Whither working-class solidarity?

Populism as Social Reproduction Struggle: An Approach to the Question of Left Populism

Michael Bray (Southwestern University)

Debates over left populism generally center on whether the radical left should adopt populist strategies or forms. Populism, in other words, is taken to be a coherent political and theoretical position (empty signifiers, etc.) and the question is posed of whether that position is politically or theoretically superior to some other one(s). Framed in this way, populism, on historical-materialist grounds at least, can only lose. Indeed, several Marxists have argued that left populism, or even populism itself, does not exist. But this approach seems misguided: populism is less an intellectual position to be critiqued or defended than a form of historical common sense, which has taken on a striking prevalence today. It is also not purely political but, rather, a combined, if also contradictory, assertion of political and economic independence, of a popular sovereignty

that seeks to ensure that independence on which it depends. In a Gramscian vein, our question should be less whether populism is correct than what is correct in it; less whether we should be populist than how we might help to render the populist spirit of our time coherent. To defend this position, I focus on articulating a core link between populist movements and the Marxist-feminist conception of social reproduction: populisms, I argue, are social reproduction struggles. They arise at historical moments in which, given uneven and combined development, a large plurality of a population occupies relatively unstable positions in the relations of production, ones that do not fit clearly into any existing conception, and for which, simultaneously, the means of social reproduction are under threat. Class struggle under such conditions does not cease but a certain ambiguity enters into its articulations. What is often taken as the intrinsically atavistic (nationalist, patriarchal, racist, xenophobic) character of populist movements should rather be seen as one possible, distorted articulation of struggles in defense of the social reproduction of groups in uncertain conditions, drawing on a contradictory set of inherited and produced notions of what is necessary for life, what makes a shared life dignified, what one's proper portion of things is, etc. The people becomes the mode for articulating collective resistance precisely because of the role the capitalist state plays in managing social reproduction, from the perspective of capital as a whole. Crises in social reproduction in democratic capitalism are therefore also generally crises of representation. Framed, in populist terms, as the states co-optation by an elite private government, they are also implicit, if contradictory, attempts to resolve the structural contradictions between the spheres of production and social reproduction (Kastarova). The increasing centrality of social reproduction struggles thus helps to explain the increasing pervasiveness of populist political forms. In such a moment, the development of new political class formations, grounded in, rather than bracketing, historical structures of gender and race, as well as the building of alternative forms of political organization, become of key importance. Left populisms should be seen as strategic challenges, not occasions to prove our doctrinal purity.

Spinoza's Circle and the Activity of Form

Gregory Flemming (Independent Scholar)

While its often discussed, the formal aspect of commodity exchange as elaborated by Marx is rarely clarified in its meaning. Bringing two bodies of Hegelian-Marxist thought into contact those of Evald Ilyenkov and Slavoj Žižek can, however, point to a solution via a discussion of Spinoza: form is content understood as an activity from which all other content derives its effectivity. Ilyenkov develops this line of thought with reference to Spinoza's understanding of the essence of a circle, Žižek by turning to Sohn-Rethel's arguments around real abstraction. Making ties between these authors not only enables a succinct way to understand form, but also provides an answer to some of the questions each thinker's work raises: most importantly, where Ilyenkov's work lacks substantial reference to freedom, drawing the links and marking the convergences between Spinoza's single substance, dual-attribute universe, Schelling's God, and capitalism points to where freedom should appear; similarly, tracing the lines of form allows Žižek's debt to Marx to be more keenly felt.

Underbidding of Wages: A Three-Part Battle

Lovisa Broström (Phd Economic History)

This paper is a theoretical discussion on how a reserve army of labour made up of unemployed or semi-employed people is used by different political ideologies as a way of reaching their political goals. The European far-right use the reserve army of labour as a reason to shut down borders and minimize the immigrant population, basically by saying that they don't want to import unemployment. This strategy that has been gaining ground in the last decades. Liberals use an unemployed surplus population as a cudgel to smash unions and create a low-wage market, with greater competition between workers. These are the main forces in the European political discussion right now and both serve the employers, because in different ways both pit workers against the unemployed and semi-employed. What is obviously missing in the debate is the possibility of an alliance between the reserve army of labour and the employed classes against the employers. This third alliance is what gets more developed in this paper. I outline a new model, tracing the different conflict lines between employers, employees and the reserve army of labour. This clarifies what is at stake and how workers are played off against each other, what kind of alliances are created to keep wages down, labour flexible, and profits high.

Countering Neo-Fascism In India: The Forgotten Lessons of a Religious Left

Aditya Mohan Bahl (Johns Hopkins University)

The left's analysis of the present political conjuncture in India can be outlined by way of the following three-pronged constellation: not fascism but authoritarianism (Prakash Karat), semi-fascism (Vijay Prashad), a fascism to come (Jairus Banaji). Notwithstanding the patent disparate nature of their contentions, these stalwarts of the Indian left are all conjoined in their tendency to respond to the rise of fascism by attributing it solely to the propagandist prowess of the RSS-led Hindu right wing. This critical gesture, shared across Party members and Party renegades (Banaji) alike, is symptomatic of the Indian left's failure to analyze those concrete changes in the composition of capital and class which have rendered most of the country to be a fertile ground for the RSS-led propaganda of Hindutva. This failure has had grievous consequences for Left politics in India. While repeatedly espousing the need to establish an anti-fascist working class unity, the Indian left has failed to realize that any such unity has been made materially impracticable by an unprecedented onset of deindustrialization and informalization. For example, only around 6 percent of the workers remain formally employed in the manufacturing sector in India. The Indian left has failed to understand that the ascendancy of identities forged around religion, caste and nation is not a simple case of ideological seduction, but is consequent upon the ongoing disintegration of the traditional working class. If, say, hordes of upper-/intermediate-caste youths in U.P. and Haryana are joining Hindu militant organizations, then it is not (only) because they constitute a manipulable seriality (Banaji). Instead, they are reacting against their lumpenization by capital, reacting precisely by trying to preserve their traditional caste-privileges. The argument that the left's counter-propaganda can remedy this ideological straying (Banaji), or undo this disintegration of the working class (Prashad), has made for a rather underwhelming politics. In order to fully appraise the relation between the ascendancy of neo-fascist forces and the changing dynamic of capitalist accumulation, this paper shall examine questions on the following lines. Is the rise of a casteist Hindu fundamentalism an adisplaced expression of the increasing precarity brought about by this above-noted politico-

economic dynamic? Or are changes in the composition of capital, class and caste incapable of explaining the exceptional violence of programs such as Godhra, the recent lynchings of Dalits and Muslims, and so on? Pointing out the need for newer forms of left organizing, the second part of the essay shall strive to demonstrate that religion in India offers a singular vantage for scrutinizing the horizons of communism. It shall argue that in continuing to denounce religion as a mystifying ideology, the secularized left has not only failed to discern the subversive historicity of those sociopolitical and cultural practices which are presently being mobilized by Hindu fundamentalists, but it is also guilty of absencing a radical history of Indian marxists materialist engagements with religion. Drawing upon Debiprosad Chattopadhyayas radical historicization of the religion-form in India, the fierce political polemic directed by Rahul Sankrityayan (an erstwhile bhikku and a marxist-socialist) against Karpatri Maharaj (a right-wing Dashnami monk), and the militant political praxis of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, a Hindusanyasi (mendicant) who had singlehandedly laid the radical foundations of the peasants movement which destroyed the zamindari system in Bihar, this paper shall argue that the forgotten history of the religious left in India offers important theoretical and strategic interventions for permanently countering the ascendancy of neo-fascism in India.

Far-Right Neoliberalism and The Current Stage of the Brazilian Social Crisis

Rmulo Lima (PhD at the Universidade Federal Fluminense (Brasil). Adjunct lecturer at the Universitt Hamburg (Germany))

The parliamentary maneuver that ousted president Dilma Rousseff in 2016 has opened deep wounds in the Brazilian society. Since June 2013, however, when impressive mass protests irrupted in all parts of Brazil, the country lives in a sort of precarious equilibrium. As recently seem during a nationwide truckers' strike, a single political slip can put in danger the country's institutional building as a whole. A new stage of the social struggle has emerged these years. At the state level, these struggles have produced so far more regressive than progressive results. New right-wing and far right movements have gained momentum and are supporting a combination of protofascism and neoliberal agenda in the country. How is this combination possible? And how does the country came to the point in which a far-right former military officer is leading in the polls ahead of the October presidential election? The roots of the current crisis in Brazil are deep and wide. In order to understand the interplay of structural and incidental aspects that generated the present situation, the paper explores some characteristics the Brazilian historical model of socialization (such as the authoritarian forms of inclusion of the working class in the national society) and the effects of the neoliberal turn on the country's political debate. The central idea is that Brazil's current situation is inseparable from the attributes that define a peripheric, ex-colonial and former slave society in these post-2008 days. The deepening forms of economic dependence, political authoritarianism and social exclusion that are now under implementation reflect the historical pillars of the Brazilian socioeconomic formation, whose ideological dimension is to be seen in the conservative psychosocial structures that are now being skillfully explored by the country's new right-wing and far right movements. This broad framework of investigation draws on Marxist analyses of the Brazilian social formation and allows us, with the possible outcomes of the 2018 presidential elections in mind, (i) to identify the internal limits of the recently defeated left-wing model of post-Fordist reformism in Brazil and (ii) to see the country as an example of tendencies that, at a more general level, can put to

test the very stability of the Western democracies. For the country is once again in the vanguard of the neoliberal policies.

The Libidinal and Symbolic Foundations of the New Right

Peter Bratsis (City University of New York), Carlos Frade (University of Salford), Athina Karatzogianni (University of Leicester), Marc Tuters (University of Amsterdam)

It Started as a Joke: Alt-Right vs. Radical Left Digital Countercultures

Athina Karatzogianni and Marc Tuters

Recent developments in American right-wing politics involve the rapid and enhanced development of digitally networked plateaus inhabited by a spectrum of libertarian Western supremacist alt-lite, functioning as agitators for advancing the alt-right's broader metapolitical agenda. The deep vernacular web of ironic, playful and anti-establishment early virtual communities gave birth to a forceful ideological production, which not only paralleled and echoed the resurgence of right extremism, but seems also to have advanced the structural effectivity and amplification of Trump's presidential campaign, and has been further emboldened by his presidency. The use of YouTube, memes and clever digital irony has increased the value of the alt-right in the attention economy, whilst iconic subcultures such as 4chan moved increasingly to the extreme right, in a transvaluational mutation/fusion between American white-nationalism and the ever-adapting European far-right. On the radical left digital plateaus, ideological production involves a two-way split, on the one hand between a historical continuation of communist and socialist varieties addressing worker struggle and capitalist exploitation, such as digital labour resistance, the commons spectrum, platform cooperativism, and on the other, identity-focused movements, such as feminist, LGBT, anti-racist, indigenous, and environmental discourses cross-fertilised by variants of social democratic and progressive elements. In what is a paradoxical scenario, the digital methods and weapons used by these two broader ideological coalitions with their spectra and sub-fragmented web spheres are more or less similar (videos, memes, hashtag activism for example), however the intellectual traditions they draw from vary in their ideological production (hierarchizational reproductions of race, class, nation, religion based on reactive affective structures versus open fluid network identities of the postnational common humanity active desire ideological order with possible criss-cross identitarian differentiations). While the critique of Cultural Marxism may have initially developed out of the culture wars of the American new right, in recent years it has also been taken up by the European new right who often cite Gramsci as inspiration in championing a counter-hegemonic movement of "identitarianism", which stands in opposition to the sanctimonious cant of liberalism thought to be destroying Europe from within. And though the analysis of Marxism proffered by this literature would certainly not stand up to scrutiny by any serious historian of the subject, we can nevertheless understand Cultural Marxism as a prime example of how the ideas of conservatism grow above all in reaction to those of the left. In this paper, we work on three areas by: tracking specific traditional ideological elements across the two broader juxtaposed ideological plateaus; analysing how these elements are operationalised in alt-right and radical left digital communities to evoke

their opponents (libards, SJWs, cucks, cultural Marxists, wokes, anti-fa etc.); and drawing conclusions about the political effects of digital countercultures and their cyberconflicts on the political formations of subjectivity, in the current highly-networked and polarized socio-political context.

Symbolic Dispossession and Political Disorientation in Contemporary Neo-Fascisms

Carlos Frade

This paper suggests that an important condition to understand and confront the resurgence of neo-fascist populist politics lies in recognising that today, given the weakness and dispersion of emancipatory forms of politics, there is no effective master dialectical opposition (capitalism vs. communism), and that, as a consequence, one should rely on a multidimensional framework allowing to characterise in detail actually existing neo-fascist populisms and develop tactical responses. The paper will develop such a framework and provide a selective analysis of contemporary forms of neo-fascist populism, paying particular attention to their labour of symbolic dispossession and political disorientation. A review of classical theorisations of the emergence of fascism (including Polanyi, revisionist historians, Polanyi reworked by N. Fraser) shows that all of them rely one way or another on some false, or at least weak, opposition, e.g. capitalism understood mainly as the commodification of society vs. society's self-protection (Polanyi, for whom fascism is a pathological form of protection). The standard Marxist thesis, by contrast, views fascism almost as an epiphenomenon of liberalism and neglects the dimension of reaction against the emancipatory possibilities often brought about by the capitalist devastation of society a theoretical flaw corrected by Benjamin's well-known thesis that every rise of fascism bears witness to a failed revolution. Now if fascism is both a phenomenon tributary of the ideological underpinnings of capitalism and a reinforcement of such ideological underpinnings produced to protect the hard core of capitalism (e.g. as national capitalism) against the emergence of emancipatory forces, this implies that fascism is practically homogenous to capitalism and its ideological-political underpinnings. However, this structural situation does not determine the forms that fascism will take; as can be observed today, extreme right-wing populism presents multiple forms, all of which can be characterised as soft forms of neo-fascism. It is in analysing those multiple forms of neo-fascist politics that a multidimensional (and not only two-dimensional) framework can show its theoretical and practically usefulness. For the hard core of today's neo-fascist populisms is a symbolic undertaking: it is essentially a ruinous labour of symbolic dispossession and political disorientation based on different pseudo or fake identities and objects offered for blame and hatred that manage to capture popular rage and provide outlets for petty-bourgeois resentment. Identifying those fake identities, their conditions of emergence and use, and doing so within a historical perspective, is surely a fundamental task for any effective confrontation of contemporary right-wing populism and neo-fascism.

The Libidinal-Economy of Fordism and the New Right

Peter Bratsis

When Freud penned *Civilization and its Discontents*, it was taken as given that libidinal energy not expended in erotic life would, to a significant degree, be displaced onto socially acceptable practices in ways that bind together the members of the community in

a strong way. However, the evolution of Fordist capitalism has brought this assumption into question. This paper will argue that the ever-increasing turn toward the right is underpinned by the suburbanization and consumerism that have severely eroded cooperative sensibilities and communal ties. The great libidinal investments placed in consumption as well as the ideologies engendered by suburban spatial orders have led to a much more alienated and anomic existence for the many. The far right has drawn upon these dynamics to mobilize the anomic drive for individual utility on the one hand and the nostalgic quest for community and harmony on the other in order to create a new right-wing politics that is xenophobic, nationalistic, and authoritarian while also being libertarian and individualistic. The material terrain for contemporary political struggles, thus, has been shaped by capitalism in ways that has significantly benefited conservative political forces; the challenge to revolutionary political efforts is to break the libidinal bonds of consumer society and redirect the desire for community from nationalistic and authoritarian forms to more democratic and communal models.

Authoritarian Statism and Right-Wing Radicalization in Contemporary Greece

Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros (King's College London)

The main objective of the present paper is to illuminate the structural conditions and underlying dynamics that made the Golden Dawn phenomenon possible. In that context particular emphasis is placed on the authoritarian transformation of the Greek State that incrementally played out in parallel with the modernization endeavors of PASOK and N.D in the period 1996-2009. The progressive cartelization of the Greek party system, the transposition of decision-making processes to non-elected bodies (e.g. independent authorities, EU institutions) and the emergence of a supposedly technocratic and post-ideological discourse that accompanied this whole process played a determining role both in the rise of political apathy and the emergence of a first wave of right-wing radicalization in the second half of the 2000s. The formation and subsequent political consolidation of the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) as a mainstream political power was thus a harbinger of things to come and a clear manifestation of the fateful triangle between neo-liberalization, authoritarian statism and right-wing radicalization. This is not to say that a linear connection can be made between modernization, the rise of LAOS and that of Golden Dawn. It is rather to suggest that the dynamics that emerged in the context of the organic crisis that ensued Greece's fiscal fall-out in 2009 were gestated or at least rooted in the ideologico-political dynamics of the preceding decade; dynamics that were more or less common throughout the continent. In that sense, Golden Dawn and the authoritarian or even neo-fascist transformation of mainstream right wing or social-democratic electorates that it came to symbolize- is not just the extreme by-product of certain idiosyncratic conditions specific to Greece but rather a possibility inherent to the neoliberal restructuring of advanced capitalist societies and the concomitant hallowing out of democratic institutions.

Proletarianisation and Class Capacity in Journalists: A Study on Conditions of Production and Reproduction

Cagri Kaderoglu Bulut (Ankara University Communication Faculty Department of Journalism)

This study examines the change in the work and life conditions and organization practices of journalists in Turkey at the beginning of 21st century in the context of proletarianisation and class capacity. The data for the study is collected through surveys conducted with 100 journalists and the in-depth interviews conducted with 23 journalists from 15 national media organizations in Turkey. The main assumption of the study is that the speed and the extent of the process of proletarianisation has increased since 1970s and today we are confronted with with a new wave of proletarianisation. This new way has radically transformed the intermediate segments of society known as middle classes in mainstream sociology and petty bourgeoisie or new petty bourgeoisie in Marxist theories and has reshaped the composition of social classes. Journalists, who are an important part of this group, have been experiencing proletarianisation in specific ways due to the nature and social meaning of the work they are doing. This process has been conditioning and reshaping the class capacity of the journalists as well. Class capacity defines the potentialities and limitations of the class in production processes, its hegemonic power (hence its ideology and culture), its processes of class consciousness, its ability of solidarity and organization, its possibilities for collective action and finally the framework and instruments of their objective and subjective conditions, including their political attitude; and thus points to the framework of the social potential such a historical transformation can create. Hence, this study examines journalists pattern of proletarianisation with respect to their class capacity. The proletarianisation experience of the journalists is examined in three dimensions: their labour process, their practices of everyday life and their organization practices. Thus, the study aims at shedding light onto the transformation of the conditions of production and reproduction and the social potentialities conditioned by them. The study aims to make a contribution to explaining the relations of social class in 21st century and the discussion of the new social possibilities created by these relations.

The Contradictory Care-Ethos as both a Resource for Neoliberal Management as well as a Resource of Resistance The case of Trade Union Organization of Care Workers in German hospitals

Rhonda / Luigi Koch/ Wolf (Schiller Universitt Jena)

Hospitals are an essential part of the social reproduction of labor force, thus at the same time they constitute an important battlefield for social reproduction conditions concerning wage and working conditions as well as fights for the revaluation of the highly gendered care work. Following the pathbreaking strike of care-workers in the biggest hospital in Europe the charit several strike movements have, for the first time ever in a strike in german hospitals, put staffing rules in the center of their labor disputes and collective agreements. Where normally unions would negotiate wages and working hours the strikes about staffing addressed the articulation of the ethos of the care workers in their work. In this paper, we want to analyse how the strikes by care-workers in Germany in the last decade demonstrate how the invocation of care-ethos of care workers can be turned from a resource of management and containment to a resource of resistance or, following

Adam Reich, how they turn the martyred/misrecognized hearts compatible with neoliberal domination to mobilized hearts challenging the status quo. First, we sketch the theoretical outline of the Contradictory Care Ethos by using Reich as well as Gramsci's concept of contradictory consciousness and arguing for a specific gendered subjectification in neoliberal reproduction regime in which the professional nursing team constitutes the central basic unit. The nursing team is both a way of organizing the work-process and a form in which the regulation and selfmanagement of the martyred heart of care workers. But if the right opportunities arise and if activists seize on these opportunities then the nursing team could become the cell of resistance and the backbone of the strike movements in the hospital. From the zoom on the nursing team and its role in the regulation of work and management, we analyse the strike movements in the hospitals. Especially we are concerned with the activist practices which combine workers power on the point of production by care workers in a hospital structured by neoliberal policy and the resources to be mobilized by care workers in public by generalizing the struggle for staffing as the struggle for good care as part of the social reproduction symbolized in the slogan invented by the care workers more of us is better for all.

Financialisation of Right to Housing

Zlem Elik (Lund University, Geography Department)

This paper, firstly, aims to analyse how global processes of housing in the form of financialisation, experienced in cities of the Global South, manifest at the local level, more specifically in the case of Istanbul, Turkey. One main challenge to the financialisation of housing in Istanbul is the resistance of poor people to forced evictions and becoming indebted, as a consequence of urban regeneration projects in their neighbourhoods. This challenge re-defines the right to the city towards the right to housing of the poor in the form of demand for affordable housing and right to stay where they are used to living. While a small number of neighbourhoods (including the Roman settlement Sulukule) ended with the relocation of people to mass housing 40 km outside Istanbul, many other neighbourhoods still claim their rights to stay. The second aim of the research is to examine the role of the state in housing and financialisation in order to reveal different forms of consent created for different groups of society to be included in the financialisation process. The construction of consent carries importance in understanding how and to what extent the right to housing is institutionalized, as well as tendencies toward depoliticization of the social movement for housing during the last decade. The paper discusses the two aims by examining the consent of people created in the urban regeneration process in a neighbourhood, called Babyk in Istanbul, where there used to be a militant resistance against urban regeneration.

Social Reproduction Theory and the Problems of Labor-Power Form

Aaron Jaffe (The Juilliard School)

Social Reproduction Theory and the Problems of Labor-Power Form Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) has recently emerged as an advanced analytical strategy to appreciate how the totality of capitalist social relations are produced and reproduced through gendered, embodied, and affective labor. SRT centers the production and reproduction of labor-power as both a value in itself, and as valuable site of anti-capitalist struggle. Yet, in valuing labor-power, SRT risks appearing as if it lacks resources to respond to critical

charges of narrow workerism, blind productivism, and marginalizing ableism. I first develop this line of criticism, and then show how SRT has robust resources to respond to it. The key is to recognize how capitalist social relations constrain and foreclose opportunities to actualize and value labor-power in freer ways. This is possible because form of labor-power under conditions of capital is not the only form such powers can take. Indeed, since communist systems of social relations would organize and develop the powers to labor in a fundamentally different form, SRT can value superior forms of labor-power as both a possibility and as a resource to struggle for the actualization of that possibility. By centering the form labor-power would take not under conditions of capital but under conditions of communism, SRT can value labor-power as a force against the ways it is determined under capital. SRT's non-productivist orientation is clear in its broad understanding of who the worker is and how, through striking, the power to not work is valued as a vehicle to challenge the social relations that determine its constrained forms today. Through highlighting struggles for different social organizations of production, including the production of labor-power, SRT also offers valuable resources to both explain and provide alternatives to capitalism's ableist constructions of labor-power. SRT, in other words, does not intend to reproduce the values and norms attached to the capitalist production and reproduction of labor power (which render it a means to surplus-value production). It instead seeks to transcend this regime by centering the production and reproduction of labor-power as valuable for its own free, self-determination.

To What Extent is Bourdieu's Notion of Capital Marxian?

Miriam Aiello (University of Roma Tre)

It is well known that Pierre Bourdieu proposed a theory of social reproduction grounded on the integrated conceptual system of field-habitus-capital. Bourdieu borrowed these notions from several pre-existing theoretical traditions (Lewins social psychology (field), Aristotelian and Thomistic ethics (habitus), the Marxian critique of political economy (capital)) and adapted their original meaning and significance to his sociological understanding of social reproduction. In this talk, I will re-examine the highly controversial issue regarding the compatibility between a Marxian conception of capital and Bourdieu's use of this notion. As a first step, I will reconstruct the meaning of Bourdieu's redesigned concept of capital and its role in his theory of practice. In a second part, I will briefly deal with the Marxian account on the notion of capital. In a third step, I will deal with two kinds of criticisms against Bourdieu's usage of the concept of capital that has been raised in the literature. According to the first one, Bourdieu's capital only designates a resource and not, as it does in Marx, a social relation. According to the second one, Bourdieu's model rests on a mistaken extension of capital to non-economic spheres. Against these criticisms, I will provide an alternative insight aimed at obtaining a more detailed understanding of the extent to which Bourdieu's notion of capital matches the Marxian one.

The Commercialization Model in Lukcs's Analysis of the Reproduction of the Social Being and its Context

Murillo van der Laan (University of Campinas)

The second chapter of the systematic part of Lukcs's *The ontology of the social being* deals with what he considers as the most fundamental processes of the development of

the social being. Continuing an analysis that took labour as the original form and the “model of praxis”, Lukcs presents a process that pretends to be historical, processual, unitary and non-teleological, putting forward an analysis that accounts for two poles of the social reproduction: the individual, at one side, and the totality at the other. Nevertheless, in his interpretation of the reproduction of the social being, Lukcs paradoxically ends up relying on the commodity form, in the most different social formations, as the main force that takes the social being to superior levels of sociality. In this communication, basing ourselves in an internal critique of Lukcs's Ontology, but also drawing from Political Marxism's critique of the commercialization model we will argue that Lukcs violates his own principles in accounting for the reproduction of the social being, presenting an anachronistic reading of the commodity that takes him to an ahistorical and teleological perspective of social reproduction. Following the critique of Istvn Mszros, we will argue that Lukcs's late perspective is connected to his defence of the socialism in one country, which undermined his own ability to face the analytical and political tasks of his time.

Bridging the Material And Symbolic. Exploring Connections Between Social Reproduction Theory and Symbolic/Moral Readings of Class

Valentina Alvarez Lopez (Goldsmiths, University of London.)

This paper suggests some starting points to theorise possible links between Social Reproduction Theory and symbolic/moral approaches to class. Firstly, it emphasises the socially and culturally shaped ways of satisfying human needs and their historical and relational nature. Secondly, it understands capitalist attempts to organise and regulate social reproduction and the struggles around its conditions as being absolutely central to processes of class formation. This point is exemplified through a brief account of the Chilean case, emphasising on how class is co-constituted with gender, sexuality and race. Finally, and underpinning the two previous dimensions, it proposes to expand our understanding of the relationship between value and social reproduction. While Marxist feminism have focused on discussing the mechanism by which social reproduction contributes (or not) to capitalist valorisation, this paper emphasises the other side of the equation: how this labour gives value to the lives of those who carry it out. A form of value that can be unfolded by attending to the symbolic/moral systems of class historically constructed. Such an approach, I argue, allows for a deeper understanding of classed subjectivities at the intersection of gender, sexuality and race, bringing back classic debates on consciousness in a different light.

Benjamin and the Stalinist Aestheticization of Politics

Clara Figueiredo (Anhembi Morumbi)

The correspondence of Walter Benjamin shows that the circulation of *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* in Russia was to him a matter of the utmost importance. In January 1936, Benjamin wrote to Alfred Cohn: at this moment, the programmatic essay about which I told you [*The Work of Art*] is in Moscow, and I am anxious to know if they are going to publish it in Russia. In March 1936, Benjamin stated to Margarete Steffin: I do not find it unlikely that the problem which I discuss should arise great interest in Russia. [] I wish Tretyakov would receive and read this work. In April of the same year, Benjamin reiterated his expectations and confessed to Kitty Marx-

Stenchnerider his pessimism: Considering these reactions, I might even have reason to believe that the work will have little repercussion in the place that should be its natural place, in Russia. What were the reasons behind the insistence of Benjamin on publishing this essay in Russia? Why would Russia be its natural place or destination? If the USSR was its most obvious destination, how can we explain the pessimism of Benjamin regarding the publication of the text there? The interlocutor sought by Benjamin, S. Tretyakov, was a Russian journalist, member of the LEF group (Left Front of the Arts; 1922-1928). Benjamin had previously mentioned Tretyakov in the essay *The Author as Producer* (1934), referencing his work as a successful example of politicizing the arts. The LEF group was a persistent opponent of heroic realism, predecessor of socialist realism the Stalinist artistic doctrine adopted in 1934. One year before the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, and two years after the *The Work of Art...*, Benjamin wrote to Horkheimer about his and Bertold Brechts position regarding the USSR. Benjamin stated that both still considered at least for now, () despite the gravest possible reservations" that the Soviet Union was "the agent of our interests in a coming war. He added, however, that this position was quite costly, as it meant sacrificing the interests that matter most to us, producers. He concluded that, although aware of the horrors imposed by the Russian regime [Stalinism], they still did not consider forsaking the USSR. This work aims at discussing the militant and political dimension of *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, as well as its insertion in the Russian debate in its time, in the countercurrent of the Stalinist aestheticization of politics and into the direction of the formulation of revolutionary demands in the politics of art.

Marxism Without Communism?

Elliot Lewis (UC Berkeley), Diego Arrocha (UC Berkeley)

We are witnessing a renewal of interest in Marx, but as a precondition in returning to Marx, one is asked to denounce any totalities and universals suggested in his work. However by only relating negatively to the formal universality of Capital, as separated moments of class struggle, social movements risk reproducing the empty universality and exchangeability of interests which ground Capitals own universality. We argue instead that communist politics must involve the unity in the struggle to abolish capitalist social relations under a common positive project. Our paper examines and argues against certain historic Marxist tendencies that have asserted class struggle as exclusively founded on the fight for basic needs, the self-interest of individuals, and related variations on the theme of the proletariat as the agglomeration of individual rational actors whose revolutionary agency is ultimately determined by the need for basic subsistence. While we certainly agree that the desire for basic subsistence characterizes the historical proletariat, and in large part drives the desire for social change due to the precarity of the wage-form and the exclusion of many proletarians therefrom, we argue that communist political practice necessarily involves an excess over and against such objective determinants. Communist politics produces a new universalism whose content abolishes the formal universality of interests as delimited by and for Capital, generalizing the political struggle through the subjectivation of a collective body sharing a positive project. The relation between struggles cannot just be one of solidarity, but must necessarily transform those struggles by re-presenting them as moments of revolutionary generalization. Key Words: Universalism, interests, basic needs, revolutionary subject, communism

Cult and Counter-Cult: Stalinism, Anti-Fascism and the Communist Cult of the Individual

Kevin Morgan (University of Manchester)

In the years immediately following Hitler's installation in power in 1933, the Comintern and its sections took a sharp turn towards the politics of anti-fascism. In just the same period, the Comintern also took a sharp turn towards the cult of the individual. Although exemplified by the cult of Stalin, this was evident right across the communist movement, and in the attempted mobilisation of a broader anti-fascist movement internationally. This panel will consider the ambiguous and problematic relationship between these aspects of communist politics. In countries in which there were still legally functioning communist parties, notably France, this was a period of significant expansion of communist membership and electoral support. In this session, we will consider how far the counter-cults of communist leaders assisted in these mobilisations; and how far, conversely, they represented a concession to nationalist politics and betrayal of alternative communist values that would contribute to the crisis of stalinism itself. These issues are of renewed topicality as a populist far-right is once more projected through strongman figures of the type of Putin, Trump and Erdogan. As many on the left consider the prospects and dangers of an alternative left-wing populism, discussion of the stalinist cult and counter-cult of personality retains its relevance. This panel offers contributions deriving from three recently published books in the area, and we have also invited Lars Lih to contribute as a discussant.

Secular Stagnation in the Eurozone: A Strategic Response

Ben Tippet (GPERC)

Economists from both left and right agree on the poor state of the economy - depressed wages, persistently high unemployment, the threat of deflation and miserable investment rates. For mainstream thinkers however, these are simply temporary dips following the biggest crisis in a generation - with enough time things will simply return to normal. When Larry Summers proclaimed in a speech to the IMF that the US and Europe are witnessing secular stagnation, a stormy and unprecedented debate over the future of capitalism ensued on the centre-right (Summers, 2015). This proposal addresses the following unresolved question: is the prolonged European downturn, particularly in the Eurozone's periphery, showing signs of long run stagnation? Or simply a protracted slump following the double shock of 2008 and the sovereign debt crisis nearly a decade ago? Economists from both left and right agree on the poor state of the economy - depressed wages, persistently high unemployment, the threat of deflation and miserable investment rates. For mainstream thinkers however, these are simply temporary dips following the biggest crisis in a generation - with enough time things will simply return to normal. When Larry Summers proclaimed in a speech to the IMF that the US and Europe are witnessing secular stagnation, a stormy and unprecedented debate over the future of capitalism ensued on the centre-right (Summers, 2015). This proposal addresses the following unresolved question: is the prolonged European downturn, particularly in the Eurozone's periphery, showing signs of long run stagnation? Or simply a protracted slump following the double shock of 2008 and the sovereign debt crisis nearly a decade ago?

Financial Technology and Neoliberal Ideology: The Role of Big Data Analytics, Algorithms, Machine Learning in Right-Wing Populisms

Sharry Anne Taylor (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto)

As the working class extreme right rises from the ashes of capitalist crises, disappointed rugged individualism and the myth of self-determination, it remains ideologically tethered to neoliberal tropes of self-destiny, autonomy and entrepreneurship. The extreme right clings to these ideological pillars, searching for answers for their failure in the spheres of life that are immediate, individualized, local and observable. Women, LGBTQ and racialised people, the disabled and the different find themselves subject to invigorated anti-black, anti-migrant, anti-disability and anti-gender right populisms. Even for those on the left, neoliberalism invades our daily lives and sometimes forcibly shapes our subjective stances, limiting our ability to have meaningful collective identities. The incitement of neoliberal subjectivity seems so pervasive that even as we want to resist it, at times it seems impossible. We increasingly find ourselves forced to act individualistically in new and unanticipated ways; pitted against each other through structural forces and behind the game organizationally. Yet what accounts for this intensifying involuntary and distressing individualism? This work will explore the use of big data, algorithms, and machine learning in financial technologies technological weapons which parse and sort peoples lives into increasingly individualistic component parts. They skilfully assess, measure, quantify and then expropriate surplus value from the working classes in all spheres of life. Since financial technologies are ubiquitous, diffuse and function at a temporal span, scale, speed, complexity, and dimensionality difficult for humans to imagine, they can be defined as what Timothy Morton calls hyperobjects objects that are that are so massively distributed in time and space relative to humans that they sometimes defy comprehension without sustained attention and study. As hyperobjects, these financialized technologies have at once a dizzying power of dispossession and a silent invisibility which allows them to persist mostly unchecked. This paper explores the ways in which technologized financial hyperobjects contribute to neoliberal subjectivity and right-wing populisms, speculating on how the illumination of these hyperobjects might forge unexpected working class alliances.

Old Materialisms for New Materialists: Reading for the Aleatory Encounter under Fossil Capital

Marah Nagelhout (Brown University)

In his frequently cited 2014 article, Bruno Latour declares, between matter and materiality, we have to choose.[1] Indeed, the field of environmental criticism has become increasingly polarized along this axis, between new materialism on the one hand (including speculative realism and object oriented ontology), and traditional materialist accounts on the other, articulated perhaps most succinctly through recent ecological Marxist theories such as fossil capital and world ecology. In this essay, I will identify dominant trends of new materialism such as the unknowable object, the dematerialization of energy through the abstract universalization of vibrancy, and its anti-hermeneutic posture, to show how new materialism is inherently unable to account for the singular role fossil fuels and energy extraction play in political economy and is thus ill equipped to critically address and mitigate our current ecological crisis. To understand energy, I

will argue, we need to embrace a form of materialism that is neither new nor mechanistic, that allows us to navigate between structures and events, the visible and the invisible, and aesthetics and politics. Althusser's late theory of aleatory materialism, I will show, is particularly well suited to this endeavor through its theorization of the encounter, which acts as an essential interface between these elements that would otherwise remain bifurcated under the rubric of new materialism (as well as certain mechanistic strands of historical materialism). The aleatory encounter in a form that includes and exceeds processes of primitive accumulation remains, Althusser argues, a permanent process that puts the aleatory at the heart of the survival and reinforcement of the capitalist mode of production.[2] In this way, Althusser's theory can be more flexibly adapted to cultural production in times of energy transitions and cultural-political impasses such as the climate crisis. If we read each response to crisis, each new technological advancement in extractive methods as what Amitav Ghosh famously calls the oil encounter along these lines we can discern it according to its structural causalities without sacrificing its event potential, allowing us to grasp the universality and singularity of oil as an interface between structure and event. Furthermore, aleatory materialism not only illuminates these processes of valorization as they have already occurred, but also provides a rubric for intervention and, in the context of fossil capital, a space for conceiving of a post-extractive future. By parsing out the aleatory encounters in the past and present, we resuscitate the inborn potential of its nonexistence and its radical instability, which, Althusser says explains something we find very hard to grasp: that laws can change.[3]

[1] Agency at the Time of the Anthropocene, *New Literary History*, vol. 45, 2014. pp. 14

[2] *The Underground Current of the Materialism of the Encounter: Later Writing, 1978-87*. Verso, 2006. pp. 199. [3] *Ibid* (195)

Against Aesthetic Singularity-Events: Critical Temporalities in Contemporary Installation Art

Marah Nagelhout (Brown University)

In his 2015 article, *The Aesthetics of Singularity*, Jameson rearticulates these renowned diagnosis of postmodernity and argues that the recent emergence of derivatives as a popular and particularly volatile financial instrument of postindustrial capital enhances these temporal effects predicated on synchronic heterogeneity. As Jameson compellingly suggests, the combinatory nature of derivatives and their temporal effects are microcosmically representative of the larger process of subsumption. Subsequently, Jameson maintains, contemporary art most strikingly the multimedia installation has recently emerged as a symptom of these dynamics. The postmodern aesthetic singularity-effect, Jameson argues, is the same unique type as that unique one-time financial instrument called the derivative.[1] By mirroring subsumption in the production of artistic singularity-events, these works are, under Jameson's formulation, events without any event potential. Drawing from Antonio Negri's formulation of the temporal register of subsumption and various theorists' formulation of the event in the aesthetic realm, I will argue that installation art presents temporalities that, far from merely representing subsumption, antagonize the temporal processes Jameson identifies as singularity-events. In this essay, I will evaluate the ways in which installation art formally engages with our phenomenal experience and theorizations of contemporaneity in a manner befitting the exigencies of the climate crisis by recuperating the productive potential of the event as critique not as a singular, homogenizing, de-historicizing phenomena. These works do so, I will argue, by reconceptualizing nature as well as certain aesthetic attributes of postmodernity, such as the event, crisis, and the role of the spectator. It is not my intention to disprove Jameson's theory of postmodern time, and indeed by using Negri's

theory, I will be elaborating upon it, but rather to explore the latent potentialities of contemporary art that are neglected and even stymied his recent aesthetic diagnosis [1] Aesthetics of Singularity, New Left Review. vol. 92, 2015. pp 122.

Chile 1972-3: Production of Space During Insurrections

Daniel Tutt (UC Berkeley)

Today, Marxist strategy lacks a program or other concrete vision of revolution. As such, it also lacks a framework for evaluating political developments and judging political interventions. The history of past revolutionary possibilities offers a palliative. By understanding the concrete and positive aspects of insurrection a necessary moment in any revolutionary sequence Marxism can regain the image, albeit opaque, of a desired future used to orient its practice. The October 1972 truckers strike, generally recognized as a moment of rupture or transition in the history of Popular Unity, reveals the shifts in social space and social reproduction that correspond to any insurrection. Analyzed through Lefebvres concept of social space, the October strike demonstrates how a revolutionary opening is produced by bridging the gap between proletarians and their means of subsistence. The truckers strike, referred to as a bourgeois insurrection, inaugurated a year of forceful opposition to the Allende government culminating in the military coup. At the same time, the strike brought forth the strongest instantiation of popular power, with proletarians organizing seizure of factories, distribution of goods and protection of territory. During this month, the actions of both proletariat and bourgeois aimed to change the underlying spatial organization of the economy and social reproduction. The decisive battles, and the eventual loss, occurred as the restructuring of social space. Although no revolutionary sequence can be anticipated, its opening dependent on historical contingency, an understanding of the spatial moment of any insurrection gives some ground to evaluate and judge political events. **KEYWORDS:** Social space, Lefebvre, Chile, Marxist Strategy, Insurrection

Revolutionary Strategy and Historical Materialism, Reflections on Daniel Bensaid's on the Return of the Politico-Strategic Question

Anders Ekeland (Statistics Norway)

There is of course a lot to learn from Bensaid's writings on the topic of revolutionary strategy, from *Revolutionary Strategy Today* (his 1987) to *On the return of the politico-strategic question* (2006). The first article being a reflection of the roaring sixties and seventies, the second a reflection after the fall of the wall and the rise of the anti-globalization movement. The paper argues that when discussing revolutionary strategy, the starting point must be the question of when do revolutions happen, since for Marxists revolutions is not a question of will. One must first of all discuss the if the material conditions for a revolution are present, are ripe. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote: At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder. In the *Preface of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* Marx wrote: At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in

conflict with the existing relations of production, or what is but a legal expression for the same thing with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. The paper argues that Marx and Engels already in the Communist Manifesto pointed out that capitalism, i.e. the capitalist relations of production constantly revolutionizes the productive forces., which means that capitalism will never become a fetter on the development of the productive forces. This in contrast to the Tsarist regime in Russia, the aristocratic-bourgeois regime in China, Vietnam, the aristocratic-feudal regime in Spain, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, the dependent regimes (relations of production) in Latin-America which all had the common denominator of being an obstacle (fetter) to the development of the productive forces and the general modernization of society. These revolutions are not anti-capitalist revolutions. They are revolutions against relations of production that have become a fetter on the development of the productive forces. Also, the real existing socialism became a fetter on the development of the productive forces and were burst asunder and became oligarcho-capitalist since capitalist creative destruction (Schumpeter) is so far the relations of production that is most conducive to the development of the forces of production. The paper further argues that Bensaid is blind to the extreme ecological destructiveness of capitalism and the revolutionary potential of workers realizing that capitalism will destroy the climate/planet. As the International Trade Union Congress slogan goes: There are no jobs on a dead planet. From the starting point of historical materialism, the paper outlines the key strategic issues for the revolutionary left, the political challenges of left governments, immigration, climate policy and the Euro/EU.

Building Worker Power in the Tech Industry

Wendy Liu (London School of Economics)

Recent advances in information technology have led to the increasing dominance of technology corporations in many different sectors of the global economy. The result has often been deepening surveillance and exploitation of workers, whereby these technological advances enable increased returns to capital primarily by disempowering labour. What's often omitted in discussion of this phenomenon is the fact that these technological advances do not occur in a vacuum: they are designed, implemented and maintained by workers. Admittedly, these are workers in very different working situations to those actually driving the Ubers or fulfilling orders in Amazon's factories. Given the desirability of their skillsets and how close they are to key points of production, they tend to be significantly better paid often with stock or stock options in addition to salaries and experience much more comfortable working conditions. Still, at the end of the day, they are workers, and they have their own set of grievances. Sometimes those grievances come from their own working conditions lack of control over their output, long hours, inflexible management, etc. Sometimes they're ethical in nature, arising from moral discomforts with the conditions of their industry or the products they create. Either way, there is potential for politicising these workers. This talk will focus on the possibilities for organising "high-skilled" tech workers (especially software engineers) as a means of improving conditions for other workers in the industry. I'll begin with various historical reasons for low class consciousness in the industry, and what the prospects are for ameliorating that, with a focus on building solidarity between different types of tech workers. I'll sketch out the current state of worker organising in the tech industry, highlighting the work of groups like the Tech Workers Coalition. I'll then situate the discussion in the wider economic context that, combined with advances in technology, has led to a bifurcation of workers a large number of precarious workers

being exploited via algorithms that are designed by a small number of highly-paid workers. Finally, I'll explore the disproportionate impact that greater worker power in the tech sector could have on other parts of the economy.

Neoliberalism and the Carceral State: Guard Labour in the US and Canada

Dillon Wamsley (York University)

Resurgent far-right political forces in the US and Canada in the post-2008 period, combining appeals to tough-on-crime carceral agendas alongside accelerated market-based restructuring, necessitate critical reevaluations of the intersections between mass incarceration and neoliberalism. Over the past 40 years, a growing fraction of the labour force in the US has been devoted to supervising subordinate workers and enforcing the criminal justice, security, and military apparatuses of the state—a concept encapsulated by the term guard labour. While managerial-supervisory hierarchies in private firms and criminal justice apparatuses serve distinct social purposes, scholarship from the social structures of accumulation (SSA) school has elucidated the ways in which they intersect as mutually reinforcing modalities of power within the totality of relations of production and reproduction in capitalist societies. Drawing on SSA literature, and the work of Bowles, Gordon, and Weisskopf (1992), Gordon (1996), and Bowles and Jayadev (2004, 2006, 2007) in particular, this paper examines the growing presence of guard labour within the employment structures of the US and Canada under neoliberalism. Relying on the conceptual tools and methodological approaches of the SSA school, this paper expands on this literature in several ways. Using data from the Canadian census, I argue that Canada has closely paralleled the US in its reliance on guard labour during the neoliberal period. Second, engaging with contemporary literature on race, mass incarceration, and neoliberalism, this paper asserts that, alongside reproducing economic institutions and capitalist relations of exchange, guard labour upholds and enforces dominant racial orders in the US and Canada. This paper further advances two central theoretical arguments, which have several implications for contemporary understandings of neoliberalism. (i) First, contrary to the popular conception that corporate downsizing and lean production schemes implemented since the 1990s have contributed to flattening workplace hierarchies, this paper maintains that managerial and supervisory labour have become more prevalent within the US and Canadian employment structures during the neoliberal period. (ii) Second, I argue that the secular increase of guard labour within state criminal justice apparatuses and firm hierarchies indicates that the widespread management, control, and criminalization of marginalized populations has become a dominant feature of the institutional configurations, class relations, and racial hierarchies of neoliberalism in the US and Canada. These transformations, this paper maintains, are part of a broad political project to intensify the exploitation of workers, elevate social control over subordinate populations, and enforce compliance to economies characterized by low-wage, precarious work, residualized social support systems, structurally high levels of unemployment, and austerity.

Intersectionality and Marxism

Ashley Bohrer (Truax Postdoctoral Fellow, Hamilton College)

In recent years, there has been both renewed interest in conceptualizing the relationship between oppression and capitalism as well as intense debate over the precise nature of

this relationship. No doubt spurred on by the financial crisis, it has become increasingly clear that the effects of capitalism, both historically and in the 21st century, has particularly devastating effects for women and people of color. Intersectionality, which emerged in the late 20th century as a way of addressing the relationship between race, gender, sexuality, and class, has critiqued orthodox Marxism for its inattention to the complex dynamics of various social locations; in turn Marxist thinkers in the 21st century have engaged with intersectionality, calling attention to the impoverished notion of class and capitalism on which it relies. As intersectionality constitutes perhaps the most common way that contemporary activists and theorists on the left conceive of identity politics, an analysis of intersectionality's relationship to Marxism is absolutely crucial for historical materialists to understand and consider. This paper looks at the history of intersectionality and Marxism's critiques of one another in order to ground a synthesis of the two frameworks. It argues that in the 21st century, we need a robust, Marxist analysis of capitalism, and that the only robust account of capitalism is one articulated intersectionally, which treats class, race, gender, and sexuality as fundamental to capitalist accumulation.

Spectres of Fascism

Samir Gandesha (Simon Fraser University)

How might we come to terms with the rise of authoritarianism not just in the United States and Europe but also in the global south, in Brazil, India, Egypt, the Philippines among others? Is it helpful to think of this phenomenon in terms of the return of fascism? In order to provide a provisional answer to this question, the paper will be to sketch an account of twentieth-century fascism and then, against this picture, assess in what sense we can be said to confront fascism in the twenty-first century. Rather than being too hasty to assert that we are simply repeating and re-living the moment of Weimar, it is important to grasp both key discontinuities as well as continuities between that historical experience and our own. My thesis shall be that a key discontinuity lies in the fact that while twentieth-century fascism can be understood as the domination of financial by industrial capital, then if it is possible to speak of fascism in the twenty-first century, such a form would have to be understood as constituted by a precise reversal of this relation. That is to say, it would have to be understood as constituted by the hegemony of finance. Such a reversal, moreover, entails the increasing use of debt as means of governance (Lazzarato) that relies not just on objective, coercive forms of control, i.e. the state and law, but subjective, consensual ones as well, i.e. the manipulation of the psychodynamics of guilt. What we see is an intensification of the structure of debt/guilt (Schulden/Schuld) that, as Theodor W. Adorno had already shown, lies at the heart of the authoritarian personality structure of late capitalist social relations. A key continuity is that fascism represents the application of colonial techniques of domination to Europe itself (Fanon/Arendt/Traverso). Contemporary fascism evinces a similar propensity of the state to apply colonial techniques of domination to its own subject populations as is well exemplified in the case of the relation between the Troika and Greece. This is what Achille Mbembe has recently called the becoming Black of the world.

Why Was Marx's Account of Bonapartism Primarily Political? Lessons from the Capital Analysis in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

Omid Mehrgan (The Johns Hopkins University,)

In this paper I argue that in the absence of a mature analysis of the form of capital at the time of composing *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), political narrative was the main mode of presentation that Marx had at his disposal. Political narrative, however, was not merely a makeshift for economic analysis. Rather, there is a necessary relation for Marx between the political life and the capital form. Doing justice to Marx's operation in the *Eighteenth Brumaire* with regard to the rise of modern proto-fascist statist responses to the crisis of bourgeois republic calls for grasping this relation, which generated an antinomy arising from the nature of capitalist mode of production. The antinomy that arises in the *Eighteenth Brumaire* can be stated thus. Under the rule of capital it has been made possible for the first time in history to proclaim the republic as a political form that conforms to its social content, and yet under the rule of capital the form of the republic necessarily cannot conform to its content because the capital enforces the rule of one class over all others. By political form, I understand the idea of a lawful government, one and indivisible, whose legitimate sovereignty rests on its ability to represent the many members of the people as persons entitled to free, decent life. By social content, I mean the configuration of different classes and persons that live under the Republic with their material interests and their rightful claims, in virtue of the political form, to participating in forming the body politic. Both form and content are equally necessary for sustaining the Republic as a legitimate body. We have an antinomy here because there are two independently valid yet conflicted assertions on the republic insofar as the conditions for the possibility of the political form, the capital, come into conflict with the product of those conditions, that is, a political organization that claims to exist for benefiting all, not some, of the people. The paper will argue, first, that the arising of the antinomy is conditioned by the capitalist mode of production as a historically specific structure and, second, that the antinomy manifests itself in the inevitable political conflicts in the Republic. Inevitable because, in Marx's words, the political form in the Republic was not the form of its content but the form fittest for the rule of capital. In my argument, it is the performative nature of politics as participating of the people in determining their collective life that sustains the antinomian character of the republic in light of the historical genesis under capitalist mode of production.

Racism and the Logic of Capital: A Fanonian Reconsideration

Peter Leslie Hudis (Professor of Humanities and Philosophy, Oakton Community College)

The last several decades have produced a slew of important studies by Marxists of the logic of capital as well as numerous explorations by postcolonial theorists of the narratives that structure racial and ethnic discrimination. However, these currents have often assumed different or even opposed trajectories, making it harder to transcend one-sided class-reductionist analyses and equally one-sided affirmations of identity that bypass or ignore class. Given this impasse, the time has come to revisit how Frantz Fanon's view of the relation between capitalism, colonialism, and racism can help delineate anew the integrality of race and class. This paper will do so by exploring the

recently published 800-page collection of Fanons previously unknown or unavailable writings, as part of delineating the connection between racism and the logic of capital today.

Ewald Ilyenkov's Communist Cosmology and Contemporary Speculative Thought

Alexei Penzin (University of Wolverhampton)

The paper will discuss the radical and speculative character of the late Soviet thought, against the stereotypical perspective that presents it as submerged to dogmatism, with a few exceptions of creative" Marxism. Rather than speaking in terms of creative, I would suggest to discuss "speculative" aspect of late Soviet philosophy. Paradoxically, the Soviet thought, which was formed in the state established by militant and revolutionary materialism, and being Marxist and materialist itself, asked questions about ontological status of the ideal and distant future of communism and its cosmological function. I will elucidate this speculative side of late Soviet Marxism through a paradigmatic work - Ewald Ilyenkov's "Cosmology of the Spirit," written in the 1950s but published only posthumously in the 1980s . The text was heretical to be published in the authors lifetime because of its unorthodox and explosive speculative "drive". Using the hypothesis of the entropic death of the universe, extensive references to Engels Dialectics of Nature, and an elaborated philosophical argument based on Spinozas notion of the attribute, Ilyenkov claims that thought (and seemingly contingent emergence of thinking life) is a necessary attribute of matter as it is able to reverse thermal dying of cosmic matter, by producing a "conscious cosmic catastrophe" that will relaunch its motion. According to Ilyenkov, only communism provides the state of fully developed powers of thought that are necessary for that liminal cosmological function. Given the ontological challenges to Marxism from contemporary thought (post-humanism, new materialism, ANT, etc.), the speculative aspect of late Soviet Marxism definitely deserves attention today. In conclusion, I will be relying on Ilyenkov's cosmology in order to critically address the contemporary currents of speculative philosophy which discuss similar themes of absolute extinction, entropy, and the role of thought in the universe, however, being outside of the communist horizon of late Soviet thought.

After the 'Peaceful Violence' of Neoliberal Coloniality

James Trafford (University for the Creative Arts)

Contemporary populist movements in the US and UK as well as pasokification across Europe, are often seen to herald the end of neoliberalism due to economic anxiety, real income decline, and the reassertion of national interests. This view supported by analyses of neoliberalism in the social sciences, which often figure racial injustices as ideological fossils to be swept away by a fundamentally neutral political economy that has shaped all human activity according to market principles. According to standard analysis the resurgence of explicit racism and nationalism are radically anti-neoliberal, so can only be understood as a return of the political over the economic. Racial injustices are understood as material deviations from conditions of economic power on the one hand, and cultural deviations in hegemonic common-sense on the other. Against the grain of these approaches, I argue that racial injustices are fundamental to the structuring of our worlds, with neoliberal organisation just one iteration of ongoing coloniality. This allows us to foreground the peaceful violence of neoliberal social spaces that are stratified and ordered

around raciality whilst abjuring the explicit presence of racialised power. Neoliberalism, far from built on the categoric delegitimization of distinctions is in fact a stratified socius in which raciality organises and produces the possibility for neoliberal subjects themselves. As such, I argue that contemporary racialized violence and nationalist discourse is not only consistent with neoliberal systems and structures, but also results from weaknesses in its hegemonic power. Resultantly, we have a much-improved account of our contemporary moment, which clarifies the significant shortcomings of contemporary left-political movements in centering projects around a supposedly left-behind white working class.

The Content of Commodity Inputs: Formal Logic or Dialectical Logic in the Transformation Problem?

Andy Higginbottom (Kingston University)

Most commentary on Marx's transformation has done so in terms of formal logic that empties the determining concepts of their social content, as against the need for dialectical logic that preserves the real content and contradictions in the terms of the problem see Kay (2015 [1979]). My paper re-applies this crucial methodological point. The paper addresses the much discussed incompleteness of Marx's solution, specifically the need for commodity inputs to be transformed from simple values to prices of production, and argues that by re-examining the content we can pick out lines of solution that have been overlooked. Close attention is given to the argument as built in *Capital* Volume 3, and especially to the general form of cost price plus profit, prior to its specification in price of production as a particular magnitude. The three bearers of commodity cost inputs are machinery, raw materials and labour-power. Whilst most of the literature has concentrated on machinery as input commodity, Marx's examples already give a major clue as to the cost direction and weighting of raw materials as well. See specifically Chapters 1 and 6. The first conclusion is that this raw material commodity chain content needs to be included in the dialectical logic of the transformation. Secondly, the transformation of the value of labour-power to the equivalent of its price of production requires more extrapolation from the text. Labour-power is not the product of any given capital, and its sale as wage-labour does not realise surplus-value for the producer, but labour-power is the product of capitalist social relations, and Marx did identify the exploitation of racially oppressed labour as a counter tendency to the rate of profit falling. This paper extends the fleeting example, and argues that in considering labour-power as cost, rather than the differences between the price and value of labour-power, we detect the germs of a system dynamic driving towards reducing the cost of labour-power (that appears as the price of labour). Thus, whether by its direct supply, or mediated through the supply of cheap raw materials, the super-exploitation of labour transforms the commodity inputs. These points connect to a general extension of the transformation of surplus-value to profit to include different rates of surplus-value, that is the dimension of labour super-exploitation, so bringing the slaves and coolies, etc. back in as part of the overall contradictory system dynamics (laws) of the general rate of profit - for an outline, see my previous presentations HM 2009 and 2016. Kay, Geoffrey (2015 [1979]) *Why Labour is the Starting Point of Capital in Elson, Diane (editor) 2015 Value: The Representation of Labour in Capitalism. 2nd edition Verso: London pp 46-66.*

The World Bank, Inclusiveness, Power and Neoliberal Political Rationality

Maka Sondarjee (University of Toronto. The Great Transition.)

Since the 1980s, the World Bank is renowned for its implementation of the so-called Washington Consensus, an overly top-down and one-size-fits-all set of neoliberal policies in the global South. Has the World Bank become more open and inclusive since then? The answer to this question is twofold. First, this paper demonstrates how and to what extent the Bank changed its practices since the 1980s in terms of [1] relationship with NGOs, [2] participation of citizens in design and implementation of projects, [3] feedback mechanisms, [4] empowerment of borrowing governments, and [5] organizational decentralization. The second part of this paper's argument is that this evolution of practice reinforced the overall Bank neoliberal political rationality. This is the case despite the fact that this change was led simultaneously by multiple Bank practitioners in a variety of communities, rather than by the Bank as a capitalist actor. Building on critical development theorists and the French Marxist authors Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval book *The New Way of the World: On Neoliberal Society* (2014), this paper explains how changes in practice in an international organization (even if meaningful to its individuals) can promote stability in its institutional political rationality. Building a horizontal view of the power of international organizations, this paper defines neoliberalism not simply as an economic model promoted by the Bank, but as a specific form of thought, i.e. as a system of governmentality (Foucault 2004). Methodologically, this paper is based on a historical process-tracing, 120 interpretive interviews with high officials and staff at the World Bank, as well as an archive analysis of the period 1980-2014.

Fascism and the Challenge of Mass Society

Ishay Landa (The Open University of Israel)

In the historiography of fascism and in the way this political movement is understood across academic disciplines, and indeed remembered by the general public, few convictions have struck deeper roots than the one affiliating fascism with the masses. As conservative and liberal critics but also many radical ones traditionally aver ever since the 1930s, interwar European fascism was essentially a case of mass hysteria, an over-boiling of the pernicious populist tendencies inherent in mass democracy. This paper will revisit the long-standing notion that fascism was mass politics at its purest, least inhibited, and most vehement form. Scrutinizing such a common argument reveals not only that it is in some respects inadequate, but that it is in fact useful to reverse the argument altogether and see interwar fascism as the culmination of an effort on the part of the upper-class elites and their middle-class allies to subdue mass politics and its broader social, cultural and economic implications. The notion of mass society, newly approached, can offer vital insight into the nature of one of the most fateful political and social phenomena of modern times. Finally, critically confronting the deeply-ingrained association of historical fascism with the masses might also help us reconsider left-wing strategies in trying to contain the contemporary recrudescence of quasi-fascism, especially in approaching its alleged populism.

Time's Carcase: Spectral Objectivity and the Marxist Critique of Phenomenology

Itai Farhi (Kingston University)

Early in the first volume of *Capital*, Marx enigmatically refers to spectral objectivity (*gespenstige Gegenständlichkeit*) as a residue of congealed abstract labour. This paper will flesh out and develop the implications of this concept, tracing its precursors in the Enlightenment and German Idealism and showing how it conditioned 20th century ideas such as semblance, simulacrum and spectacle. Building on the work of the *Neue Marx-Lektüre*, this paper will argue that spectral objectivity is distinct from commodity fetishism, with which it is often conflated. Finally, this paper will investigate the prospects for a Marxist critique of the phenomenology of time, arguing that the failure of the phenomenological tradition to adequately account for the temporal distortions generated by money-based social relations is responsible for its contemporary "theological turn."

Metastases of Identity and Value: Blackness, Indigeneity, and the Post-Colony in the Art's Political Economies Today

Marina Vishmidt (Goldsmiths, University of London), Nizan Shaked (Professor of Contemporary Art History, Museum and Curatorial Studies, School of Art, College of the Arts) Jaleh Mansoor (Associate Professor, Department of Art, Art History and Theory)

This panel will consider the metabolisms of totality, ontology and negativity in contemporary aesthetics (Vishmidt), aboriginal labour, reconciliation, social replication and totality (Mansoor), and synthetic identity as a materialist category, with the example of Adrian Piper's 'indexical presence'. (Shaked)

Between Not-Everything and Not-Nothing: Some Current Metabolisms of Negativity

Marina Vishmidt (Goldsmiths, University of London)

This paper will consider the possibilities of articulating marxist ecology and afro-pessimist ontology through the problematic of the 'other-than-human'. The negativity and 'trans-rationality' of aesthetics and instances of production that unfold in its field will be the means for us to synthesize a processual and transformative notion of this otherness, rather than one which is rooted in a metaphysics of being. At the same time, the sweep of ontological conceptualizations of difference, suffering and 'world' seems to evoke a more affectively resonant totalization than the 'totality' posited by the political economic and social formulations of historical materialism; which is why the route through aesthetics seems important. Yet, from the side of historical materialist concepts of totality, the 'other-than-human' remains a question implicated in praxis: the way something like 'appropriation' in e.g. Jason Moore (and others) allows for a discussion of gender, race and the human which encompasses otherness to value as constitutive but is

not circumscribed by social reproduction theory's emphasis on recuperating that otherness in terms of labour. The paper will conclude with an open question about whether the implacable, 'anoriginary' presence of racialized experience and suffering still marks a divide between totality and ontology as effectual narratives on the scale of 'the world'.

Eisenstein and the Roots of Permanent Revolution

fleury marcela (Master's degree at the University of So Paulo)

Eisenstein and the roots of Permanent Revolution I will analyze Strike (Stachka, USSR, 1925), Eisenstein's first full-length film. The analysis will seek to establish the nexus between the film and the 1905 strike, and also with the 1924-25 context, when the film was made. The biennium 1924-25 was a crucial moment of the October Revolution. Due to the Civil War (1917-21) the vanguard, that had lived the 1917 insurrection, was gone. The reconstruction process of a workers vanguard was in the focus of widespread debates, even the artistic ones. The Russian ruling classes are shown in a caricatural and comical way through the film. Mine analysis aims to show why. Also it will draw parallels between the film and certain theoretical constructions by Leon Trotsky the "uneven and combined development law" (UCDL) and the "permanent revolution" theory whose very first formulations arose from Trotsky's Results and Prospects (1906), about the 1905 revolution. According to the UCDL, the working class when undergoing a fast-track industrializing process (in a country encompassing some pre-capitalist features, such as Russia), can quickly develop a high degree of consciousness. This is due to the experience of different productive mode combinations. In contrast, the corresponding bourgeoisie submissive to the core countries bourgeoisies is unable of a democratic revolution. The democratic tasks will then be lead on by the working class and synthesized into the socialist revolution. Traces of such elements are present in Strike staging. Thus, the unthinking behavior of the Russian bourgeoisie moreover with animalized features, insistently stressed, reveals its amorphous nature, proving its minority and inability to build a historical project. Thus, as to Strike and Trotsky's notions a concrete parallel is disclosed. My work proposition is to compare it. Proposal by Marcela Fleury University of Sao Paulo, Brazil Economic History Post-graduation Program marcela.as.fleury@gmail.com

Welcome Within the Machine - Human Machine Relations and Value Creation

Kendra Briken (University of Strathclyde Business School)

This paper discusses new technologies in regards to how they have the potential to change the human-machine relations on the shop floor in manufacturing. I am using the term manufacturing in a broad sense, encompassing work done in factory like environments, like data workshops or fulfilment centres. The aim is to re-visit the incorporation and absorption of the human worker as a mere appendage to the machine as described by Marx. Machines are said to substitute but also to contribute to the labour process in collaboration with human skill sets. Collaborative robots (co-bots) already work in very close proximity to workers in assembly. Wearables (wrist bands, data gloves and glasses, or even the smart phone) are attached to the human body, guiding and controlling workers movements. The notion of Industry 4.0 became the shorthand for new potentials of real time interconnectedness and feedback loops. Less discussed is the

fact that the data generated also is used to continuously improve work processes by extracting information down to the very micro level of neuroergonomics. The paper argues that workers are now more but an appendage to the machinery but are integrated into the machine settings. This has two consequences: The machine actively monitors and corrects the workers movements to improve their outputs through triggering specific emotions and affects. At the same time, the workers very own interactions with the system they are included in are extracted and feedback and processed. Workers situated knowledge, their tacit capital, and emotions and affects are the more and more likely to be recorded and analysed for future use and improvement (either on site or in factories elsewhere). What is at stake here is the equivalent of the passing of situated/tacit knowledge by to the next generations of workers, that has been a process harnessed by capital for years to create an ever more exchangeable workforce. In how far this crucial point of resistance for workers can be upheld, how actually existing workfare systems favour this type of work organisation, and what this means for further collective action and strategies will be discussed.

Marx 200

Michael Roberts (Independent Researcher)

Michael Roberts will present the main ideas in his book, Marx 200, which looks at the key economic ideas of Marx 200 years after his birth and considers their relevance today. Riccardo Bellofiore of the Universit di Bergamo, Italy and Fred Moseley, Emeritus Professor at Mount Holyoake College, Mass, USA will provide critical analysis and also offer their own thoughts on the relevance of Marx's economic theory in two separate papers.

World in Crisis - A Global Analysis of Marx's Law of Profitability

Michael Roberts (Independent Researcher)

Co-editors Guglielmo Carchedi, emeritus professor from the University of Amsterdam, and Michael Roberts will present different chapters from the World in Crisis, a new book that offers empirical evidence supporting Marx's law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall as the cause of crises in capitalism. Young scholars from Latin America, North America, Europe and Japan have chapters in the book and several of these will present the main points in their chapters. Tony Norfield, author of The City, will also present his chapter.

Towards a Queer Antiracist Marxist Theory of Law

Grietje Baars (University of London)

What Marxist theory lacks in explicit theorisation of subject formation and fetishisation, queer theory can supply. Where queer theory risks losing sight of structure and descend into identity politics, Marxist theory can provide the backstop. Where both Marxist and queer theory are colour blind and blind to the racialization of classed subjects, anti-racist queer theory can elucidate the roles racialization and gendering in the global economy past and present. Where Marxist theory of ideology fails to question, and to disrupt, the

basic conceptual building blocks of a mainstream narrative of the social-economic world, a queer antiracist Marxist theory should enhance the generative and transformative potential of Marxism. Where these theories are blind to the role of law in constructing and continually reproducing normative subjection, and with that racialised and gendered distribution, queer antiracist Marxist theory of law should assist in disrupting and eventually undoing whitecisheteropatriarchal capitalism.

The Law of Revolution?: Aporias of the Law in the Transition to Communism

Kevin Arauz, Diego Arrocha

In recent years, the relationship between the law and radical social transformation has been a topic of exploration and debate. Some of the most compelling politico-philosophical approaches to the problem have been developed on the plane of ontology, coupling communism as event to an immediate suspension or rendering inoperative of the law. In the process, the traditional Marxist problem of communist transition, and the aporetic status of the state and its accompanying organs has been neglected or made to appear anachronistic. Against the shift of this problem to the ontological plane, we return to the problematic of transition through a historical reconstruction of legal debates concerning the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will be done by constructing an investigative field whose major coordinates are the practical and theoretical debates on the status and nature of law in post-Revolution Russia and the subsequent resonance of these debates in Louis Althusser's and Etienne Balibar's work on the State and transition in the context of the late 1970s Communist Party move towards Eurocommunism. Against eschatological notions of communism, we propose to investigate the forms, functions, and content of the law in their relation to the necessary moments of mediation in the process of establishing real communist relations. While maintaining that communism entails the absence of the law, we hold on to the processional characteristic of the destruction of capitalist survivals. Keywords: socialist transition, law, dictatorship of proletariat, communism

Fetishism in Capital: Between Theory and History

Luca Basso (University of Padua)

At the center of my paper is the concept of fetishism in Capital, between analysis of its theoretical status and historical reconstruction of the problem. In Marx, in some ways, fetishism constitutes a rearticulation of the theme of ideology, in its irreducibility to "false consciousness", to alienated projection. The reading here of fetishism differs from two possible interpretations, both strongly present in the history of Marxism. The first tends to reduce fetishism to mere falsification, to mere unreality, to which an evident, luminous reality contrasts. The second, opposite, consists in giving life to a sort of Weltanschauung of fetishism, making it an all-pervasive dimension. But, unlike an optical illusion or a superstitious belief, fetishism does not appear to be a mistaken view of the present situation, rather constituting the way in which a given social structure appears. The mechanism of inversion relates to the praxis of men within the contexts in which they move: thought is not a pure reflection, but an active part of the social sphere, a modification of it. We will ask ourselves about the historical determination of the problem, in order to understand if fetishism constitutes an aspect of all the productive forms that have happened in history, or if it is rather a distinctive sign of the capitalist

system in its “specific difference” compared to previous arrangements: the second solution in Marx seems prevalent. In the first chapter of the first book of Capital Marx exposes four situations in which the indicated element is absent. Two of them are historical and refer to the economic-social relations of the Middle Ages and to the patriarchal industry of a peasant family; the other two present an imaginary or hypothetical character, and concern the famous island of Robinson Crusoe and that association of free men that constitutes communism. We are therefore confronted with a comparison framework, which, having as its object the phenomenon of a specific social system such as the capitalist one, is realized through the setting up of different structures, but apparently united by the absence of the element of fetishism.

Of Savages and Vampires: Race and the Right in the Writings of Furio Jesi

Alberto Toscano (Goldsmiths, University of London)

Over the course of his brief but intense intellectual career, the Italian mythologist Furio Jesi (1941-1980) developed a unique framework for reflecting on the place of racism and the stigmatisation of the different in the working of what he termed the mythological machine. Aiming at a speculative reconstruction of his unfinished project on the ignoble savage (*il cattivo selvaggio*), this talk will range across Jesi's writings on the culture of the right, anti-semitism and the blood libel, the literature of secret Germany, Bachofen, Pavese and Brecht, as well as his vampire novel *The Last Night* (*Lultima notte*), to draw from this fascinating and uncategorizable thinker some of the tools through which to take on the right, in full cognizance of the enduring force of the mythic.

What is a Marxist Erotics?

Paul Hill Reynolds (Edge Hill University & Historical Materialism EB)

Whilst critical Marxist work on sexuality has developed significantly over the last three decades, it has mainly focused on sexual identities, relations, rights and justice. Less work has been done on sexual practice and more specifically the place of erotic pleasure in a Marxist conception of sexuality. The various strands of erotic insight draw more from transgressive authors such as Bataille, Sedgwick and Wilchins, the repositories of psychoanalysis or cultural critiques such as Featherstone and Von Teese, and dwell on the characteristics of deferral, taboo, theatricality and imaginaries, techniques of stimulation, the aesthetics of desire and pleasure, power exchanges and the embodied sensations of lack and excess. Do these translate into a Marxist erotics and how critical is it to have a sense of the erotic within Marxist scholarship and in Marxist politics and comradeship? This paper will pick up on some key themes in a Marxist erotics.

The Citizen and the Tailandi: Racializing Labour Power in Israel

Matan Kaminer (University of Michigan)

Jewish-Israeli warehouse workers perceive the minimum wage they receive as indexing a lack of skill and condemning them and their families to basic subsistence. But Thai migrant farmworkers in Israel feed themselves and their families on wages far below this minimum. Most accounts of split labour markets perceive the process that justifies and naturalizes this differential as causally preceding the wage nexus, but my fieldwork among these two groups shows that the wage itself, what it is perceived as paying for and what it enables the worker and her family to live on are all essential ingredients of the racialization process. Both the sharply drawn caricature of the humble, hardworking tailandi and the shadowy, unmarked figure of the Jewish-Israeli citizen are in large part creations of the wage nexus and all it entails. To theorize this crucial but heretofore ignored element of the racialization process, I suggest that it would be useful to relax one of Marx's chief assumptions in *Capital*. Assuming that in a given country, at a given period, the average quantity of the means of subsistence necessary for the labourer is practically known (Marx 1982, 275) makes it possible to determine the rate of surplus value, but only at the price of explaining away wage differentials as either justified returns on investment in skill or unjustified distortions of equitable exchange. The assumption necessary as it may be thus brings Marxism uncomfortably close to the untenable liberal position which sees race as an ephemeral phenomenon liable to be swept away by the inexorable laws of capitalist development. But if we allow for the possible coexistence of differential labour powers in the same labour market, we can begin to apply the analytical lens of commodity fetishism to labour power itself. The ongoing historical process of racialization is obscured in the figures of the tailandi and the citizen-worker, each of which commands a different wage, much as other historical processes are obscured when other products appear on the market and command different prices. By allowing for the coexistence of differential labor-powers, I argue, Marxism can not only overcome a theoretical bias which leads to a facile dismissal of race, but also make a positive contribution to understanding why and how this category takes on such maddening durability in capitalist societies.

Racialisation, Accumulation, and the Settler Colonial War on Indigenous Women

Justin Paulson (Carleton University), Julie Tomiak (Ryerson University)

This paper is part of a larger project titled *Murderous capitalism and the settler colonial war on rebel bodies: Indigenous women on the front lines in British Columbia* that frames violence against Indigenous women within the historical context of capitalism's attack on women and Indigenous peoples, through an investigation of processes of enclosure in contemporary British Columbia. Drawing on feminist Marxist and Indigenous political economy perspectives (Coulthard 2014; Federici 2004; Kuokkanen 2008; Luxemburg 1913; Manuel and Derrickson 2015), as well as the Black radical tradition (Robinson 1983; Johnson and Lubin 2017), we examine the prevalence of structural and physical violence as a foundational dynamic of racial capitalism, in relation to the intensification of accumulation by dispossession in a place where land and title issues remain unsettled. At the same time, we argue that the structural location of Indigenous women as antagonists to capital works both ways. The systemic nature of genocidal violence against

Indigenous women, as subjects that capitalism seeks to destroy, not only highlights the necropolitical dimensions of positioning Indigenous bodies as in the way of development and as obstacles to capitalist accumulation (Mbembe 2003; Razack 2015, 2012), but also draws attention to the power of Indigenous resistance and resurgence, with Indigenous women on the front lines of struggles both historically and in the present against settler capitalism and for land and life. Following a presentation of our theoretical framework at HM-Montral, this new paper will present the results of our first stage of archival fieldwork in British Columbia conducted over the summer and fall of 2018. We will highlight the ways that the perceived incompatibility of Indigeneity to capital and to property rights fed the continued policies of elimination amid the attempted subsumption of land, people, and traditions into racialized, settler-capitalist property relations over the 20th and 21st centuries, and the ways that Indigenous women continue to resist.

Profane politics and the uncertainties of the in-between

Darren Roso, Hager Weslati, Jamila Mascot

According to Daniel Bensad, profane revolution does not spring from a compulsive dynamic of desires, but from a dialectic of needs. Drawing on his theorising of profane politics as the art of strategy, the panel situates the specificity of contemporary Alt-right movements and its specific brand of populist reason in a coalition of interlinked phenomena, namely: dispossession of common or public goods and services, the violation of subsistence rights, decimation of the commons and shared public spaces, and the rise of the police state. From the Pascalian necessity of the wager, to the Deleuzean middle, to the discordance of times, the panel invites reflection and debate around the concrete applications of Bensad's theorising of profane politics.

Book Launch, Mistaken Identity

Asad Haider (Penn State University)

Whether class or race is the more important factor in modern politics is a question right at the heart of recent history's most contentious debates. Among groups who should readily find common ground, there is little agreement. To escape this deadlock, Asad Haider turns to the rich legacies of the black freedom struggle. Drawing on the words and deeds of black revolutionary theorists, he argues that identity politics is not synonymous with anti-racism, but instead amounts to the neutralization of its movements. It marks a retreat from the crucial passage of identity to solidarity, and from individual recognition to the collective struggle against an oppressive social structure. Weaving together autobiographical reflection, historical analysis, theoretical exegesis, and protest reportage, *Mistaken Identity* is a passionate call for a new practice of politics beyond colorblind chauvinism and the ideology of race.

Mythical Concepts: The Irrational Appropriation of Reason

Orestis Didimiotis (University of Athens)

One of the most critical, though often neglected, questions that social sciences tried to deal with in the past century is how Nazism has succeeded in becoming a popular

movement, meaning to acquire the voluntary support of the masses and project its agenda as “reasonable”. (Neo-)Nazi propaganda constitutes a form of knowledge that can provide a convincing, if not "attractive", interpretation of social life through changing racial, national and sexist schemas of domination and separation. Racism, anti-Semitism, nationalism, sexism etc. are forms of knowledge in the dual sense of 1) the desire for knowledge and 2) cognitive activity. The latter is not exhausted in a simple strategic calculation of interests, nor does it obey the control mechanisms of rationality, but on the contrary it involves a profoundly psychic process. The method of (neo-)Nazism, as we know, is mainly "psychological" in the sense that it does not try to persuade people with arguments and reasoning but instead it attempts to exploit the unconscious mechanisms through the recourse to a mythical enunciation, constructing imaginary representations of "We" and "They". However, the generated knowledge, despite all the delusions and distortions it contains, is not experienced as irrational by its holders to the extent that it offers a system of (re) presentations that simplify the contradictions of social life and give meaning to existence, contributing to the acquisition of an imaginary collective identity and purpose: the nation as a mythical principle of organization, the formation of an idealized "We", the construction of a fictitious enemy etc. Thus, Nazism, while historically was self-proclaimed as a "revolutionary" movement that will overthrow the degenerate, “cold” world without a "soul", as a force of "liberation" of nature, namely instincts and emotions, in contrast to the political correctness of repressive civilization, it proves also to be capable of maintaining a "rational" shell or differently an imitation of reason supported by the abstract functions of the mechanism of thought; a kind of subjective or formalized reason (Horkheimer, 2004) in the service of the operational value of subjective interests, failing to reflect on the content of social pursuits. (Neo-)Nazism’s success lies precisely in the strategic use of this "formalized reason", and in the translation of its neutralized concepts into beliefs and functions that are inherently "mythical", meaning into “mythical concepts”. Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy (1990) show that Nazi thinking, as at least imprinted in the "theoretical" texts of Hitler and Rosenberg, explicitly states its preference “[...] to a kind of mythical proffering, which is not however poetic, but which draws all its sources from the naked, imperious power of his own affirmation.” Mythical concepts are unable to be examined in terms of their content since they are based not on argumentation and reflection but on the activation of "self-evident" affirmations and repetitive "certainties" that escape any critical scrutiny. They become accepted as "revealed truth", instead of being experienced as part of an intellectual effort.

Germany’s Hidden Crisis: Social Decline in the Heart of Europe

Oliver Nachtwey (University of Basel)

Upward social mobility represented a core promise of life under the “old” West German welfare state, in which millions of skilled workers upgraded their VWs to Audis, bought their first homes, and sent their children to university. Not so in today’s Federal Republic, however, where the gears of the so-called “elevator society” have long since ground to a halt. In the absence of the social mobility of yesterday, widespread social exhaustion and anxiety have emerged across mainstream society. This paper will introduce the core theses of Oliver Nachtwey’s new book, to be published by Verso in October 2018. Nachtwey diagnoses contemporary Germany as a society of “regressive modernization”, in which the selective integration of marginalized social groups has gone hand-in-hand with an overall decline in living standards and social stagnation, laying the potential for growing instability and political polarization in the medium term.

The Theoretical and Political Relevance of Marx Biographies

Michael Heinrich (PROKLA; Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung), Sven-Eric Liedman (University of Gothenburg)

The 200th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth led to, alongside other titles, the publication of several new biographies of the renowned thinker. What is the relevance of such biographies do they only reveal the personal life of an author, or do they also possess some relevance for the discussion of their theories? How is biographical writing is possible, if one accepts Marx's insight that the material and social conditions heavily influence the development and thinking of the individual? Is a biography mainly the construction of the biographer? And what is the political dimension and commitment of Marx biographies? Michael Heinrich and Sven-Eric Liedman, both authors of recent biographies of Karl Marx, will discuss these questions.

Deleuze's Critique of Dialectics and its Challenge Afforded by Adorno's Negative

Nektarios Kastrinakis (University of York, UK)

It is widely accepted that Deleuze's book *Nietzsche and Philosophy* played a seminal role in spurring the enthusiasm for Nietzsche in France in the 1960s and 1970s (Patton, 2000, p.4, Schrift, 1995, p.14, Pecora, 1986, p.35, Bogue, 1990, p.404) and that it is one of the major references of the New Nietzsche espoused by French poststructuralism (Allison, 1999). In this book Deleuze reads Nietzsche as mounting a comprehensive critique of dialectics: dialectics is accused of jumping from subject to predicate and from predicate to subject without ever determining what each of them is (Deleuze, 2005, p. 157); of starting from the negation of the other instead of the positive affirmation of its own difference; of posing a negation and then a negation of the negation or a synthesis (Deleuze, 2005, p. 10); finally, dialectics is accused that it is animated by revenge and resentment posing contradiction in the place of positive difference (Deleuze, 2005, p. 10). This critique of dialectics is one of the major theoretical reasons for the rejection of Marx and Marxism on the part of the principal contesters of leftist radicalism, namely the postmodernist and poststructuralist currents in western thought. It is also one of the major (again theoretical) reasons why the opposition to capitalism remains divided. In this paper I will try to explore to what extent the above charges against dialectics can be productively challenged with the use of Adorno's Negative Dialectics. The argument will be that Deleuze and Adorno are in one, up to a point, on their critique of Hegelian and Orthodox Marxist dialectics, and that Adorno's understanding of dialectics as the consistent sense of non-identity (Adorno, 2007, p. 5) contains a stronger and richer defence of difference than the one afforded in Deleuze's argument. References Adorno, T. (2007). *Negative dialectics*. New York, London: Continuum. Allison, D. B. (1999). *The new Nietzsche*. MIT Press. Bogue, R. (1990). *Gilles Deleuze: postmodern philosopher? Criticism*, 32(04), 401-418. Deleuze, G. (2005). *Nietzsche and Philosophy*. London-New York: Continuum. Patton, P. (2000). *Deleuze and the political*. London and New York: Routledge. Pecora, V. P. (1986). *Deleuze's Nietzsche and poststructuralist thought*. *Substance*, 14(48), 34-50. Schrift, A. D. (1995). *Nietzsche's French legacy: a genealogy of poststructuralism*. New York-London: Routledge.

Concerning Labour Markets and the Commodification of Social Difference in the Alberta Oil Sands

Ewen MacArthur (University of British Columbia)

In this paper, I consider ethnographic conversations I had during fieldwork in Fort McMurray and Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, in 2016 with two sets of workers: Albertan trades-workers employed in the oil sands (pipe-fitters, welders and boilermakers) and Filipino/a Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs) employed in the local service sector (cooks, caregivers and kitchen helpers). I analyse these workers self-reflections on their own work routines as providing a sightline into the ways labour market processes and regulatory frameworks are manifest in and negotiated through their lives. I draw especially on the theories of Karl Polanyi and Karl Marx in my analysis. Through ethnography I also show how the labour market processes these thinkers analyse shape, and are shaped by, social differences they each tend to neglect (e.g. nationality, citizenship, migration status, race, ethnicity, gender), and which more recent post-colonial, feminist, and critical race theorists have emphasised. Hence from the Albertan context, I conceptualise how state-regulated labour markets re-fashion, and are re-fashioned by, the cultural identities of workers. I show how local labour market processes re-make and aggravate social differences between Albertan trades-workers and Filipino/a TFWs in Alberta, in ways that are not superficially or simply motivated by forms of discrimination (e.g. xenophobia, racism, sexism), but which nonetheless agitate and divide an emergent precariat (Standing 2011). I hope this thesis can provide the basis for further ethnographic and comparative research.

Subjectivation and Resistances: Is Law the Only Way?

Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Department of Political Science and Public Administration)

In the debate on ideology and subjectivity, the concept of law plays a central, yet controversial role. It is known as the key-concept of the Althusserian scene of interpellation, where police-law interpellates-accuses a random passenger and the passengers response points out her subjectivation. But it is also known as the target of the Foucauldian critique, which suggests quitting the jurico-discursive conception of power and adopting a notion of power as a more productive and multidimensional force. If subjects are born within relations of power and antagonism, then the power net that constitutes the antagonistic relations simultaneously determines the status of subjectivity. This status is not only about the complexity or the diversity of every subject; it refers mainly to the quality of the being-subject. Thus, some subjects are more hegemonic than others, some subjects are more visible than others, and, eventually, some subjects are more subjects than others, strictly speaking. We could therefore suggest that, within a power relation, resistance practices against the hegemonic pole are not just resistance practices against power: they are also practices of subjectivation; of subjectivation not only as a process necessarily present in a power struggle or as a result of a power struggle which is created in the absence of its agents, but of subjectivation as an active claim for being a subject articulated by the resisting - non-hegemonic pole of the power relation. In other words, every resistance practice is essentially a hegemonic practice while also irrespective of the outcome of the power struggle. We may now ask: is the resisting subject being constituted exclusively by its response to the interpellation of the hegemonic pole of the power struggle? And, if yes, how can the obedience to a

hegemonic law attribute potentially hegemonic characteristics to the one who obeys? On the other hand, could we possibly imagine that the resisting subject is being partially subjectivated through its (dis)obedience to the hegemonic law and that at the same time it suggests a new mode of subjectivation beyond the hegemonic one? My aim is to illuminate these questions through references to the ancient Greek tragedy of Sophocles Antigone. Far from a dominant interpretation of Antigone as the paradigm of the autonomous subject which freely determines its life, I suggest that the Greek text rather provides us with a much more complex though clear image of what we could call asymmetric routes of subjectivation. Antigone is a bad and a good subject at the same time: bad because she does not obey the sovereign power, namely Kreon; good because the precondition for this disobedience is her obedience to another non-hegemonic power, a power that, though, cherishes the status of law: this non-hegemonic power is no other than the word of the gods. Could we imagine the possibility of a subject balancing between subjection and hegemony? Furthermore, is subjection, obedience to a law, either a hegemonic or a non-hegemonic one, the only way to become a subject?

Reform the System and the Subject Will Transform, Transform the Subject and she will Dismantle the System: Between Pragmatic and Utopian Politics

Sophie Chamas (Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford), Ghassan Makarem (Socialist Forum) Muireann Meehan Speed (Refugees Studies Centre, University of Oxford), Peter Drucker (International Institute for Research and Education, Amsterdam)

This panel will examine the intersections between utopia in queer and critical race theory and Marxist praxis. Inspired by the work of Lauren Berlant, Jose Munoz, Judith Butler, Jack Halberstam, Fred Moten and the like, the papers in this panel aim to contrast the pragmatic politics increasingly characteristic of many rights-based social movements across the globe, with the utopian impulse of the radical left.

Pregnancy, Childbirth and Anti-capitalist Struggle

Anna Fielder (University of Auckland)

In the year that Trump became president of the USA, Paul Ryan, then Speaker of the US House, called upon women to fulfil their patriotic duty by having more children. An ardent opposer of immigration and tax increases for the rich, he suggested raising the US birth rate in order to boost the size of the future workforce and counter the effects of an aging population. Ryan failed to mention that maternity care in the US is the most expensive in the world, and that rates of maternal death are notably high and have been rising. He also neglected to mention that African-American women are around three times more likely to die due to childbirth related causes than are white women. Marxist-feminists have long noted that capital needs babies to be born in order that the next generation of flesh and blood workers is produced, and Paul Ryans comments illustrate the continued relevance, and contemporary pertinence, of this analysis. Whilst contemporary marxist-feminists involved in developing social reproduction theory often mention biological reproduction (most notably pregnancy and childbirth) in passing, sustained focus in social reproduction theory tends to be given to other topics such as

childcare provision, education, sexuality etc. In this paper I grapple with the messy topic of childbirth, which I argue is inherently social (but never entirely so). Amongst the wide-ranging feminist opponents of the far-right, in the USA and elsewhere, are women, activists and health workers who fight specifically for reproductive rights in childbirth. They draw attention to the fact that maternal and infant death associated with childbirth are closely linked to poverty and race. They speak out about coercion within the maternity services, refusing to see the intimidation of childbearing women as the prerogative of health experts, instead naming it as obstetric abuse and violence. Birth activists note that in the UK and Australia women are increasingly deciding to give birth outside of the maternity system due to fear (often grounded on previous experience) that their needs cannot, or will not, be met within the maternity services. Links are being made between poor maternity service provision, and inadequate staffing and resourcing of maternity services, including low pay of health workers. As the far-right continues to promote pregnancy and childbirth as women's duty, whilst systematically underfunding (essential) maternity services and eroding the rights of those who gestate and give birth, I argue that there is a need for marxist-feminists to take the issues and struggles around pregnancy and childbirth more seriously. I suggest that the terrains of pregnancy and childbearing constitute important sites for anti-capitalist and anti-fascist work. In this context, I begin to sketch a highly political, non-essentialising reading of childbearing that draws upon, but seeks to reach beyond some of the contemporary limit points of, social reproduction theory.

Contextualising Migration, Borders and the Rise of the Right: Methods and Strategies

Paolo Novak (SOAS), Hannah Cross (Westminster), Fabian Georgi (Marburg), Adam Hanieh (SOAS)

The global rise of the right since the deep crisis of 2008 is crucially intertwined with the contradictions and dynamics of migration and borders. The panel aims to shed light on this relation by asking how the understanding of such crucial intersections can and/or should be approached from a historical-materialist perspective, and by offering methodological reflections on the relation between migration, borders and the rise of the Right. Its papers are premised on the shared understanding that migration a) cannot be studied in isolation from wider social contexts, as mainstream migration studies often does, b) cannot be considered as completely autonomous from other constitutive elements of border regimes, and c) cannot be dissolved into an investigation of micro-practices of doing borders. On the contrary, a key element of a materialist perspective on migration is that it sees migration as part of broader social contexts and processes of social change. The papers constituting this panel thus situate the study of migration and borders within those contexts and processes. While sharing these methodological premises, the papers are also concerned with bringing to the fore differences and potential disagreements about which context(s) should the study of migration and borders be situated within, which processes of social change are the most significant to understand their relation, how such contexts and processes are related to migration, borders and to each other. In exploring these questions, our papers attempt to identify and analyse the dynamics and historical constellations in which migration and borders are intertwined, by which they are shaped, and which they shape in turn. Ultimately, our understanding of migration and borders is strongly influenced by how we contextualise and conceptualise them and this contextualisation/conceptualisation, in turn, shapes our ideas about what is to be done about the rise of the right, both analytically and politically.

Strategic Perspectives on the French Left since 2001

Mathieu Bonzom (Universit Paris 1 (Panthon-Sorbonne))

This century is still looking for its own path(s) to socialism among the rubble of a historic and seemingly never-ending defeat. Over the last 15 years, the French radical left has often caught the attention of marxists across the world, for its moments of hope as well as its missed opportunities. In November, we will be able to draw tentative conclusions from the year's mass student and worker mobilizations and rekindle broader strategic debates with fresh insights. This proposal is centered on the strategic scenarios that have existed on the French left since 2001, and in particular, on different theories about how mass movements can score significant victories and (re)open a path (paths) to successful counter-hegemony. We will therefore need to look back at various phases in the recent history of the French radical left from a strategic point of view: - How have strategic debates in France been shaped by the crisis of representational regimes which has been raging for over ten years across Europe and North America? How can we characterize the major attempts made to overcome the dire lack of a counter-hegemonic pole in French politics? - How did French activists conceive the possibility of victory and the causes for the actual defeat in 2003, eight years after the success of the 1995 movement? Has the French left learned anything from the subsequent scenarios for victory it has put forward? - How have various social forces (among younger generations, ethnic and racial minorities) displayed some degree of interest in becoming part of such a pole, and how have French radical left organizations paid attention to them? - What strategic perspectives appear obsolete under such light, and what new ones might we need? Those are some of the key questions that will have to be asked in order to clarify the stakes of this year's movement against ever-deeper neoliberalism, state violence and far-right threats. On the basis of my own experience in the French radical left since 2002, I will attempt to offer a few incomplete answers so as to fuel ongoing strategic debates. While still processing the most recent developments, I can already indicate that for me, under present conditions, the aim of governance and revolutionary strategy need to be combined; that in order to combine them we need new or updated strategic scenarios (theoretically and practically grounded, and potentially appropriated by masses of people); and that such scenarios always contain not only considerations about what kind(s) of mass action, or even what forms of self-activity, but also and perhaps chiefly, what combination(s) of social forces are possible and necessary. Thus, looking at the limited ability of existing left organizations to join forces with racial minorities struggling against police brutality and state discrimination, or with young radicals who are spontaneously drawn to "Black Block" or "Zone to Defend" methods of struggle, will help us offer new perspectives on how present mass movements can win or why they lose, as well as how we can restore hope for even bigger victories.

Reification and the Contradictions of Capital's Life-Process

Arthur Bueno (Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, University of Erfurt)

The changing relations between critical theory and political economy are made visible in the historical fate of the concept of reification. While Lukcs 1923 essay articulated insights from German sociology with Marx's critique of political economy, this connection has been de-emphasized over time and especially in recent approaches within critical theory. On the other hand, current attempts to make Marx's political economy

relevant for the analysis of capitalism's crises have largely moved away from the critique of reification. Against this background, the paper proposes a re-actualization of this concept by addressing two major critiques that were raised against *History and Class Consciousness*. The first holds that Lukács presents a totalising account of modern capitalist society that would fail to adequately consider the latter's differentiation into a variety of institutionalised domains. Exploring the tensions between the 'pervasiveness-thesis' and the 'differentiation-thesis' in Lukács's essay, I argue that the critique of capitalism as a differentiated social order is fully compatible with the diagnosis of a wide-ranging, though incomplete, extension of the commodity-form beyond the economic sphere. According to a second reproach often raised against *History and Class Consciousness*, the critique of reification would rely on an essentialist conception of authentic life. A close examination of the notions of essence and life deployed in the book demonstrates, however, that this is not the case. The joint consideration of these issues makes room for a concept of reification which is able to grasp the contradictions of capitalist society in their multiple institutional dimensions while drawing its critical potential not from ahistorical conceptions of human essence and life, but from these internal contradictions themselves.

Turkish Far-Right in a Historical Perspective: The Case of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP)

Ali Mert Ipek (Middle East Technical University)

For many students and observers of Turkish politics, the Nationalist Action Party's (MHP) recent dramatic shift in its political orientation towards the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rule in Turkey after the failed coup attempt in 2016 was a surprising development. After a decade in the parliament as a minor opposition party under the leadership of Devlet Baharlı, the party has become an unofficial coalition partner of the AKP especially with the establishment of the Peoples Alliance for the candidacy of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the 2018 presidential election. The MHP has been in Turkey's political scene since the mid-1960s. It has gradually consolidated its position in the far-right of the political spectrum by attracting votes from different segments of society notwithstanding it encountered with relative declines in its organizational strength on several occasions, intra-party schisms at different times and the party's closure decision of the military junta in 1980. Throughout its historical trajectory, it could demonstrate a capacity for survival by adjusting itself to the developing social, political and economic circumstances at the national and international level. These readjustments often included changing attitudes towards Islam, democracy and the state. However, what has remained the same is the impact of the MHP that always goes well beyond its electoral performance, particularly in those times when there is a state of ungovernability in Turkish politics. This is what makes the MHP an interesting case for the study of ultra-nationalism in Turkey. Today, yet again, the MHP is at the very heart of the political and/or academic discussions regarding the present political landscape and the future prospects of the country. It must be noted that Baharlı himself and the top-rank party cadres were key political actors in the post-2016 period with their support to the declaration of the state of emergency, the constitutional changes creating a presidential system, the alliance formation, and finally, the call for snap elections. Considering the fact that the MHP's political and ideological stance has been characterised by a fierce opposition to the AKP for a long time, this convergence between two parties lately no doubt represents a new era in the party's own history. This paper in this respect aims to account for the place of the MHP in Turkish politics within a comprehensive framework that enables us to develop a critical understanding on the party's past and present by raising the questions

which include -What does this party represent? What is the social base of the party? and How did it change in the course of time? It is here suggested that the study of the MHP requires a periodization of its historical development according to the political strategies it followed and the ideological discourse it adopted. This periodization would not only shed light on the different appearances of the ultra-nationalism in Turkey under the specific historical conditions from the 1970s onwards but also the significant role played by the MHP in reinforcing ruling class power in different periods.

Ideas as Intellectual Instruments Insights from Spinoza, Marx and Vygotsky

Vesa Oittinen (Professor, Aleksanteri Institute (Center for Russian and East European Studies), University of Helsinki, Finland)

In my paper, I attempt to analyse the concept of intellectual instruments and their role in Marxist theory. The concept itself was introduced to Marxism by the psychologist Lev Vygotsky, who saw the ideas and concepts as a kind of intellectual tools parallel to physical, material tools. However, the expression intellectual instrument itself was coined not by Vygotsky. He borrowed it from Spinoza, who had in his *Tractatus de intellectus emndatione* a long passage on how the mind forges for itself ideal instruments in an analogous manner to the hand forging material instruments. According to Vygotsky, Spinoza himself was yet too bound by the metaphysics of his time in order to be able to draw all the consequences of his revolutionary idea, but it would prove extremely fruitful for a Marxist theory of consciousness; indeed, it would form the base of a Marxist philosophical anthropology. However, in subsequent discussions, the option of intellectual instruments has largely been neglected. Instead, Marxist theories of consciousness, both in psychology and in philosophy, have mostly relied on the idea of consciousness as a reflection of the material world, or, alternatively, leant on such non-Marxist philosophies as phenomenology. I attempt to analyse, in which sense ideas and concepts can be considered as tools of instruments, and which are the prerequisites for their use in that function. The concept of ideas as tools challenges not only a vulgar reflexology which often has passed as Marxism, but even the phenomenological view on human consciousness, and helps to establish a crucial difference between Marxism and phenomenology. In the final, concluding part of my paper, I intend to apply the results of my analysis to the material offered by the paleoanthropology and discuss the manner how intellectual tools have developed side by side with the material tools. In particular, I attempt to show, how the constitutive trait of concepts and ideas, namely their ideality, itself emerges from their tool character. The paper develops some ideas I had expressed already in my presentation at the International Hegel Congress in Vienna 2014.

New Debates in Marxist Dependency Theory. Lessons to be Learned from Current Struggles in South America

Mariano Fliz (CIG/IdIHCS-CONICET/UNLP)

This paper wishes to provide debates and actualizations within the latinamerican marxist dependency theory (LMDT), in light of the consolidation of some theoretical understandings within marxist theory and renewed debates in Latin America into LMDT. We will discuss how new debates on value-theory, feminist theory, State theory

and thoughts on extractivism can enrich LMDT to provide with a fuller appreciation of current struggles against capitalism, patriarchal rule, racism and neoextractivism in Latin America. Our approach will be to provide a synthesis of LMDT and work through it to put into debate these subjects withing such framework. We hope to provide the basis for a renewed framwork withing LMDT.

On the Jihadi-LGBT-Communist Alliance: An Analysis of Slovenia's Right Wing Press

Nejc Slukan (University of Ljubljana)

The recent Slovenian elections have shown a somewhat fragmented political landscape on the centre-left, while at the same time an increase in support for the left-wing Levica party and the further consolidation of a near-hegemonous position of the SDS party on the Slovenian right. After a longer period of SDS being a more or less standard pro-EU centre-right neoliberal party, the signs of a more decisive turn right-ward have become obvious and nowhere is this clearer than in the segment of the media, both new and old, that is controlled by it. Magazines such as Demokracija, kandal24, the TV channel and internet news-site Nova24, funded by associates of the Orban regime, or a newly forming coalition of right-wing oriented radio stations have become, fully functioning ideological machines, that are spreading alternative narratives on the happenings of Slovenian political and social life throughout a not-insignificant portion of the Slovenian population. To fully understand this situation it is also imperative to point out the political and financial links between the Orban regime and the SDS party, which is particularly clear when it comes to media ownership. We will start our analysis of the content and rhetorics of this media landscape by focusing on the idea of "post-truth" or "post-factuality" an often misused terms that gets too easily reduced to mass spreading of fake-news, while ignoring its ideological precondition. We will argue, in line with Maurizio Ferraris' recent analysis of the subject, that if there is such a thing as a contemporary problem of post-factuality, then it is to be located precisely in a general scepticism towards public statements that are habitually reduced to the specific interests behind those statement. This otherwise critically-tinged idea, shows its devastating consequences in the increasingly tribal nature of media ecosystems, whose vulgar Foucauldianism proves to be a fertile ground for the mainstreaming of what the sociologist Colin Cambell called the "cultic milieu". A mixture of antisemitism, anti-vaccination paranoia, conspiracies about a communist-jihadi alliance and the like are increasingly normalized in a strongly particularized and niche-like public sphere. Inside these discursive conditions it is fairly interesting to see how old topics from the right-wing press, both those that are specific to post-transitional states in general (such as the continuity of communist deep state structures from communist times) and those that apply to Slovenia in particular (such as the post-war killings in Yugoslavia) converge with several internationalized far-right media topics (Islamisation of europe, conspiracies of globalist elites) and how certain contradictions specific to Slovenian right-wing discourse are (or are not) resolved. Most notably, the contradiction between the older tone of SDS discourse contrasting the efficiency of Western European governments and economies with the local structures of nepotism of the communist nomenclatura vs. the new tone of demonizing of Europe as a multicultural dystopia of globalist plots.

Identity Politics in the 21st Century

Richard Seymour (Salvage), Rosie Warren (chair) Asad Haider (discussant) Annie Teriba (speaker)

Black Nationalism and Temporalities of Liberation. Richard Seymour (speaker) Identity Politics in an Age of Loneliness. Just as new technologies enforce a regime being 'alone together', of isolated companionship mediated by data-extracting platforms, identity absolutism has attained a more compulsory hold on us as our main recognised form of collective belonging. This panel, addressing race, sex and trans experience, will historicise the mutating forms of identity politics, both as a generic container for anti-oppression struggles and as a distinctive type of neoliberal politics which manages and contains social conflict.

Literature Against Empire: Narrating Class Struggle in the Capitalist World-System

Mark Steven (University of Exeter)

The papers comprised by this panel explore the ways that anti-imperialist struggle both registers within and is empowered by literary narrative. Together these papers propose that literature is a principal means by which local battles from peasant food revolts through guerrilla insurgency register as acts of war within and against the capitalist world-system. While the far-right exploits nationalist chauvinism and populist xenophobia, this panel illustrates some of the ways that the anti-capitalist left, even and especially in moments of mortal imperilment, retains a firm sense of internationalism. In addition to discussing exemplary works of literature, this panel seeks to model strategies for reading that run counter to neoliberal atomization by dialectically rerouting critical thought through concrete localities into the capitalist world-system. What, this panel will ask, does it mean to confront, challenge, expose, and take on the far right in an age when capitalism represents a planetary totality?

The Commodification and Fetishization of Frida Kahlo's Image

Sanjay Lanka (University of Sheffield), Evelyn Lanka (University of Sheffield)

As any tourist to Mexico will tell you, Frida Kahlo is everywhere. The image of Frida that is sold by the tourist industry in Mexico is a form of commodity fetishism (Lukacs, 1968), in that her images have been objectified and sold as commodities losing any relation to her role in Mexican history and popular culture. Frida Kahlo remains an icon representing a female rebel, but this commodification has diluted her power and symbolism. As a result, what Frida stood for, and how she expressed her identity has been lost in the process. The feminist, the rebel, the bisexual, the wife, the never to be mother, all these identities are lost, and perhaps cleaned and reprocessed into a socially acceptable mass market product to be sold to tourists and locals alike. However, it brings to question what is being bought and sold? As a commodity, Frida is no longer the individual who stood and fought for important contemporary political issues. Rather, her image is now associated with other exotic elements of Mexican culture and in doing so

drives consumerism and a hunger for exotica. Through the use and analysis of researcher generated visual data (Pauwels, 2011; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998; Warren, 2005), in the form of photographs from across Mexico, this study provides evidence of how the image of Frida Kahlo has been abstracted from a simple representation of her as an individual and transformed into a commodity. Photographs are a particularly well-suited medium for documenting the social functions of material culture, while simultaneously maintaining the time and context in which the artifacts were produced (Miller, 1991; Pauwels, 2011). This study takes a Marxist approach to critique the commodity fetishism of the image of Frida Kahlo. The images and artifacts of Kahlo which are readily produced by artisans and mass market producers alike, strip Kahlo of her values, her passions, her political and her personal interests in favor of an image which embodies Mexican culture in a way which feels safe and approachable to foreign tourists. Through this consumption of culture, Kahlo has become yet another expression of Colonialism and cultural Imperialism (Said, 1993), based on its power to block out the aspirational narrative that could potentially be a driver of emancipation. In this way, it is not so much the means of production of the artifacts themselves which is critiqued, rather is it the process of transforming Kahlo from an individual into a product to be bought and sold. It is through this process that the means of commodification come into view, achieved through a process of reification (Bewes, 2002) that allows Frida to be transformed into an object of desire instead of being seen as a role model. Essentially, Kahlo has become a manifestation of the culture industry in Mexico, consistent with the interpretation of Horkheimer and Adorno (2002).

The Condition of Unskilled, Non-Unionised Workers in Modern Taylorist / Fordist Factories. A Case Study in Three South East England Plants

Emily Ivanova (Unskilled Worker)

The purpose of the paper is (a) to investigate under what conditions large reserves of unskilled, non-unionised labour forces are employed in three taylorist / fordist plants in South East England, and (b) to examine whether and to what extent these conditions imply a departure or a deviation from the standard neo-taylorist or fordist work organisation. The paper analyses (a) the labour processes (technology, work organisation, supervision and management) in three packaging plants in South East England, (b) the corresponding composition of the labour force, (c) its “human capital” and cultural characteristics, and (d) the living conditions of the workers. The results of this analysis are then compared to the typical neo-taylorist and fordist work organisation as a benchmark. Identified differences are then correlated to the characteristics of the labour force. The paper will draw on the author’s own work experience in three packaging plants owned by the same firm, in South East England between November 2017/February 2018. The author is assisted by two researchers (2). The work in the three plants is segmented in a series of standardised tasks and organised around fast moving conveyor belts and tables equipped with electronic scales counting the number of packages carried out. Large electronic screens are continuously ranking the workers according to their individual productivity. Scrutiny of job performance by supervisors is accompanied by warnings aiming at the intensification of the job. Approximately 500 workers, 30 to 50 years of age, living in fenced trailer campuses owned by the employer, were employed in all three factories. The sleeping area of each trailer consisted of confined spaces packed with two rows of two-level bunk beds. Eight washing machines were available to every 400 people and in some cases hygiene facilities were shared (at the proportion of three facilities for every 120 persons). Absence from work due to illness or other serious

reason was penalised. As a result of these conditions, too many of employees left or were laid off due to exhaustion by the intensity of work and bad living conditions. We conclude that unskilled, non-unionised and in excess supply workers, in Taylorist / Fordist factories are caught in a trap of devaluation and fatigue and are treated by employers as disposable. This affects work organisation (which is adapted accordingly and thus deviates from the standard neo-Taylorist model), it increases dramatically rates of hiring / quitting, and keeps wages low and living conditions bad. (1) Emily Ivanova is an unskilled worker. (2) Giorgos Kalampokas is a Chemical Engineer and Phd Student in Political Economy (National Technical University of Athens). Elias Ioakimoglou is a senior researcher at the Institute of Labour (Greek General Confederation of Workers).

Soviet Architectural Projects of the 1920s

Claire Thouvenot (University Paris Nanterre EA 4414 History of Arts and Representations)

In this paper, I would like to highlight some aspects of the Russian avant-garde thinking in the 1920s about art as an active participation into the making of everyday life and by the conscious and educated processing of the material. In order to impulse cultural change towards a socialist subjectivity, intended to be collective, artists, theoreticians and architects from Constructivist and Productivist group undertook to renovate and activate relations between people, space, objects and social practices engaged with them. Some of them were educated in Marxism and fought against the material, economical, and objectal fetishism, that they identified as much among Party official as among their fellow leftist activists. By reconsidering Soviet avant-garde architectural projects, theories and practices aiming at revolutionary cultural change through the prism of contemporary conceptual tools and drawing on materialist principles, I would like to offer an alternative understanding of the transformative power of culture through material at the scale of built spaces and in the context of revolution. A special attention will be brought to Constructivist architectural projects during the 1920s. In order to invent new and appropriate architectural types and indeed new types of living, the Constructivist attempted to crystallize in social condensators some outlines of the new way of life, organized with the integration of technical and aesthetical elements and features towards a dynamized way of living, taking into account its necessary transitory aspect bounded to their understanding of communism. Far from being cliché in a totalitarian attempt and reduced to a pure fetishism of the material, or seen as purely, naively utopian and then unwise and destined for failure, the Constructivist reflection addressed to thorny problems of architecture and politics, encountering today critical theory and material culture studies. Key-words: architecture, revolution, avant-garde, subjectivity, constructivism, social condensator, marxism, aesthetics

A Philosophical Turn Towards Hegemonic Politics: Hobbes, Locke, Shaftesbury, Hume

Juha Koivisto (University of Helsinki)

We can detect a connection between the shift from a Hobbesian state-centred view to a more hegemonic view that relies more on the initiatives of civil society and an emphasis on increasingly self-governing subjects. Already Hobbes, who points out the non-natural, man-made character of the state, emphasizes the crucial role of organizing opinion for a stable state power. But for him this organizing is very much an authoritarian state project

from above, spreading its influence through the university and church apparatuses. During his political-intellectual development Locke increasingly realises that producing consent and thrust, prerequisites for an enduring state power, requires reliance on more active participation of the subjects of the state. For him these subjects are initially involved in the trade of commodities and to enable and secure its further development (especially money) and emerging unequal properties they have to extend and institutionalise the thrust and consent as well as the coercive force required into a state form. An integral part of Lockes work as a theorist of a developing agrarian capitalism and, in a broader sense, a pioneer of the spirit of capitalism (Wood 1984, 114) is his scrutiny and critique of the conformist social formation of opinions. Compared to Hobbes both for Locke and Shaftesbury the organizing of opinions is less state directed and relies more on the practices in the various occupations and institutions of the civil society. As pointed out by Hume, also the use of force by the state relies more on consent. From a Gramscian point of view we could speak about a production of a new, more critical form of social conformism. By carrying on the old Socratic tradition of knowing oneself and employing some the vocabulary used later by Gramsci in his revolutionary project Shaftesbury (who incidentally spent the last period of his life in Naples) highlights the importance of improving ones coherence by building on ones good sense. He envisioned that in the British conditions of legal monarchy people would be all sharers [] in the government of themselves (III, 247). We can see how these philosophical interventions discussed increasingly promote, in the words of Gramsci, the development of a civil society in which the individual governs himself without this self-government entering into conflict with political society, but rather, becoming the normal continuation of it, its organic complement (Q 8, 130, 1020-21).

Money, Abstraction and the Genesis of the “social”

Michele Basso (University of Padova)

The paper aims to deal with the issue of what is money and of the importance of money in shaping relationships between human beings within the capitalist mode of production. Starting from a perusal of Marxs works on the critique of political economy, the research will point out the fundamental (but not founding) role of money in promoting the genesis of social relation and in general of the peculiar sociality of the Modern way of living.

Affective Labour in Agonistic Politics

Sarah Stein Lubrano (DPhil Programme Oxford University, Political Theory)

In the last few decades, several theorists, perhaps most prominent among them Chantal Mouffe, have argued that the reality of power relations means that groups with opposing views and preferences cannot be reconciled and understood as a single, multicultural we. These arguments serve as a critique theorists of deliberative democracy like Habermas who present a more harmonious vision of democratic discourse. Mouffe and others argue that while democracies cannot reconcile competing demands, democracy in some form may still be possible and meaningful if it can allow opposing groups to view and treat one another adversaries, not enemies: that is, if conflict within the democracy continues but the opponent is not considered an enemy to be destroyed but an adversary whose existence is legitimate. I will build on Mouffes work and inquire further into the nature of agonistic politics and the abilities, attitudes and worldviews that it requires. In particular,

I will ask what abilities and affective states, in both individuals and groups, might be necessary to ensure that those with opposing interests continue to see one another as adversaries rather than enemies. I will investigate what type of work, or even emotional labour, is required to continue to tolerate serious disagreements about topics involving power relations. This line of thinking is different than many popular lines of thought about education in democracies. Liberal thinkers have, for example, often suggested that critical thinking is the most important skill for members of democracies to acquire. Yet (as Mouffe and others indicate) two people can each think critically yet disagree, even to the point of seeking to exterminate one another. To support an agonistic democracy, new skills and ways of thinking are necessary. I will first consider what it means to consider someone an enemy or an adversary. In addition to Mouffe's work, I will also consider thinkers including Carl Schmitt (on whom she bases some of her work) as well as Lenin, Gramsci, and Lukes and others. From this point I will examine what ways of thinking and behaving might be needed to engage in agonistic discourse and more broadly in agonistic democracies. I will especially pay close attention to the affective part of discourse and conflict - the work required to persist in the same society as those with whom one disagrees. Finally, I will consider what types of outcomes we might expect in agonistic democracies. While it is naive to imagine that many conflicts can be resolved, or that answers lie somewhere in the middle (especially with grave power imbalances) I will consider whether some forms of agonistic politics will not only allow for democratic deliberation but might allow for more productive democratic conversations and, alongside areas of continuous disagreement, some areas of beneficial synthesis or creative response. This type of politics is in line with the need (as Mouffe describes it) for politics to have a "real purchase on people's desires and fantasies." - something crucial in an age with fewer shared social norms and great despair and alienation.

The Psychosocial Body in Late Capitalist Hyper-Depersonalisation: Follism and the Swarm Media

Lukas Meisner (Goldsmiths College, University of London)

To properly understand the connection between fascism and capitalism, one needs to question the common conceptualisation of capitalism's transformation of the psychosocial body. Namely, capitalism is less individualising and separating than homogenising and quantifying the real abstractions of capital and market are results of the same process that created abstracted masses by the concentrating tendencies of capitalism. Its real abstraction is one away from individuals and small communities (subsistence economy) and towards the anonymous powers of market and capital. They are just the economic side of abstractive depersonalisation (Stirner) that is in the psychosocial field the emergence of abstracted masses that can easily be ruled by personalising the depersonalised anonymous structural effects of capitalism (this is by scapegoating minorities). Through such processes, amorphous masses are under the spell of capitalist mass psychology which composes itself out of authoritarian characters (Horkheimer, Fromm, Marcuse). Capitalism's accumulative mechanisms have not only introduced the masses of cities and of nation states, mass markets including mass factories (alienation of work) and, since the Keynesian production mode, mass consumption (alienation of needs). Beyond that, the capitalist growth in the productive forces lead a) to the development of mass management along the lines of Fordism and Taylorism which were and are militarising the psychosocial body in times of the factory without walls (Negri); and b) to technologies of the mass media ranging from the Volksempfänger to film, re-directing the affects of the masses. Without these material and immaterial capitalist expansions, fascism as the political formation of the authoritarian character could not have

erupted as it did, namely as a technically equipped archaism (Debord). Blood, soil, race, family, state and capital were united by technology, which was mirrored in the futurists virile cult of machines and speed. Meanwhile, new technologies have emerged that collapsed the dualism of mass management (violence) and mass media (ideology) into a governmentality (Foucault) of interactive swarm media (Byung-Chul Han). In it, the former organisational structure of fascism (fascios) relying on centralised mass societies and their mass media are converted into follies that can be updated and synchronised throughout affective economies (Bernard Stiegler). The result is a kind of decentralised follism (Paul Virilio) which is no longer refined by states but operates on accelerating markets directly through augmented subjectivities (Franco Berardi). Since Marxist theories usually stressed the role of the petty-bourgeoisie for fascism, it should cause a renaissance of radical technology critique that the spectacular common of the Internet is petty-bourgeoisifying even those precarised by neoliberal regimes by recoding them as digital citizens which are virtually participating in the immaterial cosmo-polis of global capitalism. All in all, I want to argue that a critical understanding of fascism, for today as for the past, must always be one also of capitalism, and hence of masses and swarms, of ideology and technology together, including culture industries without walls and their immediate mediations.

Defining Lukacs Middle Period

Richard Donnelly (Centre for Research in Modern European Philosophy)

The reception of Lukacs work since the 1960s has been shaped by debates about how exactly to set the limits of his revolutionary middle period, as against his earlier idealist phase and his later Stalinist stage. I'll argue that the best way to answer these debates is through understanding Lukacs middle period as an intervention in two central crises of 1920s of European society: the crisis of bourgeois culture and the crisis of Social Democracy. Lukacs work stands at the intersection of these two crises and argues that they are organically related. For Lukacs, it is proletarian class consciousness that overcomes both the impasse of turn-of-the-century bourgeois thought and the crisis of European socialism. In this way, class consciousness is the central concept in Lukacs revolutionary period. While some commentators have suggested a deep fissure between Lukacs 1923 *History and Class Consciousness* and his 1924 *Lenin: A Study In The Unity Of His Thought*, placing class consciousness at the centre of our understanding of this phase in his thought exposes how similar these works are. An analysis of how Lukacs reinterprets proletarian class consciousness as the actuality of revolution can underline this, while looking at Lucien Goldmann's development of the idea of class consciousness can shine light on Lukacs figure of Lenin as expressing the maximal consciousness of the working class. However, I will argue it is ultimately a confusion about class consciousness that disarmed Lukacs in the face of rising Stalinism. I'll take issue with recent interpretations of the 1926 essay *Moses Hess and the Problems of Idealist Dialectics* and argue that Lukacs uses it to present a false equivalence between Hegel's relationship to Napoleon Bonaparte and his own relationship to the Stalinist bureaucracy, allowing him to dispense with proletarian class consciousness as the basic concept in his system. This move ends his revolutionary middle period.

The League for Democracy in Greece: Resisting the British Labour Partys Appeasement of Greek Fascism, 1945-1951

Isabel Victoria Papadimitriou (UC Berkeley)

Histories of the British Labour Partys support for the fascist right during the Greek Civil War often focus on the decisions and actions of the government, drawing from Foreign Office archives . Such histories miss the positions that the working class base and more radical political elements in Britain maintained toward the situation in Greece. This paper looks at the ways in which the Left within and outside the party resisted the British governments foreign policy, and the forms of resistance that arose out of the Greek and British working classes. Moving away from teleological interpretations of the Greek civil war, where popular movements are given little thought and agency in the face of Cold War diplomats, this paper seeks to create a story of joint working-class resistance from Greece and from Britain against fascism and the social democrats that enabled it. To this end, it focuses on the history of the League for Democracy in Greece, a group founded in London by left Labour and CPGB members to protest Labours support of Greek fascism. The League created a line of communication and solidarity between British trade unionists and Greek guerrillas, bypassing and providing a radical alternative to statist, bourgeois diplomacy. Examining this alternative, and the discourses that it facilitated, shows how the rank-and-file of a social-democratic party resisted its partys appeasement of fascism. In countering the Labour governments policies in Greece, the Leagues members did not call for a simple change in foreign policy, but for a radical break in the very form by which fighting working classes relate to each other and to the state. The relations and tensions between the League, the labor government, and both sides of the Greek civil war showcase the limitations to fighting fascism through electoral means and point towards alternate strategies against todays rising right.

Rights and Liberal Imaginaries in Anti-Capitalist Movements

Radha D'Souza (Westminster Law School, University of Westminster)

Panel Discussion This panel discussion on rights is proposed by Pluto Press, Campaign Against Criminalising Communities, Radha DSouza and Paul OConnell. Social movements engaged in emancipatory struggle are mired in conundrums about rights. On the one hand rights scepticism in recent times has highlighted the limitations of the uses of rights to mobilise people for struggles. On the other hand, social movements are left wondering about alternatives if they dismiss rights altogether. Considerable attention has been devoted to examining the ideas of law and rights informing contemporary social movements. But glaring challenges remain in how critical scholarship takes up social movement engagements with law and rights in struggles against capitalism and imperialism. Whether in the context of the myriad struggles of people of the Third World, movement-based radical legal collectives or spaces in between, real opportunity exists for deepening social movement and law analysis. The problem of rights in the struggles against capitalism and imperialism is central to the conference theme Taking On the Right. For example today both the Right and the Left claim rights to free speech. Corporations and social movements claims rights to resources. How should anti-capitalist movements use rights, a core concept in liberalism? The panel is proposed by Pluto

Presswhich has recently published Radha DSouzasWhats Wrong With Rights? Social Movements, Law and Liberal Imaginations. It is supported by CAMPACC (Campaign Against Criminalising Communities) a London based network to support communities affected by anti-terrorism laws. The panelists will discuss the connections between capitalism, imperialism, liberalism and rights and the challenges for social movements pursuing alternative ways of envisioning social movements against capitalism and imperialism and activist engagement with law. The discussion will take-off from D'Souza's recent book: What's Wrong With Rights? Social Movements, Law and Liberal Imaginations but not limited to it. The panel will discuss wide-ranging issues about how social movements and critical scholars understand and use rights in the contemporary context. Panelists: Paul OConnell, School of Law SOAS, London. Contact: po5@soas.ac.uk Radha DSouza, School of Law, University of Westminster Contact: dsouzar@westminster.ac.uk Robert Knox, Department of Law, University of Liverpool. Contact: r.knox@liverpool.ac.uk Mario Novelli, School of Education and Social Work, University of Sussex Contact: M.Novelli@sussex.ac.uk

Interwar Debates on the Nature of the Ussr: Soviet Marxism as Common Ground for Bureaucratic-Collectivism & State-Capitalism Theories

Dimitris Papafotiou (Independent Researcher)

Today, more than a century after the Russian Revolution, the debate over the Soviet Union is still very crucial for all theoretical and practical attitudes that lay claim to revolution. In this sense, it is important to value and evaluate marxist theoretical traditions that share a critical approach to the Soviet paradigm and challenge the latter's revolutionary character, arguing that a degenerated or even exploitative economic system has been established after a reactionary or counterrevolutionary turning point. During the interwar years, some remarkable theoretical contributions led to the formation of the three critical answers on the so-called Russian Question: the degenerated workers state theory, the theory of bureaucratic collectivism and the theory of state capitalism. We believe that a simple account of theories, articles and Marxists does not exhaust the rich content of this interwar debate on the nature of the USSR. To prove this, we are going to return to this debate and trace the origins and development of the concept of state capitalism in order to analyze its successive transformations from a category relevant to the socialist transition to a key concept of criticism against the stalinist Russia. Along with the analysis of the main bureaucratic collectivism critics of the same period, we are going to argue that, despite their divergent conclusions, both state capitalist and bureaucratic collectivism interwar theories oddly share major theoretical ground with the defenders of the socialist nature of the USSR. This common theoretical ground can be described with the term Soviet Marxism, conceived as a theoretical construction based on economism, catastrophism, unilinearism of the historical process and primacy of the productive forces.

Organizing a Working-Class Rent Strike: Social and Political Class Composition Under 21st Century Extractive Capitalism

Bjarke Skrlund Risager (University of Toronto)

Working-class rental housing is increasingly becoming a site for extraction of wealth for financialized capital. The extraction of rent a form of secondary exploitation to Marx and Engels and the risk of displacement associated with this are today a primary concern for many working-class tenants. In turn, there are several recent examples of how working-class tenants organize and forge collective agency as a response to these exploitative practices. This paper argues that it is increasingly important for a 21st Century workers inquiry and class composition analysis to take working-class housing into consideration. Importantly, this is not to suggest that the position as tenant is structurally and politically more important than that of the worker. It is, however, an argument that insists on the social as well as the political composition of class, takes inspiration from social reproduction theory and whole worker analysis and organizing, and thus necessarily goes beyond the workplace. The paper draws on extensive organizing, ethnographic fieldwork, and qualitative interviews in a working-class community in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. In 2018, working-class tenants from this community and a local tenant solidarity network have organized a rent strike (which, at the time of writing, is ongoing). The tenants demands were for their landlord a real estate investment trust (REIT) to drop a steep rent increase of close to 10 percent in two years and to make necessary repairs to peoples homes. The rent strike takes place in a rapidly gentrifying part of Canada: the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area. Previously industrial heartland, the city of Hamilton is now trying to resurface in the 21st Century economy. Its housing market, attractive due to the citys proximity to Toronto, is key to this process. Hamilton thus has one the fastest growing property markets in the world and is becoming unaffordable for many of its inhabitants. Corporate landlords are in various ways trying to profit from this rent gap. In spite of supposed rent control legislation, the neighbourhood, in which the rent strike takes place, has experienced an annual increase in average rent of 6.6 percent in recent years. For organizers and tenants, the rent strike has involved numerous tasks: multiple rounds of door-knocking in more than 600 rental units to map living conditions and organize tenants; educating ourselves and others on financialized rental housing and provincial rental regulation; and building relationships and trust between outsiders (organizers) and insiders (tenants) to name only a few. In turn, the rent strike has shown how community-based organizing is not only a powerful tool in resisting wealth extraction and displacement but a way to build bottom-up working-class agency. Reflecting on gentrification in the Canadian Rust Belt and the challenges and potentials of tenant organizing, the paper offers an inquiry into an aspect of social and political class composition that appears to be of increasing importance in the 21st Century.

Extreme Right and Middle Class: The Case of the Traditional Petit Bourgeoisie in Greece During the Economic Crisis

Valia Aranitou (University of Crete)

The rise of the radical right can be explained by multiple interpretations. One of these is correlated with its social basis and the economic crisis. One of the typical examples of this correlation is the political behavior of the traditional bourgeoisie in many European

countries, particularly during the interwar period. Much has been written on its collaboration with the far-right and even fascist political parties. In Greece the position of traditional petit bourgeoisie and micro enterprises in the economic and social structure was particularly important even in the post-war period. Indeed, since the mid-1950s despite the economic growth and the development of many productive forces and industries a significant expansion of the middle classes as well as an improvement of their economic, social and cultural situation was recorded. Especially during the 1980s and onwards, almost the entire Greek society was seen by many as a "society of small and medium. This trend was confirmed, despite any transitions until the outbreak of the financial crisis in Greece in 2010. The proposed paper will attempt to answer to the question whether the Greek middle-class during the period of the crisis follow the example of other European countries or not.

Doing Pro-Worker Academic Research

George Tsogas (Independent)

In the quest for assessing what impacts various forms of transnational labour regulation have had on conditions of employment of supply chain workers, we soon came up against the theoretical and methodological problem of what does it actually mean to do academic research from a pro-worker perspective, and what paradigms in literature are there to be followed? An initial confidence that many others would have written about that over the years, soon turned into realisation that nobody has ever tried to integrate various approaches and works into one coherent study; let alone come up with a particular methodology for doing research in social sciences from a pro-worker perspective. Thus, here we try, first, to identify disparate streams of what is to do research from below. There is workers narratives and (oral) labour history. In the 1950s and 60s, the field of History dominated by the Great (White) Men approach was shaken up by a group of Socialist historians who pioneered social history from below. Led by Raphael Samuel and through the History Workshop Journal (and Labour History and Labor History), participants (among them Eric Hobsbawm, E.P. Thomson, Sally Alexander, and Anna Davin) advanced the study of history from the standpoint of working men and women and to learn from their lived experiences. The workers' inquiry approach dates from the first half of the nineteenth century (even before the famous Marxian intervention) and have been used primarily as a political tool, for activism and agitation by Trotskyists in the US (40s-50s) and by Italian autonomist Marxism in the 1960s. (Current work includes one by Viewpoint: and another by Ephemera). From that perspective, mere academic work is discounted, if not fraught upon. Other streams of research from below include investigative journalism (the most famous is perhaps Gnter Wallraff) and finally, there are writings by former revolutionary students (often Maoists) who in the 1960s0s and 70s tried to "proletarianize" and worked in factories (US, Italy, France, Germany). More recently, social media activists, and contemporary labour documentary makers have been providing first-hand accounts of workers life experiences. Finally, we try to pull together some theoretical and methodological strings, in an attempt to answer the fundamental question of what it actually means to do academic research from a pro-worker perspective. We do not offer a neutral analysis, if such one ever existed, but only an engaged and extremely partial analysis for truth is partial, accessible only when one takes sides, and no less universal for this reason.

Hindutva, Hinduism and Neoliberal Capitalist Accumulation in Contemporary India

Dr Bhabani Shankar Nayak (Senior Lecturer in Business Strategy Coventry Business School Coventry University, UK)

Hindutva and neoliberalism emerged in India during 1980s as a twin project that dominates contemporary India. The paper argues that Hinduism and its philosophical foundations in the theory of Karma individualises economic processes by creating social, cultural and economic caste structures. Neoliberal Hindutva with the help of state power advances such an ideological narrative by creating both Regimes of Accumulation and Modes of Accumulation. The paper building on and expands three theoretical frameworks as outlined by Poulantzas (2014)s individualisation, Harvey (2003)s accumulation by dispossession and Patnaiks (2005) accumulation by encroachment. The paper advances a new perspective called accumulation by religious and political outsourcing to locate capitalist accumulation in contemporary India. For example; the current ruling regime; the Hindutva forces (BJP) under the leadership of PM Narendra Modi argues that all economic predicaments in India are the results of Nehruvian policies of the Congress Party; similarly, Hinduism provides justification for individual growth or marginalization as a result of previous Karma (duty/work). Therefore, the paper argues that Hinduism, Hindutva and neoliberalism are the three pillars of capitalist accumulation in India today.

Sexual Hegemony and the Gay Communist Tradition

Max Fox (The New Inquiry)

In this paper, I will present an overview of the theoretical work of Christopher Chitty, a comrade and past HM presenter who sadly passed in 2015, and whose writings I have been editing for publication for the past couple years. Chitty developed the concept of sexual hegemony to return the history of sexuality to a history of property relations, tracking the development of a modern hegemonic sexual order in the transition to capitalism as a technique of bourgeois rule. The position of homosexuality in this order is an index of contingent struggles over control of the moral and economic landscape of a new social world as it was crossing the biopolitical threshold of modernity, in Foucaults words. While unfinished, Chittys work made significant progress in explicating the material link between sexuality and social form. His historical research helps explain how bourgeois senses of propriety and interiority were extended to govern the behavior of proletarians through the imposition of a sexuality which could be regulated, measured, excited, and suppressed as conjunctural conditions called for. Significant for Chittys analysis is the assumption of the failure of the sexual revolution. This means, I believe, the equation of sexual liberation and communist revolution in the discourse of the 60s-70s proved to be mistaken, leaving us in a condition of partially-liberated sexuality and an extension of capitalist power over it, though this part of Chittys thinking was less rigorously documented as he died before completing it. To explore the continued utility of his thinking, I will briefly analyze examples of early sexual liberationist, or gay communist, thought through the lens of his historical analysis, to find the points of unity between the Enfants de Sodome, an anonymous text published in Revolutionary France in 1790 that satirically proposed a manifesto of abnormal sexuality, Mario Mielis Towards a Gay Communism and Guy Hocquenghems The Homosexual Drift, and contemporary sexual discourse, which has normalized much of what was abnormal while

neutralizing its liberationist aspirations. Chittys vital thought sheds light on an important node in the structure of capitalist power while providing critical engagement with traditions of opposition to it, so as to better strategize against capitalism and bourgeois sexual hegemony without reproducing flawed or idealist assumptions about the relation between the two.

Gender Relations and Reproductive Work in Marxs Early Writings and in Capital

Tania Toffanin (University of Padova (Italy))

The attempt made in this contribution is aimed at exploring gender relations and reproductive labour in Marxian work. The analysis follows the chronological itinerary of Marxs works with a specific attention to youth works and Capital. The objective of this analysis is grasping some aspects that up to now have been limited developed and offering some analytical insights related to potentialities and criticalities existing in Marxs works. The reproductive labour does not play a marginal or secondary role in the working day, nor it can be considered ancillary to the direct production of goods and services. The value of the work carried out within the reproductive sphere, vital for the survival of the human species, is first disregarded, then considered “natural”, intimately connected to relationships of kinship and proximity. However, it is materially and historically determined, although often hidden even in Marx and among many Marxist scholars. The domestic community, observes Meillassoux in *Femmes, greniers et capitaux* (1975) is the only economic and social system that regulates the physical reproduction of individuals, the reproduction of producers and social reproduction in all its forms through a set of institutions, and which dominates the reproduction by means of the ordered mobilization of the means of human reproduction, namely women. A lot has already been written on the causes and effects of this concealment. Conversely, less attention has been paid to the analysis of the reproductive work and gender relations in Marxs works. The reasons are twofold: Marx focused on the critique of the family institution, and investigated, even if marginally, gender relations but does not discuss the role of the reproductive work. It must be underlined that the generalized concealment regarding the value of this work, even among radical and engaged intellectuals, has deeply discouraged the analysis. In this paper, I will try to examine gender relations and reproductive work, starting from the analysis of the womens condition and of the family institution in Marx’s early writings and then deepen the criticism of the concept of work in Marx from a gender perspective. The intention is not to save Marx from the criticisms, however shareable, stressed by many feminist scholars, mostly Marxist, but to explore aspects so far limited studied in the relationship between gender and work in Karl Marxs works.

Rise of the Sangh - Indian Version of Fascism and How to Resist it

Navdeep Singh Viridi (Department of Philosophy, Delhi University, New Delhi, India - Labor Activist in New Delhi)

With the electoral victory of the BJP (Bharatiya Janta Party), electoral wing of the fascist organisation RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), the rot that had been spreading in the Indian society for decades, hiding in plain sight behind the sparkling new infrastructure that was being developed and the intoxicatingly quick creation of a huge, wealthy middle

class after the neoliberal reforms of 1991, came out in the open and since then the Indian polity has undergone tremendous structural and institutional changes in a matter of just a couple of years and instances of institutional or mob violence against minorities have gone through the roof. Though there are many similarities between RSS and the Nazi party and both their versions of fascism but the Indian version has some temporal and spatial specificities, which are more or less common to all the right-wing movements in all the post-colonial backward capitalist countries across the globe today, owing to the change in the nature of capitalist crises since World-War I, i.e. it has transformed from periodical crises to a structural one, which began in the late 1970s. My paper goes into the evolution of the Idea of Fascism since Post-World War-I Italy and Germany and it also takes a look at the differences and similarities between Hindutva Fascism and its earlier European counterparts. My paper also makes an attempt, informed by both theory (the classics and the plethora of scholarship on fascism to have come out in recent times) and practice (regular occurring on the ground in different parts of the country; how the fascist strategy varies from class to class; integrating the element of caste; and the peculiarities and particularities of organising the working classes in India), to theorize what a possible Anti Fascist Proletarian Strategy for India could and should look like today.

Structural Marxism Head Over Heels: A Structural Reading of Marxs Theory of Value

Miguel Garcia-Duch (Complutense Institute for International Studies (ICEI) and Complutense University of Madrid (UCM))

Since the seventies, structural Marxism faced a theoretical deadlock in its obsessive rejection of the subject which marked the practical disbandment of their adherents. However, in their conception of Marxism, structuralist authors ignored or keep minor attention over Marxs value theory as a Hegelian residual which was inconsistent and problematic. Althusser himself even embraced the neo-Ricardian view proposed by Piero Sraffa as a solution to the irritating duality characterising Marxs conception of the nature of commodities. This research suggest that the key element missing in the original Althusserian project is precisely placed where traditional structural Marxism ignored any potentiality: Marxs Hegelian-inherited theory of value. In a few words, this contribution explores a return to structural Marxism through Lacanian lenses which overcomes its traditional inner boundaries. For that purpose, a reformulation of traditional value-theory concepts in terms of structural-linguistics categories is drawn. A natural affinity between the signifier and exchange-value, the signified and use-value and the commodity and the sign is proposed following a basic scheme that Saussure already discovered more than a century ago. An analogy which will be extended to a well-known triad of Lacanian concepts: the symbolic, the imaginary and the real realms. Thus, this research transgress the hieratic limits of synchronicity and exchange towards the naturally diachronic nature of capitalist production and its hidden discourse: exploitation as a necessary condition for profit and its social validation. The identification of Marxs value theory with a system which has to be understood in structural terms has radical theoretical implications. Against the conceptions which proclaim the perish of Marxs theory of value a Marxist theory of the capitalism as discourse is proposed as the only able to offer a twofold solution. First, to the the self-recurring debate around the so-called transformation problem characteristic of a supposed transition from value to prices. Second, proposing a consistent framework for understanding social relations beyond the behaviouralism characterising economics and growingly other social disciplines. A materialist conception

of the subject of capitalism beyond both the apology of a polymorph homo economicus or its complete rejection as a mere imaginary projection.

Rosa Luxemburg's Ideas on the Council System as Realization of her Basic Democratic Concept

Ottokar Luban (International Rosa Luxemburg Society)

In the late German Empire there were only very general ideas on the path to seize of power by a Social Democratic Party and the steps to the realization of a socialist society. Developing a concept of a socialist society was blamed by Marx, Engels and Kautsky as utopian. Only Bebel made an exception describing some characteristics of a socialist society in his book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (The Woman and Socialism) written in 1879. In Rosa Luxemburgs works we find a concept of fundamental basic democracy: Luxemburg knew that a revolutionary development will not happen by command but it needs many different political and social factors which will lead to the outbreak of revolution. The role of a socialist party is to prepare and to encourage the proletarians making suggestions for the way to the revolution giving them socialist issues. The leaders should not command the proletarian masses but go into an exchange of opinions with them using the workers creativity. This basic democratic concept which she developed mainly in her mass strike brochure (1906) was supposed not only for the path to revolution but for the revolution itself as she significantly describes in her manuscript *On the Russian Revolution* (September 1918) and in the *Spartacus Program* (December 1918). In this program Rosa Luxemburg describes in detail her ideas on the council system in the factories and as political institution as a conclusion and realization of her basic democratic concept. This will be reported and analyzed in my conference paper including some own thoughts on the lessons from Luxemburgs works for the present.

PANEL ON Rosa Luxemburg's work, as a Perspective on Racism, Class and Nation

Henry Holland (CW Rosa Luxemburg. Editorial Board.), Peter Hudis (Loyola University Chicago), Eric Blanc (New York University), Rory Castle (Swansea University), Ankica akardi (University of Zagreb)

Luxemburg's pioneering theoretical work on imperialism and racism make it a fruitful lens for reflecting on taking on the right in today's world. Our four panelists will elucidate and critique very different aspects of Luxemburg's active politics and theoretical writings. Peter Hudis will talk on Race and Class, drawing on Luxemburg to argue that the politics of race and anti-racism should in no way be subordinated to the politics of class. Eric Blanc's presentation, titled "Rosa Luxemburg's Fight Against National Oppression: A Reconsideration," will, in Eric's own words, tackle the following questions: "Rosa Luxemburg is often portrayed as a "national nihilist" opposed to all national demands and movements in Poland. In this paper, I critically interrogate this thesis and show that her well-known opposition to Polish independence, and the Polish Socialist Party, cannot be plausibly explained by "national nihilism." Rory Castle will speak about "Family, identity and the shaping of Rosa Luxemburg." The paper examines Rosa Luxemburgs identity, family and background. Using a wealth of new and previously unknown sources, the paper investigates Luxemburgs national,

religious, cultural, and gender identities, and the important role which her family played in her life. Finally, Henry Holland will draw on findings from his work as co-translator for volumes 3-5 of the Rosa Luxemburg Complete Works, “On Revolution”, to give a paper on “Luxemburg as a chronicler and strategist on rightist, racist violence.” Focusing on Luxemburg’s documentation of rightist and primarily anti-Semitic violence in the Russian Empire, 1904-1906, the paper will explore several strands, and possible flaws, in the strategy proposed by Luxemburg for combating this violence, and the political actors that benefited from it. Ankica akardi wishes to chair this panel, and we hope this format can be made possible.

Beyond the Black Bloc: Insights from France

Flix Boggio, Stella Magliani-Belkacem

In the past 2 years, black bloc tactics have emerged in French media as a passage obligé of demonstrations. This process started during the 2016 Loi Travail struggle, while it had been practiced on a large scale when in 2012 the Hollande government tried for the first time to dislodge the occupiers of the hedgerows of Notre-Dame-des-Landes. Ever since, social movements and demonstrations have comprised a totally unaffiliated contingent, the so-called “cortège de tte” posted after the official head of the procession, with a black bloc at the front. To give an idea, probably a third of this year’s Mayday was part of this “cortège de tte”. This paper intends at providing an understanding of this phenomenon, dealing with the usual objections from more traditional left/marxist fringes, and at finding ways forward. Especially, the “cortège de tte” needs to be understood in the wake of a repressive turn of the French State, and as a new way to politicize the city (“la métropole”). In this sequence, people try to articulate innovatively occupations and blockades, strikes and riots, anonymity and publicity. However inventive these tactics have been, they still lack any strategy and have been unable so far to win a significant fight against the State. They also tend to ritualize themselves and run the risk of reproducing minoritarian techniques that are heavily targeted by repression. This paper intends at reflecting on the potential of these new developments and their relationship with antiracist organizing. Even though non-white working class people have been at the forefront of riots in the banlieues (notably in 2005), mass illegality cannot be part of their day-to-day politics, as repression is harsher for them than for any segment of the social movement. Our claim is that radical antiracism, even through its seeming quietism, can be the building block of a prolonged strategy of confronting the State on a programmatic level. While the new autonomist left is tactically limited to major social upheavals and dependent on a dominant insurgent sector (petroleum refineries, railway workers), radical antiracism tends to self-reliance and depends on its own efforts at organizing.

Rethinking Sovereignty, Democracy and Nationalism

Andoni Olariaga (Iratzar Foundation (Member of Transform Network))

One consequence of the crisis of the neoliberal order in Europe is the increased interest on the idea of sovereignty. Economic globalization, together with the worsening of employment conditions and rising poverty levels in Europe and worldwide, has restated the notion of sovereignty at the center of current political discourse. Sovereignty is invoked to protect the interests of financial capital — of which Donald Trump’s America first watchword is the best exponent. The British Leave campaign leading to Brexit was

also centered on reclaiming sovereignty away from the European Union, as the slogan Take back control illustrates. It is clear that over the last decades Europe has witnessed the rise of two significant phenomena: on the one hand, peoples and states have increasingly lost sovereignty to supranational powers and corporations; on the other hand, in this era of global capitalism, Western democracies continue to privatize the structures that empower people provide capacity for self-government. In addition, neoliberalism is also disrupting community bonds and opening up a new space where emancipation projects and right wing authoritarian reaction are competing against each other. Sovereignty, democracy and territory are three of the most fundamental concepts in contemporary politics. The relationship to one another has not yet been explored in a productive manner. Contrary to general perceptions, the main objective of the Basque pro-independence movement is not to insist on cultural or national differences, it is rather to place emphasis on the radical idea that popular and institutional sovereignties are fundamental for democratization. The struggle for independence puts forward democratic demands. It does so from and within the reworking of a new understanding of sovereignty, democracy and territory. The actual act of reworking such concepts turns the pro-independence movement into a key position within the political landscape — not only because of the demands that are contained in such movement, but also, more exactly, for what this position implies in the understanding of politics proper on a larger scale. Traditionally, the idea of democracy has been understood as necessarily related to sovereign nation-states. The prospects of developing radical democratic politics in stateless nations remain largely unexplored. In addition, liberal thinkers tend to dismiss national sovereignty as a possible path to democratize institutions and states and defend instead that democracy can be sustained without any locally territorialized political capacity. However, the main question remains unanswered: is democracy possible without a territorialized democratic sovereignty? A territorialized democratic sovereignty means for us that a particular territory is able to create political reality, hence there is no democracy if a territory is not capable to govern itself.

The Portuguese Initiative for a Citizens Debt Audit (IAC): - Failures and Achievements of an Anticapitalistic Front of Resistance in a Globalized and Highly Financialized World

Eugnia Pires (SOAS)

Public debt has been at the core of balance of payments crisis which, in turn, has justified neo-colonial Washington consensus interventions in developing countries and, more recently, in the Eurozone periphery. The neoliberal narrative has pointed scapegoats to justify a political intervention that de facto bails out the financial system of the rich North. Therefore, advocacy for debt restructuring must be at the core of any social justice initiatives to contain far-right emergency. Following the experience with Equator, Citizens Debt Audits have emerged as grass-roots anti-capitalist movements to resist accumulation by dispossession by private and official creditors (Harvey, 2010:256) and raise awareness about the social injustices underpinning the problem of sovereign over-indebtedness. This paper gives an account of the experience of the Portuguese Initiative for a Citizens Debt Audit (IAC). It aims at assessing IACs achievements as well as its failures in order to set the path to a deeper discussion about how to best foster efficacy in a powerful civil society mobilization instrument. In terms of achievements, with its multiple events, among them the submission to the parliament of the petition poverty wont pay the debt, IACs has managed to challenge the mainstream narrative which

established the Portuguese lived above their means, highlighting the underpinning political and economic structures, like the flawed institutional architecture of euro or the spread of the mechanisms and channels of subordinated financialization, and uncovering the effective bail out of German and French banks, while warning about the challenges the expansionary austerity resolution posed to the unprivileged workers, the most vulnerable link. However, neither the intended working group to access the terms of a debt restructuring passed in the subsequent legislative initiatives, nor any other sort of debt restructuration in terms and extent that effectively reduce the debt overload never occurred. Moreover, with the 2015 elections the mobilization of civil society around the problem of public debt and the urge for advocacy on debt restructuring has waned up. It has stopped to be a priority to civil society, although broad recognition that the service of public debt was a major problem and a source of risk for the economic recovery. In the case of IAC, a total demobilization was witnessed, with the movement becoming dormant. The lack of financial and institutional infrastructure has also undermined the militancy of the movement when a more resilient approach was necessary to foster a continued reflection about the problem of the debt. This paper aims to discuss the role of citizens debt audits in the building up of an anti-capitalist front of resistance and reparation of social justice, using the Portuguese case study. In order to bridge the gap between IACs civil society mobilization achievements and the lack of efficacy on the debt restructure advocacy front it will rely on Nancy Frasers politics of misframing. Her theoretical framework successfully connects a limited national public opinion and the transnational dimensions of sovereign indebtedness, with a particular focus upon its interlocutors, financial creditors and mediation institutions and the people.

Another Machiavellian Moment. Politics, Contingency and Subjects in Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire

Stefano Visentin (University of Urbino "Carlo Bo")

In 1997 Miguel Abensour published *Democracy Against the State. Marx and the Machiavellian Moment*, where he emphasized the presence of a democratic stream throughout Marx's work, from the *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* to the *Writings on the Paris Commune*. Such a hyper-political stream, which Abensour defines Marx's machiavellian moment, problematically coexists with the critique of political economy, and more generally with the historical-materialistic perspective developed by the German thinker from *The German Ideology* onwards. In particular, Abensour's insistence on a marxian theory of the overcoming of the State by means of a process of radical democratization of society is brought into question by a very different conception of politics and democracy, emerging from Marx's political writings after 1848, such as the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte and *The Class Struggle in France*. It is undoubtable that Marx keeps thinking during all his life to the problem of the transition and of the extinction of the state, nevertheless, when considering the real functioning of state institutions in a specific historical moment (that is, France after the '48 revolution), he introduces some crucial novelties, which dramatically change the entire theoretical framework. However, I think that this change does not prevent to pinpoint another machiavellian moment in Marx's works, irreducible to Abensour's interpretation, which originates from John Pocock's well-known book: not a republican Machiavelli, but rather a materialistic one, whose conception of history and politics is inserted within a subterranean historical stream (to put it in Althusser's words). In my lecture I will try to enucleate three machiavellian topics, which can also be found in Marx's political writings: 1. the exhortation to pursue the effective truth of the matter, which is presented in *The Prince*, chapter XV, states, and which Marx seems to take into

account as he tries to single out the real political movements, behind their illusory representation within the state institutions; 2. the aleatory connection of fortune and virtue (The Prince, chapter XXV) as the main element of a conjunctural theory of human actions, which also emerges from Marx's analysis of the political struggle in post-48 France; 3. the continuous emergence of new divisions within the state, which is highlighted in Machiavelli's Discourses and History of Florence as an insurmountable political law: this idea is also very present in Marx's writings, and brings the German thinker to consider political struggle as partially autonomous from the fundamental economic class struggle. To conclude, the presence of a radical and materialistic machiavellian moment in Marx can offer the opportunity to critically reconsider the historical development of modern political concepts as a theoretical Kampfplatz, which puts into question any supposed neutrality and objectivity of their constitution.

Theorizing JDP's Turkey: A Balance Sheet

Melih Yeilba (Ankara University, Sociology)

The Justice and Development Party (JDP) era since 2002 constitutes an exceptional period in modern Turkish history in terms of the ability of an elected government to realize its socio-political project. The JDP years have witnessed a profound transformation process ranging from foreign policy to the definition of the political regime. This process has been theorized in various ways by different theoretical inclinations. This paper aims to make a balance sheet out of the theoretical evaluations of this transformation by scrutinizing the existing approaches in terms of their theoretical assumptions, empirical observations and political implications. A widespread approach among mainstream liberals argues that the JDP era should be divided into two distinct periods. Accordingly, the JDP, after a positive agenda of structural adjustment and democratization has later distanced itself from these and adopted an authoritarian spirit concretized in the personality of Erdoğan. This approach that can be labelled as good JDP gone bad suggests that the problem will be solved if the JDP goes back to its factory settings. This approach is handicapped by a number of analytical problems. First of all, it identifies neoliberal capitalism with democracy and rule of law. The process of neoliberalization, however, has proceeded through a technocratic authoritarianism both in advanced capitalism and the Third World. Second, to the extent that this approach explains the increasing authorization of the JDP rule through Erdoğan's personal traits it ignores the structural and material factors at play. According to another problematic approach with a certain appeal among some leftist circles, the JDP continues to be an instrument of global capital. This approach that operates with nominally Marxist categories and concepts argues that the JDP is merely a passive follower of the neoliberalization process in Turkey. First, to the extent that this approach with a highly economic understanding of class ignores the actual fault lines of politics during the JDP era, it is handicapped by apolitism. Second, this approach with an analytical choice on the level of capital in general ignores fractional cleavages within the Turkish capitalist class in this period. Against these problematic approaches, a comprehensive Marxist theorization of the JDP era should be built on the following grounds. First, the JDP era should be situated into a world-historical setting and not be analyzed through a particularistic reading of Turkish history. In this context, the authoritarianization dynamics of the AKP period should be scrutinized in conversation with the discussion on right-wing populisms/fascisms across the globe. Second, the process that carried the JDP first to definitive control over the state apparatus should not be seen as an accident but should be analyzed in relation to the neoliberalization process with its roots going back to the coup d'état in 1980. Third, various sharp turns in foreign and domestic policies should

be analyzed with respect to changing hegemonic projects in this period. In this context, the analysis should take into consideration both the power struggles among rival capital fractions as well as various ideological strategies towards manufacturing consent from masses.

The Counter-revolutionary Role of Regional and International Actors in the Syrian Uprising

Joseph Daher (Lausanne University)

The internationalization of the Syrian revolutionary process occurred quite rapidly with the direct involvement of international and regional actors within the country early on. In my presentation I will analyze the reasons and nature of interventions of regional actors. The influence of Iran grew militarily, politically, culturally and economically, with consequences on Syrian society and institutions. Its massive intervention in Syria with the assistance of Hezbollah was crucial in the survival of the Assad regime. I will also analyze the role of the so-called friends of the Syrian People, most particularly Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey in the uprising and the evolution of their policies through the conflict. Their lack of unity and coherent political project for Syria nurtured divisions within the opposition, while supporting its more reactionary elements. The failure of the American led invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the global economic and financial crisis of 2007 and 2008 were severe blows both economically and for the prestige of the American neoliberal model on a global level, causing a relative weakening of its overall power, which not only left more space for other global imperialist forces like Russia to operate, but also benefited regional powers that acted increasingly with greater independence. As a result of the relative weakening of American power after its failure in Iraq, regional states like Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar played a growing role in the region and in the revolutionary processes in several countries after 2011, including Syria, by supporting various actors to increase their own political influence or by intervening directly. Sectarianism was also a useful tool to mobilize particular constituencies to serve political objectives by these states. I will show how all these regional and international actors played a counter revolutionary role in Syria.

The King and his 3ayasha

Miriyam Aouragh (University of Oxford)

Unlike many of the countries that experienced mass revolts during the 2011-2012 Arab revolutions in the region, Morocco continues to undergo radical political transformations. It is best understood as a state of limbo between post- and counter- revolutionary epoch fuelled by crisis, where, in the words of Gramsci, this consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born and it is in this interregnum that a great variety of morbid symptoms appear. One way to stall the acceptance for the demand for equality and justice through radical change, is the encouragement of pro-state populism. These right-wing discursive cliques are analogous to the state-supported street thugs ayasha or baltajia, a particularly nefarious right-wing populist politics that relies on racism and pro-monarchism. This unique combination provides a way to discuss revolutionary cycles in concrete terms and as they happen in the present. This paper makes two arguments, regarding the unequal nature of revolutions and about the strategy and tactics deployed by the Kingdom. I ask what can we assume, referring to the classic works regarding postcolonial change in Africa (Ben Barka, Samir Amin), and how do we

connect this to the notion of Combined/Uneven Development (Gilbert Achcar, Adam Hanieh) with specific regards for Morocco's monarchy-based political, also termed court capitalism (e.g. Mohamed Oubenal, Abdelatif Zeroual)? How important have Gulf speculations been in the overall contemporary balance of forces, are the so-called khaleeji investments key for the state's superior position vis-à-vis the protests? The state is deeply embedded in neoliberal transformation and needs to be discussed as part and parcel of the wider region and rural and urban stratifications are related. The outbursts of protests in 2016 and 2017 in the Rif region, and the birth of al Hiraak al shabi as its fruition, combines a new and continuation of previous experience. The Hiraak movement is a necessary reminder of revolutionary processes; it may offer an antidote to the discouraging experiences elsewhere. This paper shows that Morocco is a far more complex case than often considered, and demands thinking beyond Rif local particularism and critical analyses that challenge the rejectionism of the 2011 (20Feb) movements. It is exactly this contradiction that requires a dialectical analysis to understand the counter-revolutionary attempts of the makhzan. For this, I build on the Marxist notion Mediation and relate to recently emerging scholarship on Populism. This paper tackles the (overlapping) paradox of counter-revolution and post-revolution with an understanding of right-wing mediation through the prism of the phenomenon ayasha, whose main goal is to intervene, disrupt, distract and intimidate, in other words: demobilise.

Attempts at Hegemony: Revanchist Ethnonationalism and War on Terror in Lebanon

Elia El Khazen (Socialist Forum)

The emergence of ISIS in early 2014, combined with the so-called refugee crisis, which exposed the failures of almost two decades of neoliberalization in the Middle East, paved the way for regional regimes to adopt a more belligerent version of the war on terror they had already been participating in. The need for foreign funding (USAID, Saudi Arabian or Iranian backing), combined with a reinvigorated ethnonationalism, were used to justify the scapegoating and subsequent crackdown on refugees. This paper will focus on the central role that the military has played in drawing in foreign funding and bolstering ethnonationalist sentiments, emerging as a defence system for the West against the influx of refugees to Fortress Europe and the rest of the global north, and providing local regimes with legitimacy and cover as they seek to contain, incarcerate and torture in the name of stability and patriotism.

Musical Modernism and the National Question

Stephan Hammel (University of California, Irvine)

In a footnote to his lastingly influential *Philosophy of New Music*, Theodor Adorno, a critic who is otherwise at pains to insist on the progressive nature of atonality, finds himself approving of the persistence of harmonic convention in cases where the developmental tendencies of Occidental music [have] not been purely developed as in many agrarian regions in southeastern Europe. The footnote and the thought it expresses, have been largely ignored by those seeking to construct a general theory of musical modernism that is grounded in Marxist thought. It nonetheless serves as a reminder that the understanding of modernism we inherit from the Frankfurt School generally fails to convincingly address the geographical complexity of its subject. And this, despite the fact

that for most of the world, entry into aesthetic modernism seems to have required confronting the national question. Retaining critical theory's insights into the determination of artistic norms by the commodity form and amplifying them with reference to the Leninist understanding of national self-determination, this paper outlines how our theoretical understanding of musical development in the twentieth century can be improved through and engagement with a Marxist legacy. Marxist aesthetic theory has long avoided.

The Colour and Cost of Dignity: Migrant Workers, Racism and Creative Resistance

Tara Lynn Atluri (Ontario College of Art and Design University, Toronto.)

Dignity is not charity. Unlike charity, if we refuse to treat others with dignity it is us who are undignified. Dignity is not a matter of money. It cannot be quantified. In a time in which resplendent tales of individual success, measured in wealth and paperwork colour common sense ideals of betterment, the concept of dignity is perhaps important to consider. Farrah Mirandas artistic work centres the human dignity of migrant workers. Mirandas installations, Produce Party and Speaking Fruit pose lingering questions regarding the possibility of dignity in the context of global capitalism. "It's worse than slavery they dispose of them" said Marcia Barrett, the cousin of Sheldon McKenzie who died after suffering head injuries while labouring as a farmworker in Canada. McKenzie, like many other migrant workers was stripped of access to labour rights, health care and human dignity and was deported to Jamaica where he died. In this paper I discuss 'race,' migrant labour and creative forms of activism produced by racialized feminist/queer artists such as Miranda. Alain Badiou sees the political event as one that is not framed by predetermined categories, but rather is born out of contingent circumstances. In this paper I suggest that the artistic event is similar to Badiou's notion of the miracle of political truth where the real politic of our time comes into being through anti-capitalist struggle. Drawing on Miranda's artistic work and the work of other migrant justice artists/activists I suggest that new forms of meaningful anti-racism are expressed through the lens of the racialized migrant worker. Beyond the branding of "people of colour" to support institutions steeped in white supremacy and an empty rhetoric of diversity as sales, the struggles of migrant workers and the labour of artists/activists who creatively lament the violence of borders offers new resurgence to anti-racism as anti-capitalism. As bell hooks, "The function of art is to do more than tell it like it is, it is to imagine what is possible." -Tara Atluri

Enemies of Humanity, Enemies of Capital: Racialised Pirates in the Age of Imperialism

Tor Krever (University of Warwick)

This paper takes as its focus the pirate in international legal thought. Reactions to Somali maritime depredation at the end of the first decade of the present century invoked this paradigmatic figure of enmity, the enemy of all mankind: *hostis humani generis*. An archetypal figure, the pirate is the model for the treatment of other proscribed forms of violence: the slave trader, torturer, war criminal, terrorist, and so on demanding elimination and legitimating great violence to that end. Constructed in the legal imagination as enemies of humanity, the pirates of Somalia, the paper argues, were characterised by two

primary features. They were, in the first place, impediments to the smooth flow of commerce and capital accumulation. If they were enemies of humanity, humanity was here synonymous with capitalist circulation. At the same time, they were racialised figures, international legal discourse reproducing a common racialised trope of international law, with non-Europeans constituted as legitimate targets for violence through their casting as savage or uncivilised, as the Somali example reveals, as pirates. Neither feature is unique to Somali pirates. Both, the paper shows, have long been constitutive of the pirate as an international legal figure, taking shape in the violence of European imperialism and the colonisation of the extra-European world. Already in the 17th century, pirates were at once so destructive of all trade and commerce between nation and nation as to be called enemies to mankind and, at the same time, agents of Satan, a Herd of Wild Beasts no better than Devils Incarnate. The pirate was a familiar trope for English colonists on the American continent. Indigenous peoples, classified as savages, were regularly compared to the pirate, both impediments to progress and the security of commerce. Pirate and savage were both, to borrow William Morris's phrase, to be slain in wicked resistance to the benevolence of British commerce. The figure of the pirate was regularly mobilised in subsequent centuries to racialize and denounce non-European groups and rival trading networks resistant to imperial subsumption. In the Persian Gulf, the Malay archipelago, and elsewhere, the British branded entire communities pirates, placing them outside humanity and the commercial society of civilized states. So too in the Mediterranean, where the states of North Africa were once more racialised as uncivilised barbarians. Deemed pirates, they were systematically denied statehood, their status as *hostes humani generis* once more legitimation for imperial violence, now US and British bombardment and French colonisation. The paper traces this figure to its origins in the crystallisation of a capitalist world economy, revealing its uses in the international legal legitimation of imperial violence from the 17th century through to the present day.

"We Should all Live with Each Other, not Against Each Other: Social Reproduction and Queer Domesticity

Daniel Howell (New York University)

Rosa von Praunheim now the most important eminence grise in queer German cinema began his career with a rocky start. His experimental 1971 film *It is Not the Homosexual Who is Perverse, But the Society in which He Lives* ended with a call to something like class consciousness for gays. For some political queer audiences at the time, however, this did not redeem the preceding hour of gleeful gay-bashing which mocked the way so many gays coupled sexual excesses with political conservatism. Due to its perceived homophobia, this incredibly complex film has not received the close analysis it merits. In the past several years, a handful of scholars within queer studies such as geographer Max Andrucki and sociologists Alan Sears and Nathaniel Lewis have attempted to analyze homo-socialities using the lens of what has come to be known as social reproduction theory. These studies have mostly returned to queer political and social life with a renewed interest in the material circuits sustaining them. While this work is elucidating, I contend that at least one more great insight remains to be unlocked from the application of social reproduction to queer studies. Pairing Praunheim's 1971 film with several roughly contemporaneous texts in *Social Reproduction Theory* especially Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James's seminal *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*, I consider the figure of the politically conservative but sexually liberated gay man. Dalla Costa and James argue that the family is a bubble of pre-capitalist social organization within the larger market economy. In this sense, the

actually existing queer rejection of the family represents the final dissolution of this feudal residue. The would-be radical resistance to the family thus risks replacing the tyranny of patriarchy in the private sphere with the tyranny of market rigor. The metaphor of the meat market is to be taken seriously. Rather than pathologizing any kind of queer “behavior,” I propose re-considering certain modes of homo-sociality as the *most* proper to hyper-capitalist production. On this view, gays are not marginal but in fact the vanguard of the coming order. Soon, all of our relationships, gay or straight, could be unbundled, rationalized, liberalized, and subjected to market austerity. This is not to inveigh against promiscuity; even less do I want to mandate heterosexuality. Rather, it is to say that destroying marriage is not enough. Work is needed to reimagine the domicile as a commune, a collective, a syndicate, or a cooperative. As one character in Praunheims film puts it, We should all live with each other and not against each other.

Immigrant Labor in Japan: Class, Gender and Ethnicity

**Mariana Shinohara Roncato (Sophia University/Japan
Universidade Estadual de Campinas/Brazil)**

This paper aims to analyze the Brazilians immigrant labor in Japan, known as *dekasseguis* and their transversalities, what means: how is the dynamic between class, ethnicity and gender in Japanese society. For decades, Japan has been experiencing a “demographic problem” with the lack of workforce population as a result of population aging and nation’s declining birth rate (as women’s reproductive choices), and becoming a barrier for its capitalist development. In this context, importing the immigrant cheap labor became not subject to controversy an attractive option. Manufacturing industry, construction and care work are the economic sectors where they are most represented. Those non-skilled immigrants, coming not only from Brazil, but also from other countries in East Asia and South America have a lack of civil and political rights, more precarious working conditions and earning much less than national working class. The racialization, in addition to the already existing strong gender division of labor in Japan becomes constitutive of working-class and a deliberate social policy, despite of official discourse, and although the sex and race blind interpretations of dynamics of the capitalist mode of production. The *dekassegui* woman, by her time, earns about 30% less than her male compatriot, has a higher probability to be fired as well as counts with less social security. Their lower cost of social reproduction became extremely functional to extract more surplus value, but not only, this process also has been following by decline of wages and deteriorating the working conditions of the national working class itself. In other words, in the migratory process, these workers as part of a global reserve army of labor play the role in regulate the price of labor and expanding precarious jobs for all society. We understand immigrants as an inexhaustible reservoir of disposable labor-power in Marx’s words and an important element of capitalist law of population. In this process, the exaltation of differences such as race, gender and ethnical transversalities it’s not a marginal issue of capital accumulation, but the intrinsic part of global social reproduction. For this reason, the racist state, xenophobia, oppression and discrimination in these countries aims to increase the exploration-domination of these immigrant workers. The intercrossing of the social relation of class, race/ethnicity and gender tends to reinforce the contradictions of each part of those social relations, and of course, having a great impact of their life conditions.

The Problem with AI: The Production of Intelligence by Capitalist Mediation

Phoebe V Moore (LEICESTER), Frank Engster

The main problem with most research on artificial intelligence (AI) is that it attempts to define what intelligence is and how it functions. Indeed, this problem has an a priori status. We must first of all know what intelligence is before we can copy or simulate it in an artificial version. The irony is, while mankind is searching for AI, it is already there. AI is already present in the 'non-artificial', namely human, individual intelligence but it cannot be found exactly because this kind of intelligence must be understood as an individualisation and subjectivation of an intelligence that we can call artificial as it made by humans and individuals, but not in an conscious and purposeful way. It is produced by the capitalist relation and its mediation and hence by an independent, both supra-natural and supra individual being. This inaccessible being with Hegel can be called Spirit and with Marx social mediation by value and valorisation. The paper shows that this production goes not only for the human intelligence, but also for its machines. I want to clarify why machines are intelligent insofar as they are reifications of the same social mediation and valorisation they are productive for. To be precise, I want to clarify why machines are productive in capitalism and therefore capitalistic machines. They are capitalistic in the immediate and literal sense that capitalism is producing these machines, or at least capitalism is producing their productivity and hence the machinic of machines.

Political Education in pre-war German Social Democracy

Julia Damphouse (Bard College Berlin)

The German Social Democratic Party school, running from 1906-1914 was a stronghold of the partys left wing, Rosa Luxemburg famously taught economics. The school was founded in the context of debates taking place in Die Neue Zeit between 1904 and 1906 over the role of the party in furthering the education of workers. This discussion led to the formation of the partys National Educational Committee and subsequently the party school. While the school was home to the partys strongest radicals and orthodox Marxists, and gave them the time and opportunity to strengthen their influence, it nevertheless taught only around 30 students each year. Too close a focus on the role of this training school for cadre risks obscuring the larger role that (sometimes unresolved) political-education related debates played in other internal party conflicts, as well as the lasting influence of the theories and ideas produced during these periods. The ongoing discussion over the necessity of an independent youth wing of the party was one internal conflict closely linked to the question of political education. In particular, Clara Zetkins theoretical contribution to this debate is well documented in the German literature on left-wing pedagogy. This paper aims to better situate the political-educational thought of the left of the SPD between the end of the anti-socialist laws and the outbreak of the first world war. With emphasis on the political realities of the formation and implementation of this thought, as well as its context within the wider contemporary German debates on pedagogy, particularly in relation to the development of differing theoretical concepts of progressive education, such as popular education (Volksbildung) and workers education (Arbeiterbildung).

Strategy in Ireland: Notes from a Country Shaking Off its Conservative Past

Somhairle Mag Uidhir (People Before Profit)

Ireland has undergone marked political upheavals in the past decade. It has been a period of growth for the radical left, both in the North and in the Republic (RoI). While arguing that left strategy in Ireland requires an all-Ireland approach, this paper will focus primarily on the specifics of the RoI. The first half of this paper will detail the terrain, both objective and subjective, on which the left in the Republic operates today. I will contend that the Irish left is now facing a significantly weakened historical bloc, with anti-austerity movements having brought about historically low support for RoIs traditional right-wing parties, Fianna Fil and Fine Gael, while recent victories in liberalising abortion laws and legalising same-sex marriage have left the Catholic Church on the proverbial ropes in terms of its influence over Irish society. I will also contend, following the work Allen and OBoyle, that Irish capitalism is a tax-haven-based model, one inherently weak and susceptible to crisis. However, via an examination of the forces in competition for the support of Irish workers, I will claim that despite the gargantuan advances of recent years and precariousness of Irish capital, the radical left is still in a minority and working in a context of a general desire for party-political, and ultimately reformist, solutions to social, economic and political issues. The second half of this paper will look at the strategies employed by the radical left in Ireland to relate to these changing conditions, as well as advocating for a particular approach in the coming period. I will argue that the RoI should be seen as a somewhat successful story, in terms of the change in fortunes for its historical bloc, the perseverance of struggle when compared to some other EU periphery states, the inability of the far-right to gain a strong foothold, and the modest growth of the radical left. This work will contend that these advancements cannot be explained without reference to subjective factors, most notably the strategic intervention of said radical left. The strategy employed by the key sections of the radical left has been one of advocating for, building, and working within, mass movements. While these movements do not always fall neatly into the template of United Fronts as developed during the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern, of crucial importance is that the left has related to them on those principles. As opposed to the dominant outlook of attaining power in government in order to better manage capitalism, I advocate for a deepening of this strategy of participating in mass movements with the understanding that when successful they will, by their nature, come up against the limits of Irish capitalism. Finally, while this piece focuses on the particularities of the south of Ireland, I will argue the crucial necessity of taking an all-Ireland approach to left strategy for making any meaningful advance.

The Dual Character of the Reality - The Matrix Trilogy and Marx's Value Theory

Heesang Jeon

This presentation seeks to discuss similarities between the Matrix trilogy and Marx's value theory. A main theme shared by both is the dual character of the reality. The world pictured in Matrix has a dual character. On the one hand, humans are slaves of machines, their energy sources. On the other hand, they live in a computer-generated dream world in which they have completely different lives with no trace of the harsh, unbearable truth that they are no better than batteries. These two aspects are both mutually exclusive and mutually dependent. Mutually exclusive, because, in one world, the only purpose of

human life is to generate energy for machines. Humans are mere objects. In the other world, by contrast, machines and their control over humans are non-existent and humans live their lives essentially as subjects. In the world structured this way, domination appears in an inverted form; although humans have no freedom, they are not aware of this fact, and, in their perception, they have free will. In other words, domination appears in the form of freedom. At the same time, these two worlds are dependent on each other. One has a life in a dream world precisely because she is in fact mere energy sources and has to be under control. The creation of the Matrix was necessary, so that the unacceptable truth that humans exist to serve the needs of machines had to be concealed. Conversely, the Matrix, by design, cannot exist independently of the real world because the Matrix can exist only if humans are plugged in. This interdependence between the real world and the Matrix, although the real world in which machines control humans is a more essential moment, manifests very clearly in the fact that if one dies in the Matrix, she also dies in the real world, and vice versa. Considering this dual character of the reality which is a totality consisting of the real world and the Matrix - remember, the Matrix is part of the reality - we can say that deception is an inherent and essential element of the reality. Its not something that can be removed from the system without destroying it. For Marx, as is the case with the reality as depicted in the Matrix trilogy, the capitalist society has a dual character. It is one of the most important contributions of Marx that he demonstrated so convincingly and systematically that the capitalist society has a dual character. In fact, the three volumes of Capital can be interpreted as successive concretisation of the dual character.

The Contradictions of Eureka: Race, Class and Capital Accumulation in Australia

Joe Collins (Department of Political Economy, University of Sydney)

The Eureka flag is a contentious symbol in Australia. Both the Far right and Left claim ownership of its genesis and legacy. Struggles over the flag's heritage break out in violence in the streets of major cities while the state apparatus seeks to chastise trade unionists who display the flag on work sites as a signifier of worker solidarity. What accounts for such contradictory meanings embedded within this powerful symbol? This paper proposes three avenues of enquiry in response to this question. First, what can the insights of Marx and Engels about Australia, offered through Capital and in their personal correspondence, reveal about capital accumulation and race in the emergent colonial social formation? Second, how has the issue of race influenced the formation of subaltern political movements, especially prior to Federation in 1901? What is the relationship between the Eureka flag, emancipatory political struggles and racism today? Concluding remarks will consider the political utility of the Eureka flag for anti-capitalist struggles in the contemporary period in Australia.

Integral Strategy and the Dialectics of Dual Power and Counter-Power

Josep Maria Antentas (Centre d'Estudis Sociològics sobre la Vida Quotidiana i el Treball (QUIT), Institut d'Estudis del Treball (IET), Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB).)

An emancipatory political project requires what I have called an integral strategy, by analogy with the Gramscian concept of integral state - that is a strategy based on a dialectic of “civil society” and “political society” where the struggle takes place in both terrains within the framework of a unified and indivisible strategy. Integral strategy means to act in all dimensions of social life - in all the ins and outs of production and reproduction. Starting from this perspective, revolutionary strategy should be framed as a dialectics of (integral) counter-power and (integral) dual power. By counter-power I understand the building of a solid network of alternative social powers, as a system of fortifications that secure the provisional conquest of positions in hostile terrain. By dual power, I retain the classic notion of a temporary situation of legitimacy crisis where State power is being challenged by power from below. Strategic emphasis should be put in both moments of revolutionary struggle failing to do so may lead to a certain insurrectionary fetishism (dual power without building counter-power) or to a politics without rupture (permanent counter-power without dual power perspective). Some authors, i.e. Jameson in *An American Utopia*, have used the term dual power to define any kind antagonistic social practice that creates power from below - that is, mixing the notions of dual power and counter-power. That may dissolve the differences between critical movements of mass upsurge and everyday struggles (the no moments) and the strategic link between both. In order to avoid this problem I prefer to use the term counter-power to describe the process of building the subaltern's own institutions and daily antagonistic practices and use dual power to refer to critical conjunctures of legitimacy crisis and mass upheaval. Both concepts and moments of struggle can be related to the general notion of popular power. As the success of the term has been associated to its vagueness, to specify its content is necessary to make it strategically useful in this sense four main features seem relevant: associate it to power from below (adapting the classic formula of Draper), to a large meaning of popular (in terms of plurality of the subaltern), to locate it in production and reproduction, and to locate its gravity centre outside State institutions not in the fantasy of an absolute externality but in the will of autonomy concerning them. Gramsci's integral autonomy as a precondition to fight for hegemony is a good strategic anchor in understanding the basis of popular power. Any attempt in building alternative social powers and subaltern's own institutions faces two permanent challenges: to avoid being integrated by the State and/or the market and to suffer depoliticization. Through a dialectic between dual power and counter-power we can understand the building of counter-power as a base camp for any (electoral) assault on political power. In turn the goal of seizing power helps to keep politicization of social daily activity. The counterpower-dual power perspective requires both a regulatory strategic horizon (to use Bensad's notion) that links political strategy to a road and to a goal, an a strong idea of transition itself - their absence being a striking feature of contemporary politics. The lack of them may push either for a politics of imprecise change that can easily be reabsorbed into mainstream politics or for a utopian thinking that while being fecund (as Jameson's *American Utopia*) may lack strategic foundations while in reality strategizing utopia should be the necessary move to link imagination of a new future and a road towards it.

Is there an Alternative to Crisis and Austerity?

Karl Beitel (Public Banking Project)

This paper develops a novel approach to Marx's theory of money and value to examine the logic of austerity that has become a pervasive feature of post-1980 global capitalism. My approach challenges the conclusions of both orthodox monetary theory, and influential strands of post-Keynesian theory interpretation of the powers and limits of government fiscal and expenditure power. I argue that the money wage the extrinsic expression of the value of labour power serves as the quasi-commodity anchor that mediates the relation of sign-money to its underlying intrinsic labour-time measure. Crisis, in particular those linked to sustained over issue of credit and inflation of the prices of financial and real estate assets, eventually lead to crisis that require massive interventions by states to avert catastrophic collapse in over-extended circuits of global banking capital. Government deficits, particularly those necessitated by crisis intervention, present the capitalist system with a complex problem. On the one hand, government IOUs underpin the entire edifice of contemporary financial and banking capital serving as inter-bank means of payment and lender collateral. During crises, expansion of this form of fictitious capital is necessary to undergird a controlled destruction and devaluation of private credit titles that no longer represent valid claims on social labour. Conversely, public debt expansion threatens to undermine the ability of government IOUs to serve as valid titles to future production unless these debts are redeemed through higher taxation or cuts in social expenditure. This framework provides a basis for interpreting austerity policies as a means to periodically reconstitute and reproduce nominal credit money as a redeemable claim on future, and as a viable instrument for storing claims on value. This occurs by imposing a devaluation of the value of labour power to reconstitute interest-bearing capital as an instrument for insuring the ability to command and direct the allocation and appropriation of surplus labour. Implementation of austerity is not due to bad policy but reflects the means through which contemporary capitalism seeks to crisis of overproduction of interest bearing capital by reducing the total labour time that enters into the reproduction of labour power. I show why this policy, so understood, is rational from the vantage point of finance capital. I discuss various proposals advanced by radical thinkers (Lapativas and Flassbeck, Varoufakis, Streeck) on left alternatives to the current regime of globalized finance capital, with particular focus on how to address the crisis from the vantage point of southern Europe and the developing world. I conclude by arguing that the left needs to engage in further work to show why the problems attributed central bank auto-finance of government deficits have incorrectly identified the actual nature of the source of the destabilization of the relation between money and labour; and advance a proposals for regionalist approaches for strategic de-linking of financial initiatives from international circuits of financial capital to open up the policy space for radical alternatives.

The Politics of the Encounter: In Search for a New Practice of Philosophy

Giorgos Kalampokas (National Technical University of Athens)

It is now a matter of common knowledge that the notion of the encounter is not at all a notion of the so-called late Althusser, the Althusser of the 1980s. On the contrary, it can be traced back to fragmentary passages or small texts from the philosophers 1960s work and more systematically from the early 70s and then on. But is the presence of the notion of the encounter enough for us to consider that the whole new problematic of the

materialism of the encounter is already at work in Althusser's texts since its first appearance or, such a fact only states the presence of a latent theory of the encounter in his early work? Is there a crucial turning point after which materialism of the encounter becomes the philosopher's dominant philosophical thinking and what is the significance of his work between 1975 and 1978 to the stabilization of such a problematic? Can we argue that politics and political practice is inherent to the encounter's philosophical core? In this paper we want to interrogate the place of the materialism of the encounter in Althusser's philosophical oeuvre. Especially we want to focus, on one hand, on the theoretical strings linking philosophy of the encounter to the philosophical program put forward by the famous 1968 Lenin and philosophy manifesto-lecture and the quest for a new practice of philosophy it launches; on the other hand, we want to trace its theoretical stance especially in the recently published books *How to be a Marxist in Philosophy*, where Althusser sketches an outline for a Marxist philosophical practice and *Philosophy for non-philosophers* where practices are thoroughly discussed and problematized, thus expanding the Lenin and philosophy program, where philosophy's stakes were only limited to politics and sciences. Thirdly, following Althusser's late problematization of dominant philosophy as the crucial unifying element of bourgeois ideology and thus of the reproduction of bourgeois dictatorship, we want to seek in materialism of the encounter for a non-philosophical philosophy, for a new practice of philosophy that will encourage all social practices to resist and revolt against (dominant) philosophy as exactly this unifying element of the bourgeois class dictatorship, so that it can help overthrow this dictatorship.

Imperial EU and the Rif

Joe Hayns (University of Oxford)

The Rifian diasporas petitioning of the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) since the beginning of the Popular Movement of the Rif (October 2016), with some success in both Spain and Holland, reflects a wider strategy of appealing to extra-Moroccan constituencies for political support. However, conceptions of the longer-term role played by the ECC/EU in the genesis and development of the Rifian crisis, and social processes generally in the wider Maghreb region, remains underdeveloped amongst the left in both Morocco, and the UK. This is not surprising, with both the substantial classic Marxist accounts of the ECC/EU (Judts; Andersons), and the bulk of conjunctural analyses of the EU to have appeared in English since the Greek sovereign debt crisis, having focused most on the intra-EU/European contests and contradictions formed by and within the supra-state. This paper will develop on Ali el Kanzi's identification of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (the Barcelona Process, begun in 1995) as inaugurating a Nafta-like relationship between the ECC (and after, EU) and the countries across the southern Mediterranean littoral, in which Member State-based capital and goods were enabled easier movement southwards, at the same time as MENA-originating labour was increasingly restricted from accessing Europe itself, each with dramatic effect on those working-classes. As an imperial bloc vis-à-vis the Maghreb and the wider Middle East and North Africa region, the EU remains a hidden colossus. After establishing the ECC/EU as a state-driven, pro-Europe-based capital project (with a focus on Spain and France as Member States), this paper will argue for the EU as a key agent in production of the socio-economic tendencies that have, in turn, generated the Popular Movement of the Rif.

Haiti, Debt and the Invention of Structural Adjustment

Robert Knox (Editor, Historical Materialism)

In recent years Haiti has been an important topic for Marxist scholars. Directly condensing issues of class, race and revolution, Haiti has provided an important lens through which to view the consolidation and development of racialised capitalism, especially as it relates to slavery. Particularly important in this respect have been two key moments: the Haitian Revolution and the 2004 UN-backed intervention. This paper takes a slightly different angle, examining developments that came after Haiti's acquisition of independence. Focusing specifically on the question of debt, it tracks the way in which a racialised conception of debt was deployed to tie Haiti into the emergent capitalist global order. The paper charts how this race-debt-nexus was initially generated through compensation for the abolition of slavery and continued throughout the 1800s. It then tracks how this nexus was refined with the growing importance of the informal US empire within Latin America and Caribbean, culminating in 1915 Occupation of Haiti. The key argument of the paper is that Haiti provided a staging ground for a particular strategy of capitalist accumulation whereby racialised assumptions about debt could continue to structure imperialist practices even after the acquisition of formal independence. In this respect, it argues that over this period a particular legal technology was invented which was later generalised in the form structural adjustment in the later 20th century. In this way, the paper argues, law played a crucial role in the creation and management of racialised strategies of accumulation and continues to do so in the present context.

Rural anti-racism in Morocco: A Process of Decolonization

Soraya El Kahlaoui (ENS / cole des Hautes tudes en Sciences Sociales)

On October 28, 2016, fishmonger Mohcine Fikri was crushed and killed in a dumpster after he attempted to retrieve his goods authorities had seized, causing a wave of unprecedented indignation across the Rif region, in north Morocco. This Popular Movement of the Rif brought together thousands of citizens, and prompted protests across rural Morocco - Tinghir, Kela El Segharna, Imintanout - to demand economic and social justice. Demonstrators slogans have been clear: No Marginalization of rural Morocco. Unlike 2011, it is not the big cities of Casablanca or Rabat that are the centre of protests, but instead towns across the area the colonizer referred to as Maroc inutile (Useless Morocco) - the mountainous, Tamazight-speaking spine of Morocco. Since the early 80s, the Moroccan state has pursued development via foreign investment and privatization across this spine; over the same period, anti-Amazigh racism has continued via state policies towards rural Morocco, and Tamazight speakers generally. For the first time since independence, a broad-based rural protest movement is mobilizing around both pro-Amazigh demands and also socio-economic exclusion. Is the states continuance of of colonial-era racial politics, coupled with neo-liberal economics, now under threat?

Neo-tribalism and Old Charisma in the Rif

Hamza Esmili (ENS / cole des Hautes tudes en Sciences Sociales)

Since the first months of the Popular Movement of the Rif mobilization, activists have voiced powerful criticisms of the diqqin siasia (political shops), as the movement describes both parliamentary, trade union, militant, and rights-based groups. Unlike the 2011 20th February movement, Hirak has not engaged in any way with established progressive organisation. This non-engagement with those groups is, this paper will argue, part of a more general distance from modern political discourse and organising, with Hirak activists reprising Amazigh themes such as tamounit, meaning ancestral solidarity within tribal society. This return to pre-modern collective resources, autonomous from the militant and political field, is expressed too in the elevation of Nasser Zefzafi, whose charismatic style of authority indicates a profound criticism addressed by Hirak to modern modes of governance. Indeed, Nasser Zefzafi, currently detained at the Oukacha prison (Casablanca), is less a political leader in the modern sense than a moral and religious reformist, a wali salih (just saint). Through the specificity of Hirak, I will address the more general theoretical problematics of re-articulations of local, pre-modern political forms (in this case, tribal solidarities, and charismatic religious authority), which I understand as criticism against modern political forms (the Moroccan national state, and diqqin siasia).

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Extraction and Agriculture as Class War in Morocco

Fayrouz Yousfi

Since the late 1980s, Morocco has been the site of an intensification of extractive activities (phosphates, water, fish), as developing according to the dynamics of Harveys accumulation by dispossession model, simultaneous with a restructuring of the agricultural sector towards large-scale, export-focused orientation. This paper will examine the class relations implied in these conjoined processes. Agricultural strategy in Morocco since King Mohamed VI's (r. 1999-) inauguration has focused on the promotion of vertically integrated agribusinesses, able to control every level of the value chain, from production, to packaging, to export, to distribution to commercialization in Europe. This strategy was formalised and extended with the Morocco Green Plan 2008-2020 (MPG), as developed by the consultancy firm McKinsey and Company. International capital, the Moroccan state, and the Moroccan state bourgeoisie have favoured the growth of this agri-business model in the rural hinterlands, at the expense of small-scale farmers and wider rural communities, who are unable to compete against large-scale firms in terms of either productivity or reach. Through the same process, the rural working-class in Morocco has been dispossessed of access to natural resources, with various shortages, notably of water, an increased possibility due to this MPG-orchestrated development. Against official and scholarly analyses of MPG and related processes as a class-neutral, national development project, my paper will show neo-liberalism in Morocco's agricultural and extractive sectors as class project par excellence.

Social Reproduction Theory and the Philosophical Concept of Life

George Tomlinson (Brunel University)

Recent scholarship in Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) establishes the need to reframe, modify and expand our understanding of basic categories, such as labour and class, so as to capture and contest the complex and dynamic totality which is capitalism. At the heart of SRT is a revitalised feminist and anti-racist politics that insists that gender, race, colonialism and other oppressions are structurally internal to what Susan Ferguson calls the necessary but contradictory relationship between the production of value and the production of labour-power. After Tithi Bhattacharya, gendered and racialised lives are no mere add-ons to a more vital economic process; rather, they and the forms of violence that underpin them are part and parcel of the life of capitalism. The purpose of this paper is to reframe, modify and expand another category upon which SRT hinges, but which it has not, to date, reconstructed in a manner analogous to its re-presentation of labour and class: the concept of life. If, as SRT demonstrates, the reproduction of capitalism as a whole is predicated on countless life-making activities and institutions outside of the direct production-process, how do philosophical conceptions of life in the modern European tradition transform our understanding of this? Does SRT stand to be critically enriched when it is made to reckon with philosophical concepts of life, insofar as these concepts introduce SRT to theoretical and empirical domains heretofore unexplored? Conversely, is the philosophical originality and critical function of the concept of life realised, if not secured, when it is reconceived within the terms of SRT? If, in capitalism, life is necessarily gendered, racialised and sexualised, what is the significance of this for the post-Kantian European philosophical tradition more generally? This is an important encounter to stage, as SRT, in its current form, risks reproducing a basic tension within Marx's corpus itself: on the one hand, Marx consistently appeals to life (he consistently

uses life-expressions and life-related terms), and on the other hand, he offers no dedicated theoretical discourse on this concept, such that life only functions ontologically around the concepts with which it is joined: life activity, productive life, the life of capital, the life of the worker, living labour, and so forth. We are thus left with a series of suggestive, yet systematically unexamined, claims (life itself appears only as a means to life, or time is the measure of life itself), teeming with philosophical and political implications. How does SRT foster the creation of a concept of life which speculatively resolves this tension, which accounts for different forms of life (capital clearly presents us with different forms than those of human beings), but which does not reduce 'life' to an empty or catch-all concept, which gives life a conceptual status that is, after David McNally, intrinsically constituted by, and yet relationally autonomous from, other concepts such as labour and class? This paper is intended as a contribution to the Marxist-Feminist stream, although it would also work with the Marxism and Philosophy stream.

Whose/Who's Trash? Lebanon in Crisis

Alice M Kezhaya (Independent Scholar)

Beirut's trash war, Lebanon's garbage crisis, waste crisis. These are phrases that have been used to describe the overflowing, rotting piles of trash in the streets, the landfills beyond capacity, and the utterly dysfunctional management of waste in Lebanon that became glaringly visible starting in 2015. The crisis sparked what has become known as an anti-sectarian movement" in the country, with activists regardless of sect joining forces to demand waste management reform and the end of political corruption. The trash has since been moved off the streets, but there are still over 900 open garbage dumps throughout Lebanon that are containing it, with around 150 of the dumps being burned weekly (Human Rights Watch, 2018). The trash war" has been discussed by reporters and scholars as a critical issue that rises above sectarian difference. While this analysis is true, it ignores the way the waste crisis contributes to the racialization of people, shifting focus from the political system that is racialization to what Ussama Makdisi has referred to as the (often overlapping) culture of sectarianism. In this paper, I will discuss the way that the crisis of trash is also a crisis of hypercapitalism, stemming from the Lebanese Civil War and relationships with the governments plethora of contractors, and a crisis of racialized populations in Lebanon, a process that began in the 19th century with Ottoman modernization and European colonialism. Indeed, calling it a crisis emphasizes a sudden onset, rather than a long history. Finally, I will address questions that the anti-sectarian movement missed. What about the people who have been living near the original dump site in Naameh, racialized as disposable? How has the emergence of new dumps weaved between urban and rural areas troubled those racial lines? What about the people at the You Stink! protests whose anger and violence were deemed unacceptable and were consequently ostracized from the movement? What about the migrant workers and the domestic workers, whose working conditions leave no separation between themselves and the trash? With this paper, I hope to contribute to existing analyses of the Lebanese trash crisis by emphasizing the crisis of capitalism that caused it and it supports an ever-changing system of racialization.

The Problem of Nature in Saint-Just's "De la nature, de l'état civil, de la cité ou les règles de l'indépendance du gouvernement"

Jennifer Harvey (Université de Valenciennes)

Drafted between 1791 and 1792, Louis Antoine de Saint-Just's incomplete manuscript, *De la nature, de l'état civil, de la cité ou les règles de l'indépendance du gouvernement* remained unpublished for one-hundred and sixty years. Donated to the Bibliothèque nationale in 1947, edited for publication in the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* in 1951, and not yet translated into English, *De la nature* offers a theory of a social state, viz., a just human society that is ontologically and historically prior to any political state or convention, as well as a conception of humanity that is immediately social, pre-political, and essentially good. In a word, it can be described as a critique of state of nature theories that bears the potential to complicate and enrich our understanding of Jacobin politics. The political state is a site of violence and inherent corruption, as it exists to govern unnaturally antagonistic relationships between individuals. This presentation seeks to critically examine the sociohistorical significance of Saint-Just's *De la nature*, particularly with respect to the threefold problematic that follows from the vexed quality Saint-Just imputes to politics in conjunction with the privileged place he ascribes to nature. The first aspect of this problematic involves the alteration of human nature. More specifically, in the social state, humanity is essentially good, innocent, and capable of maintaining an egalitarian society, but in the political state, human antagonism exists via an alteration of its initial intelligence. How and to what extent human nature can change remains unclear. Secondly then, when the changeability of human nature remains unclear, then so too does humanity's capacity to fully restore its initial social bonds. Though it may be evident that humanity was united long before the state of war, any wish for it to re-constitute its inherent social essence might be symptomatic of what Miguel Abensour ultimately charges as primitivism, which would entail a necessary but impossible historical return. Last but not least, Saint-Just seems to associate just society so closely with nature that this association seems like it could imply that human emancipation from political states depends on nature, exemplifying what Dan Edelstein regards as Saint-Just's unemancipatory "suspicion of popular sovereignty." Through a close reading of *De la nature* and an effort to situate it within the context of Saint-Just's published, political essays and unpublished theoretical works, this presentation will seek to better understand the apparent problems that beset this text.

A Comparative Analysis of Ethnonationalist Movements Globally

Tala Jihad Makhoul (Independent scholar.)

While progressive parties and grassroots activists watched in horror as Donald Trump prepared to take his seat in the White House at the end of 2016, right-wing ethnonationalist parties in the United States and across the world rejoiced. While Trump's stances on foreign policy issues seemed murky, his appointment of figures such as Jeff Sessions as Attorney General and David Friedman as the United States ambassador to Israel gave a stark indication that his foreign policy might prove hostile. In this context, a comparative analysis of different right-wing ethnonationalist movements' reception of Trump's foreign policymaking post-2016 is crucial to understand the nuances in what has been popularly dubbed as the alt-right. While there is a tendency to paint the alt-right

with a broad brush, we must acknowledge and understand how these parties differ from or overlap with each other, as well as their shared or distinct histories. In this paper, I strive to do this using two case studies. First, I use these parties stances on queer issues and their promotion of certain gay rights discourses (for example, the notion of personal liberties) that detract from their perpetuation of fascism on a national, regional, and global scale. Second, there is the notable difference between these parties reception of Trumps decision to move the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. My main thesis is that while these parties adapt themselves to different decisions made by the Trump administration depending on their own constituencies and contexts, the rationale behind the reception stems from a similar ideological ethos, one that dominates the spirit of the contemporary alt right. While there is a wide array of alt-right groups and networks across the globe, I aim to focus on three: Maronite Christian ethnonationalists in Lebanon, who widely received Trumps election with glee; Zionists in Israel; and white ethnonationalists in the United States. Scholars have put forth important analyses of the alliance between white ethnonationalists and Zionists, yet not many have grappled with the existence of similar strands of ethnonationalist ideology in Lebanon, as well as the history of cooperation that existed between Zionists and Maronite ethnonationalists in the 1980s. Roughly, this paper will consist of: a historical overview of alliances between Zionists and white settlers, as well as the alliance between Lebanons Kataeb Party and Israel during the 1975-1990 Lebanese Civil War, and an analysis of these parties contemporary stances and engagement with regional and global politics. My hope is that this paper will add to existing analyses of right-wing ethnonationalist (or alt-right) ideologies worldwide, as well as specific studies of ethnonationalist parties in their own regional and national contexts.

The Government of Time Theories of Plural Temporality in the Marxist Tradition

Peter Thomas (Brunel University London)

Book Launch for volume in HM book series, The Government of Time Theories of Plural Temporality in the Marxist Tradition Edited by Vittorio Morfino and Peter D. Thomas Launch will include presentations by teh editors and one other contributor to the volume (still to be confirmed), alongside 2-3 respondents

Yo soy la revolucin: History of Prehistory, Capitalism and Black Resistance in Morocco

Meriam Mabrouk (University of Sussex)

This article aims to shed a new light on the racialised nature of capitalist development in Morocco. The historical investigation of Morocco outside the confines of state organisation and former colonial structures is a budding field of scholarly research. In historiographies examining socio-economic change and capitalist (de)-development, capitalism falls between the cracks of comparative studies and what Ellen Meiksins Wood refers to as Eurocentric anti-eurocentrism. On one hand, the former does not engage with International Relations, marginalizes the multi-layered aspects of actor-specific agency, and reduces capital and state formation in Morocco to a power struggle where colonial forces are at the centre of analysis. The latter, on the other hand, provides critiques of Orientalist historiographies whilst simultaneously subsuming the specific trajectory of historical formations under dogmatic, institutionalised conceptions of

capitalist development in the region. This not only overlooks the historical, sociological, and international conditions of capitalism. It also skips a large chapter of often overlooked Moroccan history: slavery and race relations. This article provides an alternative conjectural, theoretically-informed and historically-constructed account of capitalist development in Morocco, an account that rectifies the discursive, historical, and theoretical amnesia of slavery. It argues that the realism-tinted account of Morocco, as a peripheral country that ended up being capitalist as a direct result of colonial intervention and/or the transition to capitalism elsewhere, is based on hollow foundations demonstrating an inability to theorise geopolitical accumulation beyond the bounds of anarchical structures. To solve this puzzle, this paper is anchored in International Historical Sociology, specifically relying on the tradition of Political Marxism in addition the works of Maxime Rodinson, and Moroccan historiography with the aim of providing a Marxist analysis of capitalist social property relations that looks at the specific dynamics of racialized hierarchies of power, and that theorises the form of a peripheral capitalist state, in separation from the spheres of accumulation and exploitation. This is achieved through an analysis of two intertwined socio-historical processes leading to capitalist development in Moroccan context: firstly, the Ismaili Project and the subsequent Haratins Protest of Fez in 1699 a wave protests against forced conscription of slaves, and the institutionalization of anti-blackness as a political and a military project as an embodiment of geopolitical accumulation operating as a matrix for the production and reproduction of race; secondly, the international context of the Trans-Saharan slave trade, and the role of state sovereignty in forging a political history of the Black Army, oscillating between centrality and marginality, and standing out as a marker of the origins of capitalism in Morocco. This paper, therefore, challenges the picture of inertia and continual underdevelopment linked to peripheral contexts and does not look at social structures and historical formations as unable to react to old and new geopolitical changes. It centralizes marginal actors and marginal histories whilst evaluating the relevance and efficacy of capital-centric Marxism in accounting for the trajectory and racialised dynamics of the extra-peripheral pre-capitalist and capitalist state.

Temporal Alienation and Social Acceleration

Jonathan Martineau (Bishop's University)

This paper seeks to provide background reflections on key coordinates of leisure and work in the context of dynamics pertaining to the contemporary global time regime. Of specific interest here is the question of the articulation between leisure time, markets, and culture. This article is separated into three main areas of enquiry. First, I explore aspects of the contemporary time regime. I assess the rise of abstract time first in its clock-time form, and its later supplementation by network time forms. Second, I examine the exacerbated dominance of market time brought about and reproduced by key neoliberal processes which have led to a restructuring of the work time/leisure time binary that held for most of the modern period. Third, I critically engage with some aspects of the theory of social acceleration and examine how it can shed light on, and in turn be modified by, the general hypothesis of the commodification of leisure time. In doing so, I address the colonization of leisure time by market imperatives and pressures.

Renewing Materialist Philosophy Under the Post-Colonial and Post-Socialist Condition

Svenja Bromberg (Goldsmiths, University of London)

Today, the philosophical discourse around materialism has fundamentally moved away from Marxism and towards speculative and purely ontological debates, which have a particularly strong visibility under the slogan of new materialism(s). At the same time prominent Marxist theorisations turned towards more empirical and sociological as well as formalist analyses of capitalism. Further, we are still lacking an understanding of what it means to do philosophy under the nexus of the post-colonial and post-socialist condition. Instead postcolonial theory and socialist studies have established themselves as separate disciplines that understand their objects of inquiry independent of how they are affected by a capitalist social totality. The proposed set of two panels will bring together a group of researchers working on the problem of materialist philosophy across the debates on epistemology and history, social ontology and theories of the subject and of subjectivity. Both panels will discuss these issues in general and by revisiting the work of thinkers such as Marx, Althusser, Foucault, Fanon, and others. The aim of the two proposed panels is to construct a new understanding of materialist philosophy through a conceptualisation and reassessment of debates on causality and contingency, continuity and rupture, violence and social reproduction; in other words, by returning to classical problems of Marxist philosophy, but from the vantage point of a differently conceived post-colonial and post-socialist condition for philosophy.

Marx, the Divider of Hegel: Badiou on the Relationship between Marx and Hegel in the Red Years Writings

Zachary Desjardins-Mooney (Columbia University)

Alain Badiou remarks in *Hegel in France* (1977) that the materialist Hegel of the *Science of Logic* was just as mute for Althusser as he was for Sartre. This statement speaks to Badiou's own understanding of the philosophical relationship between Marx and Hegel, and also signals his position within the complex history of Hegelianism in twentieth century France. According to Badiou, the relationship between Marx and Hegel is not simply one of continuity or discontinuity, and therefore Marx should not be considered as the same (Sartre) or the other (Althusser) of Hegel, but rather as his divider. While Marx preserves the rational kernel of the dialectic, he gets rid of its idealist component. Echoing his comment about Sartre and Althusser, Badiou insists that to properly understand the intricate relationship between Marx and Hegel, one has to begin again at zero and consider the theoretical input of Hegel's *Science of Logic* for Marx's philosophy. In this paper, I examine Badiou's Hegel and situate him within the history of Hegelianism in postwar French thought. Particularly, I focus on the reintroduction of Hegel's *Science of Logic* in the French philosophical scene at the beginning of the 1950s and consider its impact on the understanding of Marx's relationship to Hegel. I begin with Jean Hyppolite's seminal reading of the Hegelian corpus in *Logic and Existence* (1953), where he tackles the very difficult question of the transition from the *Phenomenology of Spirit* to the *Science of Logic*. Then I move on to the well-known humanist controversy and I consider Louis Althusser's criticism of Hegelian idealism, most notably in *Contradiction and Overdetermination* (1962) and *Marx's Relation to Hegel*, (1970) an essay he initially presented at Hyppolite's 1967-68 seminar on Hegel's *Logic* at the ENS. I conclude with Badiou's neglected writings from the so-called Red Years, which demonstrate a significant engagement with Hegelianism and the *Science of Logic*, and with Althusser's

project of a scientific Marx. More broadly, I consider the implications of Badiou's position for the renewed discussion over the crucial relationship between Marx's later philosophy, as put forward in *Capital*, and Hegel's *Science of Logic*.

Two Spaces of the Social in Marx : Between das Gesellschaftliche and das Soziale

Seung-wook BAEK (professor department of sociology Chung-Ang University Seoul, Korea)

Marx's emphasis on the social is different from other scholars in that he explains it not by inter-subjective relationship but by inverted structure of commodity fetishism (that is, as a trans-individual relation). The social in Marx explains the inverted relationship between socialized labor and omnipotence of capital, where the latter embodies potentiality and capacity of the social whereas the former lose the meaning of the social as a real origin of sociality under capitalism. The recovery of the social in Marx, therefore, cannot be accomplished through communications of inter-subjective lives. For Marx, transformation of the social is an only possible way for the solution for distorted relationship between labor and capital. The reproduction of the social in Marx, however, cannot be completed by itself, without the other space of the social. I will discern the social I (das Gesellschaftliche) from the social II (das Soziale). The social I itself cannot be represented in the sphere of politics though it is the origin of the contradictions. The transformation of the social I cannot begin from the field itself since the social I cannot provide an appropriate exit for the transformation. Inverted representation of fetishism finds its expression only in the social II though the social II is the space of the void or the fictitious. Individuals are entitled to have their space as subjects only in the social II as a result of inverted sociality in the social I. The transformation of the social I is not likely possible without the entrance provided by the social II while the social II cannot guarantee the transformation of the social I. This difficulty reveals contradictions on the relationship between revolution and transition.

Solidarity with Witches, Healers, & Whores: Resistance and Struggle in Anti-fascist and Sex Worker Histories

Cassandra Lea Troyan (Linnaeus University Kalmar, Sweden)

Historically, the prostitute, much like the witch, developed as an ontological category such that her behavior and the notion of her personhood were believed to be inseparable, meaning she could not be saved. In my work with Maya Andrea Gonzalez, we discuss in our essay *Heart of a Heartless World*, how the category of respectability is intertwined with the idea of who is a prostitute, of what makes a woman a prostitute. Naturally, we reject the ahistorical fairytale of prostitution being the oldest profession in the world, since the idea of what constitutes prostitution is radically different according to the social, cultural, political and gendered or class relations at a given time. The prostitute is not a transhistorical figure but a product of her capacity to adapt to the hardships she experiences due to the fact of her interpellation as woman. Yet, we occupy a position against oppression theorists, such as Andrea Dworkin and Sheila Jeffreys, who believe the notion of the prostitute is a biologically deterministic position: one is prostituted because she is a woman, thus this is the logical consequence of her subjugation by capital. Instead it should be argued that the category of woman in relation to sex work is not a purely biological category, as sex workers are not only women, or exploited due to

their reproductive capacities. Those who have been marked as gender outlaws, anarchists, communists, anti-fascists, or anti-state revolutionaries, along with non-white femmes, trans women, and the poor working class have often been accused of prostitution, or criminalized because of their work in the sex trade and the non-normative roles they hold in society. Criminalization by the state continues today and the modern examples are seemingly endless, yet this repression is met with resistance and must be continually met with resistance, as the queer anarchist collective Baeden has noted, Gender is of course something outside of ourselves which imprisons us, but this has been realized from its most primal origin; this realization has been the continuous source of the revolt which tends toward its decomposition. The faggot heretics, witches, and gay rioters show us that domesticated gender has always been experienced as an external constraint. This is exactly why it must be constantly re-naturalized and re-imposed.[1] By returning to moments of struggle with respect to these faggot heretics, witches, and gay rioters, how might we build new solidarities in order to confront the states increasing violence towards sex workers (such as with the passing of the FOSTA-SESTA laws), ICE raids and racist targeting of immigrants and refugees, along with vulnerable populations whose safety and autonomy are continually under threat? This paper looks specifically at the histories of anti-fascist prostitutes in Mussolinis Italy, and the occupation of Saint-Nizier church by the prostitutes of Lyon in 1975 as two sites of struggle in order to understand how we might build solidarity across histories and movements today. [1] Baeden: A Queer Journal of Heresy. Unknown: Unknown, (2014): 58. Also referenced in Jules Gleasons essay, The Call for Gender Abolition <https://blindfieldjournal.com/2017/07/31/the-call-for-gender-abolition-from-materialist-lesbianism-to-gay-communism/>

A Decent House, a Decent Job, a Decent Life: Social Reproduction Theory and Working Class Organizing in Cape Town.

Adrian Murray (University of Ottawa)

While progressive coalitions continue to oppose the rise of right wing populism and the intensification of neoliberal restructuring that frequently accompanies it, organizing on the left remains fragmented and the underlying unity of the multitude of working class struggles undertheorized. Overcoming these theoretical and practical obstacles is an urgent task in the face of both renewed attempts by the state and capital to ensure stability and deepen market penetration into the remaining untouched corners of working class life, and threats to unity generated within the left by narrow understandings of class and identity. Drawing on empirical research around struggles for housing and public services in Cape Town, South Africa, this paper argues that Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) may provide just such an integrated theorization of the diverse experiences and struggles of the working class. SRT recovers class by building from the material, everyday experience to generate unifying understandings of class struggle within a capitalist totality in which difference within the class is constitutive.

Case Studies in the Origins of Capitalism

Michael Andrew Zmolek (University of Iowa), Charles Post, City University of New York (New York, USA); Xavier Lafrance, UQAM (Montral, Canada)

Whether described as Political Marxism or Capital-centric Marxism, Robert Brenner and Ellen Meiskins Woods approach to the origins of capitalism transformed the terms of debate on this issue among both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars. Beginning with a rigorous concept of capitalisms specificitythe market dependence of both non-producers and direct laborersBrenner and Wood developed a rigorous alternative explanation of the origins of capitalism in the English countryside in the long sixteenth century to that provided by both the demographic and commercialization models. Over the years, Brenner and Woods work has inspired a new generation of Marxist scholars to extend their insights to the origins of capitalism outside of England. In a forthcoming volume, *Case Studies in the Origins of Capitalism*, to be published as part of Palgraves Marx, Engels and Marxism series, Xavier Lafrance (UQAM) and Charles Post (CUNY) have brought together case studies ranging from France, Catalonia, and the United States to Canada, Japan, Brazil, and Turkey. This panel will highlight four contributions to the volume on Canada, England, Japan and Social Reproduction and the transition to capitalism.

Enclosing Africa: Peasants, Land Grabs and Capitalisms End Game

Michael Andrew Zmolek (University of Iowa)

In the nineteenth century, Marx identified the expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil as the basis of the whole process of capitalist accumulation. In the twenty-first century, enclosures, the privatization of land and the dispossession of peasant producers continues. As a result, the rural-to-urban exodus of poor producers continues to swell mega-cities such as Lagos, So Paulo and Mumbai, cities in which often half the population live in slums and favelas, lacking steady employment, clean water and other basic infrastructure, and community services. International capital, much of it now issuing from the Global South, has turned its attention to Sub-SaharanAfricaas the last reserve of unenclosed land worked by peasant farmers in what has been described as a wave of land grabs and a new scramble forAfrica. Will this be capitalisms last major wave of land enclosures? Will it be met by peasant-based revolts and revolutions along the lines of Maoist struggles across much of Asia? Sub-SaharanAfrica is poised to experience pressures and crises unlike those felt in any other region of the planet in the century ahead: a possible quadrupling of population, the introduction and expansion of industrialized farming, the unprecedented growth of cities, the brunt of climate change impact and other environmental stresses. Will a new wave of capital investment along the lines of East Asia accompany these changes or will the more familiar pattern of neglect continue? Is capitals vision forAfricaone of burgeoning slums and depopulated villages surrounded by vast, private landholdings? Whatever capitals end game forAfrica, the enormous period of social transformation and struggle ahead also presents unprecedented opportunities for envisioning and exploring alternatives.

Racism, Fascism and the Far Right in Britain today

David Renton (Garden Court chambers), Anindya Bhattacharyya

In the light of the success of the Democratic Football Lads Alliance, the Justice4the21 campaign, and the movement calling for Tommy Robinson's release, parts of the left have begun to speak of a new wave of British fascism. We argue for participation in mobilisations against the DFLA and Tommy Robinson; however we argue that it is wrong to see either as the focal point for British racism. Instead, we argue, that the predominant role is played by institutional racists, starting with the Home Office and its hostile environment policy. We locate the rise of the DFLA and its allies within a fifty year history of the British far right, which has been marked by depoliticisation, the shedding of previous trappings, and the conscious decision to repackage the right as racist and Islamophobic rather than fascist.

Sound as Social Form : On Theodor Adorno's Listening Theory

**Vincent Chanson (Associate researcher
(SOHPIAPOL/UNIVERSITE PARIS NANTERRE))**

This paper aims to reappraise some of Adorno's hypothesis - more specifically those on social theory of music - in the more global perspective of a modernity's soundscape experience theory (cf. Jonathan Stern/Sound Studies). Indeed, we'd like to question the model of the immanent critique of musical material in a more broader scale : the assumption of the social content and social function of musical works could be refined in the sense of a theory of sound as social form. Our main thesis will be that many of Adorno's text on musical aesthetic share a diagnosis on the materiality of sound experience - from *Zur Gesellschaftliche Lage der Musik* (1932) to the 60s texts on sociology of music. That's why we'll try to defend here the hypothesis of an overtaking of aesthetic paradigm by focusing on a critical theory of the specificity of capitalist sound production : can we apprehend sound experience as a strictly fetishist listening experience (cf. *On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening, Current of music*) ? Can we speak of a listening mediated by exchange/market socialization ? These questions seem for us particularly decisive in order to examine Theodor W. Adorno's sociology of music. In other words, we'll try here to define the status of the exchange society (*Tauschgesellschaft*) principle in the field of sociology of culture.

Communism's "Basic Prerequisite": The Reduction of Work-time, Anti-work Politics and Human Emancipation

Oisn Gilmore (Humboldt University of Berlin)

Over the last number of years there has been a growing interest in anti-work approaches to labour and human emancipation. Most recently this has gained attention through the work of Kathi Weeks (2011), which builds on a wide ranging literature coming from American anarchist, French Marxist, Italian autonomist and feminist traditions. A central proposition of this literature is that the classical labour movement failed to sufficiently critique work, resulting in it becoming a movement to integrate workers into capitalism,

rather than a movement against work itself. However, the distinction between work and non-work in this literature is often unclear. Non-work can appear as the rather familiar concept of unalienated labour, as imagined in Marx's Comments on James Mill, or it can appear as the actual abolition of labour itself, as imagined in Marx's German Ideology. This paper will argue that the conceptual lack of clarity in the anti-work literature is reflective of an ambivalence in Marx's own writings. It will argue that this ambiguity can be reconciled through an understanding of Marx's understanding of freedom's relation to necessity. Further, it will argue that anti-work attempts to theorise the end of work, rest on an ahistorical conception of work that misapplies an understanding of the history of worktime, both in relation to hunter-gatherers and to the imposition of capitalist forms of labour in the transition to capitalism. Through an examination of the history of worktime and the struggle under capitalism for its reduction, this paper will argue that the struggle against work under capitalism takes a particular and specific form that prefigures communism. With this dual approach of both (a) clarifying our understanding of Marx's writings on the reduction of work and human emancipation and (b) examining two hundred years of struggle for the reduction and limitation of working time, this paper will demonstrate how, as Marx argued, the shortening of the working-day is [the] basic requisite for the true realm of freedom.

Women and Kafala: Towards a More Expansive Social Reproduction Theory

Siobhan Saravanamuttu (York University)

Women and Kafala: Towards a More Expansive Social Reproduction Theory This paper examines the role of migrant women in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states who work as domestic workers as a case study, investigating the utility of Social Reproduction Theory in assessing production and social relations in Gulf societies. It delves into the specific contributions of poor, racialized women to the reproduction of class social relations in the Gulf as well as labour regeneration in their own home countries. Demonstrating that the commodification of migrant women's domestic care work directly contributes to capital accumulation in the Gulf region, as well as to the maintenance of class relations, the paper problematizes how much of the discussion surrounding production and accumulation in the region fails to take into account a gendered analysis of migrant work. This paper argues that Gulf migrant labour is not a gender-neutral phenomenon. Rather, migration in the Gulf states is shown to be a structural process of racialized and gendered exploitation, actively engaged in by both host and sending states, in order to solidify the reproduction of class and economic relations of production under neoliberal capitalism. Ultimately, this paper seeks a more expansive analysis of social reproduction theory located within hierarchies of racism and imperialism that structure global capitalist relations and have specific implications for Marxist-feminist analysis of the far right.

The Policing of Space in Neoliberal Toronto

Kris Belben (York University)

This paper argues that policing in the neoliberal period, with its focus on law-and-order, has been about more than just the policing of behaviour: it has also consistently about the policing and elimination of space for modes of living and expression that exist outside the liberal norm and that challenges cities as spaces of capital accumulation. This form of

policing is evident in Toronto from the late 1990s onward in the Ontario Safe Streets Act (SSA). The SSA can be seen as one of the main expressions of the neoliberal 'broken windows' approach to policing. Moreover, Toronto has adopted bylaws which, while separate from the SSA, enforce the same logic of the elimination of spaces in which people must exist. While the SSA and bylaws continue to be a major part of policing in Toronto by regulating the poor on the streets, policing also underwent an intensification in the form of protest and dissent policing. This change is evident in the policing of the 2010 G20 protests in Toronto. While the changes in policing are clear, a direct continuity exists between them through their logic of spatial elimination.

Sexual Desire, Deviance, and Transgression in Europe: Moral Panic, Immigration, and Marxist Aesthetics

Noor Amr (Harvard University)

This paper concerns discourses of sexual desire, deviance, and transgression surrounding Arab and Muslim refugees in Europe. My research explores the moral (and aesthetic) panic surrounding sexual terrorism in Europe, by paying close attention both to instances of sexual violence that have galvanized international news media, and the Orientalist analogies that commentators have drawn to insist upon the existence of a sexual clash of civilizations. One example of the former includes the mob theft and sexual assaults that took place in Cologne, Germany at the beginning of 2016, which were attributed to men with reportedly Arab and North African features. Responses from both the left and right were aligned in their defense of European values. The infamous anti-immigrant Dutch politician Geert Wilders declared, we must stop Europe's testosterone bombs from sexual terrorism a sexual jihad, and it is happening all over Europe. More surprising were responses from leftists such as Slavoj Žižek, who echoed a clash of civilizations stance and defended his assertion that the importation of Islam and Arab sexual culture via immigration are fundamentally incompatible with Western liberal values. Others have gone so far as to use the poorly transliterated Arabic phrase *taharrush gamea* (group sexual harassment) to claim that sexual violence is an integral component of Arab masculinity, a direct importation from Tahrir Square to Cologne. I will frame these discourses, reports, images, and analogies within aesthetic considerations in the Marxist tradition. This will help me connect debates surrounding the subordination and incorporation of reason in aesthetic contemplation (beginning with Kant and extending beyond Marxist thinkers such as Bloch and Adorno), and how such concerns lead to a conception of Europe as both hyper-rational and aesthetically desirable (particularly with regard to the bodies of white women), to a larger and parallel conversation about the specter of the sexually irrational, hyper-affective Muslim refugee. This framing will help me to explore questions that arise from such comparisons why do Europeans compare Cologne to Tahrir, for example, instead of instances of group sexual harassment perpetrated by white European men at Oktoberfest celebrations? How do Europeans define themselves in relation to sexual transgression, when a group of French policemen forcing a Muslim woman to partially disrobe on a public beach does not qualify as sexual harassment or violence, but a protection of European secular values and rationality? And furthermore, what forms of life are perpetuated and demanded in light of these aesthetic considerations?

The Poverty of Anti-Populism

David Broder

This paper seeks to give a materialist account of the rise of one of Europe's least-understood and yet most important political phenomena. Presenting itself to the outside world as a transversal, pan-class "movement" extending beyond old identities of Left and Right, Italy's Five Star Movement (M5S) is often assimilated to a nebulous "populism", or understood by superficial comparison with more easily grasped phenomena like Podemos, France Insoumise or its own coalition partners, the hard-right Lega. Contradicting such accounts, this paper argues that far from creating a particularly post-ideological version of "populism", the M5S reflects the impossibility of federating a "people" together unless it is grounded in unitary (and unifying) class subjects. Where other new parties of left and right around Europe have harnessed older political identities to new forms of social mobilisation, M5S more fully expresses the weakening of political action as such, reflecting but also promoting a hyper-individualist and technocratic vision of citizens' relationship to public life. This is in particular apparent in its vision of direct democracy, not so much removing barriers to participation as displacing the Left by exploiting the decline of the intermediate institutions (party sections, public meetings, activist media, unions and coops) that once connected territorial-scale political organisation to institutional life. Propelled to power over the last decade of economic crisis, the M5S is the product of both a three decade collapse of Italy's Cold-War-era parties and a deeper atomisation and fragmentation of Italian society, in which pressure from below is ever less able to impose structural change. Highlighting the ineffectiveness of "anti-populist" narratives in combating the movement (including, indeed, anti-fascism or efforts to compare it to far-right Eurosceptic parties) and resisting the claim that alliance with the hard-right Lega will automatically draw its voters back to the Left, this paper argues for a more sober understanding of the trends the M5S embodies at a continental scale, and in particular the weakened bases of collective political action.

Ernst Bloch: The World as Learned Terror and (Un)Knowing Eyes

Sacha Kahir (Autonomous Centre Edinburgh)

Bloch's analysis of the German 1930s, *Heritage of Our Times*, reads alarmingly as a guidebook to our own era. Our presentation will draw on our ongoing film / poetry project exploring what Bloch referred to as storm corners - ideas useful to fascists but not in themselves fascist, and thus key battlegrounds in the antifascist struggle. Bloch described fascism as the Dionysus of mustiness; while Pasolini said Hitler was the fruit of the numerous Rimbauds of the provinces () the millions of petit bourgeois that surround us. Implying that Hitler was a poet deranging the senses of the middle classes. At present we are witnessing an increasingly deranged conformity that binds us, with human extinction on its horizon. We are engaged in an ongoing cultural war, so can we use the scandalous, irrationality, and queerness as weapons? The right has hijacked cultural transgression; Steve Bannon self-consciously uses pop and counter culture tropes, vicariously likening himself to Satan and Lenin. While, ultimately these tropes are used for reactionary ends, this itself is a dialectical move, so how should the left respond? Does the recent best seller *Kill All Normies* too readily lay the blame at the margins and not the center of everyday life? Bloch's notion that the middle class subject lets out what's tormenting them all the more readily at home () Gossip crawls up and down the stairs, holds people together by keeping them apart, (creating) the desire to fight without

squaring up to the opponent. Which implies, therefore, that gossip and the household, amplified by the mass media (and now the Internet) are central to fascism. Fascism's weakness is that however much it may claim to trade in challenging ideas, and to bravely say what others do not, it is the ideology of the frightened conformist. Real transgression is to speak of the absolute overcoming of unjust social relations in a word Communism, but Communism as queerness. Our presentation, then, will identify the contemporary storm corners, and discuss ways in which to occupy them. Ref Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, University of California Press, 1991, p56 Pasoloni, *The Divine Memesis*, Contra Mundum Press, 2014, p39 Nagle, *Kill All Normies*, Zero Books, 2017

The Evolution of Lukcs's Concept of the Historical Subject-Object and Its Modern Significance

Wei Xiaoping

Lukcs's research and writing career started in the 1920s and ended in the 1970s. This was an era of great change in the world situation, and the corresponding developments and changes in Lukcs's thoughts over the course of his life were also very obvious. Such changes in him can be explained from two aspects: First, he lived in a turbulent historical era that underwent the transition from capitalist to socialist society; second, in the 1930s he personally experienced the Soviet Union's practice of socialism and read Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, which played a very important role in his later ideological change. All of this is connected to the evolution of his concept of the historical subject-object.

Chemsex, Capital and Repressive Incitement

David Alderson (University of Manchester)

Recent years have seen the emergence of a moral and healthcare panic in Britain around the gay male subcultural phenomenon of chemsex, one that was heightened by the release of the film of that name in 2017. One identity political explanation for the willingness of gay men to engage in potentially ruinous drug-fuelled sexual encounters over extended periods is that they represent a subjective response to homophobic social pressures. Much ostensibly radical queer commentary, by contrast, tends to validate the antinormative practices of those involved in such parties in ways that are more or less empiricist. By contrast with both these perspectives, this paper seeks to understand the phenomenon in a longer term historical perspective that sees chemsex as a particular, but symptomatic, evolution of the utopian countercultural impulses that produced sexual liberation movements as these have been elaborated within, and shaped by, the specific social relations and technological innovations of neoliberal capitalism. The paper will draw critically on the work of Herbert Marcuse in particular in order to offer an alternative critical, but non-moralistic, perspective on this subcultural phenomenon.

Die Maschinenstrmer (The Machinewreckers)

Kerstin Schroedinger

What is your job, have you really woven as free people? Unionise! Begin! Not I and I and I! No: World and We and You and Me! Based on his experiences of the revolution of

1918 and the Munich soviet republic Ernst Toller wrote during his detention 1919-1924 three plays, in which he defended the pacifist struggle of the oppressed classes by means of spirit and reason in an Expressionist style. In *Die Maschinenstrmer* from 1922, he takes on the Luddites movement, which arise around 1815 in early industrial England against the newly introduced looming machines. Even today, the Luddites are often smiled at as being anti-technological, who try to stop the 'progress' of industrialization. The real problem, namely that the mechanization of productive work does not lead to an improvement in the living conditions of the working class, is of course overlooked. In Toller's piece, there is therefore a vehement, hence radical pacifist, credo: Not against the machine, against the exploiters you have to fight. Not with the cudgel, but with the head. The play was first performed in 1922 when Toller was still imprisoned in Bavaria. It serves as the basis for the script of my film. Here I would like to highlight the following elements: 1. Historical shift of the playtime of the piece (1815 in Nottingham), the present in which the piece was written (in the winter of 1920/21 in the Niederschnefeld fortress in Bavaria) and the present in which the film takes place (2018 in post-revolutionary Egypt, post-Brexit England, and Berlin in 2018, again a hundred years after the Munich Soviet Republic). "I have changed scenes (...), temporally misplaced events, invented persons, because I believe that the playwright gives the picture of an epoch, not like a journalist, who must photograph every historical detail. Artistic truth must coincide with the historical, but doesn't need to be the same in every detail." (Ernst Toller on the play *Fire from the kettles!*) 2. Anarchism and non-violence, violence as a (patriarchal) problem The characters in his Toller's plays practice refusal and perform an utopia of alternatives. Can an utopia of peace and justice be realized by violent means? Is a pacifist revolution possible? Can one say "no" radically without killing oneself? *Maschinenstrmer* is not a historically verified story, but rather a parable that draws parallels to the Weimar Republic: in the Expressionist sense, the machine becomes the symbol of a mechanistic demon that has more than a material meaning and thus seeks to overcome the strict Marxist interpretation of the Luddite movement. 3. Failure Because the people are tired of reason, tired of thinking and reflecting, what has reason created in recent years, they ask, how have insights and knowledge helped us?" (Toller in: *A youth from Germany*, 1933) When Toller wrote his plays in prison, the Munich Soviet Republic had already failed. The catastrophe of approaching fascism put the pacifist Toller in the following years in deep crises and led to depressive episodes. From the historical distance Toller's tragic condition gains terrifying actuality. The violence of colonial capitalism established in the 16th and 17th century is more present than ever in global exploitation, war and conflict. Nothing has been resolved or has been worked up.

Detroit: Creative Destruction, Myth and Rebellion (1913-2018)

Mark Jay

My paper is a presentation of the key ideas from the Marxist history of Detroit that I am working on for Duke University Press, spanning the years 1913 to present. Building off work published in *Race and Class*, I analyze how, from the early days of Fordism, divide-and-conquer strategies were instituted to fracture class alliances, and racial ideologies were deployed to displace worker discontent in a brutal and opaque capitalist system. Through a prolonged engagement with the black leftist organizations instrumental in building political consciousness before the city's Great Rebellion in 1967, and by looking closely at the praxis of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the years following the rebellion, I highlight the radical imagination, and concrete tactics, of black organic intellectuals who took part in anti-capitalist movements. Further, taking off from

Marx's idea that before fetishization can take root, repression must occur¹, I examine how the destruction of black-led radical movements in the 60s and 70s was necessary before the fetish of the (black) criminal could take root and criminalization could become a hegemonic strategy for containing underemployed Americans in the era of mass incarceration. Building on the work of Adolph Reed Jr. and James Forman Jr., I argue that the repression of these groups must be seen alongside the rise of the black political elite, who took over the machinery of cities like Detroit in the early 70s, and advanced neoliberal policies under the ideological cover of racial justice. Finally, I analyze the city's recent bankruptcy and draconian cuts to the social wage alongside and the praise that the city's recovery has gotten in the mainstream news. In Detroit, Forbes sees a blueprint that could work across the country; this begs the question: what does recovery mean in today's capitalism? Detroit's recovery is more than structurally analogous with other austerity regimes around the world: some of the same people who oversaw Detroit's bankruptcy were then recruited by the firms who implemented the recent dismantling of Puerto Rico's state programs. 1. Marx, *Capital*, p. 899.

Hindu Nationalism and the Indian Mode of Accumulation

Pritam Singh (Oxford Brookes)

The papers in the panel explore the mutually reinforcing relationship between Hindu nationalism and the Indian mode of accumulation. One paper explores the constitutional centralism in India and its contribution to giving rise to Hindu nationalism steadily and slowly in the first few decades of the post-colonial regime of development and acceleratedly since the neo-liberal turn in India's economic policy making. Another paper explores the religious core of Hinduism and its fit with capital accumulation, and the third paper is a specific examination of mining industrialisation in the Odisha province in East India with a focus on the patriarchal dimensions of the Indian mode of accumulation.

Extraterritoriality and Diplomacy from Early Modern Empires to Trump: Differentiating Jurisdictional and Capital Accumulation

Maia Pal (Oxford Brookes)

Extraterritoriality has come to the fore in public debates recently since the US's renewed set of sanctions against North Korea and Iran. This strategy has been received with disapproval from the European Union, and especially its corporations and banks suffering financially from its effects. Extraterritoriality today consists in the application of a state's prerogative beyond its jurisdiction, most often outside its legal territory, and can be sanctioned by legislation or by judicial decisions. Extensions of US sovereignty have been characteristic of US hegemony since the 1980s, and before then, from the 19th to the early 20th centuries, extraterritoriality was a crucial strategy of expansion and ordering of the international system characterising the intrusion of European empires in what were considered 'semi-sovereign' states. Critical international legal history has expanded over this subject and period. However, this paper goes further back to the early modern period, when extraterritoriality is considered exclusively tied to the emergence of permanent ambassadors and the negotiation of shared privileges between monarchs and princes. Can these different cases of imperialism and diplomacy be explained by the Marxist concepts of primitive and capital accumulation? This paper focuses on the links between diplomacy and the transition to capitalism in early modern England and its

colonies. It argues against grand structural narratives that apply the concept of capital accumulation from this period onwards, and relies instead on the concept of jurisdictional accumulation to make sense of the relation between early modern forms of international law and capitalism.

Emergence in Marx's Political Economy

Demet Dinler

Emergence in Marx's Political Economy Jim Kincaid Emergence concepts are now widely used in the natural sciences. They trace and explain processes in which competition and/or cooperation by large numbers of individual agents create collective structures and systems but in situations in which there is no overall centralised control or planning. Commonly quoted examples include for example: antibodies in the immune system, neurons in the central nervous system, and colonies of ants and other insects. Despite some pioneering insights by Althusser, Bensad, Shaikh and a few others, many political economists remain sceptical about the potential usefulness of emergence concepts. Clearly such analogies would have to be used with extreme caution (ants and neurons don't have money or own shares etc.). But I argue that emergence themes could help resolve some of the difficulties Marx encountered in navigating, with the scientific concepts available to him, the explanatory dilemmas of structure/agency and system/conjuncture. For example: (1) in clarifying how, in capitalism, the law of value asserts itself in and through the haze of disorderly price movements. And (2) in explaining the many displaced and derivative forms in which the law of value finds expression especially as capitalism becomes more deeply financialised and transnational. The analytical power of emergence thinking will be enhanced if explored in close conjunction with a cluster of related concepts: capitalism as a complex adaptive system; structural causality; sensitivity to initial conditions; and butterfly tipping points. Crucially, emergent processes need to be interlinked with the rich literature which has recently become available on plural temporalities in Capital (Tombazos, Tomba, Morfino and others). Emergent Systems and Socialist Alternatives: Ethnographic Insights from the Cut Flower Market Demet . Dinler If capitalism is understood through the lenses of emergence and complexity, then socialist alternatives can be re-thought as emergent systems, aiming to replace over time the statistical regularities, gravitational pulls of capitalism (such as the law of value) by new ones. By deriving insights from Marx, Bogdanov, Pepperell as well as from cybernetic theory and evolutionary biology, the paper will ask how specific institutional designs and experiments can be engineered as self-regulating systems which pull the heterogeneous desires, objectives, actions towards the reproduction of an emerging pattern we can associate with socialism. The paper will then turn to an ethnographic analysis of a flower cooperative and its auction in Turkey, which provides significant insights to re-configure a post-capitalist alternative. It will show the specific design of the trading platform, everyday rules governing the behaviours of producers/traders, the feedback loops for self-regulation have evolved to produce an emerging pattern of fair and egalitarian relations of exchange. The paper will also argue that socialist experiments should take seriously the transformation of exchange relations as much as production relations. The objective is not the triumph of the use value over exchange value but for the transformation of the specific relationship between them.

Curating, Social Reproduction, and Affective Resistances

Barbara Mahlkecht (Goldsmiths, University of London)

This paper explores the potential of social reproduction theory for reshaping curatorial practice and discourse at its intersection with activist and artistic work. Recent debates in curating claim a “crisis” of curatorial education, subjects and discourses as well as of art institutions and museums: Students and young curators need to “buy” themselves into the system; the independent curator appears as a self-centered subject curating her/himself; the notion of curating has become expanded and relativist; global art institutions are increasingly led by market logic and market interest. While we might agree on these being aspects of an infrastructural and epistemological crisis, we can state that there are, moreover, urgencies deriving from the resurgence of right-wing-populism and nationalism that are in alliance with the neoliberal politics of austerity in Europe and elsewhere demanding cultural practitioners and thinkers to respond to and resist anti-feminist, homophobic and transphobic, nationalist right-wing politics. In cultural practice, I argue, the perspective of production has been privileged against the perspective of social reproduction, neglecting the sphere of the invisible, gendered, precarised, and racialized labours of reproduction, maintenance, and care. Yet, if the “reproduction of human beings is the foundation of every economic and political system,” as Silvia Federici argues, its fundamental role has to be reconsidered in curatorial practice and discourse. In global capitalism, the labours of reproduction are not just a site of exploitation and oppression, but also a sphere, where alliances and solidarity are (re-)built and where empowerment, agency, solidarity, and resistance take place. Let me suggest that the perspective of social reproduction contributes to and instigates alternative ways of how to re-think, re-shape, and re-organise curatorial practice and discourse. However, against this background, I would like to propose a set of questions: How can a radical materialist-feminist conception of social reproduction offer a perspective from where to challenge current discourses of curating and re-shape and transform curatorial practice? How can curating, as practice at the intersection of art and activism fertilise the terrain of analysis from where the struggle for and against the feminized, sexualized, and racialized work of reproduction starts? How can curatorial practice and discourse create alliances against the rise of anti-feminist, homophobic and transphobic, nationalist right-wing politics? And finally, how can they become a part of transformative politics by producing affective resistances and spaces of collective agency? In thinking towards these questions, I will examine recent debates on social reproduction, and look at some initiatives. By exploring social reproduction in the field of curating, I will trace the complexities and contradictions that the labours and practices of social reproduction produce, operating within the structures of capitalist valorization, while at the same time aiming to resist them.

Book Launch: The James Connolly Reader

Duncan Thomas

Shaun Harkin Tithi Bhattacharya Neil Davidson Maev McDaid This year marks the 150th anniversary of the the birth of James Connolly, arguably the single most significant figure to emerge from the revolutionary Marxist tradition in the Anglophone world. A tireless organiser, inspiration speaker and innovative theorist, Connolly devoted his life to building the socialist movement in Scotland, Ireland, the United States, and across the world. While variousness republican and nationalist currents have tried to tame and claim

Connolly as their own, his uncompromising commitment to an independent and revolutionary politics of the working class, and opposition to all forms of oppression and exploitation, are clear to anyone familiar with the rich legacy he left behind in the form of his writings and speeches. This panel will launch *The James Connolly Reader*, recently published by Haymarket Books and edited by Derry-based activist and member of People Before Profit Shaun Harkin. Shaun Harkin will discuss Connolly's broad legacy and relevance for today, and why it was important to make his work easily accessible to audiences 150 years after his birth. Tithi Bhattacharya on Connolly's theorisation of revolution in a colonised state, fusion of nation liberation and socialism, and contribution to the theorisation of and struggle against women's oppression. Neil Davidson on Connolly's contribution to the socialist movement in Scotland, and relevance for today's movement for radical independence. Maeve McDaid on the legacy of the carnival of reaction Connolly predicted would follow the partition of Ireland, and contemporary struggle against and across the toxic inheritance of the border.

From Left Melancholia to Left Phlegmatism: Towards a 21st century Left Disposition

Paul Reynolds (Edgehill University)

Notwithstanding the exhortations of left thinkers such as Wendy Brown and Jonathan Dean, Enzo Traverso's account of Left Melancholia has had a resonance amongst the left. Repeated missed opportunities and losses, alongside the resurgence of a populist right, appear to offer little to mobilise the potential resources of a renewed left. The fascination and fixation on melancholia presents a significant and particular barrier to a left that will propagate its messages and build viable resistance and alternatives. In this paper I take the metaphor of melancholia seriously, as a starting point to reflecting on the affective disposition of the left that is to say their politics of and in the everyday. Drawing from Marx, Bloch, Gramsci, Williams, De Certeau, Brown and recent insights from social reproduction and the political economy of sexuality, I explore the four humors - Sanguine, Phlegmatic, Choleric, and Melancholic as dispositional states amongst left thinkers and activists. Reflecting on the spatio-temporal contexts to left dispositions and the hegemonic regimes within which they are formed, I identify the dispositions thus: The melancholic the reservation of the now and the mourning of possibilities (the intellectual inevitability?) the sanguine regardless of pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will (dogmatic and spontaneous politics?) the choleric Using best offices to achieve within the context (conforming and accommodating) the phlegmatic the struggle beyond the goal and the importance of being ethical and political in conduct and relations (centred in the struggle and in connection to its small victories and larger vision) I argue that their different combinations offer different dialectical paths for left dispositions: melancholy/phlegmatism in defence, phlegmatism/sanguine in forward movement and phlegmatism/choleric consolidating but not normal/naturalising? And conclude that left phlegmatism with sanguinity might be seen as an appropriate response to the present conjuncture.

Understanding the Rising Authoritarianism in Turkey in terms of the Structural Contradictions of Capital Accumulation Process

Sebnem Oguz, Fuat Ercan

This study aims to analyze the specific dynamics of the rise of authoritarianism in Turkey in terms of the inability of AKP governments to resolve the contradictions of the recent phase of capital accumulation process. Reproduction of capitalist societies requires the simultaneous reproduction of capital accumulation, state apparatuses and the party in power. When this requirement is not met, tensions arise among these three variables. In this sense, unresolved problems in the reproduction of capital accumulation process in Turkey, especially in terms of its articulation with the global accumulation process, are reflected in the inner functioning of the state apparatuses and AKP government. The adoption of the new institutionalist paradigm by Turkish economic bureaucracy in the aftermath of the 2001 crisis was an attempt to resolve these problems through the strengthening of the executive branch of the state. However, the institutionalist recipes most fervently articulated by Kemal Dervi were not fully implemented as they reflected the interests of big internationalized sections of capital and unleashed a series of contradictions among different sections of capital. Coming to power precisely in this context, AKP government was expected to resolve these contradictions as well as the structural problems of capital accumulation process. But the AKP government could not make the deep-rooted changes necessary for the structural requirements of capital accumulation process, as these changes would unleash more contradictions among different sections of capital. There were four structural problems to be resolved: i) increase in the productivity of labour and capital, ii) creation of new spheres of commodification, iii) articulation with the global capital accumulation process, iv) elimination the remnants of traditional agricultural structure. Each intervention of AKP government in these four problem areas unleashed different tensions among various sections of capital, most notably between big internationalized capital-intensive holding companies and national-based labour-intensive small and medium sized enterprises. Especially the necessity to improve technological infrastructure for increasing productivity and the need for foreign currency for the import of capital goods were the major determinants of tensions within capital as well as between AKP government and different sections of capital, which revealed themselves most clearly in policies of interest rates, wages and exchange rates. As the AKP government increased its capacity to manoeuvre, it proliferated these tensions, but at the same time tried to resolve them through populist measures directed towards the constituent-citizens. However these populist measures themselves made it even more difficult for the government to make the structural changes necessary for the reproduction of capital accumulation process. In this context, the government tried to survive in the short-term through a stronger mobilization of the ideological and coercive apparatuses of the state. As the gap between the time needed for securing the reproduction of accumulation process and the survival of the government increased, the AKP government resorted to more and more authoritarian measures. In this framework, this study will try to uncover the links between the four structural problem areas identified above, the interventions of the government in these areas and the responses of different sections of capital towards these interventions.

Book launch: When Workers Shot Back: Class Conflict from 1877 to 1921

Robert Ovetz (San Jose State University)

They Shot Back proposes a trajectory theory of political violence to illuminate why class conflict between 1877 and 1921 was frequently characterised by violent armed struggle, as well as the conditions, factors, and balance of power that can confidently assess not only its use but also the potential responses to it. The period of 1877 to 1921 was an exceptionally tumultuous and bloody time in American history, not merely because capital resorted to political violence in an attempt to assert its dominance, but because its power was being contested while the balance of power shifted dramatically. Trajectory theory illustrates how faced with a closed political system dominated by elites, judicial, police and military repression, and efforts to deflect, divert, and co-opt their struggles, workers escalated their tactics to deploy violence to achieve their objectives. Violence was used tactically as a means to overcome blockages, to counter threats of repression, diffusion and co-optation, to exploit the weakness of elite power, and to achieve short-term goals. How workers self-organised depended on the composition of class forces at the time. Workers had to successfully re-compose their class power by deploying the appropriate tactics and strategies to disrupt capital accumulation and obtain the necessary leverage to extract concessions and achieve their objectives. In response to workers who successfully re-composed their power, capital would seek to decompose their power by co-optation, diffusion, and repression while simultaneously reorganizing work and the workplace to bring about a new composition of capital, thereby tilting the balance of class forces to restore control and accumulation. They Shot Back combines class composition theory and trajectory theory to rethink six phases of the tumultuous cycle of struggle between 1877 to 1921. Rather than seeking to uncover new historical documentation of these insurgencies, this book seeks to use the existing documentation to rethink why workers were more likely to deploy violence as a tactic. Rather than an episodic focus on the big strikes, They Shot Back explores why and when workers deployed certain tactics according to the composition of class forces at the time. They Shot Back is a case study of how the re-composition of working class power can set the tempo for the dance macabre of class conflict that can spiral off into destructive violent struggle or a peaceful takeover and democratic reorganisation of the economy, and direct democratic control of all of society. The outcome of class struggle was unknown during this era and it remains so today. The panelists will connect the findings in my book to current class composition in the UK and US. We will explore the strategies and tactics for organizing platform, contingent academics, tech workers, and teachers. Panelists Robert Ovetz, San Jose State University; Jamie Woodcock, University of Oxford, author of Working the Phones, Pluto; Lydia Hughes, trade union organiser, UK; Callum Cant, PhD student, University of West London, author of the forthcoming Working for Deliveroo (Polity Press)

A Queer Marxist Assessment of Contemporary Far-Right Ideology

Holly Lewis (Texas State)

This paper is part of an examination of the enhanced role of gender politics in current far-right organizing, a project connected to my movement work in the Campus Antifascist Network. My analysis is largely based on terrain shifts in the American far-right movement, but much of the presentation will be relevant to developments in the UK, such

as the Tommy Robinson campaign and the prevalence of trans-exclusionary cis-feminist rhetoric. With multi-racial, masculinist, Western chauvinist street-fighting apparatuses now out-organizing traditional fascists in the US, the roles that family ideology, masculinity, traditional misogyny, oppositional sexism, and gender essentialism play in the far-right movement is both more foundational to and more contradictory than the phenomena we witnessed in the 2016-2017 period. For the most part, the antifascist movement is working from either heuristic assumptions about fascist anti-feminism or early twentieth-century academic analyses of gendered life under European fascism (usually the lives of heterosexual cis women or cis gay men). These classical analyses and their internal debates are still important; however, they need to be tested against the current right-wing groundswell. Moreover, Queer Marxist debates about the reactionary and radical impulses of LGBT politics are also being both clarified and complicated by fascist reaction to and organization against neoliberal culture. The paper will, as a consequence, outline how trans-exclusionary positions are inherently anti-Marxist, but also how trans-inclusive and pro-queer positions are not completely immune to being co-opted at least in the short term by either neoliberal entities or the fascist ultranationalists who oppose them. Ultimately, the paper will argue that one of the difficulties we face in combating fascism is not just its reverence of hierarchy and order, but also its pragmatic fluidity, irrationalism, and use of pastiche (once imagined to be the hallmark of queer postmodernity). My analysis will use the work of Jairus Banaji, Wilhelm Reich, and Arthur Rosenberg, but it will also incorporate Marxist-feminist critiques, analyses of gender in non-European nationalist paramilitary movements, and a variety of queer and queer Marxist analyses.

Queer Resistance in Diaspora and The Rise of Ultra-Right – FULL PAPER

Sabra Rezaei

Before getting into my paper I first want to thank my good friend and mentor Jamie Magnusson for helping me by presenting my paper at the conference. It is unfortunate for me to not be able to physically be in London among all my comrades and miss all of your great presentations.

I'm not able to be here because of borders. I'm not here because in order to do that I have to have my Canadian passport and it's been a long and hard process for me. And missing the opportunity of being in this space makes it much harder. In most cases, people don't have enough information about Canada's policies and regulations regarding immigrants and refugees since the United States is just across us. Trump America is much more interesting for media and for scholars to talk about. And Canada often gets a chance to skip the criticism. In this land that I live in I have to learn about "great" things that Canadian government did over the years and by that I mean I have to learn about colonization but not in a sense that we all want to know. The colonization that us, immigrants, learn about and have to pass a test on in order to become a Canadian citizen does not mention the ongoing violence that indigenous people in this country face. What we read is all about romanticizing indigenous art and culture. So while I'm participating in the act of becoming a citizen of this country I constantly think about my role in the colonization process.

Queer Resistance in Diaspora and the Rise of Ultra-Right

Racial diversity is very common in the LGBTQ community in Toronto since Canada has one of the highest rates in accepting sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) refugees. Murray (2016) points out "Canada was regularly being identified as the apex of 'progress,' a 'leader' in LGBTQ rights and a 'haven' for LGBTQ individuals from around the world seeking protection from violence, persecution and discrimination" (p. 3). However, the absent presence of racialized LGBTQ communities or individuals is evident when we engage in dialogue with and about the LGBTQ community in Toronto.

White privilege is "an epistemological stance defined by power, a position of invisibility or ignorance, and a set of beliefs about racial 'Others' and oneself" (Arnesen, 2001, p. 9). Within an intersectional framework, white gay men are positioned at the pinnacle of the social hierarchy, and hence, the most advantaged group within the LGBTQ community. Racialized bodies remain invisible due to hegemonic whiteness and its continuing dominance within the LGBTQ communities in Toronto while simultaneously being hyper-visible and illuminated by racial markers constituting 'otherness.' Hyper-visibility can constitute further oppression and marginality within white hegemonic spaces and their own cultural groups which further implicates the lives of racialized LGBTQ individuals. Race is socially constructed and functions to structure the lives of those who bear the super-imposed racialized labels (Crenshaw, K, 1989). Hence, the nexuses of oppression intersect, constraint and challenge the lives of the racialized members the LGBTQ community.

My paper presents the findings of an interview-based research project in which I examined how various forms of inequality can simultaneously shape the experiences of queer immigrants of colour in a society which white supremacy is an overarching organizer of oppression. My findings reveal that multiple and interlocking power systems play an important role in the lives of LGBTQ diaspora in Toronto. My analysis focuses on white supremacy as a mode of oppression along with sexism, homophobia and class oppression and the intersectional result of these on the lives of this specific population. In addition, with the new policies that were implemented after the Trump's administration which specifically targeted 7 different countries including Iran. These policies directly targeted the Iranian LGBTQ community and more specifically the ones who ended up in Turkey for their refugee status. However, in this paper, I want to focus on the ways that queer diasporic communities resist and fight back these systems of oppression by building communities and creating spaces to bring the community in places that are mostly identified as white heterosexual spaces. More specifically I want to look at the recent event that was organized by Iranian queer community in Toronto called Queer Art of Resistance Festival and draw the connection between art and resistance as a form of community building and community organizing. My paper addresses this issue in terms of implications for queer diasporic community building.

IRAN AND HOMOSEXUALITY

"Gay international" (Massad, 2002) has produced representations of Iran as a grand prison and death chamber for queers since the Iranian revolution in 1979. "Soon after coming to power in 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini established the death penalty for homosexuality" (Janet Afary & Kevin B. Anderson, 2005, p 161). The situation worsened after the former president of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, answered a question at Columbia University stating, "In Iran, we don't have homosexuals" (BBC, 2007). This anti-homosexuality approach and the likelihood of being targeted disseminated fear in the

LGBTQ community. Furthermore, the uncertainty and insecurity forced the Iranian LGBTQ individuals to only focus on their queerness and strategies to suppress their true selves and seek out alternatives for their living condition.

FINDINGS

INTERSECTIONALITY AND RACISM

During the interviews, participants discussed their understanding of experiencing intersectional discrimination in the LGBTQ communities in Toronto. They specifically talked about the experience of racism in white majority communities.

One of the participants, an Iranian lesbian woman living in Toronto, talked about her experience of racism in her workplace:

"At work, I always faced this question. Where do you come from? But I could have been

born here (Canada). I didn't like the assumption. Just because of my skin color people

think I'm not from here. But it might be because of my accent too."

In addition, skin color suddenly becomes a way to identify oneself.

INTERSECTIONALITY AND SEXISM

It is evident that after moving to Canada, participants have been introduced to new types of negative approaches including racism and class struggle; this aligns with the fact that they have created an identity to explain/mitigate their experiences. An Iranian gay man indicates his understanding of people's reaction to his feminine acts and how people undervalued him because of that:

"Once I went to a party and I started dancing. After that night people had kept telling

me, you danced like a woman and started laughing at me. I wasn't ashamed or anything. I love to dance like a woman."

He was furious and disappointed by the sexist behaviors and comments.

SELF-BLAME

The participants mostly blamed themselves and their lack of knowledge and understanding when they encountered unpleasant situations. For example, one of them blamed himself for not knowing enough English because of the lack communication between him or the Iranian queer community and the Canadian queer community:

"I think it's because of my language that I don't have any close relationship with Canadian communities. Maybe in 10 years things change, and we get a better understanding through time from each other."

Language can be a source of marginalization. Language barriers can limit people in their community-building and communication. Even in cases which participants could speak English they thought their isolation from Canadian communities was because they didn't know "enough" English.

SIMILAR EXPERIENCES

The participants revealed that they mainly get their support from communities which have similar experiences and mostly communicate with LGBTQ Iranian communities; however, one participant, who came to Canada as a refugee, realized that his experience was very different from other queer Iranian immigrants.

"People who helped me were mostly refugees. I think it's because they can better understand what I experienced."

This trend has been repeated for other participants. An Iranian transgender woman explained that she only communicates with a small group of Iranian queers and her biggest support is from a racialized Muslim community. She also felt that there is not a common ground between her and the Canadian queer communities in Toronto:

"I realized that the white LGBT in Canada never experienced the problems we experienced and they always had extra credits (in society)."

ONE SEES ONESELF THROUGH THE EYES OF OTHERS

The exclusion from dominant white LGBT communities was more noticeable when it came to women of colour, especially the transgender women of colour.

Although gay men of colour also felt the exclusion, there are still a few communities they can be part of where women of color feel completely detached from. Women of color were mostly represented by terms like aggressive, emotional and exotic, which are the opposite of "normal" women in white culture and society.

These labels construct an explicit self for the women of color that can only be recognized through others' recognition. Frantz Fanon (1976) argues this when he describes the theory of race and points out that one sees oneself through the dominant and mainstream culture. In predominantly white countries, immigrants mostly recognize themselves through the dominant lens. However, this recognition of self is not a two-sided impression. The social systems organizing power play a significant role in shaping how each individual sees themselves. The social stereotyping of the body of women of color further intensifies the marginalization they experience. Thus, this multiple marginalization causes a sense of exclusion from their allegedly home communities.

During the interviews, all the participants emphasized a lot on their homophobic experiences in Toronto, but after reflecting they realized that it happened because of their skin color, gender and socio-economic background. As a result, they placed themselves in different categories to define different identities and clarify their situation. The results astonishingly reveal that none of the participants identified themselves as racialized before coming to Canada, and their arrival coincided with developing a racialized identity.

How We Resist

Being queer means constant and quotidian resistance. However, resistance has so many ways. Previously I mentioned that similar experiences drew people to each other. And resistance drew us, BIPOC (black indigenous people of colour) queers, to each other. Earlier this year couple of us organized a day long festival called "Queer Art of Resistance" festival in Toronto, Canada. In this festival, we tried to gather as many queer identified persons of color together to showcase their art as ways that they resist the ongoing systems of oppression they encounter. The location we picked is mostly a representation site for the middle/upper class white heterosexual community. This specific area was a major site of gentrification in downtown Toronto over the past years. With newly built condos and high-end shops, there is no space for "the other". The rapid gentrification in Toronto has many consequences. One of such is the displacement of lower class BIPOC queer community on an ongoing basis. The physical displacement is one of the many causes of gentrification. Yet more violently is the relinquishing access of the mentioned community to services and community organizations. This includes but not limited to services such as housing, healthcare, newcomer programs and other opportunities to build communities. As a result, this would give a limited chance to this specific community to be able to represent themselves in various spaces in Toronto, which overall would eventually cause the erasure of the community itself. We recently encountered a similar incident in Trump's America and the attempt to erase the Trans community from the vocabulary and eventually denying their existence. These "hidden" acts of homophobia and transphobia are worldwide phenomena these days with the rise of ultra-right and white supremacist groups.

In addition to Trump's direct assault on transgender people, the recent policy changes in united states directly impacted 7 countries including Iran. Most SOGI refugees are from Iran and the majority of them now reside in Turkey. Yet they are unable to complete their refugee process in Turkey due to the policy changes. What exacerbates the situation is that in the past couple of years, Canada is also one of the countries which are not accepting SOGI (Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity) refugees as it used to before. Another neoliberal border policy in Canada is the privatization of refugee and immigration services. For example, a substantial number of recent refugees are sponsored by a privately funded organization. As part of a broader privatization trend, more organizations are bringing refugees to Canada and individuals from the Iranian queer community themselves are trying to find ways to manipulate these policies.

But this is not all. At recent provincial election Doug Ford, also known as Trump of Canada, was elected. Doug Ford's agenda is majorly targeting policies which directly impacts the the queer/trans BIPOC community. With purposefully targeting sex education curriculum, harm reduction sites and cutting budgets for shelters in Toronto, the new government is constantly disarming the BIPOC queer community from organizing.

The intensity of both emotional and physical labor that has been put on the BIPOC queer community in Toronto as well as the racists, homophobic and transphobic policies and environment dramatically increases the barriers for them to be able to navigate their lives in the current political era. As I said at the beginning every single second of our lives is a definition of resistance. And constantly putting ourselves in front of all the organizing and resisting makes it much more difficult to continue the work as efficient as before. But how can we turn all these academic works into actions? How can we go further than just writing and theorizing? The current struggle and fight against white nationalists is an old battle for racialized queer and trans communities. Before Trumps and Fords queer/trans BIPOC individuals have been fighting the white heteropatriarchal capitalism by organizing and resisting through different mediums.