

Book of Abstracts



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General Submissions

The Retreats From Class – The Transposition of Industrial Capitalism and Its Consequences For Theory

Ada Kus

This work seeks to connect the myopia and insular character of certain recent strands in the analysis of capitalism (Preciado, Zuboff, Standing, the more recent work of Badiou, among others) with the profound socioeconomic changes that have occurred in the last 40 years. The collapse of the Eastern Bloc, the advancing financialisation of the global economy and, crucially, the shift away from large-scale industry in Europe and North America and towards service-based economies has accelerated and assisted the Retreat From Class outlined by Ellen Meiksins Wood in the 1980s. Moving beyond simply practical philosophy and history of philosophy, this work is an attempt at grounding and bringing together, through a Marxist key, seemingly disparate schools of thought. This is both in order to expose their common philosophical core and to posit the necessity of a significant course-correction – a return to class-based and structural concerns paired with a holistic outlook, taking into account developments across the entire world, not just in its most affluent sections. Mindful of the connection between theory, consciousness and practice, this paper considers the possible conditions of a return to more rigorous class-based analyses within Europe and North America – while seeking to avoid reinforcing the occidental belief in Europe and North America's status as axis mundi.

Keywords: Deindustrialisation, capitalism, Marxism, Third-Worldism

Fields of Gold: A World-Ecological Approach to the Brazil-China Soy-Meat Complex

Adam Benjamin

In 2017, Brazil became the largest soybean-producing country in the world when it usurped the former king of soy: the United States. With over 45 million hectares dedicated to cultivation, soy has dominated Brazil's agribusiness and, in 2021, accounted for 29% of agricultural GDP (valued at \$1.8 trillion). The major recipient of Brazil's soy exports, by far, is China. Between 2022 and 2023, 319.9 million tons of soy were harvested in Brazil, 75% of which flowed into China to sustain its burgeoning meat industry. Soybean meal is a primary ingredient in animal feed for livestock, valued by agribusiness for its durability, flexibility, and high protein content. China's growing presence in Brazil's agribusiness is facilitated by its state-owned enterprise, China Oil and Foodstuffs Corporation (COFCO).

Over the last decade, COFCO has played a central role in restructuring ecologies in the Southern Cone in service of soybean and meat production destined for Chinese consumption. The result is an intricate web of socio-ecological relations known as the Brazil-China soy-meat complex. Considering all the ink spilled on the Brazil-China soy-meat complex, there is a surprising lack of attention to labor. The under-emphasis on labor, I argue, has been a pervasive issue across agrarian studies, world-systems analysis, and food regimes scholarship (among others). Although invoked theoretically, questions of class formation and relations of production remain empirically un- or under-explored. Instead, recent studies favor analysis of foreign direct investment, trade agreements, international politics, and dynamics of the world market – all of which are important – yet should not supplant our attention to labor as an engine of accumulation at the heart of the Capitalocene. Deploying a world-ecological perspective (Moore, 2015), this paper examines the labor relations (which are irreducibly socio-ecological) that undergird the Brazil-China soy-meat complex. I examine seemingly separate labor relations and production processes across geographies, including soy plantations, transport systems, processing facilities, and slaughterhouses. These labor regimes, I contend, are distinct moments that are integrated within a singular process of capitalist development. Thus, a return to the "labor question" highlights relations of (super-)exploitation and domination that makes possible the soy-meat commodity complex in the neoliberal era.

Keywords: Brazil-China soy-meat complex; world-ecology; food regime analysis; labor regimes; global value relations

Multitude and War. Antonio Negri's Historical Materialism

ADOLFO LIZARRAGA-GOMEZ

This paper's general aim is to get into the concern Marxist critical thought is showing nowadays about the current capitalist technological development, along with the practically consensual acceptance of marxists and non marxists that it has been arrived at the questioning of the law of value posed by Classical Political Economy and by the Critical of Political Economy, on one hand, and, in other hand, on this basis of new times and this fundamental questioning, it is getting at the questioning to the historical materialism actuality. In particular, it is analyzed one of the most influential authors of current critical thought: Antonio Negri, from his book *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, with the particular aim of reviewing the validity of Marx's work face at the current social reality, which Negri posits as one of "state of war", and to which he opposes his fundamental concept of "resistance". This way, singularly, it is presented some general concepts, which validity is expressed in the current technology development allied to capitalism (Gorz), and have a strong presence on today's critical theory, as those of

“tendency” and “resistance” of Negri's, and “historical materialism” of Marx's. To reach these aims, it is exposed first those concepts that Negri, along with Michael Hardt, put out as his theory's fundament. Secondly, it is criticized what Negri and Hardt conceived as Marx's historical materialism. Next, it is make a critical point about Negri's and Hardt's reading of Marx's work. Finally, in conclusion, it is posing the need of going beyond the phenomenal vision that Negri and Hardt present in their book about Marx's historical materialism.

Keywords: Antonio Negri, Karl Marx, tendency, resistance, historical materialism

What Palestine teaches teachers of politics and law

Afreen

Liberal legal and political theory, morality and institutions which uphold the Westphalian human rights charter have dug their grave in Palestine. Magna Carta, Bill of Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights ... are dead. They have time and again failed to be useful to the Global South and its peoples who continue to face imperial and neo-colonial forces.

The death of over 40,000 Palestinians in the current assault on the Gaza Strip, excluding those in the West Bank, with no end in sight of the indiscriminate assault on civilians, is testament to the vacuous nature of such institutions. The cry of the people facing a genocide is not carried over to gilded halls where a spectacle is made by supposed White saviours over language to be utilised in powerless resolutions as children die.

We are witness to how post-War institutions like the United Nations, International Court of Justice, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the European Union filibuster, indulge and finance a racialised notion of exploitative violence as justice and freedom. Meanwhile, people of colour are demonised as barbarians who need to be occupied by “peacekeeping forces” and any resistance at their end is vilified as terrorism. The televised genocide of Palestinians is clear evidence of how White liberal States and societies can flout international conventions – of their own creation – freely and with absolute impunity.

This lack of moral hesitation is clearly shared between States driven by hegemonic groups which rely on fascism and authoritarianism to fuel capitalist accumulation through a militarised industrial complex. One can see a complicity of the State, corporations and civil society in their hypocrisy while belittling and obfuscating the deaths of their counterparts in Palestine.

The most nefarious alliance is seen amongst Western media houses and their journalists as Palestinian journalists are killed and their families fatally targeted as retribution while they show the world the true toll of the occupation.

Our roles as scholars of law, political scientists and faculty in solidarity, and our moral duty, must be to rethink how Western morality, theory and institutions are taught in the classrooms of the Global South. We need to be cautious especially when the former are applied to the Global South as methodological tools for research, analysis and policy practice. As such, we must be conscious of three trends. This paper proposes classroom methods to challenge pro-imperial propaganda in an ethno-national state.

Keywords: Palestine, Genocide, Classroom

Marx and Engels on the Three Criteria for Being a Communist

Aimen Remida

In the last paragraph of the Manifesto of the Communist Party Marx and Engels enumerate three distinguishing characteristics of the communists: (1) the support of every revolutionary movement against the established order, (2) the emphasis on the property question in all these movements, and (3) the work for the “union and agreement” (Verbindung und Verständigung) of the democratic parties of all countries. These criteria correspond not only to the fundamental theoretical principles that constitute the profile of every communist, but also to the practical tasks of the communist movement, as they form the outline of a concrete guide for action.

In this paper, I analyse the significance and the scope of each criterion, as well as the possible interconnections between the three criteria. In order to do so, I suggest proceeding as follows: in a first section, I start by examining the measures (Maßregeln), which according to Marx and Engels the communists aim at carrying out (these are 10 in the Manifesto and 12 in the preparatory document titled Principles of Communism, written by Engels in October 1847). In a second step, I ask if the considered criteria constitute an exhaustive list, or if there are further necessary conditions to be met. This occurs by focusing on both (a) the dictatorship of the proletariat and (b) the violent means for revolutionary change and verifying the extent to which these two points could represent independent elements or if they are implicitly integrated within the three criteria. Finally, I consider the issue of the applicability of the criteria in a particular contemporary context of anti-imperialist struggles by attempting to answer the question of the type and features of the internationalism needed by today’s communist movement.

Keywords: Marx; Engels; Criteria; Communism

Totality, Everyday Peace, and Peripheral Modernity in Northern Ireland: Fredric Jameson and Patrick Radden Keefe's *Say Nothing*

Albert C. Cano

Fredric Jameson's theories of totality, allegory, and the "content of form" offer crucial insights into the cultural production of peripheral contexts under global capitalism. This article brings Jameson's framework into dialogue with the concept of everyday peace to analyze *Say Nothing*, Patrick Radden Keefe's acclaimed account of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Situated within the capitalist world-system's periphery, Northern Ireland offers a unique context to explore the commodification of reconciliation, systemic exploitation, and the containment of conflict under the forces of capitalist totality. The analysis positions *Say Nothing* as a critical intervention into the commodified narrative of the Northern Ireland peace process. By providing a local history that foregrounds unresolved trauma and the marginalization of bone-and-flesh combatants, the text critiques the sanitized narrative embodied in the Good Friday Agreement. This commodification of peace is further explored through Belfast's murals, which the book highlights as visual markers of depoliticized reconciliation and capitalist aesthetics. Together, these cultural artifacts reveal how capitalism's need for control extends into post-conflict spaces, transforming local realities into commodified spectacles of resolution while failing to address the structural roots of systemic violence. This interdisciplinary study synthesizes Jameson's theories with the concept of everyday peace to demonstrate how *Say Nothing* interrogates the dialectic between local histories and global capitalist forces. By critiquing the commodification of peace as a form of ideological containment, the article contributes to debates on the cultural dimensions of capitalist exploitation, peripheral realism, and the broader struggles against systemic violence and dispossession.

Keywords: Capitalist totality, peripheral modernity, commodified peace, systemic violence, Northern Ireland Troubles

THE GREAT CONFUSION: GENOCIDE, TRIBAL IMPERIALISM AND POSTMODERN FICTION

Alberto Martínez Delgado

The economic prosperity and social illusions following World War II have been short-lived. In spite of the continued and extraordinary technological progress produced. The causes of this fact should be sought in the currently capitalist-monopoly system, and its financial-globalizing evolution, which adopts, by its own plundering nature, a political, geopolitical, imperialist form, destroying any obstacle to its interests (destruction,

fragmentation and weakening of the peripheral and central states).

The political design of globalizing imperialism tries to show an image of overcoming traditional ideas but has a tribal character, exalting a pretended Western superiority, against the East (China), the Slavic world (Russia) and the Islamic world (Iran).

The genocide of the Palestinian population by the State of Israel, contemplated, justified and supported by the governments of the central states of globalization (self-proclaimed bastions of freedom, democracy and human rights) is a particularly extreme case of imperialist tribalism, which appeals to primitive and ferocious promises of tribal gods.

The maintenance, even a certain strengthening of globalizing imperialism depends on three fundamental factors: the great oligarchic property expanded to larger and larger territories and economic fields, the great military power of the central states that allows it to obtain even the support of secondary countries sometimes under threat of destruction, and the hegemonic cultural and ideological power, through its media, the dominion over universities (private and public) and other educational levels, and the management and control of the electronic media.

The ideological-cultural power of the imperialist oligarchies is so overwhelming that it comes to dominate almost the entire left, both the new postmodern left and the residues of the old postmodernized left (communists...).

The subordination of the postmodern left to the interests and ideological wiles of the Western oligarchies, particularly their philanthropic sector, is a particularly dramatic phenomenon of this beginning of the 21st century, although it is partly connected with the old socialist and communist reformism.

The ideological and cultural domination of the oligarchies over the left and over the population as a whole (in spite of the destructive ghettoist and tribal-technological restructuring of societies) is mainly exercised today through the theoretical-ideological constellation of postmodernism, which adulterates what in principle constituted an anti-metaphysical deepening of modern thought (particularly Derrida, Lacan and Foucault) into a pre-modern obscurantism conducive to fallacious justifications of oligarchic domination and of a new financial-virtual feudalism.

Keywords: oligarquic capitalism, tribalism, imperialism, globalization

Escaping the Grind: Resisting the capitalist realism of digital games

Alexandra Petrus & Rüdiger Brandis

Over ten years after publishing *Persuasive Games*, a canonical work in a then nascent field of games studies, its author Ian Bogost holds vigil (*Persuasive Gaming in Context*, 2021) for a subversive medium that never materialized. Aversions to the militaristic normativity that triumphed console games in the wake of the Gulf Wars produced a promising decade of

experimental games such as September 12th (2003), Domestic Tension (2007), and Papers Please (2013). Later canons such as Mary Flanagan's Radical Play (2009) and Jesper Juul's Casual Revolution (2012) amplified this anticipation of transition. Yet the avant-garde games that Flanagan proscribed stand stifled in gallery corners, and new gaming platforms that Juul envisioned would welcome broader demographics of gamers has only directed addictive game logic into work platforms such as email apps and Slack. Moreover, newer game technologies and logics are fed back into militarism. In the meantime, production companies increasingly relegate workers to contract labor as technologies push toward automation. As game makers, we want to explore game production and play practices that push against games' seemingly inescapable neoliberal, militarized, and imperialist structures. Popular "cozy games" such as Animal Crossing and Stardew Valley were met with praise in popular media and psychology journals for their mental health benefits amid initial COVID-19 lockdowns. Yet their Thoreauvian narratives are eclipsed by mechanics that reproduce both the repetitive material labor forms of a bygone Fordist era and the precarities of neoliberal entrepreneurship. User-generated game modifications (mods) have been a center of scrutiny as videogame companies have leveraged free labor for the production of assets, yet in studying how modding communities and anti-play practices have redirected Stardew Valley's capitalist structures toward degrowth communism, we consider game development practices that directly challenge the game's capitalist structures. This study raises broader questions about possibilities for game development, design, and play outside of capitalist structures to which they are seemingly bound.

Keywords: videogames, procedural rhetoric, Fordism, labor, grind, modding

The rise and rise of the Far-right in Greece

Alexandros Oikonomidis

The results of the European Elections of 9 June 2024 in Greece, following the results of the Parliamentary Election of 25 June 2023, have highlighted an unprecedented situation. This situation was nothing else than a very high percentage of the Far right, a percentage that is approaching 20%, disputed in three different parties.

It is true that far right parties are facing a rise all across Europe. In Italy, indeed, a far right party is the governing one. Therefore, it may not cause any surprise that the same thing is happening in Greece. However, in the case of Greece there are some peculiarities.

Many questions come in mind when viewing at this circumstance. How did those parties gain so much popularity, much more than any other circumstance in the recent history of Greece? What is the role of the period of Crisis in it? Was the presence of the neo-nazi

Golden Dawn on the parliament for seven whole years a vital factor? In addition, the most important question: how did the systemic parties assisted in this success?

The great defeat of the greek progressive movement between 2010 and 2015 is the most important (and at the same time the most underestimated) factor for this. The Counter-attack of the Right-wing in all its factions was very strong and well organized. The policies of these factions will be on the microscope of this paper.

Keywords: Far Right, Greece, Europe, Memorandum

Economism was not Useful for Combatting Fascism, nor is it useful for analyzing rightwing Populism

Ali Behan Ozelik

The current conjuncture saw significant reversals of the policies associated with neoliberal globalization, such as the increased government social spending from Covid-19 pandemic onwards and increased economic nationalism as geopolitical tensions between the U.S. and China & Russia rose. Yet most Marxist political commentary still almost dogmatically rejects the possibility that any government can deviate from neoliberalism. Looking primarily at the Marxist theoretical efforts to comprehend Trump's (re)election; this paper will critically deconstruct the currently dominant Marxist political commentary and expose its economism despite its frequent references to Gramsci and Poulantzas.

During Trump's first term, it was a common refrain in Marxist circles to suggest that he will not deliver anything to the working class who voted for him because of his ties to the business world. Yet working class voted for him again. Despite its clear failure in prediction, we see the same refrain circulating already about his second term. Once again, Marxist authors are quick to dismiss any fundamental challenge Trump may pose to the GOP's traditional "pro-big business and free-market" orientation and conclude that the chances of keeping the "working population loyal to Trump without alienating businesses are weak" (for example: Tugal, 2024, <https://jacobin.com/2024/11/far-right-threat-donald-trump>). This false guarantee is based on economism, the belief that the operation of the law of value will somehow automatically bring working-class disillusionment with capitalism. The power these authors attribute to big businesses is also mistaken when one considers the fact that most big businesses did not even want him to be nominated. This mistake is also a form of economism since it ignores the tenets of Poulantzas' state theory such as the contradictions between bourgeois fractions and how this might increase the relative autonomy of the state vis-a-vis bourgeoisie, particularly in conjunctures marked by economic crises and

intensification of geopolitical rivalries (Poulantzas, 1974;1976; 2008).

The point of this paper is not to defend Trump but to expose the strength of economism in current Marxist political theory. This paper agrees with Gramsci (1971) who argued from a fascist prison that economism “produces nothing but moralistic sermons” (p. 166). As Poulantzas (1974) showed, by preventing the formation of a united front to combat fascism effectively, economism can be highly dangerous. If Marxist theory is to guide us, the task ahead is following Gramsci's and Poulantzas' lead; not misusing their theories to support economism which they rightly hated.

Keywords: Rightwing Populism, Economism, Gramsci, Poulantzas, Relative Autonomy

Super-Exploitation of Labour, Neo-Imperialism, and Resistance: An Analysis of the Free Trade Agreement between Mercosur and the European Union through the Lens of Marxist Dependency Theory

ALICE NIFFOI

On 6 December 2024, the Free Trade Agreement between Mercosur and the European Union was announced. If ratified, it will result in a reduction of more than 90% in tariffs on goods traded between the 27 EU member states and the 4 Mercosur countries. Sustainable development and political cooperation between the two regions were emphasized by the agreement's proponents as key pillars. The negotiations were concluded in a profoundly transformed geopolitical and geoeconomic context compared to the one in which they began in 1999.

This paper critically examines the possible consequences of the EU-Mercosur partnership agreement through the lens of Marxist Dependency Theory, with a particular focus on value transfer chains from the periphery to the centre of the global market, and the categories of super-exploitation of labour, imperialism, and sub-imperialism. The analysis delves into two central aspects. First, it explores the potential implications for labour markets and the living conditions of the working class in both blocs. Second, it examines the resistance campaigns that have accompanied the lengthy negotiations, driven by trade unions, Indigenous movements, rural workers, scientists, non-governmental organizations, and civil society groups.

These actors have highlighted that the agreement, despite the developmentalist rhetoric advanced by its negotiators, would intensify the exploitation of natural resources and harm workers, Indigenous populations, and rural communities. Meanwhile, it would primarily benefit large agribusiness corporations, as well as companies in the automobile, machinery, and chemical sectors, further concentrating wealth in their hands.

This research contributes to the critical debate on free trade from a Marxist perspective,

exposing its neo-imperialist nature, often masked by the rhetoric of sustainable development and North-South integration, and examining its consequences for the working class while highlighting the significance of transnational resistance movements.

Keywords: Marxist Theory of Dependency, Mercosur - European Union, global value chains

Adorno on education and genocide

Alkis Nikolakeas

The atrocities of the 20th century, particularly Nazism and genocide, represent one of the darkest periods in modern culture. In "Education after Auschwitz", Theodor W. Adorno emphasizes that "millions of innocent people were systematically murdered," framing this as a stark reminder of humanity's capacity for self-destruction. Adorno's central argument asserts that the foremost imperative of education is to ensure that "Auschwitz not happen again."

To unpack Adorno's argument and critically examine his theoretical framework, it is essential to reconstruct his interdisciplinary approach. Education, Adorno argues, is the crucial arena for addressing the systemic issues analyzed in the "Dialectic of Enlightenment". He insists that modern education must integrate the lessons of this historical experience to prevent recurrence, as there can be no meaningful education without such inclusion.

Adorno's critique underscores the necessity of a multidisciplinary dialogue between critical theory and social psychology. This dialogue facilitates an epistemological "return to the subject," enabling modern philosophy to analyze the social conditions that underpin the subjugation of individuals. According to Adorno, modern individuals are increasingly characterized by indifference to others' lives, prioritization of personal interests over social justice, and the commodification of social relationships within capitalist structures. This pervasive modern egoism, he argues, was a critical enabler of Auschwitz and persists as an unaltered "fundamental structure of society."

Rather than advocating abstract ideals of love, Adorno positions education as a pathway to fostering social solidarity and freedom. The challenge of emancipation remains a pressing political demand, as the specter of a 21st-century Auschwitz looms over contemporary capitalist democracies.

Keywords: Adorno, critical theory, critical education, social consciousness

A Critique of Degrowth from an Econophysics Perspective

ALTAN ALAYBEYOĞLU

The escalating global environmental crises and the rapid depletion of natural resources have recently made degrowth—a strategy centered on limiting economic activities—an increasingly appealing alternative. Advocates of degrowth argue that the capitalist mode of production has surpassed environmental boundaries and inflicted irreversible damage on nature; consequently, they posit that the logic of economic growth must be abandoned and production and consumption reduced. However, from an econophysics perspective, the core assumptions underlying degrowth, as well as the policy proposals derived from these assumptions, call for thorough and critical examination.

First and foremost, the degrowth approach does not sufficiently scrutinize the structural dynamics of capitalism—such as capital accumulation, labor-capital relations, and the competitive market logic. Crucially, it overlooks the fact that the structural characteristics arising from the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system exert a decisive influence on the entropic outcomes of any attempt at “slowing down” economic activity. Even if degrowth strategies aim to formally reduce production processes, the central parameter of value creation at the heart of the capitalist economy persists. This central role continues to shape statistical fluctuations, price and income distributions, production organization, and technological adaptation.

Econophysics views economic systems as complex, highly interactive networks subject to statistical physics methodologies. From this vantage point, economies operate at “critical” thresholds between stable and turbulent states, exhibiting entropy defined by statistical distributions. Yet the notion that slowing down the economy can somehow stabilize or “balance” this entropy is unwarranted. The structural contradictions of the capitalist economy—capital accumulation, surplus value extraction, and competitive market dynamics—perpetually trigger entropic dynamism, rendering any stable equilibrium state unattainable.

This realization compels a reexamination of the theoretical foundations and practical implications of degrowth proposals. Simply decelerating economic activity or reducing its scale does not fundamentally transform the entropic characteristics inherent to capitalist structures. In light of these points, this study will present a critique of degrowth from an econophysics perspective.

Keywords: Econophysics, Degrowth, Capitalist Dynamics, Entropy, , Capital Accumulation

Fascism and neo-fascism in Brazil

Alvaro Bianchi

This paper examines the resurgence of extreme-right and neo-fascist movements in Brazil, tracing their origins to the Ação Integralista Brasileira (AIB), a fascist movement that significantly influenced the nation's political landscape in the 1930s. It explores how contemporary neo-fascist movements draw on the ideological foundations of AIB while exploiting digital platforms to amplify their reach, disseminate hate speech, foster subcultures, and organize coordinated actions. The study also investigates the transnational connections of these groups, including their links to European far-right organizations, and evaluates the growing role of the internet in promoting their agendas. Additionally, it delves into the ideological and political intersections between modern Brazilian neo-fascism and the Bolsonaro administration, particularly through the adoption of integralismo slogans, narratives, and coalitions. By situating these developments within historical and transnational contexts, the paper highlights the significant threats posed by neo-fascist movements to democratic institutions and marginalized communities in Brazil and beyond.

Keywords: Fascism; Neo-fascism; Brazil

Learnings from Dundee's Marxist Education structure

Amy Tait

Dundee is a rich environment for internationalist education. It has a thriving Palestine solidarity campaign (the city is formally twinned with Nablus) and an active pan-African community, as well as a firmly internationalist Trades Council. There is a strong desire in the city to learn about international politics and culture and reflect on how these should impact organising in East Scotland.

However until 2024, Dundee lacked a structure for Marxist education, so several organisers in the city put together a programme of internationalist education, which will continue in 2025. We ran workshops on the struggle in Palestine, Sudan, Kenya, Central America, India, and West Africa. These workshops avoid a radical banking approach that simply teaches radical facts. Instead, students engage in imaginative learning and group study.

Our project is informed by Marxist analyses of imperialism, class power and emancipation. We believe that working people are stronger when they know more about the diversity of revolutionary movements across the world and throughout history. Our sessions were aimed at non-academic, non-activist audiences. Many of our attendees face high barriers to accessing education. Through these workshops, they came into direct contact with comrades operating elsewhere in the world, in highly effective parties and movements.

In this presentation I will explain the pedagogical theory that the Dundee programme was informed by, and I will show how we used that theory to create workshops. In order to overcome the restrictions of banking and discussion-based education, we deployed seven 'modes' of exercise – which we called simulation, imagination, production, intensification, surrealisation, emulation and particularisation. I will describe the different practices that emerged from these modes, and explain what happened in the workshops themselves. Finally, I will reflect on the lessons that can be learned from our experience that might inform approaches to political education, and I will advance some ideas about the types of education programmes that might be appropriate for different kinds of movements, cities, and material conditions.

Keywords: Pedagogy, Internationalism, Political Education

Precarity and agency among remote interpreters: an anthropological study

Ana Oliveira

This PhD project on the anthropology of contemporary labor is about a group of remote interpreters who work in Portugal, at home, for a call center company named Trust (nickname).

The concept of “precarity” will be addressed in relation with call center studies and with the notions of “surveillance” or “panopticon”.

The concept of “agency”, the capacity to imagine the future and draw their own lives, is related to union’s struggles but also with daily interactions, acts of resistance and to the notion of “affective work”.

The interpreters work for a multinational company in a semi-peripheral country where [among others], in the twentieth century’s nineties, these firms started to relocate their call centers (Lazar, 2023). They work mainly for USA customers and are part of a world power imbalance.

In this presentation, we intend to discuss mostly the notion of precarity, and to characterize the aforementioned jobs and understand and describe the kind of precarity the interpreters experience, that includes the push for constant surveillance. We will try to answer the question “Why is this a new form of precarisation?”.

The work of the English-Portuguese interpreters, of several origins and nationalities, who signed precarious work contracts, consists in daily connecting themselves to the company’s computer and being connected during their entire shifts. They work over the telephone and in video, according to the monthly determinations.

We based ourselves in some call center studies in India (Mirchandini, 2012, Patel, 2010) and in Portugal (Matos, 2020, Louça, 2013), and in Marxist theoretical references like

David Harvey (2019) or Christian Fucs (2015).

Our methodology consists mainly on semi-structured interviews to interpreters who work in their homes all over Portugal, as well as in some elements of the autoethnographic method, as we also have the same job.

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Keywords: Precarity, agency, surveillance, call centers, remote interpreters

A Framework to Design Technology-Enhanced Educational Scenarios for managing the Risk of Students' Failure: Building upon Vygotsky's theory

Anastasia Themeli

How can we improve student performance by improving the design of a technology-enhanced educational scenario? And vice versa: How does failure of the design affect students' failure to complete such a scenario and thus achieve the desired learning outcomes? According to Lev Vygotsky, cognitive development is carried out by the individual through guided interaction in a social environment. Restating this position in modern educational terms, the student learns when acting on the object of learning by using mediating tools of the digital learning environment (such as a Learning Management System) and interacting with the teacher and peers. However, the teacher designs the conditions to facilitate the learning process. He/she plans the sequence of the designed activities to be completed by the role in question (student, group of students) so that specific learning objectives are accomplished and selects the mediating tools available in the learning environment to support and frame these activities. In other words, the teacher shapes student interaction and engagement conditions in an educational scenario. At the

same time, he/she determines how to assess that students are in the Zone of Proximal Development according to the desired learning outcomes to provide timely support and feedback if needed. This process can be enhanced by the Learning Analytics field, as a plethora of data captured by the learning environment can be analyzed to yield indicators of abstract variables (e.g., student engagement). By exploring Lev Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, we seek the philosophical foundations for building a framework for designing technology-supported educational scenarios to manage the risk of student failure. The idea of the proposed framework evolves through a process of constant transitions, such as the one Vygotsky himself captures in his "meteorological metaphor", that revalue the use of existing concepts and regenerate the idea itself.

Keywords: Design Technology, Educational Scenarios, managing risk, Students' Failure, Vygotsky's theory

Labour-Time-Accounting and the »Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution«

André Kistner / Sebastian Loschert

We are a small political group from Berlin, called the Initiative Demokratische Arbeitszeitrechnung (for further information visit our blog: <https://arbeitszeit.noblogs.org/>), which is engaged in the actual theoretical discussions about socialist economic planning. In our theory we mostly refer to the Dutch council communist Group of International Communists (GIC) of the 1930's and their amazing, but largely forgotten book Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution. It is a theory of decentralized economic planning based on communal control of the means of production, workers self-managment and labour-time-accounting. We want to give a short presentation of this basically simple but - in a modern sense - cybernetic theory in a fitting panel and discuss it with interested people. We think, that the global Left mustn't only fight against capitalism and it's multiple crisis, but must also have a vision of a new communist society to go beyond the usual state-centered leftist reformism and to win the people for a better future created by themselves.

Keywords: Economic Planning, Communal Reproduction, Labour-Time-Accounting

Confronting Corporate Power from Below: Global Campaign to Reclaim Peoples Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity and the Re-Appropriation and Re-Elaboration of Classic Juridical Instruments

Andru Chiorean

This paper explores the activity of one of the key transnational advocacy networks concerned with holding economic actors accountable for human rights violations and massive environmental degradation. Over the past decade, the Global Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity (Global Campaign) has mobilised diverse organisations representing a broad range of groups and interests (many of them base in Europe), and have wielded important political and juridical influence various national, regional, and international arenas. It became important actor in the ongoing drafting of the UN Binding Treaty on Business and Human Rights, engaged in political and legal activism, and created transnational structures to ensure global cooperation for enhancing corporate accountability. The concept of corporate impunity is central to Global Campaign's critique of global capitalism and racism. Corporations often operate with little regard for the rights of racial minorities and marginalized communities, and they enjoy impunity for the human rights violations they commit. In response to the concentration of corporate power, Global Campaign calls for a global movement of resistance, particularly from grassroots social movements in the Global South. This resistance, however, has to be both national and international in scope, as corporate power and neoliberal policies are global in nature. Through the promotion of alternatives to neoliberalism, Global Campaign works to support and promote alternative economic, social, and political models that prioritize human well-being, ecological sustainability, and social equity over profit maximization. This includes solidarity economies, local food systems, and eco-socialist models. The paper argues that the political affiliations and national backgrounds of leading members of the two networks played a critical role in determining how the networks fundraise, engage in advocacy, chose specific topics and repertoires of actions, and liaise to governments. It underlines their points of convergence, but also their divergent constitutive visions of resistance to the capitalist mode of production and, consequently, their solutions for the alleviation of the consequences of corporate wrongdoing. Drawing on interviews, direct observation, and research of various advocacy papers and official submissions, the paper also highlights how the fragmentation of the global corporate accountability cause offers a fresh angle to explore failures of civil society advocacy at the international level.

Keywords: corporate accountability, international law, human rights, transnational advocacy

Alexander Rüstow's Vitalpolitik, Michel Foucault's Biopolitics and Neoliberalism

Angeliki Papathanasiou

Michel Foucault's lectures of 1978-9 at the Collège de France provide the ground for the current debate that classifies him among either the critics or the defenders of neoliberalism. Without clearly establishing the connections between his own conception of biopolitics and Alexander Rüstow's Vitalpolitik, Foucault provides several indications in favor of the position of the Ordoliberals on the relationship between the state and the economy. The Ordoliberals' demand for a strong, market-enabling state and for depoliticized socio-economic relations is in line with their rejection of the welfare state. Vitalpolitik points towards a society in which individuals assert themselves as self-responsible entrepreneurs of their own life-circumstances and this is achieved through the government of the mentality (or moral values) of society, since the vital situation of man extends from tangible facts to the intangibles (subconscious, Weltanschauung). Foucault's original formulations on biopolitics (1976) refer to a state control of the biological and in this account the welfare state is categorized as an example of state biopolitics entailing "a positive influence on life" that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations. In 1978-9, Foucault returns to biopolitics and relates it with the historical emergence of liberalism. The latter is considered as a rather effective tool for the critique of the irrationality peculiar to excessive government. His ambiguous account of Vitalpolitik both recognizes the generalization of the enterprise form within the social fabric and defends it as a policy that compensates society with its set of "warm" moral and cultural values for the "cold", calculating and rational mechanism of the market. Taking into consideration all the above -not uncontroversial- lines of argumentation, the paper seeks to investigate the extent to which Foucault endorses, critically or not, the Ordoliberals' theoretical presuppositions and economic plan, and the implications this has for his own critical project.

Keywords: Ordoliberalism, Rüstow, Foucault, Biopolitics, Neoliberalism

From Hegemony to Precarity: The Transformation of Academic Labor in the Neoliberal Era

Anna Chiara Mezzasalma

The contemporary academic landscape, increasingly shaped by neoliberal policies, has brought about profound transformations in the nature of academic labor. In this context,

the concept of the *intellettuale massa*—intellectuals who serve the hegemonic interests of capital—offers a valuable framework for analyzing the precarious position of academic workers today. The rise of specialization within academic fields, the proliferation of adjunct positions, and the intensification of work demands reflect a shift towards a post-Fordist model of academic production, where flexible labor, precarious working conditions, and the commodification of knowledge have become dominant features. Drawing on Gramsci's concept of intellectuals as agents responsible for shaping cultural hegemony, this paper explores how the academic workforce has been restructured to serve the dual imperatives of marketization and managerialism, while simultaneously eroding the autonomy and integrity of intellectual labor, which are crucial for counterhegemonic struggle. Furthermore, by applying the concept of post-Fordism, we examine how the commodification of education, the decline of permanent academic positions, and the increasing reliance on digital platforms for knowledge dissemination have further fragmented academic labor, fostering a divided and precarious group of intellectuals. This precarious labor force, increasingly shaped by neoliberal and market-driven imperatives, is often compelled to perform both intellectual and managerial roles, producing knowledge that serves capital while marginalizing intellectual work. Consequently, intellectuals are reduced to mere technicians of knowledge, unable to offer proper intellectual work able to provide a counterhegemonic alternative in the Gramscian sense.

Keywords: Neoliberal academia; Postfordism; Commodification of knowledge; Intellectuals; Gramsci

The relationship of nationalism with class exploitation: Preliminary Remarks in Marxist Social Theory

Anna Koumandaraki

Gaza genocide brings us in front of serious dilemmas in the relationship between national identity and class exploitation. In Marxist theory national ideology was identified with bourgeois hegemony and working class exploitation. Yet the reference to national emancipation was put forward as a principle issue not only in Palestinian struggle against Israelis but also in many other similar struggles such as the Cuban revolution and Greek Resistance against German and British imperialists during forties. Consequently, I think there is the need to re-theorise national ideology within a Marxist perspective, taking into consideration its significance for the Leftists' victory against the bourgeoisie. The paper focuses on Marxian theorisation of the concept of nation and attempts to decipher its implications for class struggle in particular contexts such as Greece and Palestine.

Keywords: National Ideology, Emancipation, Class struggle

On the actuality of V.I. Lenin: Politics, the National State, and the Theory of Imperialism

Antonis Balasopoulos

This essay examines the actuality of Lenin's thought by focusing on his approach to the question of imperialism. It dwells on two interrelated, but also discrete goals that centrally inform Lenin's *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*: first, the construction of a theory of imperialism that, though conceding the primacy of the economic, is also cognizant of the importance of its dialectical articulation to the political; secondly, the proposal, on the basis of this construction, of a tactical path toward socialist revolution, which involves the conversion of imperialist war to civil war. The second goal, articulated largely implicitly in *Imperialism* (due to the fear of censorship), is examined in terms of its connections to the tactics of revolutionary defeatism and, at the same time, the rejection of petty-bourgeois pacifism. The first goal, the construction of a theory that treats politics and economics as a dialectical unity, is partly obscured by Lenin's privileging (again, because of the fear of censorship) of an economic analysis without offering an equally developed political one. Yet, *Imperialism* provides clear methodological warnings against an exclusive focus on the economic; additionally, it was soon followed by *A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism*, wherein the danger of ignoring the question of the political was underlined. After arguing that the political implications of the struggle against imperialism are shown to be very different in the imperialist core and in the colonized periphery (given the abiding significance and import of uneven and combined development), the essay moves to an examination of Lenin's critique of Kautsky, who is correctly taken to task for failing to comprehend the dialectical interdependence of politics and economics in the imperialist era. The conclusion interrogates the implications of the cessation of inter-imperialist conflict in Europe after 1945. Rather than vindicating Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism", it is argued, the contemporary moment reveals the acumen of Lenin's insistence on the inevitably contradictory nature of imperialism: the supposed supersession of national sovereignty by the global structure of finance capitalism fundamentally reflects the point of view of European states and Anglo-American allies, who have effectively ceded sovereignty to the American imperialist hegemon; while both the United States itself and the majority of the non-western world continue to ground foreign policy on the pursuit, predominantly, of the economic interests that orient the national state.

Keywords: Lenin; Kautsky; Imperialism; National state; Politics; Economics; Tactics; Civil War; Socialist Revolution; Globalization

Global Labour Standards from Below: How Spatial Flexibility Determines Workers' Structural Power

Ashok Kumar

The proliferation of top-down efforts to establish global labour standards has paralleled globalization, yet the garment sector remains largely insulated from enforceable standards due to its highly monopsonistic value chains. This structure enables global buyers to maintain flexibility, intensifying a race to the bottom in labour conditions. However, certain segments have experienced consolidation driven by increased standardization, imposing spatial inflexibility for buyers. The reduction in monopsony has enhanced the disruptive and bargaining power of suppliers and workers. This paper examines a quasi-monopolistic Radio Frequency Identification (RFID) supplier firm—a critical component in the garment sector—to illustrate three key points: 1) Commodity standardization shapes production processes, capital's spatial flexibility, and workers' structural power. 2) Technological investments, while deskilling workers and reducing their marketplace bargaining power, ultimately increase workplace structural power. 3) Labour standards in the garment sector emerge from the buyers-sellers relationship and workers' collective agency to assert power on the shopfloor.

Keywords: Globalisation, Global Value Chains, Labour Standards, Garments, India,

Yemen's Naval Blockade and the Vulnerabilities of Giant Shipping Alliances

Ashok Kumar

The Ansarullah (Houthis) have, for the first time in recorded history, successfully imposed a naval blockade without a standing navy. Navies are the most expensive for militaries to maintain for several reasons (size, technology, capacity) but only the most advanced and well-resourced navies in history have successfully maintained naval blockades. There are two reasons to explain Ansarullah's successful blockade:

1. Access to advanced technologies that have become increasingly affordable.
2. The laws of motion of capitalism that have consolidated global shipping companies, increased global shipping alliances, and created new shipping monopolies, that have opened new vulnerabilities to disruption.

Over the past three decades, international shipping has witnessed the emergence of “Gigantism”. Today, there are 3 shipping alliances, 2M (MSC (20%), Maersk (15%), and Israel’s ZIM (2.3%), The Alliance, and Ocean Alliance, that control 85% of all global shipping. Shipping alliances are cooperative agreements that utilize fleet space in the most efficient way.

The consolidation of maritime capital has allowed for the necessary surpluses to accumulate among a few large shipping firms who have made large technological advancements in ship design and construction, and the ensuing economies of scale of larger ships, which reduce trade and transport costs, thus also making globalized trade even more profitable because transporting goods over long distances is more affordable. This has expanded international exports allowing mass production and lower unit costs at home. These mammoth ships could cost \$100+ million and could take up to 9/10 ships to run a weekly service between Europe and Asia. The capital intensity of these ships obliges them to limit their ports of call at each end to just a few hub ports, almost all of them deepwater.

The focus of this paper will be on the second of these two explanations. Using Baran and Sweezy as well as Kalecki and Steindl the paper analyses the emergence of giant monopolistic shipping alliances. These alliances have increased investment in giant ships, highly efficient supply chains, and vertical integration. This has also opened many vulnerabilities that raises the cost of disruption, from increased insurance costs, to the limited the number of ports where these now giant ships can dock.

Keywords: imperialism, supply chains, war, disruption, maritime capitalism

Freedom as a Commodified Illusion: How Neoliberal Rationality Redefines Self-Improvement and Autonomy

Athanasios (Thanos) Theodoridis

Originally developed to enhance operational efficiency, neoliberal principles have permeated personal spheres, influencing how individuals view and govern their own lives. This presentation investigates the mechanisms by which contemporary systems cultivate a mindset centered on constant self-optimization, positioning self-improvement as a pathway to fulfillment.

The adoption of profit-oriented ideologies drives individuals to engage in self-surveillance, skill enhancement, and ongoing self-assessment. While these practices might appear empowering, they often lead to deeper forms of coercion, masking subordination under the pretense of autonomy. An incessant culture of self-care blurs the

lines between professional and personal time, with personal development increasingly perceived as a commercial asset. This trend transmutes individuals into self-exploiting agents, where the quest for personal and professional advancement becomes indistinguishable from consumption patterns. The resultant paradox intertwines autonomy with subjugation, fostering competitive tendencies and undermining communal values. By normalizing these behaviors, contemporary systems reinforce inequalities and obscure the potential for alternative ways of living.

This presentation offers a critical analysis of these dynamics, shedding light on the concealed costs of neoliberal rationality and the psychopolitical forces shaping contemporary existence. It encourages a reevaluation of self-improvement practices, promoting frameworks that emphasize authentic well-being over market-driven goals.

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Keywords: neoliberalism, subjectivity, self-improvement, false consciousness, psychopolitics

Yugoslav self-management and the British movement for workers' control, 1960s-1980s

Aurélie Andry and Vladimir Unkovski-Korica

This paper proposes to explore, through a transnational history approach, the circulation, reception, discussion and transformation of the Yugoslav “model” of self-management by the founders and members of the Institute for Workers’ Control (IWC), between the 1960s and 1980s. While recent research has shown that the British left took an early and constant interest in Yugoslavia following the Tito-Stalin split of 1948, and although the importance of the Yugoslav model of self-management to the British discussion of industrial democracy has often been noted in passing, there has never been systematic study of its influence, meaning and adaptation in the British context. This contribution therefore represents the first step to investigating the influence of the Yugoslav model of self-management on the British Left.

The paper is based on fresh research in the IWC’s archives and publications, the personal papers of one of its leading figures, Tony Topham, and of some trade union activists (Bob

Purdie, Geoff Pugg), a corpus of printed sources from its members, and some archives of the Fonds Autogestion at the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris. It will first explain how segments of the British New Left, born in the 1950s and 1960s, found in the Yugoslav self-management system a model for a desired “third way” between East and West, and how Yugoslav self-management became a key reference point for the movement for workers' control and the IWC in the 1960s. Secondly, the paper will show that Yugoslav self-management was not only a recurring reference point for the IWC thinkers; the IWC also had privileged connections with Yugoslav political and trade union officials, as well as with the Yugoslav academic and intellectual circles. Thirdly, it will look at the adoption by IWC thinkers in the 1970s of a definition of workers' control and self-management that was distanced from the Yugoslav model and adapted to the British context. Finally, it will look back at the gradual disappearance of the Yugoslav system as a point of reference in the wake of the crisis in the Titoist regime and the concomitant rise of neoliberalism under Margaret Thatcher, who proved determined to put an end to the movement for workers' control in Britain.

Keywords: Self-management; workers' control; British Left; History; Yugoslavia

The Possibilities of Organizing Against Neoliberal Capitalism: The Condition of the Turkish Mid Level Professional Employees in Turkey

Bahar Oral-Gündoğdu

This paper examines the potentials and constraints for opposition to capitalism, with a particular focus on the contradictory relations of the white-collar working-class people with neoliberalism. It challenges the argument that neoliberal governmentality with its competitive and individualizing discourse makes almost impossible organizing against capitalism, especially for the mid-level professionals/employees (MLPs). Instead, this paper asserts that there have been remarkable signs of “political subjectivity” among them. It is argued that unveiling the potentials towards political subjectivity and resistance against neoliberal capitalism requires the analysis of institutional functioning of neoliberalism and its effects on employees.

The effects of institutional basis of neoliberalism on employees are considered within the four essential levels: i. production level, ii. accumulation level, iii. administrative level, and iv. political level. They are evaluated in terms of their impacts on the collective potentials of the MLPs, based on the in-depth interviews made with 40 mid-level professionals from Turkey. The case analysis provides two basic points: First, contradictions are intensifying at all four levels. Therefore, the conditions perceived as impediments to organizing may in fact become catalysts for its advancement. Second, neither the neoliberal discourse of

subjectivity nor the constraints caused by the institutional effects of neoliberalism have destroyed collective inclination among employees. Thus, even if the MLPs have not produced a “political subjectivity” against capitalism, the notion of “minding a common good and communality” is still alive among them.

This study acknowledges that neoliberal governmentality does have subversive effects on the workers’ collective and organizational practices. However, contrary to the discourse of neoliberal subjectivity, it argues that these subversive effects i.e. competitiveness, individualization or being homo economicus do not represent the horizon of the MLPs under neoliberal capitalism but constitute their limits. This is crucial not just theoretically but also politically, because horizon cannot be transcended but it is possible to transcend a limit. To put it differently, whereas the former implicitly or explicitly preaches the end of the history, the latter calls for organizing a commonality and struggle.

Keywords: Neoliberal Capitalism, Political Subjectivity, Mid-Level Professional Employee, Organizing, Turkey

Gray Practices of Resisting to Indebtedness

Berkay Kabalay

The rising importance of personal indebtedness among the working-class and the crystallization of examples of anti-debt struggles on a global scale have increased concern in the literature regarding the resistance of indebted subjects to their objective conditions. In this research, by relying on the debt experiences of workers in Turkey, I criticize the conceptualization of a necessity between objective conditions and political actions, as if the latter automatically emerges from the former. The case of debtors in Turkey, where there is no collective resistance to personal indebtedness, illustrates examples of gray practices in an in-between position. I scrutinize how the debtors are constituted as subjects in an in-between position and the political consequences of this subjectification, which involves neither complete subjection nor collective resistance.

The assumption that subjective practices necessarily possess a political character creates two problems. First, it involves an overly optimistic view that objective conditions (exploitation, discipline, and control of indebtedness) and debtors’ declared discontent can be automatically translated into political action. Thus, there exists a dichotomy of subjection and resistance. From this dichotomy, the second problem arises: the absence of political and collective resistance assumes the submission and pacification of debtors to indebtedness.

The mundane debt experiences of debtors in Turkey reveal that there are discursive confrontations of indebtedness; however, these do not align with political action. While these debtors do not fully submit to indebtedness, they are unable to organize and develop political resistance due to various factors, including authoritarianism and managing indebtedness through safety nets (personal relations, borrowing, and supplemental employment). Therefore, their subjective practices exemplify gray practices rather than a strict either/or situation. Debtors develop techniques to escape from or ease the burden of indebtedness in the absence of political action.

Analyzing gray practices contributes to theoretical discussions on resistance. Furthermore, it highlights where debtors' reactions are concentrated and indicates the potential starting points for politicization and organization against indebtedness.

Keywords: Indebtedness, Resistance, Gray Practices, Political Action

Art and Politics After the Defeat of the Cultural Turn

Blake Stimson

The collapse of art and politics into 'cultural politics' has been devastating for the left. This essay reviews that collapse and its consequences, explores what was once at stake in their separation, and asks what art can do to contribute to a more robust and propitious relationship now.

My premise is that we can assume four possible causes for the new left's extraordinary defeat combatting the business class for political-economic power when compared to the victories of the old left:

1. changed structural conditions---like 'globalisation', or 'class dealignment', or whatever---all we can do is sit and wait for a new, more propitious 'conjuncture';
2. a smarter business class---that has used its material advantages against our numbers advantage more effectively than their predecessors did during the heyday of the old left---they won fair and square;
3. a failure of left analysis---we simply do not adequately understand the dynamics of 'globalisation', or 'class dealignment', or whatever---we need to theorise more and harder;
4. a failure of left organising---we among the PMC left have lost the capacity to speak to and thus organise the working class---we need to organise better.

This talk focuses on #4. It assumes that the one and only foundation for any future left revival is more effectively speaking to and organising the working class. It also assumes that this is a cultural problem---we have lost the capacity to think and communicate in the materialist-solidaristic terms that are our primary job requirement. Finally, it assumes that theorising and historicising our failure is not enough.

Keywords: Art, organising, labor education, social form

Understanding Sexual Harassment in UK Hospitality: A Synthesis of Zemiology, Class Composition Analysis and Feminism

Bob Jeffery, Ruth Beresford and Valeria Insarauto

Workplace sexual harassment is endemic in the UK, affecting 1/3 of workers every single year (GEO, 2020), and is most prevalent in the hospitality sector. In this paper we explore this issue through a synthesis of zemiological, class compositional and feminist approaches.

Zemiology – or the study of social harm – developed out of critical criminology as an alternative to the concept of ‘crime’ posited by the capitalist state. The approach is situated within the intellectual lineage of Engel’s ‘social murder’, as a counter-hegemonic exercise in identifying the violence of the capitalist system. Applying this approach to the workplace allows us to identify political economy as the motive force in the generation of ‘work-based harms’ at the macro level. They are mediated by business strategy at the meso-level, which structures the prevalence of harm at the micro (interpersonal) level.

We have previously deployed such a model to understand work-based harms ranging from contractual insecurity to wage thefts and poor health and safety (Jeffery et al, 2024). Yet we have also argued that dominant zemiological approaches tend to ‘accord all power to capital’ (Cleaver, 1979) in structuring the employment relationship, situating increasing work-based harms solely in terms of neoliberalism and employer control over the labour process. That is to say they only consider the technical composition of labour and fail to consider both social and political composition as frameworks for not only understanding but contesting harm.

This paper develops these insights further, by also examining the specifically gendered dimension of work-based harms (clearly fundamental as regards workplace sexual harassment). In doing so we consider regulation of workplaces by a state which is both capitalist and patriarchal, and the extent to which employers pursue gendered business

strategies. Finally, we discuss possibilities of worker resistance, drawing on our work with the Sheffield Needs A Pay Rise campaign (Beresford and Jeffery, 2024).

Keywords: Workplace Sexual Harassment; Hospitality; Zemiology; Class Composition Analysis; Feminism

‘Soviet Political Accumulation’ between Social Reproduction and Socialist Law

Bogdan Ovcharuk, Olena Lyubchenko

The Marxist concept of primitive accumulation explains how the expropriation of the feudal peasantry and imperial-colonial dispossession created the conditions for the bourgeoisie to accrue capital. The formal equality inherent in modern bourgeois law concealed these acts of appropriation and the resulting division between those who own capital and those who sell their labor power (Marx 1974, Bloch 1986, Rose 2009, Ovcharuk 2024). Marxist feminists have further revealed how the legal frameworks of bourgeois societies masked the gendered separation of social reproduction from production (Federici 2004; Ferguson 2020, Goldman 2022; Lyubchenko 2024). While socialist law was intended to resolve the contradictions of bourgeois formalism, its realization in the Soviet Union has been criticized for state legalism and paternalism (Synowich 1990, Scott 2015). For this reason, the development of law and industrialization in the Soviet political project is often conflated with these “analogous” phenomena in capitalist societies.

This paper explores how the interrelation between social reproduction and ‘Socialist law’ in the Soviet project reveals the distinctiveness of what we term “Soviet political accumulation.” First, we trace how early 1920s Bolshevik anti-imperial/colonial accumulation under revolutionary legality established socialist relations of production and social reproduction. Second, we show how access to the means of (re)production, reflected in Stalin’s 1936 Constitution, surpassed the framework of bourgeois law, while still falling short of granting control over (re)production—the normative aim of ‘Socialist law’. Third, we discuss how Soviet political accumulation in the 1930s—the separation of Soviet peasants from the land during economic state centralization—determined the specificity of Soviet law. We argue that this legally enshrined access to, rather than control over, (re)production precludes conflating Soviet accumulation with capitalist accumulation. To illustrate this, we conclude by examining the crisis of the 1990s post-Soviet primitive capitalist accumulation and the establishment of bourgeois law.

Keywords: social reproduction, socialist law, history of socialism, political Marxism, primitive accumulation

The so-called Brazilian labor “reform” and the dynamics of legal justification for an expropriatory social process

Bruna da Penha de Mendonça Coelho

Based on a Marxist theoretical perspective, the paper aims to investigate the contours of the legal justification of the so-called Brazilian labor “reform”, understanding it as an expropriatory social process that neither begins nor ends in 2017. I seek to analyze if and how these legal discourses of justification handle and correlate attempts to build social consensus through the logic of conflict abstraction, and ways of signifying a material dynamic of exacerbation of inequalities. As a central research problem, I investigate the following question: how have the proposals surrounding the so-called Brazilian labor “reform” been officially justified (taking as a basis the expositions of reasons to legal norms and justifications of paradigmatic decisions within the Brazilian Federal Supreme Court)? Other complementary questions are: (i) if and in what way these discourses produce senses on the issue of inequality; (ii) how the dynamics of conflict abstraction in labor relations require, in certain socio-historical contexts, the conjugation and central performance of expropriatory social processes; (iii) what the analysis of the institutional justification of the Brazilian labor “reform” points to about the production of social consensus around the explicitness of inequalities inherent to an expropriatory dynamic. In addition to the bibliographical research based on the sociology of work and other works of critical social thought, I use empirical research with the justification documents that I consider central to the deliberation, approval and application of the “reform”. In addition to the debate on the historical and social trajectory of labor “reform” in Brazil, I dialogue with the theme of expropriations as the foundation of capitalist expansion, passing through reflections on the Marxian formulations about the so-called primitive accumulation, as well as the theoretical productions that address the current relevance of this debate (for example, Klaus Dörre, Virgínia Fontes, Ricardo Antunes, Guilherme Gonçalves).

Keywords: Brazilian labor "reform"; Expropriation; Capital-labor conflict; Legal discourse.

Citizen Marx: Republicanism and the Formation of Karl Marx's Social and Political Thought

Bruno Leipold

My book *Citizen Marx* (Princeton University Press, 2024) is the first comprehensive exploration of Marx's relationship to republicanism, arguing that it is essential to understanding his thought. Marx's relation to republicanism changed over the course of his life, but its complex influence on his thought cannot be reduced to wholesale adoption or rejection. Challenging common depictions of Marx that downplay or ignore his commitment to politics, democracy, and freedom, I show that Marx viewed democratic political institutions as crucial to overcoming the social unfreedom and domination of capitalism. One of Marx's principal political values, Leipold contends, was a republican conception of freedom, according to which one is unfree when subjected to arbitrary power. Placing Marx's republican communism in its historical context—but not consigning him to that context—I trace Marx's shifting relationship to republicanism across three broad periods. First, Marx began his political life as a republican committed to a democratic republic in which citizens held active popular sovereignty. Second, he transitioned to communism, criticizing republicanism but incorporating the republican opposition to arbitrary power into his social critiques. He argued that although a democratic republic was not sufficient for emancipation, it was necessary for it. Third, spurred by the events of the Paris Commune of 1871, he came to view popular control in representation and public administration as essential to the realization of communism. I show how Marx positioned his republican communism to displace both antipolitical socialism and anticommunist republicanism. One of Marx's great contributions was to place politics (and especially democratic politics) at the heart of socialism.

Keywords: Karl Marx; Republicanism; Freedom; Democracy

The Costs of Inflation Targeting for Labor and Development in Turkey

Bülent Hoca, Ferda Uzunyayla

This study aims to question the consequences of the inflation targeting regime implemented in Turkey, which is in a high inflation process, for labor and capital accumulation. In this respect, it will be revealed how the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT), with its inflation targeting regime, has prioritized inflation over unemployment and poverty. In Turkey, capital groups, the government and liberal economists discuss inflation in relation to minimum wage increases. The consequence of this for working people is both the suppression of wage increases and the reduction of

consumption expenditures (consumer loans, credit card use, mortgage loans, etc., which are used when wage income is not enough) through interest rate increases as a result of the tight monetary policies brought about by the inflation targeting regime. These high interest rates also increase short-term portfolio investments, thereby negatively affecting the country's production and hence employment capacity. In this respect, the study will show that contrary to what liberal economists claim, central banks are not “neutral” or “technical” institutions and the extent to which they are sensitive to different class groups in terms of the policies they implement. By creating unequal costs and benefits for different segments of the society, the CBRT will be shown to be a biased institution as opposed to being “independent” and “scientific”. In conclusion, while employment targeting is of critical importance in a country like Turkey that suffers from severe levels of unemployment, poverty and income inequality, the theoretical and political aspects of the motives and methods by which inflation targeting has been implemented in Turkey will be discussed.

Keywords: Turkey, Inflation Targeting, labor, development, central bank independence

In Search of Universality for Politics of Emancipation: Thinking with Étienne Balibar and Alain Badiou

Büşra Özcan

These two intertwined questions will be the subject of this presentation: What form does the politics of emancipation necessitate in our current conjuncture, put succinctly as “a world of genocide and disaster” in the call of the Historical Materialism Athens 2025, and what kind of a political subject does such a form entail?

Considering the inspirational horizon of the Paris Commune and the vision of the “Universal Republic” in particular, I will discuss the condition of envisioning a universality for emancipatory politics with the intent of contemplating on the “wholesale strategic impasse” of the Left. In the face of the need 1) to constitute a universalist perspective within which the relations between different forms of oppression, domination, and exploitation are articulated instead of being overlooked, 2) to differentiate the pseudo and emancipatory forms of universality against the threat of the enfeeblement of emancipatory politics by way of the critique of identitarianism of a pseudo-universalist rhetoric which Todd McGowan highlighted in his recent work, reworking on the idea of “Universal Republic” gains significance.

In light of these necessities, I will discuss the relation between difference(s) and universality in the thoughts of Étienne Balibar and Alain Badiou with the hope of

presenting a discussion that goes beyond the dichotomies of class and identity. Based on Karl Marx's interpretation regarding the doublet of man and citizen in *On the Jewish Question*, it will be aimed to examine how the relation between these figures is conceived in the works of Balibar and Badiou and how these respective configurations affected their discussion concerning universality. With reference to the difficulties in articulating difference(s) with universality, I will investigate 1) the meaning and significance of anthropological differences in Balibar's thought, 2) Badiou's interpretation of the figure of Paul and his indifferent position vis-à-vis differences. The presentation will be concluded with a discussion about the theoretical and political divisions between Balibar's antinomic and Badiou's eventual conceptions of universality, as well as the probable affinities between them in the context of the contentious relationship between universality and differences.

Keywords: Universality, Anthropological Differences, Saint Paul

TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND GREEN GROWTH DILEMMA: DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND CAPITAL ACCUMULATION IN TÜRKİYE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL

Çağın Erbek

As capitalism's imperative for continuous capital accumulation pushed environmental destruction to the brink of becoming a systemic crisis, it became necessary to introduce global institutional interventions to safeguard the future of the system. The dominant narrative now holds that the current production structure cannot be maintained in a way that perpetually expands the conditions for capital accumulation. Accordingly, new growth strategies must feature a sustainable, green orientation. Within this context, various proposals have emerged—such as Sustainable Development, Green Growth, and the New Green Deal—that continue to center on the concept of growth, as well as the degrowth approach, which rejects growth but does not offer alternatives to the labor-capital relations underpinning the capitalist system.

From this perspective, the European Green Deal is regarded as the European Union's new growth strategy, shaped by concerns over the future of capitalism, the exploitation of natural resources, and debates surrounding national economic growth. This agreement will influence not only EU member states but also those with trade ties to them. For Türkiye—where the textile and ready-made clothing sector serves as a crucial driver of foreign exchange earnings and employment within a developmental economic framework—these changes are particularly significant. The sector is known for its substantial environmental impact, intensified by increasing production speed, competitive pressures, and evolving consumption patterns. Thus, Türkiye, which exports a large

proportion of its textile products to EU countries, is likely to feel the effects of the European Green Deal.

At the same time, the introduction of more “green” content into production and consumption, spurred by institutional reforms and the active role of the state in shaping capital accumulation, reveals contradictions. These become especially evident when we consider the fundamental distinctions within the textile sector—particularly its material base—alongside the periodic needs of capital accumulation. With these tensions in mind, this study critically examines how the Turkish textile sector may be affected by the European Green Deal and what role the state will assume in this process, framed by development policies and the cyclical imperatives of capitalism.

Keywords: Capital accumulation, Growth, Green Growth, European Green Deal, Textile Industry, Türkiye

Artificial intelligence and organic composition of capital

Caio Antunes; Peterson Pessôa; Joana Freitas; Marcel de Sousa; Lênin Tomazett; Leonardo de Andrade; Pedro Duarte

The Marxian Theory of Value constitutes what could be called the soul – in the Aristotelian sense of the term – of the capital system. From the category of Work, Marx arrives at the profound determination [in the Hegelian sense of *Bestimmung*] of value based on the (socially necessary) labor-time and how, in the determination [in the Hegelian sense of *Bestimmtheit*] of the working-day (with support from machinery, within large-scale industry), disputes are articulated over the proportion between the two working-day intervals: socially necessary labor-time for the reproduction of labor-power (interval A-B) and surplus-labor time (interval B-C). Such disputes directly and indirectly affect other central economic categories, such as dead and living labor and constant and variable capital, ergo, the organic composition of capital which consist precisely on the proportion between these two last categories. In recent years, a set of computational methods and tools that allow software to perform tasks autonomously or semi-autonomously thus emulating “intelligent behaviors”, ideologically known as “artificial intelligence”, have been progressively used as important work tools in several economic sectors, with the aim of reducing the time required by repetitive tasks carried out by low and medium-skilled workers, as well as complex work carried out by “creative” professionals (programmers, writers, team managers etc.). With the massive spread of cloud computing and the progressive digitalization of labor, large transnational corporations in the technology

sector have invested significantly in the development of ways to “maximize the performance” of processes, which has led, on the one hand, to a significant reduction of maintenance costs and, on the other, mass layoffs. In a word: I.A. it has been increasingly used as a way of eliminating living labor and, therefore, valuing capital.

Keywords: Karl Marx, Value Theory, Artificial Intelligence, Organic Composition of Capital.

Plato's Practical Idealism, Russell's Contemplative Materialism, and Marx's Materialist Conception of History

Cecilia Escobar

Starting with Plato's well-known Allegory of the Cave in *The Republic*, this essay attempts to briefly revisit the long-lasting debate between materialism and idealism. For this, Plato's theory of ideas – as presented in the said allegory – is considered vis-à-vis Russell's theory of Universals (*The Problems of Philosophy*), which is partly based on Plato. In the light of the Marxian materialist conception of history, this comparison serves to reveal what, under present understandings of the distinction between materialism and idealism (e.g., Wainwright, 2022, p. 58), may appear as a paradox, namely, that Plato's idealism is practical/active while Russell's materialism is contemplative/passive. This is, however, not a paradox in Marx, as the first thesis on Feuerbach attests. Accordingly, the proposed comparison is also helpful to make evident something that, as suggested here, is at the core of Marx's materialist conception of history (developed between 1844 and 1847), viz.: that the dichotomy between materialism and idealism finds its solution in human praxis. Put differently, with Marx, praxis – understood as conscious revolutionary activity – is not what distinguishes materialism from idealism, but what allows the transcendence (*Aufheben*) of their separation.

Keywords: Plato's Cave, Plato's Line, Russell's universals, materialism, idealism, human practice, contemplation, Marx's philosophy of praxis

Mahdi Amel's Materialist Theory of Coloniality

Charles des Portes

In Latin American decolonial thought, the idea of coloniality highlights the still on-going colonial relations after the formal independence of countries. Since Anibal Quijano's idea of the coloniality of power, the concept has been formulated in various ways: coloniality of

gender, being, human rights, etc. However, critics of decolonial thought often point to its epistemological (over)focus, and particularly Walter Mignolo's emphasis on the colonality of systems of thought, even if it sometimes mean flattening the history of Western philosophy without looking at its own contradictions. Rather than reducing decolonial thought and the concept of colonality to its, sometimes, epistemic obsession, I will argue that a materialist theory of colonality can be found in the philosophy of the Marxist Lebanese philosopher Mahdi Amel, especially in his concept of the Colonial Mode of Production (CMP). Amel defines colonialism rather than the economy alone, as the base of a colonised society, showing that formal independence does not end colonial relationships. His account of the CMP highlights colonality as a structural persistence foregrounding the contradictions that sustain global capitalist inequalities. From this perspective, colonality is not merely epistemic but a fundamental contradiction of the global capitalist system. Amel's materialist theory of colonality incorporates a theory of history and political transformation, emphasising the resolution of contradictions (political, economic, ideological...) within the CMP as the pathway to decolonisation. This approach does not just critique but also complement 'mainstream' decolonial thought by foregrounding the material basis of colonality and offering a philosophy of praxis grounded in historical materialism.

Keywords: Marxism, Philosophy, Materialism, Colonialism, Anticolonial thought

Marx with Blanchot: The Politics of Style and/as the "Communism of Writing"

Chris Wortman

This essay examines the politics of literary style through the writings of Marx, Blanchot, and Adorno. While each of these thinkers possesses a distinct literary style which is inextricable from their theoretical concepts and systems—a relationship which I explore throughout the essay—I draw from Blanchot and Adorno's aesthetic theories to inform my understanding of a politics of style. Alongside a reading of his "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction," Marx's texts serve as a model for the role of literary style in constructing a critical theoretical system, furnishing style as part of a Marxist political project; I enlist Adorno and Blanchot as theorists of literary style to consider style as conceptually reflecting this political end, with emphasis on their notions of negativity. I argue that the revolutionary possibility Blanchot ascribes to the literary is also evident in Marx's writing style, and thus a necessary dimension through which to read his critique of political economy. In turn, I reconstruct Blanchot's political thought as an immanent critique of literature, wherein the power of refusal, furnished by the contradictions of literary production, is at once a politics of refusal, expressed beyond the text in moments of

social and political struggle. Historicizing the development of Blanchot's political philosophy and grounding his notion of a "communism of writing" in these material struggles gives us a stronger sense of his left-wing activism, most notably during the events of May '68, and offers new ways of approaching the aesthetic dimensions of contemporary resistance and protest movements. Caught between several supposed dualities—nature and culture, materiality and ideology, the written and the unwritten (Hartley, 2017, 13-15)—I suggest that this inherent paradoxical character of style is the source of its radical aesthetic and political possibilities. Herein lie its political stakes, not only for how and why we theorize, but also for making legible the cultural styles and structures which are ossified within capitalist ideology.

Keywords: Blanchot, Adorno, May '68, Politics of Style, "Communism of Writing"

The Contradictions of the Humanity's First Historical Challenge to Commodity Production and the Law of Value

Christos Balomenos

The 20th century was marked by humanity's first attempt to challenge commodity production and its cornerstone, the law of value. Irrespective of the overall economic and political assessment of the USSR, the development of an economy based on a comprehensive economic plan for the first time was a groundbreaking experiment worthy of attention, especially in a period where the impasses of capitalism inevitably fuel discussions on the possible alternatives.

This article focuses on the contradictions inherent in this experiment and the accompanying theoretical perspectives. It is divided into three parts. The first examines Marx's reflections on the economic base of the "society of associated producers", with particular emphasis on the future of commodity production in such a society. The second explores humanity's first attempt to construct such a society in the USSR, focusing on the theoretical thought and decisions of its protagonists within the objective conditions of the time. The third part seeks to draw conclusions regarding central planning, incorporating modern developments in technology and the increasing socialization of labor.

This structure ensures that this historical development is analyzed materialistically, based on the dialectical interaction between praxis and theoretical thought. Beyond revisiting past debated on the feasibility of central planning and its relationship with the market, the article highlights the character of central planning as a relation of production.

Furthermore, it seeks to offer contemporary insights into defending the social ownership of the means of production and central planning, highlighting their ongoing relevance and necessity in addressing today's challenges.

Keywords: Socialism, communism, Marx, USSR, central planning

The Proletarian Experience: From Labour Research to Auto-Fiction

Christos Krystallis

The lived experience of the working class holds significant political importance. This premise originates with F. Engels' seminal work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and is further developed through K. Marx's questionnaires. It extends in a compelling manner into the 20th century. Italian Operaismo conceptualizes working-class experience as a method of organization, emphasizing that the working class does not require external consciousness imposed from outside its movement. Simultaneously, the very nature of proletarian experience is disruptive, such that its integration into "official" political consciousness creates tension and exposes the limits of the institutional left.

The established tradition, exemplified by Robert Linhart's *L'Établi* (1978) and R. Alquati's research on the Organic Composition of Capital and Labor-Power at Olivetti (1961), underscores the critical role of labor experience in analyzing the capitalist mode of production and generating innovative political theory.

In the 21st century, discussions surrounding labor experience have been revitalized through the framework of autosociology, drawing inspiration from P. Bourdieu. Leading figures in this renewed tradition include D. Eribon, E. Louis, and Hunter D. This contemporary literary genre not only reinvigorates literary circles but also reframes the debate on proletarian experience. It integrates P. Bourdieu's concept of habitus—which explores the reproduction of class relations—with the literary legacies of W.G. Sebald and J.P. Sartre. Through this synthesis, it seeks to foreground the proletarian experience in public discourse.

Unexpectedly, literature fulfills the promise of Operaismo. It does not merely provide new insights for political action; it cultivates a readership that cannot overlook the realities and cultural expressions of the working class. Unlike the militant literature of the 20th century, which often sought to impart moral lessons to workers, this new approach allows the proletarian experience to challenge and disrupt the foundations of official politics.

Keywords: literature, labour research, lived experience of the working class

Revisiting Lukács' critique against Schopenhauer's aesthetics

Clara

The aim of this presentation is to revisit Lukács' critique against Schopenhauer in 'The Destruction of Reason', and to analyse it from an aesthetic viewpoint. According to Lukács, Schopenhauer's irrationalism is an indirect defense of capitalism. While isolation or the evasion, both from the reality or social practice, had so far only been an element of aesthetics in classical German philosophy, Lukács points out a problem when such an evasion is placed at the center of aesthetics by Schopenhauer, as it is reflected in European decadentism. By analysing Lukács's thesis against Schopenhauer's aesthetics, a critique of the hegemonic aesthetic conception in contemporary capitalism will be addressed.

Keywords: Lukács, Schopenhauer, aesthetics, capitalism, culture

Post-doctoral researcher

Costas Galanopoulos

Ancient Germans, white male workers and present-day Amazonians.
A Marxian theory for them all

This proposal is written in a time where a people is systematically and inhumanly victimized by a State. This proposal is also written a few days after its author watched the 2019 documentary "The Territory" that narrates the struggle of a Brazilian Amazon tribe to protect the forest against various perpetrators. Both these people are the victims of an enormous injustice. Though, from a broad sociological perspective these two people are not the same at all. However, it is more than important for an emancipatory theory to include them both. How is it possible for subjects of distinct fields of a social theory to become subjects of a sole emancipatory theory?

In a volume published in 1983, titled *Marxism and American Indians*, indigenous activists and scholars debated white Marxist scholars on the ability of Marxian and Marxist theory to speak on behalf of indigenous peoples. Indigenous scholars accused Marxism, and Marx himself, of eurocentrism and prometheadism, due to the specific anthropological and ontological premises of Marxian theory, arguing that Marxian theory is fittable only to western, white proletarian men.

However, it was Marx himself who defined (in *The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of*

Right) the proletariat as the class that against it perpetuates "injustice as such". Taking into consideration that what we need is a theory that can be applied to every subject of injustice, is this formulation a reasonable place to start? We will argue that it is, on condition that we will provide a sufficient anthropology as an ontological, so to say, basis for it. We will argue that that basis may very well be Marx's notions of "social man" and "communism in living", notions that carried Marx from ancient Germans, Russian villagers, Iroquois to western workers and may carry us from them to Gazans and Amazonians.

Keywords: Marxian anthropology, emancipatory theory, proletariat, injustice as such

Reflecting on the Greek July 2015 bailout referendum and the refugee solidarity movement in tandem: intellectual responses, intersections, and implications ten years later

Costas Gousis

This paper examines critical turning points following SYRIZA's election in January 2015, focusing on the July 2015 bailout referendum, the refugee solidarity movement, and the 2016 EU-Turkey refugee deal. The analysis explores the stakes of the referendum, which saw a decisive rejection of the Troika's austerity proposals, and SYRIZA's subsequent reversal of the popular mandate. It critically engages with the hidden potentialities of the referendum through post-colonial perspectives and a politics of rupture, shedding light on how intellectual responses to these events both challenged and reinforced existing political narratives.

The paper identifies the referendum and the EU-Turkey deal as emblematic of the prevailing "There Is No Alternative" (TINA) narrative, which contributed to the paralysis of movements post-2015. Furthermore, it connects the EU-Turkey deal to broader neo-colonial practices in refugee externalisation policies, drawing parallels with Australia's approach. Nevertheless, amidst this context of defeat and disorganisation, the refugee solidarity movement persisted, sustaining the militant traditions of earlier struggles. This analysis reveals both the challenges and the enduring potentialities of resistance during a pivotal period of European politics, offering critical insights into their implications a decade later.

Keywords: referendum, refugee, solidarity, rupture, TINA

Adorno, Reification, and the Struggle Against Nationalism

Daniel Rogers

Reification is a keyword in Theodor Adorno's philosophy, bound up with his notion of identity thinking. It refers to two linked but distinguishable processes, one cognitive-epistemological and the other social-political. Unlike identity thinking, reification is a term used by many others, but few have adopted or even analyzed Adorno's distinctive account, let alone developed it further. Instead, there persists a divide between those who employ reification primarily in a cognitive-epistemological sense, and those who employ it in a sense that privileges social relations. Narrowness marks the former, while imprecision marks the latter. The power of the latter conception lies in its connection to social and intellectual totality, famously explored by Georg Lukács in *History and Class Consciousness*. Adorno, however, advanced a sharp critique of totality in both senses, despite reification being central to his analysis of humanity and society. And his account of reification, I will argue, is ultimately more powerful than the regnant accounts today. Unlike most latter-day Marxist accounts of reification, which follow primarily on Lukács, it looks beyond the capitalist era of society, and towards transhistorical processes, but it remains strongly oriented nevertheless towards seeking out economic bases behind human and societal action. At the same time, it digs much deeper into cognitive processes than is standard within Marxism, along lines also explored by Alfred Sohn-Rethel. Adorno's conception of reification is not free of ambiguity, but it is provocative and fruitful for further inquiry along similar lines.

Adorno's account of reification, I argue, has great potential in particular for aiding our understanding of the dominance of the nation-state over today's world and its political thought, and providing us with seeds for overcoming it. I call this system nationalism for short, understood not merely as extremist ideology but as an active system and ideology that span the political spectrum. Though Adorno himself rarely spoke of reification and nationalism together, we have every reason to believe that a strong connection follows from his analyses of these phenomena. I will attempt to trace out such a connection and relate it to his account of identity thinking.

Keywords: nationalism, Adorno, Lukács, critical theory

U.S. Culturalism in the service of Genocide

Daniele Puccio

This paper examines how Culturalism is currently used in support of genocide. In the wake of Israel's genocide in Gaza, Zionist billionaires and other elements of the ruling class channelled their influence to silence, criminalize and punish any articulation in support of the Palestinian struggle against genocide. The ideological apparatuses sensitive to their influence manufactured a so-called antisemitism crisis, which we are told is particularly egregious on college and university campuses. Unable to provide any material evidence to substantiate those claims, they centred the same argument so widely ridiculed by their right-wing "free speech, anti-cancel culture, anti-identity politics" base. Because of rising antisemitism, we are told, college campuses have become "unsafe spaces" for Jewish students and therefore any insufficiently enthusiastic support of the ongoing genocide came under attack. Suddenly, the mockers of "identity politics" and "safe spaces" used those same arguments to demand unprecedented assaults on free speech, advocated and funded purges, intimidation campaigns, public shaming, violent break-ups of protests, and arrests. This paper attempts to explain this phenomenon through my theorization of Culturalism, an epistemology of cultural specification and abstraction from material, political economic and structural conditions, which serves to abstract a social group or identity from forms of exploitation and dispossession or vice versa can abstract the power to exploit and dispossess from a particular social group.

Keywords: Culturalism, Genocide, Gaza, Israel, Ideological Apparatuses, Social Relations, Epistemology, Identity Politics, Cancel Culture, Zionism, Epistemology

Attitude Problems – or, Chewing and Swallowing: some of the Hegel in Marx, some of the Marx in Sellars, and some of What's Wrong with Expressivist-attitudinalism

David Bremner

Wilfrid Sellars denies that deciding what to do could be equated with 'telling oneself' what to will, as if in a supermarket full of options: "deciding what to do is no more telling ourselves what to do than deciding what is the case is telling ourselves what is the case." (1967)

'Expressivist-attitudinal' approaches to practical ethics find themselves in the ascendant amongst philosophers of liberalism. But if willing cannot be disentangled from reasoning, then to take an evaluative attitude towards something is already to factor one's evaluation into the content of one's reasoning, or rather, to effectuate the evaluation by effectuating the reasoning. Otherwise we would need to posit some 'third' instrument-mediator between (a.) cognizing a possibility – i.e., entertaining a candidate 'ought-to-do' –, and, (b.) taking up an attitude towards that possibility. Hegel objects to separating evaluating from

cognizing, saying that such a move ends up construing things “as if chewing and swallowing food were merely a means of eating, and as if the understanding still did much else besides thinking” (letter to Niethammer, October 10, 1811). In order to know what attitude one had taken up, would one not then need to posit a fourth instrument-mediator, and so on ad infinitum?

The proposed solution involves stopping underestimating the inseparability of the ‘is’ from the ‘ought’, of semantic from deontic content. The improvement of deontic knowledge is not a limitrophic approach towards something else, but a deepening of it itself. The concomitant default of simply external measures implies reflexive doubt regarding how best to evaluate courses of action, and impels inviting criticism from anybody.

Isn’t this a component of open-ended ‘genericity’ which continues to be implied in Marx’s Capital, where the capitalist’s calculating logical-conceptual volition is consequential?

Does this perspective help bridge, e.g., Slovenian speculation with, e.g., the nitty-gritty of the dissolution of the ‘transformation problem’?

Keywords: expressivism; mediation; is-ought; genericity; desire/will; liberalism; critique of empiricism

Islamic Capital’s Struggle for Cultural Hegemony: Modern Mosques

Deniz Parlak

A new capital fraction that emerged within the capitalist sector in Turkey during the internationalization of capital has today become an influential actor in the transformation of the political regime and, thus, in the change of social power relations. As Islamic capitalists became significant actors in society, establishing cultural hegemony against the big bourgeoisie has been a pivotal goal in shaping the “new Turkey”. In this context, understanding how the rise of Islamic capital has turned into a critique of the Kemalist modernization project and how capital accumulation has allowed for a new cultural strategy incorporating Islamic tenets will enable us to make interpretations relevant to the present day. This paper discusses the dynamics behind the fact that despite the AKP’s aim to build cultural hegemony and its neo-Ottomanism theses, and its glorification of classical Ottoman mosques in this context, some Islamic capitalists who have risen under AKP rule desire the mosques they build to be modern/VIP mosques.

At this point, the study will address who the Islamic capitalists are and where they historically position themselves within the dominant class relations. Then, it will delve into the struggle of Islamic capital, which has become a new power bloc with state support

during the AKP period, against Kemalist modernization, as well as its internal cultural contradictions. Based on the findings of the ethnographic fieldwork conducted for a year and a half in Sancaklar Mosque, 15 July Martyrs Mosque, Şakirin Mosque and Yeşilvadi Mosque in Istanbul, the motivations of the Islamic capitalists who are the founders of these mosques in building modern/VIP mosques will be revealed and what this means in their hegemonic cultural struggles will be evaluated.

Keywords: Islamic capital, cultural hegemony, modern mosques, AKP.

From Althusser to Deleuze – A Study of Contingency and Differential Ontology within Class Struggle

Dimitra Bei

This paper undertakes a comparative analysis of differential ontology and contingency in the works of Louis Althusser and Gilles Deleuze, examining their relationship with the concept of the Political and its implications for political action. Through a poststructuralist philosophical framework, it argues that both thinkers conceptualize structure as dynamic and continuously transformative, a perspective that holds significant potential for advancing theoretical and practical approaches to class struggle.

The analysis begins by researching the ontology of the structure in Althusser's early and late works, emphasizing key concepts such as structural causality, the materialism of the encounter, conjuncture, and void. It then shifts focus to Deleuze's dialectic of difference, exploring the distinction between the virtual and the real, alongside the central role of language in shaping Meaning. These foundational explorations form the basis for a comparative examination of the concepts of contingency and difference, highlighting their philosophical and political implications.

Building on this theoretical foundation, the study connects these philosophical concepts to the field of political practice. It traces the trajectory of Althusser's philosophical project, particularly its engagement with the interplay between philosophy, science, and ideology, to address three key areas. First, it explores Machiavelli's influence on Althusser, particularly in his shift from structural causality to a contingent unfolding of history and a differential ontology. Second, it examines the connection between Althusser's differential ontology and the philosophy of science, focusing on the concepts of "scientific rupture" and experimentation. Finally, it demonstrates how these ideas contribute to a framework of "tactical" political action within class struggle, reconstructing the Political as a field of radical transformation and positioning contingency as a strategic tool for organizing and understanding radical movements.

The study concludes with a critical review of the existing critiques of contingency and difference, addressing the concerns about their theoretical and practical applications. Ultimately, it argues that adopting these concepts can enrich the strategies of radical movements, providing an adaptable framework for navigating the evolving political landscape.

Keywords: Althusser, Deleuze, difference, contingency, class struggle

Health under capitalism and beyond: notes on the Marxist legacy in public health

Dimosthenis Papadatos-Anagnostopoulos

The formative years of public health coincide with the pursuit of social justice and the revolutionary 'spirit of 1848'. While social justice laid the foundation for public health, medicine and health systems in modern capitalism perform both care and control functions. In which areas can the contribution of Marxism to public health be identified? How does the Marxist perspective on public health and health politics differ from other theories of power (pluralistic, elite theories, or theories of bureaucratic and professional control) and, particularly, what are the points divergence between Marxism and radical conceptions of medicine? If Marxism represents a field of conflicting tendencies, what is at stake in this conflict in relation to health? Ultimately, can we conceive of health and healthcare after capitalism – and how?

Keywords: public health, health policy, health care, political economy of health

MILITANT ASSISTENTIALISM: INTEGRATING AID IN THE LENINIST THEORY OF THE PARTY

Dinis Silveira

This paper aims at exploring the possibility of integrating of mutual aid within the framework of the Leninist theory of the Party, emphasizing its potential to enhance political engagement and revolutionary praxis, while considering the challenges associated to this political tactic and its integration within the Party's strategy.

Mutual aid, the cooperative provision of resources and support within communities, has often been viewed by Marxist-Leninists with scepticism, seen as a form of reformism or as

insufficiently revolutionary in isolation. However, this paper will argue that, analysed through the lens of historical and dialectical materialism, mutual aid possesses significant potentialities when strategically embedded within Party activities.

As argued by Lenin (1904),

"A party is the vanguard of the working class; (...). It is the organization of the class-conscious, advanced elements of the proletariat, whose task is to lead the great mass of the working people to socialism, to direct their struggle both against the capitalist class and against the bourgeois state."

According to this definition, mutual aid as tactic should not be excluded a priori from the Party's activities, less so if it carries transformative potential in its ability to articulate the mass line, deepen class consciousness, and expose the limitations of the capitalist mode of production and reproduction of social living.

This paper ultimately aims at outlining principles for the Party's engagement in mutual aid. By integrating mutual aid as a form of militant assistentialism, Leninist parties can broaden their reach, deconstruct ideological elements aimed at its weakening, deepen class solidarity, and accelerate the conscientization of the working people toward revolutionary transformation.

Keywords: Mutual aid; assistance; political tactics; political strategy; Marx; Lenin; Party

Subjective labor: (un)productive character and subsumption to capital

Dionysios Perdikis

Subjective labor directs its conscious transformative action towards an individual personality or a collective subject (e.g., the collective laborer of a capitalistic enterprise). Depending on its degree of creativity versus repetitiveness, it takes the form either of services, i.e., commodities whose production and consumption coincide logically and in time (e.g., education, medical, consulting), or of creative (e.g., scientific, artistic) labor, i.e., a self-reflective process of self-development of the subject of labor (be it individual or collective).

Assuming productive labor in capitalism must satisfy all three conditions, namely (a) be productive in a general sense, i.e., produce means of consumption or means of production, (b) produce value, i.e., its product must take the commodity form and (c) produce surplus value, i.e., be employed by capital and contribute directly to its valuation, services consumed by the collective laborer of a capitalistic enterprise cannot be productive. Even if such services are considered productive, they are not productively consumed and cannot add value to the enterprise's fixed capital.

The product of creative labor cannot be commodified because it is not objectively alienable, i.e., it cannot be physically separated from the laborer; instead, it can only be communicated. Moreover, it cannot be produced repetitively by independent producers to be objectively evaluated in terms of value, i.e. of socially necessary time for its production, and for the producing labor performed to take an “abstract’ character. For capital to subsume this kind of labor, it must invent new ways and forms of oppression and exploitation, e.g., patents, which suppress social intercourse and the free mobility of labor and capital.

This talk will discuss critically the limitations in the subsumption of subjective labor, i.e., directly social labor of a universal character, to capital, as historical limits to capital.

Keywords: subjective labor, universal labor, creative labor, unproductive labor, abstract labor, services, subsumption

Recovered Factories

Dogukan Dere

Recovered factories refer to workplaces where workers establish self-management via occupation as a response to abandonment under the guise of bankruptcy. The workers who cannot secure several months of their wages and decent job opportunities elsewhere decide to roll up their sleeves to occupy and subsequently recover the workplace to have their production collective. Recover factories deserve a particular academic and political focus since they offer a unique, working-class, and grassroots solution to the social problems of capitalism, such as unemployment, alienation, and exploitation. Yet, the recovered factories remain one of the least studied subsets of autonomous spaces and cooperatives.

This paper presents my ongoing research project focusing on VioMe (Thessaloniki) and Kazova (Istanbul), the only recently recovered factories in their respective countries. In 2013, VioMe and Kazova workers decided to go for self-production. Since then, they have faced various internal and external challenges, including evacuation attempts. In the face of these challenges, the Kazova slowly dissolved throughout 2017-2018 while the VioMe Collective recently celebrated its 11th anniversary with a solidarity festival. By focusing on these two peculiar cases, this research aims a two-folded inquiry: i) understanding which factors are effective for the formation, consolidation, and dissolution of these recovered factories, and to what extent, and ii) examining the effects of these journeys on the socio-political subjectivities of the workers, especially their perception on themselves, the production process, and class struggle.

Keywords: Recovered Factories, Cooperatives, Occupations, Labor, Self-Management

Toward a Marxist Theory of Planning: Urban Spaces as Physical Manifestations of the Social Dynamics of Capitalist Production

Dr. Marianna Charitonidou

According to a Marxist perspective, the epistemological shifts in planning theory should be understood in relation to the mutations in political economy. A crucial process in this respect is the transformation from industrial, Fordist and/or Keynesian cities, into post-Fordist, post-industrial, knowledge-, entrepreneurial-, and/or creative cities. This transformation consists of various interrelated processes and changes. Planning is never a neutral activity but embedded in a political economy defined by capitalist social relations. Communism, in Marx's mind, did not mean simple liberation, but the economics of liberation. The realm of necessity (technē) was to become the primary field for emancipation (praxis), the latter taking form in new institutions, responsive to real socio-economic needs. In this sense, the problem of technocracy and the corporatist ethos in Marx are part of a broader discursive structure, which links the experiences of workers through the industrial revolution with the philosophies of praxis. Marx argues that the critique of political economy should aim to illuminate the landscape of ongoing and emergent sociopolitical struggles. According to Marx, every form of production creates its own form of government and legal relations. A key task of marxist urban studies is to reveal the contradictions within the historically specific social totality formed by capitalism. At the core of the efforts to incorporate Marxist theory in urban theory is the endeavour to view knowledge of urban questions, including critical perspectives on the latter, as being historically specific and mediated through power relations. As neo-Marxist urban theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Manuel Castells argue, contemporary cities should be viewed as spatial materializations of the core social processes associated with the capitalist mode of production, including capital accumulation and class struggle.

Keywords: Marx, Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Manuel Castells

Imperialist Armed Humanitarian Intervention and the abuse of the Principle of R2P

Dr. S. Anandha Krishna Raj

The history of humanitarian Intervention is long and complex. It was always justified by the Imperial states particularly Western states that intervention is part of Just war. The Greek

Philosopher Aristotle says in “The Politics” that Non-Greeks and slaves are equal and by nature, they cannot rule, it is proper that Greeks should rule Non-Greeks. J.S. Mill the 19th Century British Philosopher and political theorist said about Intervention that the barbaric state should be conquered and held in subjection for their benefit by foreigners. The interventions led by the United States and its allies derive the justification through these kinds of theories. During colonial times it was called a ‘civilising mission’ and ‘white man’s burden’. Today it is called Responsibility to Protect. R2P is a principle developed by the West as an extension of bringing democracy to Third World countries. But when there is a genuine cause of R2P, it never happened, for example in Rwanda.

Unilateral armed humanitarian intervention is not permitted by customary international law. In terms of international law, humanitarian intervention outside the UN Charter framework is unlawful. Article 2(4) of the UN Charter prevents the threat or use of force, but many of the interventions happened under Article 51 ie. an exception to this rule under the right to individual and collective self-defence. The core legal obligation of the UN Charter requires member states to refrain from any use of force unless it can be justified as self-defence after a cross-border armed attack or mandated by a decision of the UN Security Council. Most of the interventions are justified on humanitarian grounds to stop humanitarian catastrophes like genocide, refugee crisis, crime against humanity etc. The paper tends to identify the justification behind the humanitarian interventions like R2P and the reality behind it.

Keywords: Imperialism, Humanitarian Intervention, Racism

Instrumentalising Ethics: An Analysis on How Media Constructs Amorality of Genocide in the Israeli-Palestinian War

Ekin Su Yiğit (author)

The Israeli-Palestinian war, as declared officially began with the Hamas attack on October 7, has brought with it an increasingly violent genocide approaching its second year. The methods used by the primary aggressor, Israel, and its 'covert' ally, the US, have expanded into an ongoing legitimisation. As the initial meaning of the term references, the main purpose of this method is to simultaneously erode the consent of the support given to the Palestinian cause and create consent for the people to carry genocide. In this dimension, the media, in addition to being used as a tool, has also become a strong ally of this methodology, as the dominant power always uses it. However, at this point, the media has not only used legitimacy to generate or justify consent but also created a new, almost universal dual moral system that determines the source of public acceptance and opposition. Instead of giving birth to 'good' or 'evil' when appropriate, this duality has reproduced those virtues without changing their essence within the system: it has become

obligatory to say that there was a Hamas base because bombing a hospital is evil unconditionally according to this system. The creation of the conditions of unconditionality here has served to push the war to an "amoral" point that led people to disregard genocide without being immoral. The study theoretically analyses how media, as the utmost provider, has played a significant role in creating this amorality with the language it uses and has been able to place genocide in the establishment of an almost universal moral system without being evil. The inquiry occurs on the instrumentalisation of capitalist war aims through creating this ethical system for its interests and elaborating on why it has been embedded so comprehensively in public opinion.

Keywords: Israeli-Palestinian war, genocide, legitimisation, media, dual moral systems, amorality

The Impact of Globalisation, Financialisation and Political Shifts on the Labor Share of Three Nations

Eleftheria Marmataki

The proposed paper investigates the dynamics of income inequality through the lens of labor share changes in Brazil, Poland, and Canada from 1970 to 2022. Wage share, representing the portion of national income allocated to labor, has experienced significant transformations influenced by globalisation, union density, political developments and financialisation. This study aims to fill the gap in comparative analyses of these countries, which possess distinct economic structures and institutional frameworks.

Brazil, for instance, experienced a rise in the wage share during its progressive administrations (2002–2016), driven by pro-labor policies, but witnessed a decline post-2016 due to austerity and labor reforms. Poland's wage share remained relatively stable until 1990 but exhibited a sharp increase after the fall of the Soviet Union and Germany's expansion of its supply chains into Poland. Canada, on the other hand, faced a consistent decline in the wage share since the 1980s, associated with neoliberal economic policies, trade agreements like NAFTA, and declining union density.

It is evident that the evolution of the labor share is completely different in the three countries because of the unique characteristics of each one of them, the political shifts and of course the historical circumstances. This fact implies that different policies should be applied based on the needs of each country in order to decrease income inequality and boost the wage share.

The paper employs a mixed-method approach, combining historical and qualitative analysis to examine the interplay of macroeconomic policies, labor market institutions, and

structural changes. By exploring the nuanced impacts of these forces across diverse contexts, the research seeks to uncover the drivers of wage share trends and provide policy recommendations tailored to the unique characteristics of each country.

This study not only contributes to the existing literature on wage share dynamics but also underscores the importance of region-specific policy interventions in addressing income inequality.

Keywords: Income Inequality, Wage Share, Financialisation, Globalisation, Union Density, Political Shifts

When everything falls apart: looking inside the household to understand the impact of the covid-19 pandemic on working women

Elif Hacısalihoğlu

This study sets out to examine the impact of the global pandemic known as COVID-19, which began in 2020 and is still ongoing. It has spread extensively throughout the world and has had a significant impact on the organisation of daily life, in response to which numerous measures have been adopted, encompassing various aspects of working and personal life. It is evident that the pandemic has exerted considerable influence on diverse groups within society, giving rise to a wide array of social, economic and psychological ramifications. This has necessitated an examination of the household, as it has compelled many individuals to self-isolate and work from home for health and safety reasons, both in their working and personal lives. This study aims to explore the pandemic process through a gendered perspective. The objective of this study is to explore how gender relations and the gendered division of labour might be influenced in the event of a disruption to the conventional flow of everyday life, as we are currently accustomed to it, within the context of today's global capitalism and market conditions. During the period under discussion, whilst children remained at home and adults worked from home offices and some single people moved in with their families, Istanbul, as Turkey's largest city with a population of 15.5 million, experienced greater pressure than smaller cities. This present study sought to answer the aforementioned research questions through the experiences of women living and working in Istanbul. Due to the pandemic, interviews with women were conducted online using semi-open questions. The study elucidates the manner in which the dynamics of gendered roles within the household were shaped during the pandemic, and seeks to unravel the similarities and differences experienced by working women, as well as their coping mechanisms and methods of struggle.

Keywords: covid-19 pandemic, working women, gender

Managerial vs. Materialist Aesthetics at the End of the Neoliberal Order

Elise Archias

This paper addresses the conference theme by considering art as one possible "path towards building new forms of unity of the subaltern in the latter's intersectional constitution through class, gendering, [and] racialisation." The paper argues that the model of contemporary art provided by pop, minimalism, and conceptual art in the 1960s is aesthetically aligned with the managerialism and technocracy that defines professional-managerial class labor. Such aesthetics have served an ideological function in support of the neoliberal order. I propose we find an alternative model of art in the in the concrete abstractions produced by white women and black men during the late 1950s and early 1960s, a model that was still capable of "thinking across exploitation and oppression in concrete social contexts" because it did not sacrifice engagement with physicality to a love of systems. The paper concludes by asking, if not like these late abstract expressionist artworks, what would a viable, dialectical, embodied but abstract, concretization of the ideas and understandings we hold to be the most true, unifying, or otherwise worthwhile —what such a form would look and feel like to us today? I then propose a couple of options from the past ten years.

Keywords: art, professional-managerial class, PMC, neoliberal, ideology, managerialism

"Who Supports Whom", A Long-time Question Between Kurds and Palestinians.

Emeer Hassanpour

October 7th marks a pivotal moment in Middle Eastern and global history, not only for the unwavering resistance of the Palestinian people in the years to come but also for reigniting the idealistic question: "Who supports whom?" While it is essential to scrutinize the regional political actors offering explicit and substantive support to the Palestinians amidst the genocide in Gaza, a materialist analysis necessitates an engagement with the historical roles these players have assumed in the region. As a Kurdish scholar, I reflect on the past 40 years of Kurdish-Palestinian relations, exploring their socio-political intersections and the broader implications of their own struggles within the framework of the right of self-determination.

My article traces the historical relations between the Kurds and Palestine, beginning in

1986 when the DFLP in the Beqaa Valley of Lebanon provided military and tactical training to PKK forces. It examines the divergent historical positions of the two principal Kurdish political entities: the PKK in Syria and Turkey, under the leadership of Abdullah Öcalan, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iraq, led by the Barzani family. Through this analysis, the article explores their interactions with Palestinians, situating these dynamics within the broader context of regional and global politics, marked by shifting alliances and political upheavals.

In this proposal, I draw upon forty years of PKK archives, the Barzanis' correspondence with the United States, Israel, and England, as well as DFLP letters and archives involving PKK members, to analyze the complex historical relations between the Kurds and Palestinians. This investigation returns to the central question of the article: How has Kurdish support for or opposition to the Palestinian struggle evolved over the past half-century? The article addresses key inquiries, including: How have Kurdish anti-imperialist or pro-imperialist policies influenced their historical relationship with the Palestinians? What roles have Turkey, Syria, and Iran played in redefining these relations? Ultimately, this article seeks to move beyond the reductive and idealistic question of "who supports whom" by offering a materialist analysis highlighting the historical contradictions and socio-political dynamics underlying the interactions of these two nations.

Keywords: Kurds, DFLP, Palestinians, Barzani regime, historical materialism, historicism and idealism

Reimagining Late Ottoman Mediterranean Urbanism: Lighthouses as Maritime Infrastructure for Capital Circulation

emine esra nalbant

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rise of cosmopolitan Mediterranean port cities coincided with a period of economic dynamism, imperial rivalry, and intensified maritime trade. This era, spanning roughly 1870–1920, witnessed the transformation of port cities into vital nodes of global commerce and urban interaction. At the heart of this transformation were lighthouses, integral components of coastal safety infrastructure that enabled ships to dock, facilitating both maritime transportation and the circulation of capital.

Lighthouses functioned as operational coastal landscapes, shaping the conditions that made the late Ottoman Mediterranean port cities possible. These structures were not merely aids to navigation; they overcame oceanic barriers and environmental obstacles, creating what can be understood as "operational seascapes" that facilitated the movement of goods, people, and ideas. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's concept of extended urbanization

and scholars like Neil Brenner and Álvaro Sevilla-Buitrago, this paper explores how lighthouse construction dissolved traditional divides between urban and non-urban spaces, transforming coastal regions into spaces of concentrated interaction and economic activity.

Simultaneously, this process exemplified Marx's notion of capital circulation as a "vital process" dependent on the velocity and frequency of trade. The advent of steamships introduced a new mode of maritime transportation, compressing time and space while unbinding trade from the constraints of wind and ocean currents. However, the promise of intensified trade also rendered delays caused by shipwrecks or navigational hazards intolerable. Lighthouses emerged as tools of spatial order, addressing the challenges posed by oceanic space and ensuring the high-speed, high-frequency movement of goods essential to global maritime commerce.

By situating lighthouses within the broader context of late Ottoman urbanization and the global economy, this paper argues that these structures were pivotal in reshaping both coastal landscapes and the socio-economic networks they supported. Ultimately, lighthouses played a dual role: as enablers of safe navigation and as instruments of capital circulation, they exemplified the material infrastructure underpinning the cosmopolitanism and economic vitality of the late Ottoman Mediterranean.

Keywords: coastal landscape, cosmopolitan Mediterranean port cities

The ongoing wave of academic labour struggle in Turkey's foundation universities in 2020's

Emir Aydoğan, Tahsin Mert Saygın

This paper evaluates the ongoing wave of academic labour struggle in Turkey's foundation universities in 2020's. As the foundation universities had been increasingly turned into workplaces with a high level of uneasiness based on worsening working conditions and unlawful administration practices in time, a wave of academic labour struggle has emerged in 2020's, and built and accumulated a significant experience of organized movement against the multi-dimensional problems generating a comprehensive architecture of systemic oppression, constructed and directed by power complex and the conjoint will of the Capital and the State. We will approach to the current wave of organized struggle of academic labour against this complex in terms of both its place and significance within labour movement in general and of broader social and political impact that it is able to produce. In other words, we will discuss its possibility of becoming a 'red thread', stemming from, in our opinion, its distinctive place in the intersection of production of knowledge,

social reproduction, ideological mechanisms perpetuating oppression and many social/class aspects. In order to do so, we will approach to this labour movement experience of academic workers in terms of class composition approach. Firstly, we will provide an introductory analysis of the elements generating the context and structure of foundation universities, i.e. the political-economic outlook, legal framework concerning them, tide of marketization, their role and place in higher education in general in Turkey, and conditions and organization of academic work in order to reflect upon the technical composition. Secondly, we will discuss the social and political composition of the academic labour in question, composed of contextual and subjective conditions of academic workers, forms of consciousness and subjective reflections towards the work and its conditions, forms of making do, escaping and daily resistances, attitude towards organized labour struggle and rate and participation. Behind the motivation of adopting this twofold approach, there lies a militant motivation: to make sense of the obstacles and possibilities of the ongoing struggle, of which we have been an integral part as individuals, in search of moving forward and enhancing the capacity of workers' action. Our discussion makes use the experience and observations of ourselves over the course of this ongoing struggle, and benefits from the findings of a group of interviews conducted with organized and unorganized academics and data collected with the method of workers' inquiry, designed within the scope of union activity.

Keywords: Foundation Universities in Turkey, academic work, labour struggle, class composition, unionism

Academic work in terms of class composition: Labor struggle in foundation universities of Turkey in 2020's

Emir Aydoğan, Tahsin Mert Saygın

This paper evaluates the ongoing wave of academic labour struggle in Turkey's foundation universities in 2020's. As the foundation universities had been increasingly turned into workplaces with a high level of uneasiness based on worsening working conditions and unlawful administration practices in time, a wave of academic labour struggle has emerged in 2020's, and built and accumulated a significant experience of organized movement against the multi-dimensional problems generating a comprehensive architecture of systemic oppression, constructed and directed by power complex and the conjoint will of the Capital and the State. We will approach to the current wave of organized struggle of academic labour against this complex in terms of both its place and significance within labour movement in general and of broader social and political impact that it is able to produce. In other words, we will discuss its possibility of becoming a 'red thread', stemming from, in our opinion, its distinctive place in the intersection of production of knowledge,

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Keywords: Foundation Universities in Turkey, academic work, labour struggle, class composition, unionism

The Uneven Decline of Neoliberal Globalization: Privatization, Inter-imperial Rivalry and Labor Mobilizations at the Port of Piraeus

Eylem Taylan

This paper explores how organized labor embedded in domestic political fields shapes great power shifts in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis. China's long march to the center of the world economy, combined with the deep social dislocation that befell the populations in the "old" core countries of the West, led scholars to investigate the prospective outcomes of neoliberalization processes under a declining US hegemony. One strand of critical political economy literature emphasizes how China's state capitalism signals a sharp break from the neoliberal model due to its prioritization of the stability of the political regime over capital accumulation (Arrighi 2007; Hung 2024). Included in this scholarship are also spatial perspectives underlining the striking similarities between global infrastructure investments led by the Chinese state-owned companies and the early modern mercantilist governance examples such as the British East India Company (Slobodian 2023, 212). Another strand of scholarship focuses on the increasing ideological

mimicry of the existing hegemonic neoliberal framework by the emerging powers such as China when it comes to trade liberalization (Chorev 2005; Hopewell 2016). Offering a critical reconstruction of the new institutionalist perspectives on the global diffusion of neoliberal norms, this second strand suggests that the current conjuncture does not necessarily signal the end of neoliberalization; it rather reveals the fragile status of the US's leadership over neoliberal global order. These divergent perspectives on the implications of China's development for the US-led neoliberal globalization project show the continuing relevance of the questions of 1) whether we are currently witnessing the definitive crisis of neoliberalism and, 2) what comes next for the capitalist world economy.

This research contributes to the ongoing scholarly debate through the lens of labor struggles. It offers a politics-centered perspective on the coarticulations of state-oriented and neoliberal market-oriented capitalist projects today. To explain these coarticulations, I first combine the world-system analysis (Arrighi 2009) of the prospect of an alternative development path for the US-led capitalist world economy in crisis with sociological field-based approaches (Mudge 2016; Tuğal 2017) to the trajectory of political mobilizations resisting neoliberalization. I then discuss why the acquisition of the Port of Piraeus by the Chinese state-owned enterprise COSCO is significant not only as a case of deepening marketization but also as a privileged site for analyzing the political consequences of the proliferation of state-oriented capitalist investments amidst the hegemonic clashes between the US and emerging powers.

Keywords: imperialism, privatization, austerity, political articulation, neoliberal globalization, state capitalism

Lessons from the Calculation Debate

Fikret Adaman and Pat Devine

In order to develop policies that can both resist the capitalist system and formulate alternatives to it, we aim at critically reviewing discussions of an eco-socialist society and its economic organisation through revisiting the “calculation debate” that was started in the 1930s and is still ongoing. We target at underlining the importance of re-politicising the economic sphere, so as to re-embed the economy in society rather than society being subordinate to the economy. To that aim, we structure our position in emphasising the gravity of (i) planning our future, (ii) coordinating our decisions before we embark on any action, (iii) relying on knowledge in different forms and formats as articulated at the individual and societal level, and (iv) generating real democracy via participatory and deliberative mechanisms. We finally wish to critically assess current progressive

suggestions, and advocate that because local and macro initiatives are equally important and feed one another positively, a multi-scale approach is what needs to be adopted.

Keywords: Calculation Debate; Democratic Planning; Multi-scale

Marx or Spinoza? Fragments for a critical dialogue with contemporary Speculative Materialism

Florian Geisler

Marx or Spinoza?

Fragments for a critical dialogue with contemporary Speculative Materialism

Ever since Hardt and Negri's *Multitude* (2004), there has been a resurfacing interest in Spinoza in Marxism (Fischbach 2023, Read 2024). Conceptualizing revolutions without a subject, agency without sovereignty (Kohpeiß 2023), radical democracy and social theory without a strong notion of society (Marchart 2013) have become theoretical commonplaces over this time.

While Karl Marx did himself engage with Spinoza, the nature and sincerity of this engagement has been called into question (Varela 2014). Instead of an attempt to represent the whole field of Spinozism-Marxism, the presentation focuses on a deep reading of a single contemporary volume on Speculative Materialism (Diefenbach 2018). The presentation carefully reconstructs several central topics of Speculative Materialism, inquires the plausibility of its arguments and poses five questions for an open discussion:

- Can politics be conceptualized as a determined system after the apparent end and self-destruction of Althusser's structuralism?
- Does Spinoza's "Conatus" as a figure of emergence really manage to avoid the problem of determination in its legitimation of radical democracy?
- Is radical democracy really a locus for counter-power?
- Is there a structural misrepresentation of Cartesian discourse in contemporary Spinozism?
- What is the relation between Spinozism and the question of Leninism today?

The text exists already as an article in German language (attached) and can be revised in engl. for HM Athens 2025.

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Keywords: Speculative Materialism, Spinoza, Structuralist Marxism

Wallerstein and the Ottomans: An Agenda Revisited

Francesco Anselmetti

This paper revisits the influence of Immanuel Wallerstein's work on Ottoman history. Articulated in two papers published over the course of the 1980s, Wallerstein's engagement with the field has proved of lasting influence; a claim in the historiography, commonly rehearsed to this day, is that transformations in the Balkans and the Middle East over the course of the 19th century were the result of the "incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world-economy". Such a model, this paper argues, does not live up to historical scrutiny. For one, it presupposes the Eastern Mediterranean – under Ottoman control after the turn of the 16th century – as external to the development of the world-system despite the region's centrality to the capital accumulation of the Italian merchant republics in the late medieval-early modern period. It also treats the Ottoman Empire as a single, undifferentiated entity, a fundamental misconstrual of an Empire that, until at least the mid-19th century, comprised territories with remarkably unequal levels of state control and integration into the world-economy. Using case studies from the imperial core (Thrace and Anatolia) and periphery (Peloponnese, southern Syria) this paper will ask whether the various instances of capital accumulation that developed in the Ottoman world over the course of the 19th century were the result of its 'incorporation' into the world-system or of its 'peripheralisation' or whether these transformations might more accurately be described as an internal rearrangement of a region which had been part of such a system – with differing levels of integration – for centuries. Whilst this paper will critique the application of Wallerstein's method within Ottoman historiography, it will argue for the continued utility of world-systems analysis as a tool to examine the political economy and historical sociology of the region in question.

Keywords: History of Capitalism; Historical Sociology; Political Economy; Ottoman Empire; Mediterranean

Analysis of the Contemporary Condition of Work in Brazil: New Mechanisms of Control and the Social and Political Influence on the Formation of the Proletarian Class.

Gardênia Gonçalves Rodrigues

This paper aims to analyze the current structure of labour in Brazil, highlighting the new mechanisms that have emerged with globalization and the expansion of capitalism, as well as how the social and political spheres affect the proletarian class. Historical and Dialectical Materialism, proposed by Marx and Engels in the 19th century, long explained the intrinsic connection between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The Marxist theory argued that the bourgeoisie enjoyed the fruits of what was produced by the working class, while the proletariat, despite being the producers of everything through their labour, were excluded from the education, healthcare, and security systems. Today, this theory is seen as somewhat simplistic, as there are several other factors that contribute to the oppression workers face on a daily basis. With the advancement of technology, new ways to control individuals in the workplace have been created, leading to a significant increase in surveillance over workers, the precarization of labor, and the spread of a discourse on "flexible work." Furthermore, in order to expand the capitalist system in Brazil and many other countries, it is essential to intensify processes of precarization, outsourcing, and informality in work. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), around 39.3 million workers in 2024 are subjected to informal work. Moreover, data from the same study indicate that in 11 out of 27 federal units, more than half of employed Brazilians work under precarious conditions. The greater the exploitation of the workforce, the greater the losses for the proletarian class, as exemplified by the reduction of wages, the restriction of labour rights, the increase in the retirement age, and the rise in taxes. In conclusion, this reality highlights the need for a deeper understanding of how transformations in capitalism affect the labour process.

Keywords: Brazil, work, proletarian, capitalism, precarization.

How Stalin Invented the Meme and How Memes (Re)Invented Stalin

Gavin Mueller

This paper investigates communist internet memes from the perspective of the history of Marxist aesthetics and Soviet philosophies of art. Memes are images and other forms of digital content that are produced iteratively and collaboratively, reuse familiar imagery, incorporate text, and are intended to be spread and shared among those who consume them. While the aim of the majority of memes is humor, attention to memes as bearers of “ironized” political ideology and as forms of propaganda followed the rise in prominence of the “alt-right” digital subculture; studies of reactionary memes dominates analysis of the visual form’s politics to the extent that “the left can’t meme” has become its own memetic slogan. But historicizing memes as part of art history reveals that not only can the left meme, but many of the conventions of memes as a form were established by Marxist and communist artistic experiments. In particular, Soviet art and propaganda philosophies stand as a heretofore unrecognized progenitor to meme culture, not only at the level of content but also in how they theorized communist cultural production. This paper traces these influences, concluding with speculations on the memetic return of self-identified Stalinism in 21st Century digital culture, whose adherents are often referred to as “tankies.”

Keywords: art, digital culture, memes, Stalinism, aesthetics

“Reason in the World”: On the historical logic of (eco)socialism as a political project

George Sotiropoulos

The paper will argue that (eco)socialism’s political potency as a catalyst of mass mobilization and organization depends, among other things, on a philosophical substantiation of its historical rationality and, hence, scientific credentials.

The idea of socialism as a project that is scientific, as much as it is political, appears to be one of the most defunct legacies of Marxism. However, without disregarding its questionable aspects and problematic uses, this assumption was not only a key facet of socialism’s contention to capitalism; it had a solid element of truth, attested in the global spread of socialism from the mid-19th century onward (the time that capitalist modernity started passing to its more mature industrial phase). Accordingly, despite the unquestionable defeats and disappointments that the socialist project underwent, this rational-scientific component of socialism, as articulated by Marx, has not been discarded. Far from it, in front of “a world of genocide and disaster”, it is an aspect of the socialist project that needs to be defended, as a condition for an effective (counter)hegemonic strategy. By way of developing this problematic, the analysis will then turn to contemporary eco-socialism as a discourse and practice that foregrounds the lasting rational-scientific credentials of the socialist project. Adding to this trajectory, my paper

will argue that the project's fruition can be benefited by a critical return to the philosophical source of historical materialism, the Hegelian dialectic. For it is in the latter's metaphysics of reason in history and the world, rather than in a simple emulation of the empirical sciences of his time, that Marx found a fertile basis for his own theoretical project. Far from being a theological relic of the past, this metaphysics, I will argue, continues to offer a valid basis for upholding a theoretical perspective that sustains socialism's historical rationality, hence political urgency.

Keywords: Eco-socialism; Dialectics; Historical rationality; Reason in the world.

Urbicide and Creative Destruction – Destruction as Opportunity for Urban Planning

Ghada Waked

Urbicide refers to the deliberate destruction of a city, typically caused by war or large-scale conflict, resulting in the obliteration of its physical, social, and cultural fabric. It is a form of urban death, where the city is intentionally erased, and its identity is lost. The term became widely recognized during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War, when cities were not only physically destroyed but also targeted to wipe out the cultural and historical essence of the urban environment.

According to Joseph Schumpeter's theory of creative destruction, economic systems evolve through cycles of destruction and renewal, where outdated structures are torn down to make way for new, more efficient systems. For architects and urban planners, destruction—whether caused by war or natural disaster—can present a unique opportunity. Architects and urban planners today often apply cutting-edge innovations in rebuilding efforts.

The destruction creates a blank slate, allowing planners to introduce their vision for a modern, sustainable city when redesigning cities post-war or post-disaster. The focus is on sustainability, carbon reduction, and creating smart cities that incorporate advanced materials, energy-efficient techniques, and digital technologies. From carbon-neutral buildings to bike lanes, green spaces, and high-speed internet, the modern city is increasingly shaped by technological advancements and environmental considerations. These innovations promise to create cities that are not only functional but also efficient, sustainable, and environmentally friendly.

In an era where capital flows through real estate and cities are in intense competition to attract global investment, urban planning increasingly serves the interests of financialized capitalism. Urban spaces are not just places of residence; they are seen as corporate meeting points, designed to stimulate economic activity, foster innovation, and attract

investment. This creates a situation where cities must constantly evolve to stay competitive in the global market, which can drive decisions that prioritize economic growth. As a result, the architecture and design of cities often reflect a corporate aesthetic, with sleek, modern buildings and amenities that cater to the business elite.

In this paper, we will argue that urbicide, whether caused by war or redevelopment, represents a destructive force in urban planning. The paradox is that both destruction and construction—while framed as opportunities for progress—can be just as destructive as the events that led to them.

Keywords: urbicide- financialized capitalism- creative destruction- urban planning-

Revolutionary Situations in the 21st Century

Gianni Del Panta

In the wake of the 2007–08 economic crisis, the world has witnessed the outbreak of an unprecedented number of mass mobilizations. None of these episodes, however, has unleashed deep political and social transformations. This has sparked reflections in the sub-field of studies on revolution, which has questioned the revolutionary nature of these mass mobilizations. This article aims at contributing to this debate. By dealing with revolutionary movements that failed to revolutionize societies, most of the current scholarship has tended to see revolution as a process with two analytically distinct aspects: a revolutionary situation and an outcome, in which the former is necessarily required but often not enough for the latter. The separation between the starting of a revolution from its end is all but something new in the field. Over time, Charles Tilly's concept of revolutionary situation, which points to those phases of multiple sovereignty when more than one bloc effectively claims control over a polity or parts of it, has become the classic reference point. This definition has worked well throughout most of the twentieth century, capturing the dominant revolutionary dynamics at play: workers' councils and guerrilla warfare. However, as these two forms of revolutionary politics tend to be less likely today, it could be important to rethink Tilly's definition. Revolution is a moving object that changes across space and over time. Our conceptualization has to change as well. This article proposes thereby to reframe the concept of revolutionary situation. This would emerge under three conditions: (a) the independent and non-routinized mobilization of the masses; (b) the disarticulation of the formal and informal mechanisms that regulate access to and management of power; and finally (c) the emergence of a liminal crisis when the lack of actors' full control of the events opens up worlds of possibility.

Keywords: Revolution; Revolutionary Situation; Masses; Tilly

'The Circular Course of Presentation' and the Problem of Methodological Immanence: Remarks on the Dialectic of Circulation

Giannis Ninos

In my presentation, I begin with an assessment of the debate on Hegel's Logic and Marx's method in Capital (Moseley & Smith 2014). After emphasizing the importance of the current of systematic dialectic in understanding the role of methodological immanence in Marx's analysis (Reuten 2024), I critique the limitations of the 'homology thesis' (Arthur 2022; Smith 1990). Drawing from Marx's formulation of the 'circular course of presentation' in the chapter Results of the Direct Production Process, a synopsis of the general structure of Marx's method in Capital is provided. I then present an outline of Marx's circular movement of presentation, focusing in detail on the process of circulation as examined in the first part of Capital vol. 2. Here, Marx's methodological treatment of the circuits of capital is analyzed. Specifically, I uncover the Hegelian-inspired immanent movement of immediacy, mediation and posited immediacy underlying Marx's treatment of the three circuits of capital—money capital, productive capital, and commodity capital. Through this analysis, it is argued that the immanent logic of the circuits of capital enables a comprehensive apprehension of Marx's methodological endeavour in Capital. Thus, the presentation underscores the centrality of Hegel's speculative method in Marx's immanent presentation of Capital, with a particular focus on circulation, while simultaneously highlighting both the significance and the limitations of the current of systematic dialectic.

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Keywords: Hegel's Logic, Marx's Capital, Systematic dialectic, circuits of capital

historical materialism (machiavelli althusser)

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The Revolutionary Interpretation of Machiavelli by Gramsci

Althusser refers to Gramsci, who identifies Machiavelli's *The Prince* as a revolutionary manifesto, drawing a parallel with *The Communist Manifesto*. Machiavelli seeks to create a new ruler, akin to the modern leader of a communist party. Althusser focuses on the term "manifesto" and the qualities that define a text as such, exploring the difference between a manifesto and other types of writing. Emphasis is placed on Machiavelli's discourse, which characterizes *The Prince* as a manifesto, introducing a significant shift in classical theoretical methods. This shift enables the formulation of questions regarding the ultimate authority and the innovative political form of a national state or revolutionary movement.

Machiavelli aims at specific forces, attempting to connect them to the issue he analyzes: the unification of Italy as a nation-state. *The Prince* addresses the people of Italy, inviting them to political action. The work is characterized as a manifesto due to its partiality, its committed approach, and its call to action. This call is directed at political forces striving to achieve the historical objective.

Machiavelli's manifesto, while seemingly addressing a future individual, in reality, speaks to the masses, urging them to unite into a revolutionary force. For this call to be effective, the people must recognize themselves as historical subjects, a goal the manifesto strives to accomplish.

Class Bias and Political Thought: Machiavelli and the Influence of the People in Political Philosophy

Machiavelli argues that only from the perspective of the people can one truly understand the nature of rulers. He claims that one must be a person of the people to know "the" rulers, implying that there are various types of rulers and that the people have the ability to choose among them. This perspective highlights Machiavelli's class bias and his alignment with the people's class position. Gramsci notes that to speak of rulers as Machiavelli does, one must adopt popular class perspectives. According to Gramsci, Machiavelli addresses the ruler from the perspective of the people, but in reality, he is speaking to the people under the guise of addressing the ruler.

A manifesto is never written for an individual, let alone a non-existent one. A manifesto always addresses the masses to unite them into a revolutionary force. Machiavelli uses politics to rationalize religion and subordinate morality to practical political activity. He argues that a leader has the right to use even sinful methods when necessary. Although Machiavelli pretends to teach leaders, leaders are often autonomous and do not require

his advice. His real skill lies in presenting the truth in a way that serves their interests, employing a dialectical approach that deceives others without appearing deceptive.

Ultimately, Machiavelli seeks to transform his love of liberty into action, though he disguises his true intentions with contradictions. This approach to political reality appeals to the common person, while it remains uncertain how it benefits the rulers.

(This passage draws from the book "Machiavelli and us", the greek edition "εκδ. νήσος Αθήνα 2016" specifically from pages 10, 25, 73- 74, 80-83)
English isn't my first language so forgive potential mistakes

Keywords: Manifesto, Revolution, The people

Dialectic of Enlightenment at 80: Can the Concept of Progress be Reconstituted?

Giorgos Papafragkou

Eighty years after its publication the "Dialectic of Enlightenment" could be considered both superfluous and obsolete: On the Left many have since criticised the concept of progress as it aspired to describe an uninterrupted continuous path towards liberty and material affluence for those deemed worthy to be accepted as full members of civil society. Thus, Adorno's and Horkheimer's work cannot be said to offer today a novel path towards a critique of modernity; indeed this task has been taken over by a plethora of theoretical currents and their adherents. On the other hand, the traditional criticism levelled at this work, from Habermas on, tends to trivialise its theoretical position, attributing it to the ramifications of the failures of the Interwar Left, or to the devastating theoretical consequences of the Holocaust. This line of thought argues that the "Dialectic of Enlightenment" is now obsolete, whether due to the new possibilities within liberal post-modernity, or due to the failures of post-modernity, viewed from an orthodox Marxist position: There is no need for a critique of critical critique, but of concrete social analysis, which would reconstitute an advanced concept of progress and liberty.

In this paper I would like to argue for a new interpretation of the critique of the concept of progress in the Dialectic of Enlightenment: One that refrains from completely deconstructing it, but also stresses the need for its reformulation in contemporary terms. What makes this text relevant for today is that the driving force behind it is a quite traditional view of normativity, which can be said to have similarities with other radical endeavours of the past and present. In a decisively dialectical gesture, if one would want

follow the line of argument presented by Adorno and Horkheimer would today have to reconstruct the concept of progress and defend it against the normative nihilism which is dominant in today's Zeitgeist.

Keywords: Adorno Horkheimer Critical Theory

Beyond the State-Civil Society Dichotomy in Turkey: A Gramscian Analysis

Gökhan Demir

This paper critically examines the dominant liberal framework in Turkey that dichotomizes civil society and the state, positing civil society as an autonomous sphere naturally conducive to democracy. Liberal interpretations, prevalent in Turkish academic and political discourse, idealize civil society as a domain of voluntary association, freedom, and democratic potential while reducing the state to an oppressive monolith. Such perspectives fail to account for the underlying class structures and power dynamics shaping both civil society and the state.

Drawing on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and his concept of the "integral state," this paper challenges the notion of civil society as a neutral or inherently progressive space. For Gramsci, civil society and political society are interconnected domains where power is exercised through a combination of coercion and consent. Civil society is not an independent realm of freedom but a site of ideological struggle where ruling-class hegemony is constructed and maintained through education, culture, and religion. In this framework, the state is not external to society but an intensified expression of class relations.

Applying Gramsci's insights to the Turkish context, the paper critiques the prevailing liberal narrative that depicts Turkish political history as a binary opposition between a strong, interventionist state and a weak, fragmented civil society. This dualistic view obscures the organic unity of state and civil society in maintaining class power and overlooks the internal contradictions and struggles within civil society itself. The liberal assumption that a civil society free from state interference will naturally foster democracy is a utopian abstraction that disregards the complexities of class struggle and ideological contestation.

This paper provides a nuanced understanding of the relationship between civil society and the state in Turkey by reframing civil society as a contested terrain of hegemonic struggle. It argues for a theoretical shift from the state-civil society dichotomy toward an analysis of their unity within the broader dynamics of capitalist social relations.

Keywords: Civil Society, State-Civil Society Dichotomy, Gramsci, Hegemony, Turkish Politics.

Minarets and Golden Arches: The Intersection of Political Islam and Neoliberal Globalisation in Reshaping Turkey's Political Economy

Görkem Altınörs

This paper examines how the interplay between political Islam and neoliberal globalisation has fundamentally restructured Turkey's political economy. Through a Gramscian historical materialist lens, it explores how Islamism has been incorporated into the framework of neoliberal capitalism, transforming Turkey's domestic and foreign policies. The analysis begins with a historical overview of Turkish capitalism, tracing its evolution from the late Ottoman period to the neoliberal era. Subsequent sections delve into the political economy of urbanisation, mass media, and education, illustrating how neoliberal practices have reshaped these domains while embedding ideological and material hegemony. Special attention is given to the commodification of urban spaces, the consolidation of partisan media, and the privatisation of education. The study also investigates Turkish foreign policy, highlighting its economic motivations and Islamic neoliberal trajectory in an increasingly globalised yet crisis-ridden world. It concludes by situating these transformations within the broader conditions of global capitalism as the republic reached its centennial, offering critical insights into the dynamics of Islamic neoliberalism and its implications for the future.

Keywords: Political Islam, Neoliberal Globalisation, Gramscian Historical Materialism, Turkey

Despotism of capital and wage slavery

Gregorio Demarchi

Against the myth of capitalism as progress, we want to argue that despotism and slavery, as the oldest and most inhumane forms of exploitation and domination, are essential and structural characteristics of the capitalist mode of production.

When Marx speaks of the "despotism of capital", he is aware of the original meaning of oikos-nomic domination of the despotes over his slaves (Aristotle). Marx's originality, however, lies in the fact that for him the "despotism of capital" does not denote the absolute forms of exploitation (absolute surplus value), but the relative ones, which take place through cooperation, division of labor and the use of machinery (relative surplus value). And in his Critique of the Gotha Program, Marx describes wage labour as a "system of slavery, and indeed of a slavery which becomes more severe in proportion as the social

productive forces of labor develop, whether the worker receives better or worse payment.” Despotism and slavery are therefore not secondary by-products of the capitalist mode of production that would only occur in the historically early phase of the original accumulation or in the geographical periphery of the world system. On the contrary: despotism and slavery form the core of capitalist relations of exploitation and domination. They are the politics of capital (cf. Panzieri 1962). Starting from this core, phenomena such as the “long original accumulation”, “accumulation by dispossession”, the “new slavery”, but also the politics of war and genocide, which capital constantly produces, can be better classified as what they are: namely necessary consequences of capitalist domination.

Keywords: despotism, capitalist domination, wage slavery, relative surplus value

The Mirror and the Enemy: Aesthetics and Politics in Althusser and Deleuze

Guido Mangialavori

This paper examines the aesthetic writings of Althusser and Deleuze, focusing on three pairs of operations: disparition and amputation; déplacement and variation; structure and forces, as interpreted through their respective readings of Brecht’s and Bene’s theatrical practices. The paper seeks to explore the interplay of these operations and their points of convergence.

Althusser identifies three key mechanisms in Brecht’s work: (1) the subtraction of the subject, or the disparition of the hero; (2) placing the work in a state of structural déplacement; and (3) the visibility of an absence, understood as a lack of relation among the structure’s elements. Deleuze, in turn, finds in Carmelo Bene’s theatrical operations three essential functions: (1) the amputation of elements of power; (2) the variation of all elements within the work; and (3) the construction of a character on stage that renders visible the forces acting upon it.

This paper aims to highlight how Althusser’s and Deleuze’s key functions resonate with one another: the subtraction of the hero parallels the amputation of power; structural imbalance corresponds to the variation of elements; and the rendering of invisible forces perceptible aligns with the visibility of a structure as a determinate absence. For both thinkers, these theatrical practices establish a novel relationship with the spectator’s consciousness. Rather than plunging into the abyss of ideological recognition and mirroring, the spectator’s consciousness is transformed through anti-representational or sub-representational means.

The function of theatre, therefore, is no longer to deny the voice of politics, which spoke unheard through it, nor to obscure the forces at play within it, but to reveal the play of those forces and allow the voice of politics to be heard.

Keywords: Politics Philosophy; Theatre; Ideology; Althusser; Deleuze; Aesthetic writings

Capital's Network: Socio-Technological Criticality, Industrial Stratification and the Equalization of the Rate of Profit

Guillaume Dreyer & François-Xavier Hutteau

This paper revisits the contemporary relevance of a foundational concept in Marxist economics: the equalization of the profit rate. Our core hypothesis posits that the intersectoral dependencies arising from socialization processes render certain sectors more critical within the industrial hierarchy, and this criticality may correlate with profitability. To explore this relationship, we juxtapose the equalization of profit rates with the notion of industrial hierarchy.

The study is organized into two main parts. First, we engage with two strands of literature. We review theories of socialization, focusing on clarifying the intertwined concepts of socialization, coordination, market power, and industrial hierarchy. Additionally, we analyze empirical studies on the equalization of profit rates to establish a robust theoretical framework. The second part applies an empirical approach, employing network analysis and centrality measures from Leontief matrices. We investigate correlations between sectoral centrality and aggregated profitability.

Keywords: Equalization of profit rates, Industrial Hierarchy, Socialization, Network Analysis

Endgame: A Marxist Theory of International Tax Law

Hedvig Lärka

An international minimum top-up tax, the model legislation of which was recently released by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), is currently being put in place by all major imperialist economies, excluding some of the BRICS countries. The tax targets the global activities of the handful of multinational enterprises that dominate the economy yet will benefit almost exclusively the imperialist core. How is it possible, that a mere handful of imperialist states may tax the profits of an entire world of toil, to their own almost exclusive benefit? How in a very practical sense was it done, and what does these developments tell us of the future of tax law?

Contemporary developments permit a renewed scrutiny of hegemonic historical narratives of and abstract assumptions within the field and general consciousness of international tax law. Crucially, one is invited to reconsider the entrenched assumption

that the territorial state is powerless in the face of global capital, including rethinking tropes such as the race to the bottom and reassessing the role of tax havens. In this presentation, the author highlights how global tax regimes and low tax jurisdictions were put in place largely by the imperialist countries themselves. Drawing from her ongoing dissertation project, situated within the Marxist-Leninist tradition and informed by its Hegelian roots and Pashukanian lineages, she argues that tax competition and tax evasion are legal mechanisms put in place to counteract the threat of increasing supply prices within the imperialist world order. She further argues that, in being dependent on the relative stability of low costs of labor within global value chains, tax law as a social form is necessarily bound to counteracting the fiscal stability of basic commodity producing nations as well as the general welfare of the global working class.

Keywords: Legal Form, State Form, International Tax Law, Hegelian Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, Corporate Income Taxation, Marxism, Pashukanis, Imperialism, Patnaik

Transitional Spaces: Picturing a Socialist City in the USSR, 1928-1941

Henry Jennings

In his seminal work on the creation of social space, Henri Lefebvre questioned whether the socialist states of the twentieth century had succeeded in creating their own distinct form of space, suggesting that their failure to do so relegated them to a place of 'failed transition.'

This paper will examine the visual representation of the Soviet city in the 1930s as a form of transitional space, where hegemonic state control over media production coexisted with a pre-revolutionary urban landscape. As a result, material products of a previous mode of production (tsarist-era cities) formed the backdrop for the mobilizational propaganda of the Five-Year Plans. Futuristic images of the planned new world in the form of posters, films, and magazines seem to be undermined by the harsh realities of life in the existing urban space.

The apparent contradiction between the visualisation of the Soviet city in print media and film and experiences of this landscape in everyday life allows us to reflect on the relationship between hegemonic cultural power and built environments. Understanding the cultural meaning assigned to this dual-space will help to understand the experience of other 'transitional spaces' such as those that were formed by the collapse of the Eastern Bloc in the 1990s, and provides a lens through which to approach the influence of spatial dynamics on the expression of state power during a time of social and economic transformation.

Keywords: Space, Socialism, History, Visual Culture, USSR

Organising Resistance in the Capitalocene: Boycotts and Divestments as Tactics for Collective Struggle in Holding Corporations Accountable?

Henry Rammelt

The Capitalocene has transformed the world into a zone of overlapping crises: environmental collapse, imperialist violence, settler-colonialism, and the exploitation of labour. In this context, boycotts and divestment campaigns have emerged as potential avenues for challenging corporate complicity and for organising resistance. Rooted in the material conditions of labour and exploitation, these campaigns confront the structural violence of capitalism while providing platforms for transnational solidarity. Drawing on interviews with activists and organisers involved in campaigns against extractive industries, the arms trade, and settler-colonial economies, this paper explores the transformative potential of boycotts and divestments. It examines how these tactics disrupt capital accumulation, shift public discourse, and foster new forms of collective struggle against the genocidal and ecocidal tendencies of contemporary capitalism. The paper focuses on four critical dimensions: 1) Disruption and Accountability: campaigns targeting pension funds, banks, and financial institutions leverage divestment as both an economic and reputational tool. By exposing ties to harmful industries such as fossil fuels, arms production, and illegal settlements, activists force corporations and investors to reassess their practices, creating pressure for systemic change. 2) Intersectionality and Solidarity: Effective campaigns amplify the voices of affected communities, such as Indigenous groups resisting land grabs or environmental destruction. By connecting local struggles with global movements, boycotts and divestments bridge gaps between labour, racial justice, and environmental advocacy, highlighting the intersections of exploitation and oppression. 3) Challenges and Strategic Lessons: While boycotts and divestments have achieved notable victories, they face significant obstacles, including well-resourced counter-lobbies, legal threats, and the inadequacies of voluntary corporate standards. 4) Structural Change: While such campaigns do lead to results and, sometimes, provide short-term relieve, their long-term transformative potential is questionable.

Keywords: Corporate Accountability; Boycotts; Divestments; Intersectional Solidarity; Transnational Activism; Global North-South Dynamics

The Racial Politics of Policing: Migrant Labour and State Formation in the Gulf

Hessa Alnuaimi

This paper explores the historical development of policing in the Arabian Gulf as a mechanism for controlling migrant labour and safeguarding the interests of Western oil companies during the mid-20th century. Drawing on archival research from British and Gulf sources, it argues that the emergence of police forces in the region was shaped by the intertwined imperatives of disciplining migrant and local labour, securing oil extraction, and upholding colonial racial hierarchies. Workers from South Asia were systematically racialised as unruly and expendable, subjected to surveillance, repression, and deportation, while their labour was essential to the Gulf's capitalist economy. This racialisation was both a means of disciplining the workforce and a strategy for consolidating the authority of the state, revealing the deep entanglements between labour control and the politics of legitimacy and state formation in the Gulf states. By examining these dynamics, the paper demonstrates that state formation in the Gulf is inseparable from the capitalist imperative of ensuring the cheap extraction of oil. Policing, in this context, functioned not only as a tool of domestic governance but also as a pillar of a transnational system of racialised exploitation, designed to stabilize the oil economy and protect Western imperial interests. The analysis also highlights moments of worker resistance, which exposed the contradictions of this racialised system of control, challenging the narrative of passive subordination often imposed on South Asian migrants. By situating the Gulf's policing apparatus within the nexus of labour, racialisation, and colonial capitalism, this paper also offers insights into the interconnected processes of colonial state formation, labour governance, and capitalist expansion in the Global South.

Keywords: Race, Migration, Labour, Police, Colonialism

Beyond The Empirical Abstractions: Mega Projects/Special Economic Zones, the State, and the Counter-Hegemonic Struggle in Turkey

Ibrahim Gundogdu

This paper examines the recent proliferation of mega projects and special economic zones across the globe since the 2008 economic crisis. It particularly emphasizes the Turkish case in the light of a specific case analysis in an old mining region of the country. In contrast with the explanations provided in critical studies that employ concepts such as "infrastructural development", "neoliberal statism" and "state capitalism", this paper suggests that these projects/zones should be considered through a "determinate abstraction" rather than

different forms of "abstracted empiricism". They then must be understood within the context of evolving relations between the state, capital, labor, and land/nature in the process of capital accumulation. This paper further asserts that the Turkish state has recently embraced a more interventionist economic policy through the initiation of numerous infrastructure projects and industrial zones in order to bolster the domestic economy amidst the prevailing context of global capitalist crises. Nevertheless, in addition to the lack of success in addressing the fundamental problems of the Turkish economy, e.g., the necessity for financial inflows, the boom-and-bust cycles, and the high unemployment rate, such interventionism has also resulted in significant environmental degradation across the country as it has exerted greater control over the land and nature. However, this process remains unchallenged politically, despite the emergence of numerous environmental protests from below and the growing economic concerns among the working class. Based on certain empirical realities in society, some critical scholars contend that this political failure is mainly due to the historically hegemonic constitution of the Turkish state as the collective interest of the society based on the developmentalist ideology which has involved different discourses over time. In contrast, this paper argues, neither the empirical realities nor the inadequate theoretical conceptualisation of the state in those studies can fully grasp the growing contradictions and conflicts within the capitalist development. Indeed, such contradictions and conflicts shed light not only on the limits but also on the possibilities of counter-hegemonic collective movements in Turkey.

Keywords: Mega Projects, special economic zones, the state, Turkey, anti-capitalist movements

The State, financialization, and the precarization of labour

Inka Maria Vilhelmiina Hiltunen

This presentation aims to contribute to the yet undertheorized issue of 'state-financialization' vis-à-vis precarization of labour. I start from the recognition that the state is a key actor in deepening the financialization of a society writ large. While majority of the literature on the state-financialization focuses on the relations between states and markets, I approach the state as a social relation responsible for the realization of the 'dual character' of the commodity (Marx, 1887) in a scale of the nation: on one side, the state must ensure the existence and (re)production of use-values of the vital infrastructures that reproduce the social formation. On the other side, in today's global market-based finance, the state is dependent on the international bond-markets in its access to credit, so it must ensure its own exchange value, which, by now, has meant the subordination of fiscal policy to monetary policy, use values to exchange values. Drawing from Marx's value theory, and from concepts of 'the derisking-state' (Gabor, 2020, 2021, 2023), and 'governing through financial markets' (Braun et al., 2018) provided by 'Critical-Macro-Finance,' and situating

these analytical tools within the recent history of financialization, and 'Private Finance Initiatives', and 'Green Finance Strategy' in the UK, I argue that the deepening 'financialization' of the society, particularly the state itself of its social provision function, are inherently tied to the state's capacity to produce 'investibility' through the reorganization of labour markets. By now, in the UK and elsewhere, this has meant the concentration of wealth to the financial sector on one side, and the precarization of the private sector workers on the other, that the state is now able to exploit indirectly via the financialization of vital public social infrastructures.

Keywords: state; financialization; labour

Financialization of the state and precarization of labour: making the public sector 'investible' for private capital?

Inka Maria vilhelmiina Hiltunen

This presentation aims to contribute to the yet undertheorized issue of 'state-financialization' vis-à-vis precarization of labour. I start from the recognition that the past half a century have witnessed growing inequalities across the globe. In the Global North, this means the re-precарization of labour on one side, and the concentration of wealth to the financial sector on the other (Lapavistas, 2013; Saad-Filho, 2019; Piketty, 2012). I approach the state as a social relation responsible for the realization of the 'dual character' of a commodity (Marx, 1887) in a scale of the nation-wide social reproduction: on one side, the state must ensure the existence of vital use-values, i.e., the essential social and physical infrastructures that reproduce the social formation. On the other side, in today's global market-based economy, the state is dependent on the international bond-markets in its access to credit, which, by now, has meant the subordination of fiscal policy to monetary policy, use values to exchange values. While majority of the literature on the state-financialization focuses on the (re)distributive relations between states and markets, my study pivots on the remark that even financial accumulation remains dependent on some spatial configurations of labour (Bernards, 2020). Theoretically, drawing from Marx's value theory, and from the Critical-Macro-Finance's concepts of 'the de-risking -state' (Gabor, 2020, 2021, 2023), and 'governing through the financial markets' (Braun et al., 2018), and empirically exploring the two-tier workforce created by the NHS 'Private Finance Initiatives' (PFIs), in the UK, I ask the critical question whether the making of the public sector 'investible' for private capital requires not just the state guaranteeing the desired profit-streams by using future tax-flows as collateral, but also 'de-risking' through the flexibilization and precarization of labour markets to make labour-conditions to correspond to the specific risk and return-calculus of the financial investors. I argue that through the PFI hospital deals, the UK state has integrated the unprotected, low-paid, and

precarious private sector labour-force into the reproduction of the most vital state-institutions themselves, thereby making 'shareholder'-value inherent feature of public social provision.

Keywords: state-financialization; labour precarity; exploitation

Democracy, Polarization, Parties and Far-Right

Irene Perperidou

This paper is intended to analyze the current situation of polarization and rapidly rising far-right through Europe. It opens with five facts about polarization in the European Countries today and what those imply for possible interventions. A literature review follows, organized chronologically to explain the scholarly shift from thinking of polarization as an ideological, policy-based phenomenon to an issue of emotion, as well as the emerging understanding of polarization as both a social phenomenon and a political strategy. For decades, political parties of all kinds joined forces to keep the hard-right far from the levers of power. Today, this strategy — known in France as a *cordon sanitaire* (or firewall) — is falling apart, as populist and nationalist parties grow in strength across the Continent. Six EU countries — Italy, Finland, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia and the Czech Republic — have hard-right parties in government. In Sweden, the survival of the executive relies on a confidence and supply agreement with the nationalist Sweden Democrats, the second-largest force in parliament. In the Netherlands, the anti-Islamic firebrand Geert Wilders is on the verge of power, having sealed a historic deal to form the most right-wing government in recent Dutch history. Parties and candidates clearly believe that more polarizing candidates are more likely to win elections. This may be a self-fulfilling prophecy: voters exposed to more polarizing rhetoric from leaders who share their partisan identity are likely to alter their preferences based on their understanding of what their group believes and has normalized—particularly among primary voters whose identity is more tied to their party. While affective polarization is growing quickly in the United States, it is actually not much higher there than in many European countries. In other words, many European countries show affective polarization at about the same level as that of the United States, but their democracies are not suffering as much, suggesting that something about the U.S. political system, media, campaigns, or social fabric is allowing Americans' level of emotional polarization to be particularly harmful to U.S. democracy.

Keywords: Democracy, Polarization and Far-Right

Reification Revisited: The Late Frankfurt School's Theoretical Impasse and the Crisis of Marxist Social Critique

Isabelle Le Bourdais

The critique of reification has been an essential element of the Frankfurt School's critical theory since its foundation in 1923. Understood as a “maximization” of Marx's passage on commodity fetishism in *Capital*, Lukács's critique of reification, developed in *History and Class Consciousness*, was taken up by the first generation of the School with the intention of producing a critique of social institutions and culture (Rose 1978). Today, however, it is more difficult to imagine a candid use of the concept of reification, which has been harshly criticized by both liberals and poststructuralists for its reliance on a ‘humanist’ Hegelian-Marxist framework. This context poses a problem for the contemporary Frankfurt School, particularly for Axel Honneth, Rahel Jaeggi, and Hartmut Rosa, who all explicitly attempt to reconstruct the critique of reification on a basis that satisfies what they see as the new demands of social philosophy.

This paper argues that the contemporary Frankfurt School's uncritical acceptance of large parts of the problematic formulated by the liberal and poststructuralist traditions against Hegelian-Marxism leads to theoretical and practical impasses. The later generation of critical theory indeed tries to limit the purported negativity of the critique of reification by grounding it in various sources of normativity—care ethics, discursive intersubjectivity, ethics of recognition, etc. In this operation of methodological rescue, the Frankfurt School mobilizes Heidegger against Marx and Hegel, with the unfortunate outcome of describing emancipatory possibilities as a set of relational and existential dispositions, only marginally related to the overcoming of exploitation through collective action and a change in property relations. Finally, I argue with Rose (1978, 1981) that the ‘problem’ of reification is, instead, its generalization, symptomatic of an insufficient engagement with the concrete determinations of capital as expounded in Marx's late writings. This means that the critique of reification, while offering a historical understanding of subjectivity under capitalism, lacks elements of a theory of surplus value, power, and the state.

Keywords: Critical Theory, Frankfurt School, Reification, Commodity Fetishism, Gillian Rose

Anti Colonial Insurgency as People's War: Towards a Critique of International Law of (Counter)insurgency

Islam Al Khatib

One of the primary discourse of justification of the ongoing Zionist genocidal war on Palestinian and Lebanese people has been through the logic of 'human shield.' As an international law category, this logic enables militaries to collapse the civilian/combatant distinction, as civilians supposedly lose their protection through their alleged use by combatants for military advantage, and as such, their murder becomes justifiable collateral damage. Despite its IL veneer, there has been an enormous push back on this logic from activists, politicians, and legal scholars - both for the lack of evidence, as well as its systematic contravention of categories of distinction and proportionality, which has also become the legal basis of the case of genocide against Israel.

As the logic of genocidal war expands to the rest of the region, In this paper, we propose a critique of the widespread adoption of IL paradigms of civilian/combatant within critical scholarship and radical politics in order to analyze the current genocidal onslaught. Rather than wagering the case of genocide on disproving the allegations of human shield, using examples and formulations from earlier era of anticolonial/antiimperial resistance movements, genocide becomes a rational military strategy for colonial states, precisely as population became an intractable vector of resistance, rather than normatively accepting submission in face of extreme forms of oppression.

The civilian/combatant distinction appears blurred in anticolonial contexts because forces of armed struggle arise from the population, functioning as institutions of the people rather than as categories of war defined by international law. By adhering to the frameworks of international law, we risk undermining the legitimacy and strategic purpose of popular resistance and inadvertently support colonial interests that aim to isolate resistance forces from the people who sustain and legitimize them.

Keywords: palestine, lebanon, insurgency, anticolonialism, maoism

Visual Archives and Revolutionary Dialectics: Documenting Repression and Resistance in Syria

Jack McGinn

Syria's civil war was the archetypal example of both modern militarised violence and the obstinate popular insistence upon a revolutionary project regardless. Even the early, hopeful moments of the March 2011 uprising were marked by hesitant, uncertain steps (the oft-memorialised 15 March demonstration in Damascus numbered only a handful of activists), in large part because the architecture and memory of state violence loomed so large. Thousands chose to rebel in the months and years that followed, developing a sophisticated repertoire of protest tactics in the face of wanton destruction – their

endeavour against impossible odds possibly vindicated by the fall of Assad in December 2024, though the revolution's position in a new Syria is still unclear. Much of this early activity was documented on film, broadcast by makeshift media centres and/or via footage smuggled out of the country, as with Birmingham University's Dara'a Archive and Saeed Al-Batal and Ghiath Ayoub's 2018 documentary *Still Recording*.

This presentation takes these two repositories of images of uprisings, violence and self-organisation, respectively documenting the early years of revolutionary Dara'a and Douma, to investigate the practice of recording this destruction-creation dialectic, where people create liberated zones amidst siege and hardship, building a new world as their own is gradually obliterated. I outline the dialectical relationship between state violence and popular creative impulse that characterised the 14 years of Syria's revolutionary experiment (pre-fall of Assad), and to think through the potentiality of this dialectical framing for pushing against dominant modes of making sense of revolutions via the binary between success and failure. In doing so, and dispensing with a linear framework in favour the more expansive approach of Gramsci or Braudel, we can better understand the long trajectory of the revolution (any 'ends' of which remain to be seen). I also draw on Avery Gordon's work and the lens of haunting to think through these archives' trans-temporal potential.

Keywords: Syria, revolution, archives, dialectics, visual

The use and abuse of calling things fascist: How well do existing theoretical accounts of 'fascism' help to understand Hindutva?

Jamil Kowcun

The label of 'fascism' has been applied with increased frequency in recent years.

On one hand this is a natural consequence of the strength of far right populism, the elevation of openly neo-fascist parties to power and unprecedented constitutional changes made by right-wing governments. On the other hand, using 'fascist' as an umbrella term for anti-authoritarian politics has the effect of drawing many wildly different regimes and movements together, reproducing an obscuring and moralist judgement of some politicians, parties and states as simply 'worse' than others.

This paper uses the case of India to interrogate the elements of the core definition of fascism established by western traditions, mapping them onto Hindutva as a movement and the organisations of the BJP and RSS. The dearth of scholarship on fascism which concretely examines India is notable, given not only the size, strength, success and

complexity of the Hindutva movement but concrete historical ties between the RSS and European fascism. This paper will explore the problems and limitations of typologies of fascism in understanding, opposing and organising against Hindutva.

An unwieldy use of the term 'fascism' often obscures important questions about the nature of state repression and the role of mass mobilisation in new right-wing movements. It elevates individualised, historically local and often highly mystified explanations of European subjectivity at the expense of capturing a much changed landscape of international law, financialisation, capitalism and imperialism. In the case of the BJP, the particularities of caste, the postcolonial Indian state and vastly different regional particularities mean there is insufficient groundwork to transfer an architecture of European fascism directly to India.

Nevertheless the term retains a unique emotive power in delimiting oppositional fault lines, drawing on histories of antifascist resistance and characterising surging forms of authoritarianism, increasingly subtle in their guises of reinvention. This paper represents an attempt to straightforwardly introduce the idea that 'fascism' is only useful inasmuch as it can be exploded as an analytical concept that situates new far right movements in their international political and economic context, and rejects the category as a moral term.

Keywords: Fascism, Fascist, Hindutva, India, Morality

The Zionist Antisemitism Synthesis: a Return to the Repressed

Jana Tsoneva

My paper scrutinizes Bulgarian Zionist ideology in the early 20th century. It argues, following Ghassan Kanafani, that Zionism is less of a response to antisemitism than a reaction (in both senses of the word) to the progress of Jewish emancipation and a vehicle for distinction against and over assimilation. The hegemonic understanding of Zionism as a bulwark against anti-semitism obscures a crucial aspect of the formation of Zionist ideology: namely, that in its formative years, it was mainly a critique of Jewish assimilation. This is very visible in the Bulgarian context where Zionism spread like wildfire precisely in the absence of anti-semitism. Decentering antisemitism from its hegemonic status as the main enemy of Zionism allows us to foreground how much Jewish nationalism actually shares with its putative adversary by way of a common subscription to the idea of a primordial Jewish essence. The Bulgarian case, while more peripheral to Zionist history, helps us see how the synthesis is a condition sine qua non for the development of what Max Nordau, in the Second Zionist Congress of 1898, had called "Muscular Judaism", with

implications far beyond the formation of Jewish Sport Associations the term is commonly associated with.

Keywords: Zionism, Bulgaria, Kanafani, Jewish Question

Debt Is Wage Theft, Debt Steals Leisure Time, Debt Can Suppress Strikes: Debt Is a Labor Issue

Jason Wozniak

In this presentation I argue that labor movements need a more robust analysis and critique of debt and credit, and corresponding campaigns for debt abolition. The effect of the rigged neoliberal economy is that it has given us stagnant wages, higher costs for basic goods, and income inequality not seen in the United States since the Gilded Age. Most workers in the United States don't take on debt because they are living beyond their means, but because it's the only means to live. People aren't in debt because they don't work enough, but because the work we do doesn't cover the bills we have. Debt is fundamentally a labor issue. When labor is weak and unionization low, workers are forced to take on debt to offset costs for necessities like healthcare, housing and food. The more debt we have, the more we are compelled to work under the bosses' conditions — rather than fighting for our own. Interest-heavy loans act as a regressive kind of pay cut, reaching deep into workers' take-home earnings. Just to keep up with debt payments and interest, workers take on more hours and multiple low-paying jobs. And data shows debt can make workers more unlikely to strike. "The key conclusion is that while inflation indeed induces strike activity, as we're seeing now, the burden of personal debt offsets that increase," Giorgos Gouzoulis writes in Jacobin. His research finds that personal debt has been suppressing major strikes over the last five decades. Workers with debt can and do fight back. As Debt Collective co-founder (and my colleague) Hannah Appel has argued, the starting point for debtor organizing is to ask what would happen if we understood the staggering \$17.69 trillion in total U.S. household debt as a source of collective leverage, rather than aggregate individual liabilities. Organizing for better wages and benefits is to organize against debt. To organize for debt abolition is to strengthen the power of the working class. Given the current historic juncture in which both labor and debtor organizing is on the rise in the United States, now is the time to focus on building worker-debtor power. The more labor wins, the less debt workers have; the less debt workers have, the more labor wins.

Keywords: Debt, Labor, Political Education

Workers Communism and revolutionary subjectivity

Joshua Graf

The history of communism is more diverse than it seems. Already radicalized artisans promoted its idea. Dealing with material conditions, which besides the UK, where far from being what one would understand as a "bourgeois society" this form of communism mainly relied on retro-normative ideals of a "moral economy" (Hobsbawn). At the same time those stalwart fighters for a moral communism already offered insightful arguments against the reign of the bourgeoisie, and the ideas of nationality. From nowadays perspective they were a suspect group between romanticism, retro-normative ideals and a radical approach towards social justice. It was precisely this historical context in which Marx and Engels intervened with their approach of "critical communism". In fact, they were far from condemning them altogether. Contrary Marx celebrated their leader Weitling and praised the clever mind of this upright communist fighter. Later, following their concept of "critique in hand-to-hand combat" they polemised against this string of the communist movement and even relied on certain forms of epistemic violence. First Marx and Engels fought against the idea of not supporting the bourgeoisie in the anticipated 1848 revolution. Coming from a materialist standpoint they approved the transitional reign of the bourgeoisie as the necessary precondition for the liberated society. Following this higher goal, they condemned the workers to suffer under existing capitalism for some decades, for the evolution of productive forces. Also, they affirmed capitalism as being the harsh but necessary system of pushing workers to the necessary form of self-disciplination, and therefore building the needed precondition for revolutionary subjectivity. Politically Marx and Engels supported a temporary alliance with the bourgeoisie, if they did not see the class antagonism as being finally matured. In contradiction to that, but also arguing from a materialist standpoint Weitling and its followers pointed out, that capitalism took away any energy needed for revolutionary subjectivity, and therefore did not build the conditions for a revolutionary break-up but undermines them. Also, they relied on a way more pragmatic approach towards collective action, than Marx and Engels which joked about the sentimental feelings of normal workers.

The goal of the presentation is not to embrace this form of original communism, but to discuss what can be learned from it in regards of building a broad and diverse radical left, and how revolutionary subjectivity can be thought without promoting ideas of erasing the individual's well-being for the sake of the greater communist good.

Keywords: Labour Movement, History, revolutionary subject

Young Marx and the Wood Theft Debates in Prussian Rhineland in the Early Nineteenth Century

Kaan Kangal

This paper revisits young Marx's 1842 account of wood theft law. It intends to pursue a balanced approach both to his strengths and limitations without being uncritically hagiographic or dogmatically dismissive. Marx's take on the wood theft question prompted him for the first time to pay due attention to the interconnection between political power, social property relations and the law as a superb instrument of class domination. The weakness of Marx's account was that he was not fully informed about the Prussian forest regulations in the beginning of the 1840s and wrongly presumed that the 1841 bill intended to dispossess peasants of their traditional usufruct rights. This shortcoming does not invalidate Marx's spirited endeavour but sets considerable limitations to it.

Keywords: Young Marx; Ecology; Commons; Wood Theft; State; Civil Society

Friedrich Engels and the Problem of the Beginning of Western Marxism

Kaan Kangal

This presentation problematises Perry Anderson's claim that Western Marxism began with a decisive rejection of Engels's philosophical heritage – by Korsch and Lukács' in their respective books from 1923. I argue contra Anderson that their early work cannot constitute an inception for four reasons. First, aversion to either Engels or dialectics of nature did not begin with them, as the charge is much older in socialist theory. Second, there is nothing specifically 'Western' about the charge, for various 'Eastern' and Soviet Marxists expressed their dissatisfaction with Engels's philosophy in one way or another in the 1920s or earlier. Third, neither Korsch nor Lukács 'decisively rejected' Engels. Fourth, Anderson presumes that hostility towards Engels and critique of Soviet Marxism go hand in hand. This logic applies neither to Korsch nor to Lukács. They never utilised the dismissal of Engels's philosophy as part of their critique of Soviet Marxism.

Keywords: Engels; Dialectics of Nature; Western Marxism; Soviet Marxism

Vygotsky and Creativity in Learning Design

Kalliopi Rigopouli (PhDs)

This paper examines how Vygotsky's sociocultural cognitive development theory is correlated with creativity in learning design. It is important to address these ways because, in today's classrooms, teachers' roles have shifted from curriculum implementers and lecturers to creators of effective learning designs for the needs of a learner-centered Technology Enhanced Learning (TEL) environment. Vygotsky's theories are in the limelight as he was the one who initiated the importance of the teacher in his theory of the Zone of Proximal Development. Alongside learning design, creativity has emerged as a must-have skill in 21st-century education. Creativity in learning design implies high-quality and effective artifacts. Research has indicated that the creativity and effectiveness of teachers in school education highly influence both student outcomes and teacher development. Vygotsky has addressed the need to achieve a higher level of cognition, to develop/create new concepts. Furthermore, Vygotsky examined the sociocultural effects on child development and created his eminent theory about language. This correlates with the principle that the learning designs need to be reusable and shareable, meaning also that they should have a 'common' language that is recognizable among practitioners. This paper connects the dots between these concepts and more and tries to find commonalities and controversies for further discussion. The purpose of this review is to find common ground between eminent theories (Vygotsky) and today's cutting-edge learning practices (Learning Design).

Keywords: Learning design, creativity, education, teachers

Real movement Marxism versus the political movement Marxism: A Call for a Marxist return to the Fundamentals of Historical Materialism

Karlo Mikić

The writers behind the pseudonym Monsieur Dupont took the laconic expression 'Do nothing' as the motto of their Nihilist Communism, opposing it to the ever-present Lenin's 'What is to be done?' and the imperative to do something "to save the world". I would like to do the same but on account of somewhat different reasoning. Based on the strict interpretation of historical materialism in its form of technical determinism, as well as the conception of capital as an 'automatic subject' producing a kind of 'impersonal domination' between atomized economic agents in a society with a generalized commodity production society and Marx's abstract model of the dynamics of capital development (as developed in his *Capital*), I will present an analysis of the broadest strokes of current and future transformations of capitalist world-system along with an evaluation of the prospects for various communist efforts for organizing under different structural conditions. My research programme aims to be faithful to Marx's immanentist analysis of capitalism as developed in the *Capital*, and not to the quest of reconciling all of his works in a coherent

system. The analysis developed in the Capital is best described as structural, systemic and organic, where all elements follow a trajectory that expresses the traits and processes corresponding to the development of the fundamental categories of Marx's analysis. That development is identical with the 'real movement' towards communism described in the paragraph concluding the first chapter of Marx's and Engels' German Ideology. In short, the most pertinent and controversial conclusions derived on the basis of former analyses are i) that all current communist endeavors are a futile waste of energy, ii) that the system itself is slowly but constantly moving towards its own abolition out of its own quasi-objective necessity, iii) that climate cataclysm can't be prevented or mitigated, and iv) that its occurrence will vastly accelerate the actualization of conditions leading towards the abolition of capitalism (if humanity survives it). The difference between the systematic analysis taken up in Capital (and a few other works that foreshadowed it) and almost all other Marxist, (and certainly all other) communist and socialist political thought is in the scientific and strict historical-materialist character of the first, in contrast to the voluntarism of other politically motivated theorists. Communists have hitherto only tried to inhibit the necessary motion of capital in various ways; the point is to accept the necessity of its completion.

Keywords: scientific socialism, technical determinism, anti-voluntarism, closed Marxism

On the Philosophic Utopia of the Use Value

Keti Chukhrov

Evald Ilyenkov's contribution to Marxism is that he inscribed Marx's theory of surplus value in philosophic materialist dialectics. Ilyenkov follows Marx in his assumption that even the crude pre-monetary exchange of one thing for another already contains the grain of surplus value and cannot meet the requirement of Marx's motto: "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs", unless economy turns to the principle of use value. The use value economy has thus to refute not only the surplus, extracted from labor force, but the principle of exchange itself. According to Ilyenkov, the use value principle could as well solve a perennial philosophic problem of 'marrying' concept and matter, and lead to the physical environment which is meaningful and eidetic. In that case the idea would be embedded in material activity; i.e. in the conditions of use value economy objecthood could overcome abstraction. However, in the economic reality of the historical socialism such decommodified 'meaningful' objects happened to be of 'poor' quality, they were inefficiently produced. With the help of philosophic epistemology and political-economic theory (Yuri Yaremenko, Karl Polanyi) the paper asks the question: can it be that this inconsistency – poorly produced objects despite the use value principle – along with being the result of fallacious production in historical socialism – was already

inherent in Marx's theory of use value itself. Inspecting this question could help to understand the advantages and drawbacks of Marx's political economy in the conditions when de-colonial and gender theories revealed their insufficiency in achieving the socio-economic equality.

Keywords: Use value, Surplus value, Labor force, Desire, Dialectical epistemology

Caste and Capitalist Transition in India: Revisiting the Mode of Production Debates

Komal Mohite

The character and trajectory of capitalism in the Indian subcontinent has been subject of myriad and extensive debates. Influenced by the global inquiries made by Marxist scholars in the mid-twentieth century on capitalist transition and political strategies of the Left Parties in the 'Third World', scholars in India began surveying the agrarian economy and the labour relations formed in the process of production. Collectively known as the 'mode of production' debates, these conversations addressed the specificity of colonialism, peasant production, agrarian labour relations, usury, and rent, among many other criteria, to determine the presence of capitalist agriculture in India. The empirical evidence and the ensuing theoretical debates yielded diversity of analysis that characterized Indian agrarian economy as either predominantly feudal, or semi-feudal and semi-colonial, non-capitalist, or capitalist. However, implicit in the mode of production debates was the fundamental association of capitalist development with the improvement of process of surplus extraction through transformation in the organization of production, i.e. real subsumption of labour by capital and not simply by transformation of social-property relations or process of formal subsumption. Secondly, the debates, premised upon the Drain theory or de-industrialization thesis, predominantly viewed colonialism as preserving feudal social relations as well as preventing the development of productive forces.

Drawing upon the Brenner thesis and critical historiography on the economic history of India, I argue that the association of development of capitalist social relations with the real subsumption process is flawed as it is derived from a 'stagist' conception of capitalist transition in Western Europe. Furthermore, I contend that colonialism functioned as a 'transmission belt' to impose capitalist imperatives on colonies such as India, and that the 'uneven' trajectory of capitalism in India with the presence of pre-capitalist forms of social organization such as the caste system does not imply that capitalist transition in India is 'incomplete'. I conclude by stating that capital externalizes the archaic elements that it cannot appropriate while perpetuating differences when they are integral to imposing its laws of motion. The persistence of caste system in India is an expression of formal

subsumption of labour by capital wherein caste-based divisions are reinforced by capital to maintain a reserve army of labour, while certain forms of unfreedom were gradually dissolved through decolonization, political reforms and social movements to create juridically free labour force.

Keywords: caste, peripheral capitalism, India, colonialism, mode of production, political economy

Rap, Hyper- masculinity and class consiousness

Konstantinos Savvopoulos

This presentation examines the concept of hyper-masculinity, as analyzed by hip-hop scholars such as Oware, Rose, and Perry. Their work explores how hyper-masculinity functions as a defense mechanism employed by working-class youth in response to perceived systemic exclusion.

Rap music and hip-hop culture play a significant role in shaping today's youth, with rap emerging as the most profitable and popular music genre worldwide. Newer sub-genres like trap and drill have gained traction, especially among younger West working-class members. Through this cultural lens, new identities are forged, such as the hyper-masculine rapper persona, where race, class, and gender intersect. This convergence provides fresh perspectives on what working-class individuals enjoy, rally around, and consume.

This topic will be explored by analyzing the lyrics of prominent rappers and artists, where hyper-masculinity themes emerge frequently. Beyond its popularity, rap has a long-standing tradition of amplifying the voices of marginalized communities and maintaining accessibility to the working class. Consequently, rap music serves as a compelling cultural mirror, reflecting the vices and virtues of several parts of working-class composition.

Keywords: Hip hop, working class, lived experience of the working class

For some women war never ends: Re-focusing, re-centering the history with Yasar Khanum

Kumru Toktamis, Associate Professor

This presentation aims to re-center the post-world war I, post-Imperial history in the formation of nation-state of Turkey engaged in a dialectical struggle with local populations and former citizens of the Ottoman Empire by focusing on the memoir of the wife of Ihsan Nouri, the leader of the Ararat Rebellion (1927-1931). Yashar Khanum was a young woman from Istanbul who married the commander of the Ararat Rebellion and following the defeat of the uprising, the couple lived and died in Iran where they were exiled based on border arrangements between Iran and Turkey. Her memoir, covers the years between 1919 and 1931 and consists of several sections that mirror the daily lives in the post-imperial territories of the former Ottoman state: First, it tells the story of a 16-year-old girl escaping from Istanbul under occupation in 1919 with her mother and younger brother, to join her older brother who was stationed as a military physician in Eastern Anatolia. Later, she falls in love and marries an Ottoman officer of Kurdish origin. Following the Ararat Rebellion, she tells the story of her journey with her mother to reach from Western Turkey to the slopes of Mount Ararat via Cyprus, Antioch, Aleppo, Kobane, crossing Tigris and Euphrates, Mosul, Bagdad and Tabriz. Both of these journeys and her observations challenge the official historiography of the end of the World War I and formation of Republic of Turkey in ways it provides a gendered perspective of destruction, diversity and borders in the emerging world that many mainstream scholars take for granted today. This presentation will reveal the competing and collaborating nationalisms of the imperial world, resulting violent conflicts which lead to mass murder (Zilan Massacre) of citizens in the name of homogenizing territories that were and still are diverse in terms of populations. Through such first-hand witness testimonies of the early days of state-formation is a valuable contribution to the literature on Violence as Politics and re-centering historical narratives based on gendered accounts.

Keywords: state-formation, Kurdish rebellions, gendered history, Ararat Rebellion

'An Object among other Objects': Frantz Fanon's Critique of Reification

Leon Schlüter

Since the 1980s, under the influence of poststructuralism and cultural studies, Frantz Fanon has increasingly been read as someone whose analysis of the colonial world was focused on racialized forms of subject formation. Contrary to such a reading, I argue in this talk that throughout his work, Fanon understood the problem of reification – to take up a

formulation by Georg Lukács – as a ‘central question of the revolutionary critique’ of the present. According to Fanon, racist practices and the colonial-capitalist system establish a relationship of structural domination in which ‘the wretched of the earth’ are turned into things and fixated as exploitable bodies. However, the concept of reification, as it is developed in the tradition of Western Marxism, is by no means left intact here and simply transposed from one context to another. Rather by centering the lived experience of black and colonized people, Fanon draws attention to previously neglected contexts of meanings. In doing so, he calls for a systematic reconceptualization of the problem of reification in light of the ‘unfinished’ history of the transatlantic slave trade. In short, a reconstruction of Fanon’s critique of reification can not only open up a new and previously neglected perspective on his own work. At the same time, I argue, it represents an unresolved theoretical challenge for contemporary debates on the phenomenon of reification as a key concept of critical theory.

Keywords: reification, racism, colonialism, critical theory, Frantz Fanon

On Jameson's Reconstruction of the Cultural Political Subject in the Resistance to Cultural Hegemony

Liang Ying, Peng Ru

In the context of postmodern society, the interweaving of the space-time paradox and cultural hegemony has made the subject's experience exhibit the characteristics of fragmentation and discontinuity, thus plunging it into a deep state of confusion and predicament. In order to effectively break the manipulation and restraint of the cultural ideology on the subject, Fredric Jameson has put forward a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, he advocates conducting in-depth criticism and exposure of ideology through the interpretation of texts, aiming to enable individuals to gain insight into the manipulation mechanism behind ideology and its falsity, and to achieve the deepening and liberation of the subject's self-awareness. On the other hand, Jameson has introduced the concept of cognitive mapping to decode the real appearance of late capitalist society, helping the subject accurately position itself in the global cognitive map, clarify its class affiliation, form an overall class consciousness, and then condense into a cultural and political force capable of resisting capitalist hegemony. Jameson's vision is to confront cultural hegemony under the trend of cultural globalization by constructing cultural and political subjects and to promote the development of socialist politics. However, this ideal construction is a utopian vision in the cultural and political realm and obviously bears a strong flavor of fantasy.

Keywords: Cultural Hegemony, Cultural Politics, Subject Reconstruction, Ideology

Strike activity and inequality: cross-country panel evidence from the sixties

Lorenza Leva

This paper intends to investigate the relationship between strike activity and inequality over the long run. We construct a newly developed dataset including fifteen countries over the period 1960-2022, able to collect information on number of strikes, incidence of strikes, number of non-worked hours. We link the strikes dataset with information on economic inequality of each specific country of interest, proxied by both the Gini coefficient and the labour share. We conduct non-parametric analysis and complement with a time varying fixed-effect estimation. Preliminary evidence suggests a state-dependent relationship according to which strikes negatively correlate with economic inequality up until the Neoliberal turn. Afterwards, and particularly in recent periods, the number of strikes is positively associated with inequality. Therefore strikes, as a proxy for labour power, appear to be both able to adverse inequality, but also a symptom of the explosion of the latter. Implications on the relevance of striking activity for general economic inequality are drawn on the basis of our study. The latter might represent an inequality-reducing mechanism, via a process of rebalancing of different societal powers. As part of this research project, the aim is to extend the scope of the analysis to encompass social and environmental conflicts alongside labor-related disputes. Given that environmental challenges represent a pivotal dimension of contemporary social conflicts, examining their relationship with the growing inequalities in income distribution could provide valuable insights.

Keywords: labour power, inequality, social and environmental conflicts

Understanding hostility to the Other in Alain Badiou's materialism

Lucas Azevedo Maksud

For Marxism, the contradiction between materialism and idealism has defined philosophy since the Greeks (Badiou, 2017, p. 183), in addition to the opposition between dialectical and metaphysical thinking. Therefore, at the materialist pole of philosophy and following the famous Marxian distinction of mechanistic/metaphysical materialism and the subsequent constitution of historical materialism, Marxism refers, from Lenin to Althusser, to a truth that is political and thus denounces any philosophical ontology as ideology, that

is, justifying and perpetuating an existence that is in truth mutable.

In an attempt to readjust dialectical framework, Alain Badiou nevertheless aims for a dialectical materialism that can still harbor ontology, this time an ontology of multiplicities. We are referring here to an ontology that is attentive to the times of absolute disorientation that we are experiencing in late capitalism given its desacralizing characteristic, which imposes the end of sacred figures of bond and in which, to recall Marx, everything solid falls apart in the air. In addition, of course, to deal with an ontology that does not become mere ideology and that is attentive to the contingency of the capitalist situation in our world.

This is because the problem of philosophy for Badiou is no longer alterity, the other, but the infinite. Infinite is the general problem, while alterity is only a sub-problem. The problem is not exactly the difference itself, nor how we respect the culture of the other, to put it more concretely, but the production of indifference. In this sense, it will always be reactionary to separate identity and difference, and ontology will have to continue systematically unveiling this multiplicity: in front of our identities, there is always the other, the immigrant, the mother, the Jew, the black person...

In the rigor of such an ontology, hostility to the Other will therefore be seen not as arbitrary violence or something that, beyond identities, would fall under the realm of the unspeakable, but something that has its logic described, something that has its dilemma formalized. Badiou sums it up by recognizing two possibilities. The postulation of an identity either 1) presents a closed totality and, in this case, externality is so threatening and enormous due to its infinite nature that you will keep reinforcing the barriers, building an infinity of barriers (which is impossible, since you are in the realm of the finite) and, in the end, you will give up or die; or 2) this totalization is infinite and, in this case, otherness will emerge as an internal enemy within the identity of the Same, resulting in an endlessly purgation, which you will also have to give up or die (Badiou 2022, p. 108).

Keywords: Hostility. Other. Infinity. Materialism. Ontology. Identity.

Poison Soluble, Blood for Sale: Labours of Refusal and the Insoluble Pain of Others

Lucy Wowk

“Contemporary modalities of demolition are crystallizing, profoundly putting into question the classic dichotomies form/matter, matter/materials, material/immaterial, natural/artificial, and end/means.”

— Achille Mbembe, *Brutalism* (2023, xv)

This paper stages an encounter between two aesthetic acts that operate at the crux of those dichotomies outlined by Mbembe: *Poison Soluble* by Jean Jacques Label (2013) and *Blood for Sale* by Khaled Jarrar (2018). *Poison Soluble* is a life-size maze constructed out of large-scale prints depicting the American army's abuse of Abu Ghraib prisoners. Its display at the 12th Berlin Biennale for Contemporary Art (2022) resulted in the resignation of curator Ana Teixeira Pinto and the withdrawal of works by Sajjad Abbas, Layth Kareem, and Raed Muta in protest (Artforum). In *Blood for Sale* (2018), Palestinian artist Khaled Jarrar sold vials of his own blood on Wall Street at prices matching the stock value of American defense contractors (Hyperallergic).

Understanding contemporary artworks as commodities, I read both instances "as crystals of...social substance" that constitute them as commodity-values (Marx, *Capital I*, p. 128). Given that the "substance of value...is labour" (131), I offer a reading of the works that considers how the labour in each case performs a reconfiguration of the labour-value relation. The labour of refusal by Pinto, Abbas, Kareem, and Muta converts/reverts their work outside of recognizable forms of value. The literalization of 'blood on your hands' enacted in Jarrar's performance reveals the depletion of his own blood as a source of his labour power, as it is sold in a performance contributing to his own value as an artist. This act converts/reverts the abstraction (and figurality) of the complicity of financial capital and the art world in Palestinian (or otherwise subaltern) life/death (as represented by 'blood' as 'life' and its sale as 'death').

In both cases, configurations of the literal/figurative are demolished, rearranged, and crystalized, as the abstractions of finance capital and the art world are made to come into contact with the raw material violence of human life/nonlife. Reading each work materially, socially, historically, and symbolically, I inquire into the relation between the aesthetic (as value judgement) and non-aesthetic (as raw material) in mediating the amalgamate implied by the concept-metaphor "capitalocene"—that is, the convergence of the supra-human; the material-geologic; and the capital-symbolic—and its associated eschatological implications.

Keywords: aesthetics; value; abstraction; materialism; labour

Genocide as an expression of the General Laws of Capitalist Accumulation: On the Contemporary Forms of Surplus Working-Class Population Production

Luis Cortes

This presentation aims to update aspects of the general law of capitalist accumulation in Marx's *Capital*. Focusing on how capital defines and produces the surplus nature of the

working-class population, we will analyze genocide as an inherent characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, following contemporary cases such as the ongoing genocide in Gaza and the occupation of Palestine will be put in relation with other cases of surplus population destruction such as Haiti and Sudan.

The presentation will draw on the theoretical developments referred to machinery and large-scale industry contemporary to Marx on the reproduction of the working class, which explains how the drive of individual capitals to appropriate relative surplus value undermines the same source of surplus value, as it constantly excludes working population from the production process as a whole. However, following recent contributions of Juan Iñigo Carrera regarding the new international division of labor, we will show that specificity of the process in its current development is that it does not span sections of a national working class nor particular regions of a country, but rather entire countries or regions of the world that become constituted as reservoirs of a global industrial reserve army.

In this context, we will discuss the global dynamic that this process entails between the political forms that the administration of surplus population takes in industrial reserve army reservoirs, the ways in which genocide appears as the form of their systematic destruction, and how this relates with the flow of refugee population from these towards industrialized economies. With this, we aim not only to theoretically update Marxist analysis but also to delineate the current political challenges faced by the working class. In particular, we will emphasize the fragmentation of its political action as one of the main issues to be addressed.

Keywords: Capital - surplus población - relative surplus

Class struggle in the 2019 uprising in Chile

Luis Meiners

Five years have elapsed since the 2019 uprising in Chile. Studying the role of labor during this period can provide crucial insights to the potential and limits of the political capabilities of the working class. However, much of the literature on the subject has eclipsed the role of labor by emphasizing spontaneity and/or focusing on the emergence of broad based heterogeneous social actors. This occlusion is arguably not the result of the lack of actual participation of the organized working class in the uprising. It is rather an effect of analytical frameworks that overplay the “epochal shift” ushered in by the dictatorship and the turn towards neoliberalism and argue that the antagonism between labor and capital has lost its centrality. Under these new conditions, they argue, so-called “traditional” social actors, such as the labor movement, were largely disarticulated. Indeed, five decades of neoliberal offensive and the legacies of the Pinochet dictatorship

deeply impacted the capabilities of working class organization and collective action. However, the labor movement did play a role in the 2019 uprising. The general strike of November 12, the largest since 1986, included some of the most disruptive forms of collective action and arguably constituted a turning point in the process. The importance of these actions gets lost in a sea of “new” forms of political subjectivity. Additionally, the mentioned frameworks disconnect the struggles in the sphere of production and reproduction, relegating class to the former and understanding the latter as new social movements.

This paper seeks to analyze the participation of the working class in the 2019 uprising within a broader historical context marked by the authoritarian shift to neoliberalism and its continuities after the transition to democracy. It does so by foregrounding a class struggle analytical framework which understands the struggles against neoliberalism both in the sphere of production and reproduction as fundamentally structured by the antagonism between labor and capital. The paper analyzes the shift in the balance of class forces produced by the Pinochet dictatorship and consolidated in democracy, both historically and looking at how this shift was expressed in the social structure. I then look at how these conditions were challenged in a cycle that began with the struggles for education in 2006 and culminated in the 2019 uprising. I analyze how these struggles were conditioned by the neoliberal offensive and how they have reshaped the balance of class forces. Finally, I argue that the current impasse is rooted in this new balance of class forces.

Keywords: balance of class forces - uprising

Gaza and us

Luiz Renato Martins

Genocide occupies a new place nowadays. From an aberrant exception, it has become the intrinsic logic of current wars that makes the extermination of the other the main vector. How does this affect those who seemingly are outside the war field? This work begins by reviewing the inquiries about genocide that took place in the West after the first measures of critical awareness in the face of systematic massacres that occurred in World War I and which, despite everything, continued to multiply. Lemkin, Sartre, Pasolini, Gunder Frank, Oiticica, and Linhart are some authors who questioned and reflected on the issue in historical terms.

However today regardless of the various critical figures and the extended field of application of the concepts of genocide, extermination strategies have the adherence of leading world powers, besides broad social sectors? What the Gaza genocide tells us about current times?

Keywords: Western debate on genocide, permanent state of war, extended field of genocide concepts; apartheid and the Zionist urban models; the New Gazas;

The Purpose of a Political Label: 'Terrorism' and the Historical Zionist Genocide of the Palestinian People

Madhumita Varma

The act of Palestinian resistance to occupation on 7th October 2023 was labelled as a 'terrorist' attack, which continues to be used as a justification for the ongoing historical genocide of the Palestinian people. Although the term genocide is used, rightfully, to refer to the current Zionist extermination of Gazans, as per its international legal definition, i.e. the 1948 Genocide Convention, the Zionist genocide of the Palestinian people predates 7th October 2023. Genocide has historically been part of the Zionist settler colonial project and is not unique to it. In considering that genocide is a non-linear long-term process as per its stages listed by Genocide Watch, my paper focuses on an aspect of its stage of dehumanisation – attribution of the 'terrorist' label. The use of this label to de-historicise and de-politicise Palestinian resistance to occupation and apartheid has also dehumanised Palestinians both individually and collectively. The use of this political label has and continues to enable genocide and settler colonialism. My paper examines this aspect of the long-term dehumanisation of the Palestinians and how it has historically been used by the Zionist entity to justify the mass displacement, killing and torture of Palestinians. In so doing, it recognises that 'the Zionist entity' is not a monolith. Thus, my paper takes a closer look at the revisionist Zionist imagination of a 'Greater Israel' and Benjamin Netanyahu's attempt at transforming the international discourse on 'terrorism' particularly since the late 1970s. My research shows that his attempts were instrumental in shaping the mainstream western narrative on 'terrorism' prior to the current extermination of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and prior to the post-9/11 'War on Terror'.

Keywords: Terrorism, Palestine, Zionism, Genocide, Settler Colonialism

Green Grab through Elites of Indigenous Communities: A Case from Poco Leok Geothermal Power Plant Project in Flores Island

Maghfira Fitra Yulianti

The Green Transition program is made an urgency when Global South countries are faced with the buzz of “Climate Crisis” imposed by the Global North. In Indonesia, the program is determined as National Strategic Project, with an emphasis on its efficiency and acceleration. As a response to that, Flores Island was declared a Geothermal Island in 2017, with plans to develop Geothermal Power Plants at 18 locations, including the Poco Leok Geothermal Power Plant.

The pressure from the Global North to pursue transition to clean and renewable energy through National Strategic Project has been used as justification for land grab and the exclusion of indigenous communities in Poco Leok. This has been accompanied by repressive actions from the police and military, carried out through both government and corporations, to those who opposed. Ironically, the elders of Poco Leok welcomed the project plan through land sale transactions, and dividing the voices of the indigenous communities when faced with this project and its ecological consequences.

This study argues that elites of Poco Leok indigenous communities become the very agent of neoliberal facilitating agrarian change and alienation of their own people from their ancestral land through Green Transition program. Furthermore, this study will explore how the program intensified the class antagonism within the Poco Leok indigenous community, while positioning all of them as subjects of criminal.

Keywords: Green Grabbing, Indigenous Community, Green Transition

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Keywords: Green Grabbing, Indigenous Community, Green Transition

Global Israel, Global Palestine: Ruptures and Connections

Magid Shihade

Global Israel, Global Palestine: Settler Colonialism, Ruptures and Connections

In this paper, I build in previous articles and book chapter about the nature of the Israeli state and its global implications by creating local, regional, and global ruptures. Also on the Palestine question and how it has become an issue of global connections. I engage with the work of Faye Sayegh, the work of Patrick Wolfe, and connect them finally with the work of Ibn Khaldun on the question of settler colonialism. I also engage with colonial studies, especially the psychology of the oppressed (Fanon, among others), and how that has been less so studied in the field of settler colonialism. So, the aim to connect fields and scholars that are supposedly not so connected, fields of scholarships that often studies in isolation, and finally through this is to understand what is happening in Palestine and the region, and what we can foresee to come in the future.

Keywords: Israel, Palestine, Local and Global implications

The Problem of Common Sense: Anticolonial Marxism without Guarantees

Malav Kanuga

Recognizing the current conjuncture as one shaped by compounding and multi-dimensional crisis, as well as strategic impasse for many left projects internationally, this paper explores the problem of common sense as a key site of the production of consensus to capitalist and

colonial rule. What does the legacy of anticolonial marxism reveal about how racist, xenophobic, and imperial logics are embedded into everyday ideologies and beliefs—in culture, media, education, and other everyday terrains of narrative—that lend stability and seeming permanence despite the historically contingent and socially constructed volatilities and indeterminacies of capital’s many crises. That is, how does racial capital maintain its core ability to sustain itself in the present conjuncture despite and through its crises? This is both a cultural-ideological problem as well as a class compositional challenge to the coherence of a common left project that can pose and win a program for a new society, and that can stitch together various sectors into a hegemonic bloc.

Furthermore, what does the legacy of Third World coalition building and its central role in cohering of social struggles by anticolonial and antisystemic social movements globally teach us about the challenges of internationalism in the present conjuncture.

The problem of internationalism, and its necessity as a political project in which sovereignty and self-determination depended, was posed by a number of key frontline struggles, theories, and figures of the nonaligned movement. Moreover, the era’s focus on the question of fascism and imperial violence offer key lessons for how capitalist accumulation and state violence cohere today in a governing project that manages to achieve consensus through crisis, in both political economic and cultural realms, in which imperial narratives and supremacist logics occupy the terms of order of survival for all.

Grappling with its limitations and historical failures as a project to bring about both anticolonial and anticapitalist revolutionary change, this paper explores the coalitional forms of possibilities of labor insurgencies, land and water defense, struggles for anticolonial self-determination through the framework of coalition.

Keywords: internationalism, coalition, class compositions, common sense, anticolonial marxism

Permanent Revolutionary Organizations: An Analysis of the Lives and Experiences of Quilombos in the State of Piauí, Northeastern Brazil

Maria Isabelle de Carvalho Nogueira and Amelia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel

In Brazil, approximately 1,330,186 people live in quilombola communities, which are characterised by egalitarian resource-sharing practices and collective labour, reflecting a solidarity-based economy. Quilombos are formed by Black communities that have historically resisted slavery and the impositions of capitalist society. These struggles have led to the constitutional recognition in Brazil of their right to collective land ownership. Michael Löwy’s analysis of Benjamin Péret’s Comuna de Palmares highlights that

quilombos sustain a social organisation rooted in solidarity and the absence of hierarchical authority. According to Rosa Luxemburg, capital accumulation requires the expansion of capitalism into natural economies. Thus, the quilombola communities' resistance to capitalist exploitation positions them as permanent revolutionary organisations. In this context, this paper seeks to share the lives and experiences of quilombos in the State of Piauí, Northeastern Brazil, as living examples of post-capitalist solidarity in practice, linking them to broader reflections on an emancipatory future.

Keywords: Post Capitalism; Quilombola Communities; Capitalist resistance; Solidarity;

Agrarian Cooperativism, Market Integration and Agro-Culinary Transitions in the Peruvian Andes

María José Jordán Edwards

This project aims to rethink the relationship between peasant farmers, commodification and food security in the context of rural neoliberalisation in the Peruvian Andes. Agrarian scholarship has focused primarily on agricultural and labour dynamics. Cuisine is foregrounded in this research, to explore how the desires (and constraints) that are manifest in cooking and eating practices influence the production and reproduction strategies of peasant farmers beyond the capitalist imperative of maximising profits. The focus of my empirical research will be a dynamic agrarian cooperative located in the Cajamarca region of the Peruvian Andes. The objective is to explore how market integration alters peasant agroculinary systems, influencing their food security and overall well-being.

Despite smallholders' crucial contribution to global food security through the conservation of crops' genetic diversity and production of major staple crops, the precarity of rural livelihoods is still a pressing concern. Cajamarca, a biodiversity hotspot known for its agricultural and culinary products, has one of the highest indexes of food insecurity in Peru. Simultaneously, Peru ranks as the most food-insecure country in South America (FAO 2022), with half of the population facing malnutrition.

Rural poverty and hunger are commonly attributed to peasants' exclusion from markets, thus, neoliberal reforms have promoted their integration into the capitalist economy as a silver bullet solution to face these issues. Within agrarian studies, orthodox Marxist political economists have argued that capitalist development either leads to the disintegration of the peasantry or heightens their vulnerability to exploitation. In contrast, food sovereignty scholars, influenced largely by Chayanov's ideas, emphasize that peasants persist because their reproduction is never fully dependent on commodity

relations. In line with many recent studies, my research hopes to problematise food sovereignty scholars' assumption that markets are inherently detrimental to peasant communities, arguing that strategic engagement can potentially enhance rural food security and local biodiversity, as well as sustain the reproduction of peasant lifeworlds.

This project is situated at the crossroads of agrarian studies and food anthropology and seeks to explore the following questions: As production for exchange rather than use-value becomes more prevalent, how are traditional agroculinary practices being transformed? Which motivations and constraints influence peasants' balance of market-driven and subsistence-oriented strategies? How do these decisions impact the socioeconomic and environmental sustainability of their food systems? How are the effects of accelerated commodification manifested among the cooperative associates along class, racial and gender lines?

Keywords: Peasant cooperatives, commodification, market integration, food security, agroculinary systems

The Greek affinity to Zionism: putting the rising Greek-Israeli alliance in context

Markos Adamopoulos, Giannis Eustathiou

Contrary to popular thinking, the Greek state and its political personnel had always been invested in the Zionist Plan. This interest was slowly realized, following an upward trajectory, in the post-war era by bringing together the two states into a joint economic-military regional axis. This plan matured through the overcoming of exterior obstacles, such as the negative attitude towards Israel that was at the time held by many of the Arab nation-states that Greece was collaborating with.

Greek Zionist philosemitism is rooted in the European post-Enlightenment idea of assimilation-through-integration of its Jewish populations into its colonial plans. Zionist philosemitism is not contradictory to the antisemitism of European states, and it has in fact accompanied it as a “complimentary strategy” within the hegemonic European colonial approach to the “Jewish question”.

In this presentation, we will trace the Greek state's position within the wider European Zionist colonial strategy, along with its regional particularity as an active benefactor of Zionism. We will examine Greek capitalism's crucial transportive role in service of the global colonial system along with the history of the Greek-Israeli alliance.

Furthermore, we will challenge the hegemonic narratives around Holocaust memory, Greek anti-Semitism, and Greek-Israeli relations. In doing so, we will try to provide a sufficient explanation for the reasons behind the Greek state's current actively supportive attitude towards Israel, a significant enabling factor of the ongoing genocide of the Palestinian people.

Keywords: Zionism, settler-colonialism, Greece, Antisemitism

Marxism and Earth System Science: On Labour, Intention, and Compulsion in the Capitalocene

Mathew Abbott

In an early work taking up Wilfrid Sellars's project of integrating the 'manifest' and 'scientific' images of the world, Ray Brassier describes the goal of philosophy as "synoptic in that it strives to reconcile a basic disjunction in our conception of reality, [a] diremption between our self-understanding as intentional subjects and our scientific understanding of ourselves..." ("The View from Nowhere," p. 7). Following Brassier's insight – and his more recent work on Marxism as the explication of capital's deformation of rational self-consciousness – this paper argues that Sellars's synoptic project is the proper starting point for grasping the relationship between Marxism and Earth system science. The paper argues we should reject readings of Marx as endorsing a conception of labour as mastery of nature and the related model of intentional activity as action planned in accordance with an internal mental conception. For Marx, self-conscious labour is an organismic activity with a formally distinct structure; in labour we express what we share with all other organisms as well as our difference from them. Labouring under what Søren Mau calls the compulsion of valorisation means seeing the question 'Why?' lose application to aspects of one's labour, just as the question has unclear application to activities like the emission of carbon. A Marxist account of Earth and our role in shaping it must integrate the results of natural scientific inquiry with political economic inquiry into economic power and philosophical inquiry into human action as such: a truly synoptic critical theory to orient organising in the capitalocene. Ecological crisis gives practical urgency to the task of joining the manifest and scientific images: establishing a rational metabolism with nature would mean taking control of our labour, coming to know, and learning to inhabit, a permanently disrupted Earth system.

Keywords: Marxism; Earth system science; capitalocene; Wilfrid Sellars; labour; intention; compulsion; Søren Mau; Ray Brassier

Jackson, Jameson, and the Torment of Trumpism's Unhappy Consciousness

Matthew Smith

The bulk of mainstream commentaries struggle to preserve a thesis of liberal continuity in U.S. politics by sifting through Donald Trump's sordid personality for evidence that his staggering political success can be viewed as aberrational. But the coalescence of a widespread emulative style—indeed, a distinctive political culture—among Trump's supporters cannot be explained by painting Trumpism as a deviation from supposed equalitarian norms. I argue through Fredric Jameson's narratological repurposing of A.J. Greimas's "structural semantics" that Trumpism must be understood as the expression of the historically grounded political unconscious of contemporary mass politics in the U.S. I portray Trumpism as a repetition of an ideological form that coalesced under Andrew Jackson, the United States' seventh president, whose regime exploited nationalist sentiment conjoined with the elimination of property restrictions on white male suffrage to drive a then-unprecedented scale of imperialist expansion. But as the achievement of the Jacksonian self-idealization of landed autonomy for white male proprietors remained an impossibility for most of its adherents in the milieu of the 1830s, even when aided by genocidal expulsion of Indigenous peoples, all the more have the contemporary conditions of advanced U.S. capitalism made it quixotic. Trumpism emerges as a Jamesonian/Lacanian ideological fantasy to satiate desire for a fulfillment of this sedimented Jacksonian form: a resolution whose real impossibility is the constant torment of Trumpism's unhappy consciousness.

Keywords: Trump, Jameson, Lacan, Andrew Jackson

An Eye for an Eye: Self-Ownership and Socialist Strategy

Max Hancock

At the turn of the century, American radicals argued that contract labor amounted to an attack on workers' self-ownership. In 1887, George McNeill, a Massachusetts mill worker and high-ranking Knight of Labor, wrote that "There is an inevitable and irresistible conflict between the wage-system of labor and the republican system of government... the conditions of [a wage earner's] employment are debasing, and not elevating, demoralizing, and not self-controlling." In 1901, a craftsman named Jose Gros wrote in the *International Wood Worker* that "No man can claim to physically own himself who can only make a living by actually selling himself by the day, week, or month to a boss or corporation." Copping from Locke, Gros argued that his conditions of employment violated his natural right to property in his own person.

But by the midcentury, “self-ownership” was the province of right-libertarians, who used the concept to motivate their arguments against income redistribution. One notorious argument went like this: Nobody would tolerate a government that combatted blindness by redistributing its citizens’ eyeballs, so why should anybody tolerate a government that combats poverty by redistributing its citizens’ private incomes? To many, it seemed that the tax, not the wage, was the real threat to self-ownership. Even the analytic Marxist G.A. Cohen (who wrote a book on the topic) found he could not positively refute the self-ownership thesis.

How did a radical strategy against the degradation of work become part of a capitalist strategy to lower taxes? The answer, I will argue, is that in the intervening years, the spread of the commodity form remade the self and the value that attaches to it in fundamental ways. Productive development made the “self” in question into a divisible commodity and an index of its owner’s wage-earning capacity. For Historical Materialism 2025, I will write a history of work and self-ownership, inspired by William Sewell’s “concrete history of abstraction.” I will show how abstraction remade the eyeball, specifically, using the archives of industrial ophthalmology and workmen’s compensation. The upshot of my paper is that Cohen doesn’t go far enough. Marxists ought to refute self-ownership—a strategy of decommodification requires it.

Keywords: Commodification; Property; Strategy; The body

Freedom and Unfreedom in Marx's "Capital"

me

This paper argues that Marx’s mature theory of freedom is composed of three related conceptions of freedom and unfreedom. Most central is freedom as collective autonomy, understood as rational and intentional governance of the production process via a common plan. Marx contrasts this ideal with commodity production, a situation where the shape of productive life arises unintentionally, without the guidance of conscious knowledge or action. Contra other positive-freedom (or freedom-as-mastery) readings of Marx (Wood 2004, Berlin 1958), Marx does not rely upon a philosophical theory of human nature. Marx’s second and third conceptions are of unfreedom as domination. Marx argues that workers are dominated by the “autocratic power” of capitalists in the workplace, but adds that the domination of capitalists is constrained by the “domination of capital.” Workplace autocracy is real and disastrous, but capitalists are driven by competitive pressure toward constant relative and absolute surplus-extraction. Existing domination-centric readings (Roberts 2017, Wood 2017, Mau 2023) underplay Marx’s

emphasis upon domination by capital and mistakenly suggest relations of domination arise in the market as such. Rather, when Marx abstracts from capitalist surplus-extraction, his focus is clearly and significantly on freedom as collective autonomy. This is key to understanding his vision of emancipation from capitalist relations of production. Since Marx takes it that capitalist production presupposes generalized commodity production, the abolition of the latter through collectively autonomous planned production will also mean the abolition of the former. Additionally, Marx's focus on collective autonomy highlights that he wanted to do away with the irrationality of capitalist production, and not only mitigate the interpersonal interference to which it gives rise. Marx thus points us toward an organization of society in which productive acts are consciously determined choices rather than mere byproducts of locally made, constrained, and uncoordinated decisions.

Keywords: Marx, freedom, political theory, domination, capital, philosophy

The Difference Between Individual and State Terrorism In Light Of Current Events

Me

Thirteen days after the shooting of UnitedHealthcare CEO Brian Thompson the Chinese state executed Li Jianping, a corrupt official from Inner Mongolia who had embezzled over 3 million Yuan. These two events display two opposed definitions of the term "terrorism": the politically-motivated murder of individuals accused by the people, and not the law, of crimes against society, versus the use of an institution of the state to execute traitors embodied by the Reign of Terror during the rule of the Committee of Public Safety in France from 1793-4.

This presentation seeks to explore two responses to the question of the utility of individual terrorism: Trotsky's Why Marxists Should Oppose Individual Terrorism and the speech delivered by Georges Danton to the National Convention in 1793 on the creation of a Revolutionary Tribunal.

For Trotsky, to kill a capitalist in your capacity an individual is 'inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes towards a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission.' For him the only method of the revolutionary proletariat to exercise justice upon bourgeois society was the strike, as the only true form of expression of class power.

Danton faced a similar, if opposed, dilemma. His speech aimed to replace the popular

violence of the Parisian sans-culottes, the September massacres of prisoners of the revolution and the practice of mob hangings of treasonous ministers and aristocrats to lamp post, with the juridically legitimated execution of traitors by guillotine. By identifying the law of the revolutionary state with the will of the people, Danton seeks to relieve the masses of the responsibility of carrying out acts of terror by creating institutions capable of meting out justice on social criminals: 'let us be terrible in order that the people may be spared the necessity of being terrible.'

Finally, this presentation seeks to discuss the heritage of the French revolutionary terrorist state in the communist regimes in China and Vietnam, seen in the death sentences handed out to billionaires deemed to have stolen their wealth from the people.

In an age of weapons manufacturers supplying a genocide from offices in major Western cities, I ask: should Marxists strategically oppose individual acts of terror against class enemies? And if so, are either state terror or the strike adequate alternatives?

Keywords: Marxist strategy, terror, the state

A Comparative Analysis of Right-Wing Conservative Discourses: The Cases of Turkey's AKP and Germany's AfD

Melek Zorlu

In my presentation, I examine the mobilization strategies of right-wing conservative populist parties in Turkey and Germany, specifically focusing on the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). This research is grounded in the global rise of right-wing populism, driven by factors such as income inequality, migration, and the erosion of local identities under the pressures of globalization. While these movements often evoke themes of authoritarianism and populism, this study highlights the need for a more nuanced framework to fully understand their appeal.

The AKP initially rose to power in 2002 with democratic and pro-European Union rhetoric but gradually transitioned to more conservative, Islamist, and authoritarian policies. Its current agenda emphasizes traditional family values, anti-feminism, and opposition to LGBTQ+ rights, alongside a distinct stance on migration shaped by Turkey's unique position as a hub for significant migration inflows and outflows. Conversely, the AfD has shifted from its early focus on EU and Eurozone criticism to a platform centered on anti-immigration, anti-Islam, and climate skepticism. These discourses reflect broader societal anxieties in Germany, particularly regarding migration and cultural identity. This comparative analysis employs discourse analysis and election data to investigate how

the narratives of the AKP and AfD resonate with their respective voter bases. By analyzing these cases, the study seeks to uncover shared strategies, points of divergence, and deeper insights into how conservative ideologies mobilize support across different cultural and historical contexts.

Keywords: Right-wing populism, conservatism, AKP, AfD, migration, voter mobilization.

'Bone deep witnessing: an exploration of solidarity practices in (radical) leftist organizing'

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In this paper we set out to explore how 'bearing witness' plays an important role in (radical) leftist organizing spaces. This will be done through the notions of 'shaheed' and 'martyrdom' as attempts to break down the distinction between observer and observed, which is to say between the one who witnesses and that which is witnessed (Moten, 2017). We explore the ways in which solidarity with those who struggle and resist oppressive forces is understood and practiced differently across organizing spaces. In doing so, we argue that the concept of 'bearing witness'—which, in our view, is deeply intertwined with the notions of 'shaheed' and 'martyrdom'—provides an important lens for understanding how our solidarity takes shape and, in turn, shapes us. The Arabic term for martyr "shaheed", also translates to "the one who witnesses", while the etymology of "martyrdom" in its Greek roots similarly conveys the definition of bearing witness. To better understand how 'bearing witness' is tied to solidarity, we will explore this alongside Nathaniel Mackey's (1993), by way of Fred Moten's work, 'bone deep listening'—which we argue in this study to mean 'bone deep witnessing'—Huey P. Newton's (2020) 'revolutionary suicide', Joy James's (2023) 'captive maternal' and Bouteldja and Younes's (2023) revolutionary love. We will do this by studying our own involvement in Palestine solidarity organizing in The Netherlands (and organizing more broadly) and how, through this idea of 'bone deep witnessing', an inseparability (Moten, 2017) might emerge as a function of solidarity in organizing for better worlds.

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Keywords: bone deep witnessing, solidarity, shaheed, martyrdom, inseparability

Rethinking Financialization Through the Actuality of the Law to the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall

Mert Miraç Dündar

This presentation aims to explain financialization through the perspective of the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall to understand the recent transformation in the relationship between production and finance, moving beyond approaches that view financialization merely as an epiphenomenon of stagnating tendencies in the sphere of production or as a signifier of a new epoch. Contrary to the common perception of Marx's law as an external economic law, this presentation will propose a methodological approach to law grounded in the intra- and inter-class struggle which explains not only the capitalist crises but also transformations occurring in the 'normal' course of accumulation. To this end, it is argued that different conceptualizations of competition function as building blocks for different theories of crisis while simultaneously influencing the set of premises underlying the different approaches of financialization. Therefore, the need to distinguish between different levels of abstraction in conceptualizing competition is highlighted. By investigating the transformation in the relationship between production and finance, it is concluded that a closer relationship between real accumulation and fictitious accumulation has been established, while different forms of capital have become more interconnected, resulting in an intensification of competition. As a result, this paper argues that financialization, rather than a spontaneous phenomenon arising as a result of external economic laws, needs to be understood as a deliberate capital accumulation strategy and a state project, conceptualized as a mobilization of the countertendencies against the fall in the rates of profit.

Keywords: law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, financialization, competition

To Begin from the Beginning: On the Possibility of Winning Hearts and Minds Against the Cognitive Crisis of the Left

Metehan Cömert, Ugur Sumbul

In their introduction to *The Idea of Communism* in 2010, Slavoj Žižek and Costas Douzinas declared, “[t]he long night of the Left is coming to a close.” A little more than a decade later, in his recent essay on Trump’s electoral victory, Žižek stated, “[t]he Left has reached its zero point” and, with a Beckettian tone, proposed a project of “begin from the beginning” as a guiding political principle for the bleak present and the dystopic future. In other words, the belief that the global crisis had shaken neoliberal hegemony and would catalyse a resurgence of leftist thought seems to have gradually faded, supplanted by a growing tide of pessimism. Today, humanity seems to stand at the very centre of an impasse, where the state of hopelessness has deeply entrenched into a category of unquestioned ‘normalcy’ in the era of polycrisis. Authoritarian tendencies are rising globally—and, worse, becoming increasingly ‘desirable.’ Far-right movements are gaining strength, violence is erupting in many regions, and innocent lives are being lost. At a time when inequality has reached historically unprecedented levels, the widespread belief that the world is on an irreversible path to ecological collapse has taken root, and democracy has been reduced to empty rhetoric, does the idea of the Left have a future? Put differently, if merely whispering the name of the Left is used as a tool of ‘the politics of fear’, and this alone suffices to secure electoral victories around the globe, what can be done to reshape the future, and how should the Left embark on such a task? In light of such pressing questions, this study traces the uses of the Left as an instrument of the politics of fear in contemporary political discourse and then emphasises the need for a struggle ‘over meanings’ alongside the material one to win back hearts and minds.

Keywords: the left, politics of fear, crisis of the left, far-right, polycrisis

The Class-Functionalist Theory of Race: An Empirical Exploration

Michael Billeaux-Martinez, David Calnitsky

Many scholars of racism have suggested that it was an ideological adaptation to the development of capitalist class relations. This article explores that theme, arguing for a class functionalist explanation of race and examining some empirical evidence to evaluate it. Capitalist class relations are often unstable because exploitation produces conflict. Support mechanisms are thus required as system stabilizers. Those systems that find such support mechanisms are more likely to be durable in the long run. There are at least two such mechanisms: make the exploited content through rising incomes, or divide the

discontented. Racial inequality stabilizes capitalist class relations because it divides the discontented and provides a steady supply of low wage labor, and increases the long-term survival odds of those class relations. Racial inequality, insofar as it “works,” is selected for. In this case, high or rising profit rates are the signal of stability.

We present correlational evidence on whether or not we see observable “functional benefits” of race on class, which is insufficient but necessary to support the functionalist explanation. In particular, correlational data ought to link racism with higher rates of inequality, which are unstable in the absence of a divider, and higher rates of profit, which are facilitated both by working class division and suppressed wages. Because rising incomes may be an alternative functional stabilizer, we would expect a weaker functional relationship in contexts where median income growth is high.

We therefore test the following hypotheses: (1) Societies with increasing rates of income inequality should see lagged increases in racial exclusion, or political instability; (2) Societies with increasing rates of racial exclusion should see lagged increases in the rate of profit; and (3) these relationships should be strongest in contexts with low income growth.

In making this case, we first provide a general defense of functional explanations and explain how they work and when they fail. Because the nature of functional explanation requires the explanandum to have important effects in the world, this argument puts race at the center of any discussion of capitalist class relations in racialized societies and explains it on the basis of its effects rather than its causes. Nonetheless, as we show in our conclusion, none of these arguments imply that race or racism is inherent to capitalist class relations. Racism may be explained by capitalism, even if it is not necessary for it.

Keywords: Capitalism, Race, Class, Theory

Antinomies of Anti-Imperialism

Michael Giesbrecht

From the Russian invasion of the Ukraine to the American-sponsored Israeli genocide in Gaza, this decade has been defined by the dramatic return of imperialism to the geopolitical stage. However, the question of anti-imperialist praxis faces its own crisis of direction, evinced by the lacklustre response of a segment in the internationalist left to the fall of Assad. Despite calling for Palestinian self-determination, such voices deign to treat popular Syrian desire for liberation from the Baathist regime as subordinate to this regime’s perceived role in the ‘axis of resistance,’ reducing Syria to a mere transportation hub between Iran and its Lebanese benefactors. The collapse of Assad and reckoning with

his regime's brutality, symbolized by the opening of Sednaya Prison, not only poses a moral challenge to those who shielded the regime on anti-imperialist grounds: it betrays their analytic and strategic mistake of reifying geopolitics at the expense of popular political organizing and resistance.

Rather than just a failure of a certain 'neo-campism,' this presentation proposes that the 'crisis' reflects an antimony within the commitments of anti-imperialist politics at present. By reducing political resistance to the deployment of geopolitical forces, such anti-imperialist positions forget that, before all else, resistance is the popular capacity of peoples to intervene in and reshape their own conjuncture—even when geopolitical conditions appear least favourable, as with the First Intifada. In his 'Reply to P. Kievsky' on national liberation, Lenin recalled that "a 'negative' slogan unconnected with a definite positive solution will not sharpen, but dull, consciousness, for such a slogan is a hollow phrase, meaningless declamation." To undo the paralytic antinomy between the commitment to popular self-determination and this reified geopolitical consciousness, a progressive anti-imperialist position must renew Lenin's call for a 'definite positive alternative' to imperialism which is attuned, rather than opposed, to the revolutionary potential in the political will of the masses.

Keywords: Imperialism, Conjuncture, Resistance

Marxism and Humanism

Michalis Tegos

The problem of humanism is one of the central philosophical problems of the 20th century. Naturally, to the extent that the 20th century has been in many ways the century of the rise and fall of Marxism, it has presented us with an interesting configuration of the question between Marxism and humanism. The problem of humanism can be broadly construed as follows: that 'man' or the human being is both the subject and the object, both the presupposition and the endpoint, both the foundation and the destination, of thought and of History. However, one may argue that this problem is already present in the writings of Marx himself. It is possible to trace this humanist tendency in the writings of early Marx. By contrast, in the late Marx, of *Capital*, it has been argued that the subject is formed as a by-product or after-effect of the material process. This leads to several questions: Is this problem one particular to Marxian studies, a problem of development from the early to the late Marx? Is Marxism a form of humanism, or should Marxism be thought of as a form of thought and practice which aims at the surpassing of the human and in the necessary structural effects of which the human is but the latest configuration, to be superseded? This problem is taken up in the 20th century, most prominently in the

later writings of Sartre and Althusser. Marxism and humanism are thus caught in a sort of double bind: On the one hand it is difficult to imagine an emancipatory potential without having the human being as its ultimate end goal. On the other hand, humanism, describing an empty universality, becomes an ideology which happily rends itself to hegemonic values, such as human rights and humanitarian wars.

Keywords: Marxism, humanism, anti-humanism, post-humanism

Barbarism Revisited: Capitalist Totality as Political Form

Mithra Lehn

Luxemburg famously framed the fate of politics in the unavoidable decision between socialism or barbarism, warning that the failure to bring about socialism would culminate in “the triumph of imperialism and the collapse of all civilization as in ancient Rome, depopulation, desolation, degeneration – a great cemetery.” This premonition has undeniably come to define our present global condition, spurring a resurgence of varied and growing interest in socialism. Luxemburg’s framing, however, is unique in defining socialism as the distinctive and singular negative image of barbarism. Reconsidering barbarism as a political concept, this paper explores its continued relevance as a crucial framework for analyzing the systemic crises of contemporary capitalism. Drawing upon the Frankfurt School and Value-Form Theory, barbarism is here conceptualized as the political form of capital’s totalizing process of subsumption, operating within the contradictory dynamic of capitalism as both a logic of reproduction and process of inevitable decline expressed in myriad forms of fatal crises and catastrophes. In particular, the politics of barbarism thematizes differential forms of mass death unfolding across the planet as deriving from capital’s waning capacity for valorization. Capital’s inherent and inescapable crisis tendencies resolve life itself into a barrier to profitability, manifesting in the creation of ‘surplus populations’ who perish under imperialist wars of ‘national security,’ both domestically and internationally, genocidal violence, and climate catastrophe. Framing capitalism as a totalizing social form determination, this analysis additionally undermines the feasibility of liberal “third way” politics and repudiates the foreshortened critiques of capitalism propagated by the expanding ethno-nationalist and fascist movements who implement imperialist war for state cohesion. A political theory of barbarism thus elucidates the contemporary political impasse and informs political strategies towards an emancipatory future.

Keywords: Capitalism, Crisis, Imperialism, Surplus Populations, Subsumption

The Eupatridae State and the production of scientific space: intellectuals' dressage or amorfati?

Mohamed BOUZEBRA

The paper presents a major challenge to our understanding of the scientific progression (neutrality, liberation, creativity) which can be seen as production of ongoing fields struggle between different elites for the monopoly over legitimate selection of knowledge (definitions, concepts, language, grant, awards, competition, influences...). The central question of our paper is this: Why does some sites of science progress whereas other different domains are limited to a slow development over time? Taking several comparative cases, therefore we seek to uncover the utilitarian influence of the state (national interest or State's gaze) which is a successful manifestation of the ruling elite hegemonic framework that penetrate the space of scientific productivity. In the post-neoliberalism era we notice a new reality formed a soft and robustness authoritarian network constructed around every day "petite ideologies" particularly on a legitimate lie or noble lie (after the end of ism or grand ideologies), that is where the scientific discourse become a paradox, in one hand form the standpoint of the ruling elite, as means to accumulate the symbolic capital or power by the holder of the monopoly of state representation which we name them as eupatridae (Those whose nobility was based on seizure of the power of the state by establishing an authoritarian field as a meta field, and those whom by the state's officials are given the legitimacy to be named as academicians). In the other hand, we find the intellectuals proletariat as community unable to contribute and to perform a discourse of liberation (radical, critical, truthful) due to the lack of access to legitimate means (unemployment, funds, academic positions, censorship) of knowledge production worthy of creating its own epistemological framework and hence its own scientific horizons by delinking a thinking man from state's ontological condition (nothing exist outside the state).

Keywords: scientific space, ruling class, the state, ideology

Class politics of climate change: Political economy of climate adaptation in Jakarta, Indonesia

Murat Arsel & Fikret Adaman

If climate change is to be analysed as class war, how do we understand the composition and formation of classes? This paper answers this question by focusing on climate adaptation policies in Jakarta, Indonesia. Jakarta's relationship with climate change and sea-level rise makes it a particularly important site to unpack the class dynamics of climate change

adaptation. The city has long been 'sinking' due to land subsidence linked to the geology of the area and its political economy of urbanization. More recently, rising sea levels and intensified precipitation have aggravated the problem, making Jakarta emblematic of megacities whose long-term future is threatened by climate change. In response, the Indonesian government has developed – and partially implemented – an adaptation project commonly known as the 'Great Garuda'. This multi-billion euro Dutch-designed project aims to defend Jakarta from inundation by, among others, sea walls and artificial islands. While the former would likely restrict the livelihood options of Jakarta's poor and marginalized coastal communities dependent on fishing, the latter aim to galvanize the development of luxury housing and commercial developments on the reclaimed land. While the project is controversial, there has been little systematic analysis of how the Great Garuda project is being politicized and contested. This paper addresses this important research gap by analysing the environmental conflicts surrounding the Great Garuda project by analysing the results of a 1350-respondent representative survey of Jakarta that was completed in December 2024.

Keywords: class, environmental conflict, climate change, urban political economy, Indonesia

Artistic Means to an End: the role of performing arts in the formation of the sociopolitical imaginary

Myrto Sarma, Dimitra Trousa

This article critically reflects on the current state of aestheticization of politics within the context of performing arts. Aiming to understand and explore the ways dominant discourse employs aesthetic means towards its further establishment and its reproduction, we focus on the enclosure of cultural capital and the exclusion of non-aligned discourses, practices and audiences. Finally, we will attempt to suggest an applied utopistics: methodological practices towards the reclamation of aesthetic means.

The point of departure is based on the argument that the dominant neoliberal capitalist discourse governs everydayness, affecting the means of expression reproducing, multiplying and serving its own interests. This manifests through the aestheticization of violence, the establishment of monothematic directions of content and form expressed through self-referential, self-accumulative and individualistic artistic practices, the cultivation of an enclosed cultural elite that trades on empathy for its own benefit and the economic segregation that sustains and reinforces these dynamics.

Reflecting critically on the above, the employment of theater emerges as a threshold to the sociopolitical imaginary: a utopian practice generating alternative realities and

possibilities. Through emancipatory acts of creation, it highlights collaboration and coexistence and acts as the embodied manifestation of reality yet to come. As a process, it bridges the present(s) with multiple transformative futures, enabling a reimagining of structures and relationships.

Focusing on these potentials, we suggest a new critical approach against fragmentation and disintegration by adopting practices of generosity and care as a surplus of trust in peoples freedom and our collective capacity to take up the response-ability to imagine and shape our common future. To this end we reapproach artistic praxis as an emergency focusing on the audiences as collective entities, comprised by both those present and those absent. These qualities indicate an artistic practice that aims to bridge ethics, politics, and aesthetics.

Keywords: Aestheticization of Politics, Cultural Capital, Theater, Emancipatory Creation, Collective Responsibility

"Where Defeat Becomes Persistence": Rethinking youth mobilizations in contemporary Greece

Myrto-Iris Spyridaki (Panteion University), Kyriakos Zacharakis (University of Athens)

In recent years, government policies have increasingly focused on reinforcing the structures of the state and ensuring its stability and rigidity. This approach has often aimed at maintaining a degree of separation from societal pressures and public dissent. In Greece, this trend has been similarly evident. Despite these developments, various social movements and instances of mobilizations continue to emerge and persist.

Recent cycles of protests in Greece, such as the mobilizations following the 2023 Tempi train accident, have illustrated this dynamic. These movements show a remarkable resilience against strong opposition by state authorities, despite not achieving immediate policy outcomes. In this context, the Greek student movement of 2024, which opposed the privatization of higher education, offers a compelling case to examine whether the significance of contemporary movements lies not in legislative outcomes but in their ability to foster long-term engagement and sustain activism.

Through interviews with the participants, this presentation investigates how the 2024 student movement, although unsuccessful in preventing the passing of the law, may have fostered 'movement availability' for future struggles among participants. Central to this analysis are critical questions: what drives individuals to persist in mobilization despite

facing an increasingly rigid and unyielding state? Can the construction of broad social alliances remain an effective strategy for collective action? Further, is it possible to conceptualize pathways beyond immediate defeat that would foster solidarities essential for long-term resistance?

By addressing these questions, we hope to add to the literature on social movements a deeper understanding of the processes that generate empowerment and create conditions for sustained resistance, even in the face of defeat. In doing so, we attempt to redefine movement success through a lens that focuses on the lasting impact left on participants and their capacity to challenge and reimagine dominant power structures.

Keywords: youth, student movements, collective action, political behavior

Mx

Nabiha Yahiaoui

This paper examines the intricate interplay between the rise of Islamophobia and anti-migrant nationalist discourse, its gendered and sexual dimensions, and social transformations following the 2008 global economic crisis in Quebec.

During the 2010s, Quebec nationalist discourse transitioned from the cultural and linguistic resistance to anglophone Canada (Gagnon and Lachapelle 1996), to a narrative emphasizing the protection of Quebec's modernity and values against religious minorities and migrants, particularly Muslims (Bilge 2012). Muslim women, especially those wearing the veil, were simultaneously portrayed as victims of oppression and agents of regressive practices (Bilge 2012), while LGBTQ+ migrants were cast as modern subjects warranting state protection (Lapointe and Turgeon 2021). This shift in nationalist discourse is what Sirma Bilge's refers to as the (re)articulation of national boundaries along racial lines (Bilge 2013).

In the same period, the global financial crisis intensified austerity measures (Hurteau and Fortier 2015), heavily impacting the public health and education sectors (Lanctôt 2015), where racialized and feminized care work has been increasingly precarious (Henaway 2023). Furthermore, these transformations disproportionately impacting lower-income women and families (Lanctôt 2015), putting forward the racial and gendered dimensions of capitalist reproduction in times of financial crisis for the working class across sectors.

In my research, I interrogate how narratives on Islam and immigration symbolized broader capitalist contradictions that were highlighted by crisis, and how they temporarily resolved

these tensions. In other words, I investigate the state's responses to challenges posed by global financial capitalism and explore how secularism and migration policies aligned with sexual nationalist discourse as part of the neoliberal solution to capitalist reproduction.

My methodology is based on a theoretical framework drawn from Marx's dialectical materialism (Marx 1971) and qualitative approaches including discourse (Tonks 2001) and historical analyses (Gilmore 2007). In my study, I review literature to identify political actors and demystify capitalism's economic and social categories. Historical analysis of economic transformations pre- and post-2008, coupled with critical discourse analysis, will uncover associations and oppositions between elements such as national debt, labour, public sector costs, and immigration.

By incorporating the researcher's positionality as a Muslim lesbian scholar, the project bridges decolonial, feminist, and LGBTQ+ perspectives. It contributes to critical theory through a materialist lens on sexual nationalism and gendered Islamophobia, highlighting racial capitalism's manifestation in Quebec's unique socio-political context. This work also interrogates its intersections with anti-Blackness and settler colonialism, advancing understanding of these layered dynamics.

Keywords: Racial Capitalism, Islamophobia, migration, sexual politics, crisis

Social Participation in Lula's Third Government and Confronting the Far Right

Nátaly Guilmo

The global rise of the far right has intensified the search for political and social alternatives capable of addressing this phenomenon across different national contexts. In Brazil, the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva assumed leadership in a polarized scenario, marked by the narrow electoral defeat of Jair Bolsonaro—a figure that, based on the concepts of Palmiro Togliatti and Nicos Poulantzas, can be characterized as neofascist. This challenging context places upon the government the responsibility of curbing the advance of neofascist and far-right groups, which remain mobilized and influential in public and political spheres. In response, Lula's administration has implemented measures that place social participation at the center of its political strategy. Among these measures are the creation of a Secretariat for Social Participation, led by social movements; the revival of national conferences and the establishment of a national council as a space for dialogue; and the development of initiatives focused on fostering social participation in the realm of international relations. These actions reflect an effort to build stronger connections between the government and civil society, aiming to strengthen democratic institutions

and diminish the influence of antidemocratic discourses and practices. This article conducts a documentary analysis of policies, reports, speeches, and public statements to understand how these initiatives can function as tools for confronting the far right. Through this approach, it seeks to identify the potential of these actions, such as reinforcing social cohesion and democratic culture, as well as their limitations, including conjunctural and structural challenges in a dependent state. Ultimately, the article offers critical reflections on possible paths to combat neofascism, emphasizing the importance of social participation as a strategic axis for a progressive government in Latin America in constructing political and social alternatives to the far right.

Keywords: Social Participation, Far Right, Democracy

“We don’t feel exploited”: Agroecological exceptionalism and neoliberal subjectivity in un(der)paid agroecological internships

Nell Benney

In the face of multiple crises caused by agro-capitalism, agroecological farming has been proposed as a solution. However, across North America, the UK, and Western Europe, un(der)paid internships are proliferating across agroecological farms, providing a key subsidy of super-exploited labor. Classed as experiential learning, interns provide free, or below minimum wage, labor in exchange for an education in commercial agroecological food growing. These internships represent barriers to entry for those who cannot undertake un(der)paid work, such as working class or racially minoritized people, and leaves those who can (primarily white, highly educated women) vulnerable to super-exploitation and unjust labor practices.

In this paper, I investigate agroecological internships in the UK, questioning whether they are educational programs or an exclusionary form of un(der)paid work, upholding the cultural hegemony of the white middle class in the agroecological sector and movement. I investigate the motivations of the agroecological interns to undertake this un(der)paid work, and why they are satisfied with the exchange.

Whilst the agroecological movement in the UK uses Liberal ideology to justify this super-exploitation, I combine a Marxist approach to neoliberalism with a Foucauldian theorization of the subject, offering a conceptualization of un(der)paid agroecological internships as a response to both an increasingly precarious and informal labor market, and the global demand for cheap labor under agro-capitalism, undermining supposedly ethical food-systems. I advance the novel concept of “agroecological exceptionalism” to conceptualize how the alternative, or radical nature of agroecology is co-opted, and used as an ideology to justify, or conceal, super-exploitation. I argue that neoliberal subjectivity and agroecological exceptionalism obscure the material reality of interns as

super-exploited laborers.

I contend that utilizing un(der)paid intern labor reveals that the agroecological movement in the UK are promoting a reformist mode of capitalist exploitation, whilst reinforcing racialized and classed privilege within the sector.

Keywords: neoliberalism, subjectivity, agroecology, food pedagogy, internships, agro-capitalism, interns, super-exploitation

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Fabricating Visibility: The Reproduction of Capitalist Social Relations in and through Surveillance.

Niklas Kehrle

This article contributes to discussions about the reproduction of capitalist social relations in urban contexts by zooming in on practices of surveillance. It argues that surveillance technology can be understood as a tangible double manifestation of capitalist social relations in the urban sphere: Firstly, it expresses a certain hegemonic ideology that legitimises control, repression, and violence while, secondly, at the same time being the material manifestation of this dynamic. Consequently, it enables the reproduction of a set of social relations built on property rights enforced by the state. As such, it is a counterrevolutionary momentum within society, exacerbating carcerality to enhance the always incomplete subordination of the working class. Furthermore, this article proposes understanding surveillance as a space-making process within the urban landscape and, as such, positions it as a crucial element in the manifestation of different forms of power in the city. Surveillance technology, as one form of urban infrastructure, is essentially about making visible. This process enables the unfolding of concrete and variegated frictions of abstract forms of domination, producing difference and leading to increased repression and state violence. Surveillance then helps to uphold the false universality of the law of the state, behind which capital as the silent presupposition of the state becomes veiled, disguising its interests as the interests of the whole of society and providing further justification for repression and control. Finally, and in light of this, preliminary findings on the urban context of Berlin are presented, focusing on the multiple ways in which the mobilisation of the German 'reason of state' during Israel's ongoing genocide in Gaza is being used to remake and reinforce state power through surveillance.

Keywords: Surveillance, State Power, Critical Urban Theory, Urban Infrastructure

Reframing Labor in the Social Factory: Value Appropriation in Rentier Urbanism

Nikolaos Vrantzis

Capital is value in motion. This presentation examines the transformation of value appropriation in urban economies, focusing on how industrialists, rentiers, financiers, and states extract and redistribute surplus value.

The 2008 financial crisis marked a pivotal shift. In the wake of quantitative easing and austerity, central banks and real estate investors began to overshadow much of the private sector's traditional dominance, turning privatized urban spaces into critical hubs for capital accumulation. Conventional modes of value appropriation—profits, rents, and taxes—were reconfigured, elevating urban rentiers to a position of dominance.

Drawing on ethnographic research with construction workers and desk-based analyses of Greece's five largest construction firms, this presentation explores how transformations in urban property regimes reshape social relations, labor conditions, and the infrastructure essential for social reproduction.

This analysis situates urban development within a literal “social factory,” a concept borrowed from workerist theory. Privatized urban networks—housing, pipelines, electrical grids, and the built environment more broadly—extend labor demands to those outside traditional employment. The emergence of rentier capitalism has turned urban spaces into active sites of capital accumulation. Workers not only construct these spaces but, by relying on and interacting with privatized infrastructures indispensable for urban life, generate surplus value that feeds rentier accumulation.

In this regime, labor encompasses all facets of life, as rentier control blurs the boundaries between productive and reproductive activities. This challenges traditional distinctions between production and reproduction. Beyond the unpaid carers sustaining the workforce, urban dwellers themselves become direct producers of capital through their circulation within privatized urban spaces. By investigating the intersections of infrastructure, labor, and social reproduction, this study interrogates the shifting mechanisms of value appropriation and their far-reaching implications for urban life and governance.

Keywords: Rentierism, urbanism, social factory, labor, social reproduction

Sirens and dices: contemporary mediterranean pop music faces cultural Hegemony

Nikos Filippaios

In my paper I will use the concept of Antonio Gramsci on cultural hegemony in order to discuss the activities, practices and mentalities that construct the social - artistic discourse of two contemporary mediterranean pop music artists, Liberato from Italy and Marina Satti from Greece. Both artists began their career during the second half of the 2010s and they follow a similar artistic path, an idiosyncratic contemporary pop music style, in which genres such as hip hop, Rnb, reggaeton and electronic dance music blend with memories from the musical and generally cultural heritage of the place where each artist identify him/herself: Liberato is connected with the cultural world of Naples in Southern Italy, while Satti utilizes elements of Greek folk and popular music in general.

Therefore, in the work of both artists rich elements of their local cultures develop complex dialectic relations of resistance and integration with music genres which are crucial for the nowadays US cultural hegemony worldwide. Of course this hegemony acts as an ideological mechanism for the support of globalized postmodern Capitalism.

So, the main question that arises from this interaction is how and on which level Liberato and Satti construct a musical and, in an expanded sense, cultural alternative (including assertions on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, locality and the socioeconomic level) to the monophony of the US ideological hegemony.

In order to carry out this analysis, apart from the gramscian perspective, I will drag eclectically elements mainly from Fredric Jameson's criticism on Postmodernism as the cultural logic of late Capitalism, the concept of the "glocal" interpreted by Svetlana Boym as a crucial sociocultural meeting between the local and the global and, last but not least, musicologist Peter Manuel's remarks on the strong tendency of postmodern popular music towards a connection with pre-modern folk local traditions.

Keywords: cultural hegemony, popular culture, popular music, postmodernism, glocal

Beyond the Division of Labor(?): Destructive Forces, Exploitation and Revolution in Marxian corpus

Nikos Folinas

The problem of the division of labor permeates the entire Marxian work. In the famous point of German Ideology concerning the fisherman and the poet, the division of labor is judged to be the key point of capitalist society, which must be abolished in order to achieve communist society. In the developments of Capital vol.1 this demand is modified: the division of labor is necessary to exist, but in a different form. Even in its capitalist form this corresponds to moments of rationalization of production. This exploration of possibilities

goes hand in hand with the elaborations of the categories of the Critique of Political Economy. Thus, not only the way for understanding the division of labor changes, but also the logic of the productive forces; while in the German Ideology these are judged as destructive forces and therefore must be completely abolished, in the developments of Capital they contain elements of rationality which can be exploited by post-capitalist society. Things become complicated in the Critique of the Gotha Program, in which Marx seems to return to the original points of German Ideology. In this presentation I will argue is that the concept of the division of labor is marginal. Differently, the moments developed by Marx in other texts and phases are not canceled. Therefore, the project of Marxian thought is not contradictory per se. The latter never forgets the exploitative character inherent in every form of division of labor – and this character cannot but be the main concern of society after the revolution. Objectively, there can only be moments of oppression, but the demand for emancipation concerns exploitation as a whole. The formation of a novel type of division of labor can probably also be understood as the abolition of the existing order, even at the deepest level of materiality.

Keywords: Division of Labor, productive forces, exploitation, emancipation, materiality

Kordatos Before Becoming a Marxist and His Journey to Communism

Nikos Potamianos

Yannis Kordatos was the first Greek Marxist historian and a leading figure in the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece (SEKE)/Communist Party of Greece (KKE) from 1920 to 1927. In this presentation, I will outline the ideological and political identity of the young Kordatos and discuss his intellectual journey toward socialism. The evolution of his thought from 1911, when he was a first-year law student involved in the "demoticist" movement, to 1919, when he was discharged from the military and joined the newly established Socialist Workers' Party of Greece, reflects the intellectual trajectory of an entire generation of radical intellectuals, part of whom would co-form the first significant nationwide socialist / communist party.

Through young Kordatos' correspondence, his newspaper articles, and the reconstruction of his library, I will examine the ideological, political, and cultural foundations on which socialist ideas and communist commitment developed during the 1910s (a decade marked by war and conscription, deprivation and a decline in the living standards of the working classes, intense political conflicts, and, crucially, the emergence of a new political paradigm with the Russian Revolution). The materials that formed this foundation included a relatively traditional political culture in his birthplace of Zagora, which at the same time offered him broad horizons; support for Venizelist bourgeois modernization (based both on the political networks his family was part of in Zagora and the expectation of radical

reforms—particularly regarding the use of the vernacular language in public life and education); sympathy for the peasants and the movement for agrarian reform and expropriation of large estates; early contact with workers' struggles and socialist ideas in the modern environment of Volos; and the adoption of a loose and soft conception of socialism as a pro-people management of the state.

I will emphasize the ruptures necessary for Kordatos and part of his generation to turn toward radical socialism: the sharpening of their class-based perspective and the development of a conception of society founded on inequality and social contradictions—accompanied by the elimination of dismissive attitudes toward the popular classes and the neutralization or even overcoming of the related contradictions that characterized middle-class intellectuals; the promotion of a politics not just in favor of the poor but also against the rich; the questioning of national ideology during a decade of war and suffering for the popular classes due to conscription; the rejection of the ideal of leadership (or at least its significant limitation), as well as the paternalistic “idiom of protection” which was extremely widespread in the era.

Keywords: history, communism, socialism, intellectuals

Political Education for Collective Liberation

Nina Mehta and Donna Nevel

Accessible political education is one act of resistance, an attempt to build solidarities and narratives and to deepen our organizing to fight against ongoing genocide and violence against Palestinians, practices of settler colonialism, and institutionalized expropriation of land. PARCEO has developed and partnered in a number of social justice curricula, namely Project 48's Palestinian Nakba Curriculum and the Curriculum on Antisemitism from a Framework of Collective Liberation, that we have been able to conduct in a number of broad-based institutions—schools, universities, unions, and organizations—that deal specifically with the issues, and identify the root racial capitalist, imperialist, and colonialist structures.

PARCEO will share how we approach these topics through popular education and liberatory pedagogies, the ways we have been able to work with and within so many different spaces, and the challenges of bringing our approach into some institutions. We will discuss how, in Project48's Palestinian Nakba curriculum, we work with teachers and international groups to offer an opportunity to learn about the robust Palestinian society that existed prior to the Nakba (catastrophe), the critical events leading up to and during 1948, and a prism through which to understand the ongoing nature of the Nakba and its impact on Palestinian lives. The curriculum is rooted in the centrality of Palestinian

voices through texts, visuals, testimonials, archives, and more.

We will also discuss antisemitism and the ways that intentional misrepresentations of antisemitism derail the struggle to challenge all forms of violence and oppression and further political goals that are harmful to our work for justice, which includes challenging antisemitism. We focus on the real impact of distorted and incorrect understandings of antisemitism and how important it is to know what antisemitism is and what it is not. This conflation of antisemitism with criticism of Israel and anti-Zionism, which has become exacerbated in recent years, has been codified into policies, bills, and actions that produce false charges of antisemitism. We further focus on real examples of, and possibilities for, collective liberation, which must maintain a focus on collective organizing, and building more just communities that center gender, class, and racial justice.

Keywords: Palestine, Collective Liberation, Nakba, Liberatory Education, Antisemitism

Extermination, Economic Peace, and the Future of Dignity

Ognian Kassabov

In his seminal essay, bourgeois revolutionary philosopher Immanuel Kant warned that humanity might find perpetual peace in the common grave, should it fail to respect the principle of human dignity in its pursuit of wealth and power. 230 years later, his words acquire the ring of a grim prophecy, as the normalization of the Gaza genocide lays waste not only to the landscape of that ancient city, but also to any semblance of universal right upheld by capitalism's latest mutation.

Gaza is fateful for humanity. In my talk, I would like to explore what the apocalyptic nature (Horvat 2021) of this unprecedented event reveals about the bare features of exterminatory capitalism, but also about the outlook for a re-evaluated notion of dignity centered on struggle.

To that end, I will move in three steps.

First, I will take up the lead suggested by Colombian President Gustavo Petro, who has urged that the horror of Gaza is the expression of a capitalism gone rogue that treats both humans and nature as mere resources to be annihilated for the production of 'value'. Here, my analysis will be aided by insights from philosopher of technology Günther Anders.

Second, I will analyse the 'civilizational' appeal of what gets developed in the 'Palestine laboratory' (Loewenstein 2023) and the violence in the ideology of 'economic peace', exploring the suggestion by thinkers such as Walter Benjamin and Frederick Jameson that certain visions of progress almost inevitably result in wanton war.

Third, I will try to make sense what this situation implies for the concept of human dignity, especially on the practical level.

Keywords: extermination, capitalism, dignity

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Social Reproduction Theory of Uneven, Combined, and Dependent Development: The Soviet Case

Olena Lyubchenko

Three years into Russia's invasion of Ukraine (February 2022), critical political economy analyses have emphasized the hybridity of the Putin regime. Terms like "authoritarian neoliberalism" or "military Keynesianism" describe Russia's divergence within global

capitalism but often fail to transcend dualism and mystification, rooted in the narrative of failure of its post-Soviet transition to liberal democracy. The state's ideological and political features are frequently framed as extra-economic—driven by patriarchy or nationalism—or as interfering with capitalism's "normal" function. To demystify how capitalism operates in post-Soviet Russia, with its dependence on relations of class, gender, sexuality, and race, this paper examines the historical conditions shaping its present form. I posit that the lifemaking crisis of the early 1990s in post-Soviet countries demands a re-evaluation of what was qualitatively distinct in the Soviet relationship between production and social reproduction. To this end, I integrate a theory of capitalist multilinearity as a skipped step within a dialectically revitalized Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), using its concept of embodied and differentiated labour as an ontological foundation. I begin with SRT preoccupation with reproduction of the total process of life by embodied human labour in concrete social-spatial relations of domination and power - a unitary understanding of social relations of exploitation and oppression. But while SRT assumes capitalist multilinearity - as the extent and form of life's subsumption to capital or how and to what degree capital relinquishes control over reproduction time are historically concrete and multilinear phenomena, it is left undertheorized. I propose a social reproduction theory of uneven, combined, and dependent development of global capitalism—a unitary theoretical approach capable of addressing capitalist multilinearity within the broader task of theorizing totality as 'the concentration of many determinations.' This unitary approach transcends "state capitalism" debates, offering a coherent understanding of Soviet distinctiveness within global capitalism. It illuminates how the Soviet project's distinct form of social reproduction—with its contradictions and promises—shaped its evolution into what appears as present-day hybrid statist neoliberalism in Russia.

Keywords: Social Reproduction Theory; Soviet Union; Post-Soviet Russia; Uneven, Combined, and Dependent Development; multilinearity; neoliberalism; Russia-Ukraine War

Exhaustion, Interruption and Rethinking Revolutionary Time through the 2020-21 Uprising in Belarus

Olga Sosnovskaya

In this paper I propose to examine the practices and choreographies of protest during the 2020-21 anti-governmental uprising in Belarus, such as strikes and acts of labour unrest, protest marches and neighborhood assemblies, through the notion of a feminist strike. The necessity to rethink modes of political participation, having to adjust to the repressive state apparatus has been common for social organizing in Belarus as in many authoritarian states. But 2020–21 uprising highlighted that this fluidity of protest techniques is not a

sign of weakness or defeat of the resistance, but rather its significant quality which provides a different perspective on political action and temporality.

The paper thus claims that the crisis and exhaustion of protest movements and political agency in Belarus, and more broadly — in post-socialisms and contemporary neoliberal democracies, lead to the emergence of new forms of political organising and protest choreographies. Reading the 2020–21 uprising in Belarus as a feminist strike would mean seeing it not as a singular, linear event that merely disrupts the historical time or political regime, but rather as a care strike, that creates lasting and fluid support structures and is always interconnected with other struggles. The paper further inquires, how these optics and protest practices change in the context of Russia's imperialist aggression against Ukraine, enacted with the support of Belarusian government?

Highlighting exhaustion as a crucial characteristic of political movement is also linked to the notion of vulnerability and its relation to political agency (Shchurko, 2022; Stebur 2021). The paper inquires if this perspective on political dissent can also potentially reconfigure relationships between different geographies and subaltern struggles, such as feminist strikes, anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-authoritarian struggles (Shchurko 2022), and forge transnational solidarities between Eastern Europe and the Global South. Under-scoring that the 2020–21 post-election uprising in Belarus could not be seen isolated from other power regimes and resistances in the region and beyond, such as resistance to Russia's and Western imperialisms.

Keywords: 2020-21 protest in Belarus; care strike; choreographies of protest; exhaustion; solidarity; temporality of political event

The Institutional Embodiment of Socialization of Financial Risk: Asset Management Companies in Turkey

Özgürçan Alkan

The enormous development of global financial markets over the last decades led to a social landscape in which financial risks have expanded and varied on a spatial-temporal scale. The financialization process, which was exported to developing countries from developed countries under the guidance of the neoliberal form of regulation has brought over a struggling area that concerns managing financial risks. In this sense, asset management companies (AMCs) are drawing attention as an institutional tangibility of neoliberal financial risk management. These companies that buy non-performing loans from banks with high discount rates, restructure them, and strive to collect in a given time have been largely reduced to a technical risk liquidation instrument in mainstream studies. It is portrayed that growing risks in banks' balance sheets are liquidated before they turn into a systemic crisis; the reconsolidation of the financial markets with stimulation of credit

mechanisms occurs in such a way. This new measurable, commodifiable, and exchangeable manifestation of financial risk isolates the finance-dominated accumulation regime from its exploitative class-based content. Thus, it intensifies a depoliticized comprehension of risk. In this context, this study argues that AMC's that engage in distressed debt exchange are a part of the process of socialization of risks in the sense of displacing the crisis conditions into the future. This socialization process does not necessitate a state with a limited capacity but a state equipping new apparatus by adapting itself to different market logics such as finance. The emergence and development of AMC's in Turkey epitomizes such a case.

Keywords: Financialization, Financial Risk Management, Socialization of Risk, Debt Restructuring, Crisis Management

The Limit of Interpellation

Ozren Pupovac

The figure of interpellation, before being a positive concept, determining an existence, rather denotes, within the systematic theoretical architecture of Althusser, a limit – at once theoretical and practical. The fictive syntheses at the level of individual consciousness mirror, in their very structure, the absolute circularity and closure of an ideological system of notions, with a direct echo established here between the fact that every “subjectivated” societal practice always already unfolds as a function of the State, and that each movement of cognition mired in recognition – that is, burdened by a presupposed synthesis – always already assures the blockage of the ruptural nature of the process of knowledge. Interpellation, in other words, always delimits a field where “nothing happens” – and thus also delineates the entire divide between the non-processual workings of ideology, forever caught in the repetition and reproduction of the given, and the openness of a “process without a subject”, the sole capable of effectuating a veritable transformation and producing novelty. But how does one exactly – or more precisely – what is it precisely that breaks out of the circle? The entire difficulty of going “beyond interpellation” is not simply in how Althusser conceives of transformation as production, but whether the interplay of knowledge and politics that he foregrounds ultimately passes through the limit of subjectivity. Or to put this differently: is there a paradoxical dialectic at play engaging subjectivity at the very core of a “process without a subject”?

Keywords: Althusser, interpellation, ideology, politics, subjectivity

Struggle against the Capitalocene Through Poetry: The Case of Polish Eco-Marxist Poet Szczepan Kopyt

Patryk Szaj

At the beginning of the presentation, I will discuss some theoretical considerations on the role of poetry, including its relatively limited political agency, in the current state of capitalism (late/cognitive capitalism). I will argue that poetry remains one of the last domains of human creative work and cognitive labor that has not been fully subsumed by capital. This is due to the specific (intricate, ambiguous, ontologically dense) language of poetry and its small readership, which place poetry outside the realms of exchange value (and perhaps even use value). Herein lies the paradoxical strength of poetry as a potentially disruptive discourse.

Next, I will focus on the Polish eco-Marxist poet Szczepan Kopyt, born in 1983, particularly on his long poem "Verses about the Necessary Resistance" from his "konfetti" volume (published in 2019.) This poem, written in the form of a treatise/manifesto, addresses the intersections between labor, gender, and anti-speciesist struggles. Kopyt poetically describes "Cheap Nature" as a specific capitalist strategy of accumulation. He concurs with Jason W. Moore that the struggle against the Capitalocene requires overcoming the Nature/Society binary. Along the way, Kopyt critiques the ineffectiveness of some traditional heterodox Marxist strategies, such as autonomism. This leads him to his essential thesis on political veganism: "We need it urgently: a Vegan Communist Revolution." The radicalism of this call, combined with the urgency of the challenges posed by the Capitalocene, makes realizing this new reality particularly difficult. I will share some ideas on how to achieve this.

Keywords: Cheap Nature, Autonomism, Poetry, Intersectionalism, Veganism

The Dialectical Tension of Stuart Hall's "Multiculturalism" and Its Contemporary Enlightenment

PengRuo, LiangYing

The Birmingham School in England explored the possibility of the joint of culturalism and structuralism, and pointed out the community path of building multi-cultural groups while criticizing the cultural dilemma of capitalism. By liberating cultural forces, exploring the possibility of resistance and pointing out the path of struggle, Stuart Hall pointed out the possibility of building a community of multicultural subjects with open and pluralistic dialectical thinking and strong "reality involvement". Multiculturalism critique the

dogmatic economic determinism and class reductionism, emancipating culture from all kinds of shackles and making cultural factors flourish fully. The theoretical possibility of cultural struggle lies in the formation of cultural resistance space between the huge tension of cultural difference and political equality, so that certain culture can survive and negotiate with the dominant culture. The practical reality of cultural struggle lies in the fact that new culture can appear and expand rapidly, but it is not necessarily connected with politics, and residual culture can be appropriated and transformed again, but there are irrational products left over. With the dialectical tension of multicultural struggle, resistance and theoretical practice, it explores the possibility of the formation of the main body and identity, and gathers the joint force of socialist construction, which provides profound reference significance for contemporary China in the construction of community and socialist culture.

Keywords: Multi-culture; Cultural Struggle; Cultural Resistance; Ideology; Community

Assisted Dying and Biocapitalism: Necropolitics, Economic Well-Being, and the Killing of the Disabled Poor

Pier-Luc Turcotte

Over the past 20 years, the expansion of medically assisted dying has raised little criticism among the left. Proponents view this practice as a form of 'social progress,' while legitimate criticisms are often dismissed as moral conservatism, medical corporatism, or religious imperatives. In Canada, as in many Western countries, assisted dying has been shaped materially and discursively by the economic practices of capitalism. Linking Foucault's biopolitics to a Marxist critique of political economy, Sunder Rajan termed this relationship 'biocapitalism'—the development of biotechnology and science according to shifts in global capitalist production, consumption, and exploitation. In the context of contemporary capitalism, the practice of assisted dying has become entangled with biocapitalist imperatives, often exacerbating the marginalization and suffering of disabled individuals, particularly those who are poor.

By exploring historical instances such as Nazi Germany's Euthanasia Programme and contemporary cases like Canada's Medical Assistance in Dying (MAID), this paper reveals how assisted dying has been used to perpetuate class oppression and enforce biopolitical control. Influenced by productivism and eugenics ideologies, these practices have historically targeted disabled individuals, stripping them of economic well-being and reducing their lives to mere economic calculations.

In the era of biocapitalism, where economic value is increasingly derived from biological life itself, the stakes are higher than ever. The commodification of life and death decisions underscores the need for vigilance and ethical scrutiny. This analysis calls for a

re-examination of assisted dying within the framework of social justice, emphasizing the importance of protecting vulnerable populations from class exploitation and violence.

Keywords: assisted suicide; eugenics; euthanasia; disability; fascism; poverty; work therapy

Spectres of Leon: deconstruction as permanent revolution

Polina Khanova

Jacques Derrida wrote and spoke extensively on the specifics of his relation to Marx and marxism (which are two different things) in *Spectres of Marx* and beyond. This relation remains, however, highly debatable: was he or was he not a marxist? Critics (such as Donoghue) and even followers (such as de Man) point out that "... 'revolutions' that as yet have no model" seem to have not led to any consistent collective practice towards social justice, that doctrine of "deconstruction" entails a moral relativism and political passivity, and some (such as Latour) even claim that deconstruction destroyed any possible basis for such a practice. However, lesser known fact is that in his last interview with Jean Birnbaum, describes the gist of his philosophical (and/or political) project thusly: "If I had invented my writing, I would have done so as a perpetual revolution". This claim invites an analysis of Derrida's relation to a particular form of marxist theory: trotskyism. In my presentation I will look at the specifics of deconstruction as a strategy of writing, as well as at the wider historical context of his work to test the hypothesis that trotskyism played a significant role in the formation of deconstruction and is, in fact, a useful framework for understanding the politics of deconstruction and, more specifically, the concept of "noble betrayal" that underpins Derrida's understanding of Marx. In short, I will try to challenge the reading of deconstruction as a "doctrine" and show that taken as a "spirit" (to borrow Derrida's own favourite turn of phrase) it may not be marxist, but is, at least in spirit, trotskyist.

Keywords: Derrida, deconstruction, trotskyism

Exploitation, war and the topological crisis

Raffaele Maria Campanile

The aim of this paper is to identify the new spaces that characterize the post-Fordist production and the planetary power relations. It is therefore a matter of showing how the topologies that marked the Western spaces in the Fordist era and the modern

intercontinental maps have entered into crisis, producing new forms of exploitation, new configurations of war and new forms of resistance.

It is necessary to show how the binary divisions that characterized the industrial societies have disappeared. Then the factory was the privileged site of exploitation, confined to a limited temporality – the working day – in which manual labor, i.e. labor-force, was subsumed into the processes of valorization. In contrast, the post-Fordist production tends to functionalize the creative and affective aptitudes released by a neoliberal regime, which, therefore, puts life in its totality – everywhere and at all times – at work.

Similarly, the modern state-centered spaces seem to blur. On the one hand, economic, migratory and ideological flows become impossible to manage at the national level, and on the other, the division between the first and third world collapses, producing a conflictual horizon differentially spread across the globe. In this phase, the modern principles of conflict limitation vanish, transforming the war into a pure practice of annihilation. In this space, in which any stable topology vanishes, it is a matter of recognizing the possibility of a new antagonistic subject, constructed from the plurality of heterogeneous resistances globally spread. It is therefore a question of rethinking the problem of organization in a space in which the modern structures of association seem to become ineffective. In this perspective, the practices of the “Forums” seem to open up a possible path.

Keywords: Post-Fordism, War, State, Topology, Resistance

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Keywords: Post-Fordism, Resistance, Topology, State, Forum

Progressive Cultural Movement of the 1950s in a Frontier: Imagining the “International” Differently

Reetu Raj Kashyap

My paper explores how the progressive cultural movement, especially that of the Communist Party of India’s (CPI) affiliate, the Indian People’s Theatre Association (IPTA), attempted to work with the cleavages of ethnolinguistic differences in the frontier province of Assam in post-Independent India while imagining the international through them. The dominant post-independent (1950s) imagination of a “linguistic province” in India would entail assimilation to the dominant regional language, i.e. Assamese. Such assimilation would have also helped to ameliorate the state’s anxiety over the frontier. The Left tries to break away from this model of assimilation while trying to account for the ethnic question. While the Left eschews an assimilationist model and advocates for the opportunity for equal development of all ethnic groups, ethnolinguistic “nations” of the Soviet variety were an impossibility here. I demonstrate how the songs of this movement, which foreground the different modes of class oppression, work with the cleavages of the ethnic quagmire while imagining an alternative future for the “people”. Moving away from the assimilationist model, while not secessionist, allowed for the possibility of seeing the frontier and its “people” not just in relation to the nation (India) but also as a part of the larger community. The geographical proximity to post-revolution China then is transformed into a metonym for the possibility of solidarity among the “people” that is not tethered to political cartographies in the songs I engage with in this paper. The internationalist dimension was necessary for the movement not just because it represented utopia but also to foreground the universalist dimension of their lived everyday and local struggles. I argue that these songs then not only reflect the Left’s attempts to articulate the question of class and ethnicity but also make “internationalist imagination from below” a keystone of their intervention.

Keywords: Popular Front, Cultural Movement, Internationalism, South Asia, Nation, Region, Frontier

Theorizing life and death capitalist (re)production: from the 'Genocide of the Brazilian negro' to social reproduction theory

Rhaysa Ruas

In the tradition of Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), this paper seeks to advance a dialectical understanding of the relationship between life and death production (the systemic logic of what we call "genocide") in the capitalist mode of production. To this end, it explores how recent developments in SRT advance previous contributions from Black, anti-racist and non-Western feminist-Marxists that had shed light through the racialized-gendered role of state and legal violence in contemporary societies, theorizing it within capitalist social totality. To push this project forward, I reconstruct the debate on the 'genocide of the Brazilian negro' levered both by Black and Black Women's Movements in Brazil from the 1970s onward. This debate had conceptualized genocide as a masked, state-led process and explored how violence and the blockage of reproductive possibilities have historically shaped social reproduction of the Black working class in Brazil promoting a type of life based in strategies to escape from death and dehumanization. Three main aspects are highlighted: (a) the continuity of state terrorism and lethal violence against the black population since the transition to a capitalist economy in the late 19th century to its escalation in current times; (b) the simultaneous regulation of black women's sexual and reproductive rights; and (c) the unitary seed in its critical theorization that can contribute to overcome historical limitation of Western critical theories in analyzing the unity between production of life and death, capitalist accumulation and gender and race relations. Then, by establishing a dialogue between this conceptualization of genocide, SRT and reflections that seek in non-Western Marxism a critical understanding of social forms based on the intertwining of expropriation and exploitation, I conclude that these three dimensions are integrated in a co-constitutive relationship of precondition and result that must be grasped as general principles of capitalist accumulation and social totality.

Keywords: Social Reproduction Theory; genocide; capitalism; life- and death-making; Brazilian Black Movement; state violence; state regulation; Non-Western Marxism

The will to property as 'bad faith' in the capitalocene

Rhiannon Cobb

The presentation will explore property and propertization as ‘bad faith’ and how this is an underlying relational condition of the capitalocene—where, as Jason Moore writes, capital is sustained through patriarchy, ecological degradation, and racism in its drive for territorial expansion.

For Sartre, bad faith is refusing to recognize the freedom not only of the Other but of ourselves, leading to what he believes is an inauthentic existence. Propertization, seen through the lens of bad faith, denies the inherent interdependence of being which could ground an ethically relational existence—instead framing it as a liability. This severs the mutual condition between the self, the Other, and the land, sustaining exploitation and conditioning our ecological crisis. Bad faith helps to conceptualize the seemingly all-encompassing compulsion to own and commodify in the capitalocene which leads to dispossession, overuse and overaccumulation, degradation and othering. Bad faith’s need to ‘other’ makes racism a precondition to capitalism.

At the heart of contemporary capitalism lies a violence that demands the disavowal of the ‘Other’ (a concept rooted in traditions of existentialism, psychoanalysis, and Hegelian thought). This is why racism is a condition of possibility for capitalism. This violence manifests not only in material exploitation but also in ontological dispossession: the erosion of relationality, subjectivity, and the capacity for meaningful existence.

Drawing on Jean-Paul Sartre’s concept of bad faith and two interpretations—Frantz Fanon’s colonial critique and Lewis Gordon’s bad faith and anti-black racism, the paper argues that dispossession is not just economic but existential, reinforced by racial capitalism, settler-colonial violence, and the ever-contingent destruction of the environment.

The antidote, which I will explore in the presentation, lies at the heart of being. I draw on Sartre, Gordon, and Wynter’s decolonial ethics and being human as praxis to present possibilities for modelling what I am referring to as ‘existential accountability’—resituating interdependence to challenge the logic of propertization.

Keywords: bad faith, existentialism, racial capitalism, property, dispossession

Listening to the Silences: Althusser’s Contribution to Class Composition and Workers’ Inquiry

Roberto Mozzachiodi

What can Althusser – the paragon of high Marxist theory – tell us about terms which are said to have originated ‘from below’: class composition and workers’ inquiry? This paper will develop a working hypothesis that from the early seventies onward, Althusser began to theorise an analytical framework that was consonant with the theory of class composition then being defended by Italian Operaismo thinkers. At the same time,

Althusser began to insist on Lenin's famous methodological dictum of conducting a 'concrete analysis of the concrete situation' in many different contexts. With this, Althusser had in mind a specific understanding of inquiry drawn from the work of Robert Linhart – with whom Althusser was beginning to collaborate on such inquiries in the late seventies – that was latently inflected by his theorisation of ideology via psychoanalysis. This paper aims to reconstruct these insights to explore what Althusser's contributions might offer to contemporary practices of worker inquiry and class composition analysis.

The short 1971 text, *Marxism-Leninism and the Class Struggle*, marks a shift in Althusser's conception of the relationship between the technical division of labour and class struggle. Until this period, Althusser had insisted on a separation between the technical division of labour and the social relations of production – a position which lent itself to the claim that theory could perform the technically neutral function of separating science from ideology. By 1971, Althusser would argue unambiguously that the "productive forces are at the same time the material base (the 'technical base' said Marx) and the historical form of existence of the relations of production, that is of the relations of exploitation." As such, class struggle, and the formation of the content of the class antagonism, were integral to the historical existence of the productive forces and the reproduction of the capital relation. The technical conditions of the reproduction of the capital relation (both in and outside of production) would therefore reflect the concrete content of the class struggle at any given moment. This is, in essence, the fundamental starting point of class composition theory.

Alongside this theoretical shift, Althusser would work closely with Robert Linhart in preparing a research program at the École Normale Supérieure which sought to conduct inquiries across major industries in the French economy. As Althusser was beginning to engage with the method of inquiry, there are signs that he was also developing an interpretive model for dealing with the ideological constraints of militant investigations. Throughout the seventies, Althusser cautioned against treating worker testimonies as concrete analyses in themselves, and repeatedly spoke of the importance of 'listening to the silences' in the encounter between militants and workers. Drawing on Althusser's writings on psychoanalysis and Marxist theory, this paper argues that his approach offers a symptomatic reading of inquiries, enabling a deeper understanding of ideology's role in shaping class composition.

Keywords: Althusser, Workers' Inquiry, Class Composition, Linhart

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF DIALECTICAL HISTORICAL MATERIALISM TO EXPOSE REGULATIONS DIRECTED TO TEACHING WORK IN CONTEMPORANEITY

Rodrigo Roncato Marques Anes

This article seeks to present the relevance of the foundations of dialectical historical materialism to understand the contradictions of teaching work in contemporary times, analyzing especially the reality involving teachers in higher education in Brazil. The history of Brazilian education reveals that teacher training has always been accompanied by political movements aimed at reorganizing educational practices in order to meet the transformations in the world of work. In the last four decades, these movements have been further intensified to produce different forms of control over teachers, in line with neoliberal interests. The immaterial meaning of teaching work has been assumed by capital as an important strategy for accumulating wealth, as it is systematically used by labor control practices to guarantee the reproduction of the current mode of production. This explains the fact that we have witnessed, throughout the world, and in Brazil in particular, investment in reforms and academic discourses that affect teacher training, the central focus of which is to guarantee greater control and adaptation of teaching work to productive restructuring and the logic of proletarianization. This theoretical and bibliographical study, based on an immersion in Brazilian research based on Marxism and dedicated to the analysis of teaching work in contemporary times, was able to understand that at least three forms of control directed at the work of teachers have coexisted: epistemological regulations, related to the control over the conceptions of education in teacher training; ideological regulations, related to the propagation of ideas and conduct among teachers; and political regulations, related to the establishment of legislation and guidelines produced to structure a specific logic of education, training and teaching work. The foundations of dialectical historical materialism allowed us to understand that, together, such regulatory strategies of capitalism expose the intense process of proletarianization of teaching work in higher education.

Keywords: regulations; teaching work; dialectical historical materialism

Lenin and the dialectics of national liberation

Roger Castellanos Corbera

One of Lenin's main contributions to 20th century political philosophy is the political foundation of the right of nations to self-determination. According to Lenin, self-determination means nothing more than the recognition of the full equality among

nations and the full right of all oppressed nations to form a separate nation-state. Such a clear, and original formula, acquired great influence in the national liberation movements, both in Europe and in the peripheral colonies. In this sense, the aim of this presentation is to explore Lenin's principle of self-determination as rooted in the very foundations of Marxist dialectics and socialist strategy for world revolution. On the other hand, we will argue that the so-called 'national question' remains a challenge of our time, as national conflicts around the world are far from being overcome. Consequently, Lenin's account of the right to self-determination should be revisited in order to shed light on a social phenomenon that has not passed away, albeit in the age of senile capitalism, where new global monopoly powers are challenging the sovereignty of nation-states.

Keywords: Lenin, Self-Determination, National Oppression, National Liberation Movements

The Project Problematique: notes for a (time-spatial) discussion.

Rosa Caramassi and Luca Bertocci

Amid war and climate change, the paper explores unprecedented productive-for-liberation convergences between Marxist urban theory and Marxist undercurrent of "plural temporality". The argument aims to suggest that the strategic effort of organizing struggles should be realized through positive practices of urban invention. Ones which are creative gestures of time-space production, i.e. concrete compositions of the multiple temporalities which cut across social practice.

On the one hand, temporal heterogeneity challenges the political project, since the latter cannot grasp anymore the entire panorama of the contemporary world, nor its movement. On the other, as some feminist perspectives have pointed out, a transformative politics of social relations that does not articulate plurality and difference with plans and universality is not possible. Then, we offer the hypothesis that a similar conundrum should be put at the trial of space.

Firstly, Althusserian concept of "unité de rupture" is considered to indicate a track for thinking about the relationship between political project and plural temporality. While it prevents geometric stiffening of time, it also calls for planning efforts of translation planetarily. Indeed, the concept focuses on the revolutionary conjuncture in which heterogeneous and non-contemporary contradictions merge.

Secondly, Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of "the Urban" (substantive) is deepened to embody the above-mentioned effort of translation. To the French Marxist philosopher, the former is to be conceived as a "planetary oeuvre" which should emerge through humans' re-appropriation of their generic life of producers. The author does not offer such a

mixture of technology as an end, but as a limit which approaches the infinite.

So, finally, the Urban appears as stake and always-regenerating potential, multitemporal terrain for transforming human life and re-build it. It may be conceived as the field through which temporalities are concretely re-appropriated, organized and continuously re-invented.

Keywords: project, temporality, urban marxism, translation

The Project problematique: notes for a (time-spatial) discussion.

Rosa Caramassi, Luca Bertocci

Amid war and climate change, the paper explores unprecedented productive-for-liberation convergences between Marxist urban theory and Marxist undercurrent of “plural temporality”. The argument aims to suggest that the strategic effort of organizing struggles should be realized through positive practices of urban invention. Ones which are creative gestures of time-space production, i.e. concrete compositions of the multiple temporalities which cut across social practice.

On the one hand, temporal heterogeneity challenges the political project, since the latter cannot grasp anymore the entire panorama of the contemporary world, nor its movement. On the other, as some feminist perspectives have pointed out, a transformative politics of social relations that does not articulate plurality and difference with plans and universality is not possible. Then, we offer the hypothesis that a similar conundrum should be put at the trial of space.

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Keywords: Project, temporality, Urban marxism, translation

(Anti)Social Labour- Social Alienation in Warehouse Labour Dynamics

Sarah Postema-Toews

Following Marx's explanation of the sociality of labour in Capital vol. 1, I will analyse the recent shift in warehouse labour becoming one of the most ubiquitous forms of unskilled labour in the west. Warehouse labour is notorious for the socially isolating effect it has on its workforce, even more so than other forms of labour like manufacturing. In this paper, I aim to analyse how warehouse labour works as a form of labour that inhibits sociality, and how the anti social character of warehouse labour becomes embedded within labour practices themselves. I take reports on Amazon's fulfillment centers as my primary case study. Reports from the New York Times and 404 claim integration of automation and AI in these fulfillment centers increases workers' feelings of isolation, alongside already intensive policing of worker's movements and productivity that limit interaction between employees (Roscoe, Stockman). I also look at the political implications of this social isolation, including on unionising efforts which have also been reported to be especially difficult in the warehouse sector. This shift in dominance of warehouse labour, away from manufacturing labour, also fundamentally changes the dynamics of working class political mobilisation. Factories previously served as strong holds for working class political mobilisation, in contrast, warehouse labour seemingly does not hold the same capability due to its isolated nature.

I contrast the vast global scales of cybernetic supply chains with the smaller scale affective experience of the workers in fulfillment centers and warehouses that drive these vast supply chains. I will analyse this shift in labour practices and labour sociality in conversation with an eye for affective shifts in relation within warehouse labour practices and the political implications of these developments. This research is in conversation with Anna Tsing's work on alienation, Charmaine Chua's work on cybernetic logistics and its impact on labour practices, Georg Lukács conceptualisation of totality and abstraction, and Karl Marx's work on the social character of labour.

Keywords: Labour, Sociality, Warehouse, Isolation, Alienation, Affect, Cybernetics

The Capitalist Rise of China Has Strengthened US Hegemony: Understanding Dependent Integration in Contemporary Geopolitical Dynamics

Sean Kenji Starrs

Conventional wisdom has oscillated from US hegemonic decline since the 1970s to a “unipolar moment” in the 1990s to now back to decline especially in the face of the rise of China. This paper argues the opposite, that the capitalist rise of China since the 1990s has rendered US structural power stronger than ever before. This is in large part due to the nature of China’s historically unprecedented dependent integration into US-centered global production and financial networks. This paper will map China’s techno-dependency on the US in especially advanced semiconductors (using Bloomberg Professional’s supply chain database, among others), and show how the United States can leverage its techno-supremacy in a manner that was unavailable against Japan in the 1980s let alone the Soviet Union in the 1950s—both of which were much more technologically independent. Concomitantly, China’s role as export platform for the world’s workshop funnels the world’s primary transactions currency (US\$) back into the United States—a familiar story—which then allows the US to spend far more than any other state, whether \$5 trillion on Covid-19 stimulus (more per capita than was spent in the 1930s New Deal) or endless wars, including those that impact China. In regard to the latter, this paper ends with how US-driven geopolitical events—US support for Ukraine in its war with Russia and US support for Israel in its war in the Middle East—has significantly diminished the prospects for Xi Jinping’s Eurasian grand strategy of the Belt and Road Initiative and increased the prospects for the US’ counter-vision of the India-Middle East-European Economic Corridor. That China has offered very little pushback to this spiralling US aggression reveals its extraordinary weakness stemming from its dependent integration into US-centered global capitalism.

Keywords: US Empire, Hegemony, Rise of China, Techno-Dependency

Rosa Luxemburg on Roman Slavery and the Rise of the Roman Proletariat

Serena Crosson-Unzueta, Ian Tewksbury

Rosa Luxemburg's political theory is well-known and remains influential today; almost unknown, however, is her work on the history of economics. In particular, her study of ancient Rome, the Spartacus slave revolt, and the proletariat have received no serious discussion in almost a century. Three of her writings, "Notes About the Economic Form of Antiquity/Slavery," "Slavery" and The Introduction to Political Economy, all found in The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg, Vol. 1 (2013-) (Verso Press), provide Luxemburg's account of Rome's imperial expansion and the transformation of Roman slavery that led to the origin of the proletariat. This paper synthesizes these writings, and shares why they are essential for our understanding of her economic and revolutionary theory.

Luxemburg identified three phases of slavery in Roman antiquity from c. 508 BCE - 476 CE.

In these periods, Luxemburg observed changes in Rome's mode of production from peasant agriculture to slave labor as Rome expanded her empire across Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Four consequences ensued: (1) the intensification of slave labor leading to a series of slave revolts, including the Spartacus rebellion (73-71 BCE), (2) the privatization of the common lands (*ager publicus*), which (3) drove peasant farmers into the city and created the urban proletariat, and (4) a return to peasant agriculture in Italy following the erosion of provincial production in the face of growing attacks from the east.

Overall, Luxemburg argued that slavery was the cause of Rome's 'growth' and ultimate 'fall.' The lesson was clear: "It [Rome] was bound to fall apart because of economic reasons, not because of defects in its political institutions." The last chapter of her life embodied the essential connection between history, political theory, and revolution; under the banner of the Spartacus League, Luxemburg fought to achieve what the ancient hero, Spartacus, could not: material liberation.

Keywords: Rosa Luxemburg, slavery, Rome, proletariat

Crisis, Preventive Counterrevolution, and Capitalist Media

Shaun Terry

Today, there's almost no leftist mass movement to speak of. This gives credence to arguments from Poulantzas and Toscano: the rise of the far right can't be explained as a defensive response to the anti-capitalist threat. Instead, when a few elites determine that, under the pressure of increasing economic inequality (often coincident with austerity) and the breakdown of public institutions, liberalism can't sustain its role in reproducing capitalist social relations, they attempt to manage liberalism's dissolution and replacement by leading the process. Fascism, then, appears as a "preventive counterrevolution" (Marcuse), helping to mediate class fragmentation and forge coalitions between, for instance, the petite bourgeoisie, landowners, and military elites. This coalitional approach weaponizes people's fear and lack of power, preserving capitalist relations while offering tragic pseudo-solutions to capitalism's problems.

In this moment of crisis, elite defectors from liberalism exploit the media system's combined and uneven structure—especially its exceptional elements that are necessary to producing social hierarchy. Liberal media systems entail radio preachers, far-right news networks, and bigoted YouTubers, for example, that redirect people's fear, anxiety, and anger, rearticulating familiar social scapegoats and constructing new ones. Doing so reinforces both social hierarchies—based on race, gender, ability, and so on—and economic stratification. To roughly schematize, the liberal system's official media gain consent by helping to harmonize people's orientation toward society and government, while

exceptional media exaggerate differences, saturating them with negative associations. These two poles of the liberal media system differ with respect to how they articulate social differences, but both help to construct capitalist social relations.

In my paper, I argue that fascism arises as a response to liberalism's hegemonic failure, occurring in moments of social and economic crisis when elite defectors exploit the liberal media system's contradictions. By weaponizing the exceptional elements of media—those designed to produce ideological consent through scapegoating and paranoia—fascism reorganizes fragmented classes into new coalitions, consolidating power through fear and resentment. I will demonstrate this process through an analysis of crisis theory, ideological media systems, and historical cases where austerity, inequality, and elite defections paved the way for authoritarian transformations.

Keywords: Fascism, Crisis, Media Systems, Elite Defection, Fragmentation

Notes Toward a Philosophy of Defeat and Victory

Shea Hennum

Walter Benjamin famously begins his “Theses on the Philosophy of History” by recalling the Mechanical Turk as a metaphor for historical materialism, which, as he puts it, is “to win all the time.” In thesis six, however, he notes that “the enemy...has not ceased to be victorious.” This antinomy suggests that historical materialists occupy a contradictory position of always and everywhere not-yet having won. Though many organizers, activists, and intellectuals have written about the experience of defeat, these considerations primarily take two forms. They appear either as an effort to ward off a disposition/affect/pessimism that Benjamin himself called “left-wing melancholy,” or as a self-critical attempt to learn lessons from defeat, failure, or loss. However, a conception of historical materialism as a project whose victory is assured yet endlessly deferred suggests that a thoroughgoing philosophy of defeat, and, concomitantly, a philosophy of victory, might be required. Such a philosophy might build upon Benjamin’s concept of “messianic time,” and, in doing so, it might develop a philosophy of time adequate to historical materialism as a philosophy of history.

Drawing on my own experiences of organizing and being organized (at my workplace, in the classroom, with/by incarcerated comrades), as well as the legacies of League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Zapatistas, Stop Cop City, and the Palestinian resistance, among others, this presentation sketches the basis for a historical materialist philosophy of defeat and victory, which, I hope, makes a modest contribution to the endurance of protracted struggle against capital, imperialism, and prisons.

Keywords: Defeat; victory; organizing; time; history

Ms.

Sofia Menemenlis

Scientific work, and its dissemination through institutions such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, has been important for describing and predicting the violent consequences of fossil fuel extraction. At the same time, scientific research is enlisted to provide ideological cover and technical capacity for the ongoing production of catastrophe. Encouraged by funding from industry and governments, the scientific community has embraced research into carbon dioxide removal and geoengineering—both speculative technologies which, as Andreas Malm & Wim Carton (2024) point out, dominant classes proffer in lieu of retiring fossil capital. Ostensibly benign research contributes directly to technologies of genocide; often, connections to military projects are deliberately obscured. As unfolding catastrophes create new sources of uncertainty and volatility, finance capital uses scientific talent, tools, and information to generate profits.

This paper will articulate spaces of scientific knowledge production as sites of struggle against genocide and environmental collapse, and reflect on challenges and opportunities for organizing.

Keywords: science, climate, organizing

Toward a Marxist Psychology of Becoming Revolutionary

Sohrab Rezvani

There are moments in life when people who are not politically active, or have no revolutionary identity, "move" by some news, events, or maybe an inspiring speech and start to become active in social movements, campaigns, or political parties. What exactly happens that people decide to become politically active? What paths, psychologically speaking, do they go through to make their revolutionary identity? And how can the psychological knowledge about the trajectory of "becoming revolutionary" help us to design our educational projects and organisational inductions?

In this presentation, drawing on the Marxist tradition of Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), and especially Lev Vygotsky and Fyodor Vasilyuk's concept of "Perezhivanie", I will open up the psychodynamic model of becoming revolutionary. Both Vygotsky and Vasilyuk provide a unit of analysis to investigate the critical moments in each person's life, when old

ways of operating or making meaning in everyday life become impossible and the person starts to re-organise her life, changing herself and the environment in a way that would help her to overcome the critical moment.

I will explain this unit of analysis with some examples from my PhD in Manchester: “Solidarity in Critical Situation: Study of Conduct of Everyday Life of Eco-Socialist Activists”. In this research, through participation in social movements in Manchester, I have focused on learning about the journey of young generation of activists who are joining environmental and socialist projects and struggling to make their new identity.

I will explore the developmental stages that each individual may go through and finally I will have a brief look at the aesthetic form that the whole struggle of “becoming revolutionary” takes. I hope that this presentation will stimulate some discussion around the education of sensibilities in young activists.

Keywords: Marxism, Psychology, Revolutionary Pedagogy, Vygotsky, Eco-Socialism

Towards a geography of “actually existing civil society”

Sophia Ilyniak

What is commonly understood as “civil society” in the bourgeois, liberal-democratic sense is under-theorized from a historical-material perspective. This vast constellation of NGOs, non-profit organizations, philanthropic and charitable activities, and relationships is typically perceived as operating in-between—and independently from—the state and the market. This “third” sector has become ubiquitous in the neoliberal age, and its study warrants urgency in proportion to its size and pace of growth, and its escalating influence on people’s life chances. Few critics of political economy have followed up on the “bourgeois socialism” which Marx and Engels described in the Manifesto as “complete systems” that seek to redress social grievances to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society. My paper examines the multi-faceted nature of the third sector, focusing on its roles in reshaping the state, markets, and society—and, by extension, its influence on social welfare, economic development, and political participation. Using theoretical frameworks from Marxist geography, the paper proposes routes for studying the third sector’s functions, particularly its role in driving uneven development through the management of crises, and shaping the reproduction of state space through processes of re-scaling and re-configuration. A brief examination of the post-Soviet experience serves as an important case to confront “actually existing civil society.” In alignment with the conference theme, the paper concludes by outlining key considerations for working-class organizing in the face of the political threat of “betweenness” posed by the third sector.

Keywords: Third sector, marxist geography, uneven development, state space

Dr

Sophie Chamas

Study and the Arab Political Imagination During Genocidal Conjunctures: This presentation engages the contemporary return, through intellectual and cultural production, to the works of the Lebanese Marxist intellectual Mahdi Amel (1936-1987) and the Palestinian revolutionary, novelist and political intellectual Ghassan Kanafani (1936-1972). It explores the content of and published commentary on two recent translations – Arab Marxism and National Liberation: Selected Writings of Mahdi Amel (edited by Hicham Safieddine, translated by Angela Giordani) and The Revolution of 1936-1939 in Palestine: Background, Details, and Analysis, a new English edition of Ghassan Kanafani's seminal text (translated by Hazem Jamjoum). It also engages the documentary short Mahdi Amel in Gaza: On the Colonial Mode of Production, by Tareq Rantisi and Mary Jirmanus Saba. This presentation takes its cue from the framing question Rantisi and Saba pose in their documentary: What's the use of these intellectuals' thought to us today? I examine the ways in which cultivating relationality with the theoretical production of the past is shaping how contemporaries in the Middle East think the future and their role in and for it. I look to intellectual and cultural production from the Middle East produced in the aftermath of the counter-revolutionary wave that crushed the Arab Spring, arguing that such material inspires or makes the case for cultivating political kinship with revolutionary ghosts that can be productive of a politically fruitful relation of indebtedness for activists in the present. During this genocidal conjuncture of Middle Eastern history, this paper looks to how activists, intellectuals, and cultural producers are drawing on the past for lessons, for perseverance, and for commitment.

Keywords: Middle East, study, haunting, revolution

Marx's Global Law of Value

Tamara Caraus

In the long tradition of deciphering the law of value from Marx's Capital in terms of a 'social relation' and measured through 'socially necessary labour time,' one question has not been yet properly formulated and answered: What is this society determining the 'socially necessary' dimension? Where does this society begin or end? The premise of this

presentation is that the society is the world society shaped by the world market, and that the law of value is constituted as the world (or global) law of value; however, this global law of value was not properly detected because Marx's work was read through the lens of methodological nationalism, confining the analytical framework from Capital to one society, that of England. The argument proceeds in three steps. The first part examines the indications about this society in Marx's texts. Thus, the 'immense collection of commodities' expresses 'the wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails' (Capital I, p. 125), and these 'societies' have a common form - 'the form of society to be considered here'. Marx 'discovers' the law of value as valid for - and operating within - the capitalist society as a 'form' shaped by the world market. The capitalist society, as a form, is the 'external' framework within which the concepts and categories relate and grasp the totality of capital. The second part argues that the world market shapes the 'internal' logic of each concept of political economy. Examined separately, each concept leads to the discovery of the whole world of the market; even more, each concept that constitutes the broader concept of capital—e.g., production, consumption, exchange, labour time, etc.—contains the 'tendency to create the world market' (Grundrisse, p. 408). On this background of concepts presupposing and simultaneously creating the world market, the society that determines the 'social relation' and the 'socially necessary labour time' is revealed to be the capitalist society created by the world market, and Marx's various texts formulated this explicitly, for example, 'The measure of the value, e.g., of cotton, is determined not by the English hour of labour, but by the average necessary time of labour on the world market' (MECW, 32, p. 388). The third part argues the inner tendency of the concepts to create the world market leads to the overlapping of the world market and the world as such, and the offspring of Monsieur le Capital and Madame le Terre (Capital III) is the world society or global society. The conclusion argues that the global law of value reveals Marx's work as a critique of world society that has to guide the contemporary critical theory and social science still trapped in different methodological particularisms, and reluctant to consider the whole world as the ultimate unit of analysis and critique.

Keywords: Marx, value, global, world society

Unpaid work and voluntary work - an analysis on the Iberoamerican migration scope

Tamina Batan Rody-Lima

This study examines the category of labor performed by individuals within immigration flows, with a specific focus on the Ibero-American context. It explores the interplay of geopolitical and material inequalities that have historically shaped Latin American

societies, as well as the distinctive features of economies centered on tourism in Spain and Portugal—countries that belong to the Mediterranean bloc characterized by economic dependence on other European nations.

The article emphasizes experiences tied to professional roles in tourism-related spaces, such as hotels and inns. These roles often involve caregiving, cleaning, cooking, and other forms of life maintenance—basic types of work essential to the reproduction of social relations. Such labor has historically been perceived as both feminine and hierarchical. To address the nuances of this voluntary work within the framework of contemporary capitalist relations, this analysis draws on theoretical perspectives highlighting the connection between the capitalist economy and reproductive labor. It underscores the significance of examining the socio-legal dynamics underpinning capitalism and their influence on shaping these activities.

Work is a social phenomenon distinct from employment. The concept of work encompasses any activity that can be performed by another individual. Marx (1985, p.151), who focused extensively on analyzing the relationship between the productive process and the capitalist economy, notes that productive labor, as understood from the perspective of the simple labor process, is insufficient for understanding the capitalist production process.

This distinction allows us to explore the contradictions between being in a working situation and engaging in an activity that, while it may be formally or informally remunerated, often is not. Although production is primarily associated with paid work, activities such as caregiving, cleaning, feeding, organizing, and providing essentials have become increasingly precarious and poorly compensated in neoliberal times. The private sphere has served as a space to conceal labor relations that fall outside legal and regulatory frameworks.

Analyzing the status of women's bodies in society and their roles within the private sphere provides a lens to examine the precarious conditions of other bodies in contemporary times. The total reproduction of the labor force extends beyond merely regenerating a portion of the population. Capitalist reproduction requires only the availability of a skilled workforce to initiate production. While theoretically, capitalism could exhaust the current labor force to the point of extinction as long as another could be recruited, in practice, other strategies are typically employed.

Keywords: LABOUR; POSTCOLONIALISM; MIGRATION; NEOLIBERALISM

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Keywords: MIGRATION; LABOUR; POSTCOLONIALISM; NEOLIBERALISM

Vision 2030: Capitalistic Dreams, Authoritarian Realities in Saudi Arabia

Tarık İzibiyük

In recent years, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has occupied a significant place in both media and political arenas. From sensational investments in sports to regarding women's living condition and the grand Vision 2030 introduced under the leadership of the Crown Prince, Saudi Arabia has been in the spotlight for multiple reasons. However, these topics are commonly examined in mainstream media under headings like "sportwashing" and the "ambitious prince." Anyone with a classical economics education knows the "creed of liberalism": "Capitalism cannot thrive where there is no liberal democracy." In this context, the presence of countries lacking liberal democratic values in international arenas symbolizing cooperation could be seen as "Satanic Verses." Hence, there is a tendency to explain Saudi Arabia's actions from a perspective of social and religious motifs rather than economic and political angles.

This thesis, through the lens of historical materialism, will approach the political economy base as the primary factor determining the structure of the state and class relations in Saudi Arabia. From this perspective, neoliberalism—and by extension, Vision 2030—is not merely an economic strategy but a transformation and hegemony tool that prioritizes unlimited capital accumulation and elite interests within state structures. As Adam Hanieh also highlights, viewing authoritarianism in the region as a result of Eurocentric reflexes that create a dichotomy between civil society and the state leads to an indirect reading that links the regime's structure to a weakness in capitalism. In contrast, our research, grounded in the reflexes of understanding in order to change the world, will conduct a political economy study from a class-based perspective.

In this study, we will underscore the importance of viewing economic policies as tools of power worthy of academic inquiry, scrutinizing the complex relationship between neoliberal policies developed in line with Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 and the consolidation of authoritarian rule. Within this context, the central problematic of our research is: "Why and in what ways does Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 economic project contribute to the consolidation and strengthening of authoritarian power structures in the country?"

Keywords: Vision 2030, Political economy, Neoliberalism, Authoritarian consolidation, Capital accumulation, Hegemony, Class dynamics, Economic transformation, Saudi Arabia,

Neoliberal Hegemony and Institutional Power Struggles in the European Commission

Thanos Liapas

This paper examines the interplay between DG EMPL (Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion) and DG ECFIN (Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs), illustrating how their complementary functions sustain the dominance of European transnational capital within the European Union. Antonio Gramsci's concept of the integral state, which sustains ruling-class hegemony by balancing consent and coercion, provides a critical lens for analyzing the European Commission's dual roles in advancing neoliberal hegemony. In addition, Poulantzas emphasizes that the state is not a monolithic entity; it is composed of various institutions, apparatuses, and bureaucracies, each with its own interests, dynamics, and connections to specific fractions of capital or other social forces.

This internal fragmentation makes the state an arena for both cooperation and conflict.

DG EMPL generates ideological consent by promoting social investments, employability, and inclusion through initiatives like reskilling, upskilling, Individual Learning Accounts, youth unemployment programs, and the European Pillar of Social Rights. These policies, framed under the banner of "Social Europe", respond to socio-economic grievances while ultimately reinforcing labor market flexibility and competitiveness. Conversely, DG ECFIN enforces coercion through a stricter focus on fiscal discipline, competitiveness-driven reforms, and austerity measures, reshaping economies to serve the imperatives of transnational capital. The competition between DG EMPL and ECFIN for resources and influence reflects internal power struggles that shape policy priorities and institutional strategies. The Commissioner of Economics (usually from the EPP political family) and the Commissioner of Employment (usually from the S&D political family), as political actors backed by political groups and member states, further amplify these dynamics by steering their DGs to align with ideological and national agendas.

The paper concludes that neoliberal hegemony in the EU is manifested through conflicts over the distribution of power among various centers within the European Commission. These centers represent portfolios that embody different dimensions of the material and ideological reproduction of European capital.

Keywords: European Union, Hegemony, Gramsci

The security society of administered collapse: crisis, violence and the dissolution of social forms

Thiago Canettieri

This text argues that late capitalism is more accurately characterized by a "security society of administered collapse." In response to the ongoing disintegration of social forms, the

state's primary function shifts from bureaucratic regulation to violent security management. Through a Marxian lens, the author traces this development, highlighting the internal contradictions of capital, the decline of the labor society, and the rise of violence as a structural necessity of capital's crisis. Building upon a critique of Lefebvre's concept of "bureaucratic society of directed consumption," the text argues that this model, while applicable to post-war Europe, never fully materialized in the periphery, which instead experiences a negative integration into the world market characterized by constitutive precariousness and violent dynamics. Even further, while capital faces its internal limits, the condition of the periphery, described more accurately by the notion of a "security society of administered collapse", even the core countries face the emergence of such violent security management. As argued by Robert Kurz, the collapse of modernization, driven by capital's immanent contradictory movement, leads to a permanent crisis where the state can only manage, but not prevent, social collapse. A 'securitarian governmentality,' prioritizing security over social welfare, facilitates this administered collapse, normalizing violence and creating zones of permanent disorder. Ultimately, the concept of a 'security society of administered collapse' offers a powerful framework for understanding the contemporary convergence of poly-crisis and global conflict. This is not the dismantling of capitalism, but rather its perpetuation in a ruiniform state where the management of barbarism becomes the primary mode of governance."

Keywords: capital's contradictions; collapse of modernization; violence; crisis

Fragments of class consciousness. Starting Points for Antagonistic Politics in co-determination-related Interpretations of Labor Relations in the East German Industry.

Tobias Gellenthien

Marx writes in *The Poverty of Philosophy* about workers combinations/ associations as the predecessors of modern trade unions: "If the first aim of resistance was merely the maintenance of wages, combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups as the capitalists in their turn unite for the purpose of repression [...] In this struggle – a veritable civil war – all the elements necessary for a coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character." As is generally known, the development of such a union policy with a political, even antagonistic character in the 21st century is a significant challenge.

The prevailing order of labor relations in Germany, the so-called dual system with its separation of works councils and trade unions, fundamentally complicates the politically and conflict-oriented conduct of labor struggles with its "structural features ('duality',

'intermediation', 'juridification', 'centralization', 'representativeness') and structural effects (preventing an accumulation of conflict potential through a disaggregation of conflict contents and decentralization of conflict battlefields)" (Müller-Jentsch 2018).

Moreover, particularly in East Germany, many enterprises even in the core industrial sectors find themselves in precarious economic situations where the question of maintaining the enterprise dominates. The result is that works councils often limit themselves in their utilization of the legally granted co-determination rights, often not even approaching the legally permitted scope of co-determination, accepting authoritarian management, and exhibiting "identity of interests."

So, is there no chance for trade union and works council politics with an antagonistic political character? Not at all.

The presentation reconstructs possible starting points of such a politics that have emerged through research in the East German industry. It becomes clear that in the analyzed co-determination-related interpretations of labor relations, patterns emerge that could be conducive to antagonistic politics: Fragments of class consciousness. However, the outlined institutional and economic conditions undoubtedly present significant hurdles that must be taken into account.

Keywords: industrial relations; co-determination; trade unions; antagonistic labor politics; workplace politics; labor struggles; class consciousness

Between Critique, Labor, and Science – The Copernican Humanism

Umberto Novì

Between Critique, Labor, and Science – The Copernican Humanism

Antonio Banfi was a professor of the history of philosophy, a Milanese partisan, and an organic thinker within the post-war Italian Communist Party. His thought articulates (1) a gnoseological-epistemological system aimed at understanding the criteria for the truth of judgments; through this theory, it becomes possible (2) to establish an epistemologically grounded (Marxist) political theory and (3) to affirm a genuinely human attitude that integrates science, labor, and praxis to shape the world in a new direction: the Copernican man.

Today, the world is haunted by nightmares the West believed it had left behind: war, genocide, and the real possibility of an end—yesterday, the nuclear catastrophe; today, the climate crisis joins the list. Copernican humanity is a concept designed to overcome these nightmares through Marxism, guided by labor that is scientifically oriented and socially

freed from the constraints of capitalism.

The presentation will be structured as follows:

- Definition of science in Banfi's system;
- The relationship between science and Marxism;
- Outline of the concept of Copernican Humanity;
- Reflection on the potential of this concept to address contemporary issues.

Keywords: Science, Italian Marxism, Banfi, Neokantism, Labour

Ph.d. Student

Umberto Novi

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Keywords: Science, Banfi, Marxism, Copernican humanity, labour

Post-Hegemony: Revisioning the Left within and beyond the Left

vangelis papadimitropoulos

Right-wing neoliberal populism decouples democracy from the economy, emphasizing neo-conservative morals, profit motives and individual interests. In contrast, left-wing populism reinforces a statist approach to hegemony that shorts fall of integrating pluralism into its vision of the common good. While right-wing neoliberal populism remains the dominant hegemonic discourse, left-wing populism lacks a compelling narrative capable of mobilizing a critical mass to establish a counter-hegemony. This shortfall underscores the absence of a political framework capable of nudging the libertarian ethos underpinning neoliberal populism towards a more inclusive, ethical and sustainable economy. The retreat of the Left is not primarily due to its disconnection with the working class. Rather, it stems from the absence of a coherent political narrative, strategy, and plan capable of articulating a chain of equivalence around a mutually beneficial mode of production that addresses the interests of all people. The fragmentation of the Left mirrors the fragmentation of the social and solidarity economy, as well as the cooperative movement as a whole. This reflects tensions between radicalism and social democracy, between the social and solidarity economy and social entrepreneurship, between a gift economy and market economies, and between the commons and commercialization. In essence, populism reflects a deeper moral crisis, owing to the lack of a normative political theory that can reconnect democracy and economics under a sustainable mode of production, which would be mutually beneficial for multiple stakeholders. This new vision, framed as "open cooperativism," would bring together civil society organizations, ethical market entities, and a "partner state" as stakeholders in a collaborative model of governance. The politics of open cooperativism endorses neither an ideal speech situation aiming for consensus on the force of the better argument (Habermas 1996) nor a conflictual consensus that seeks to constantly reinvigorate antagonism between counter-hegemonic blocks (Mouffe 2000). Rather, it encompasses consensus and conflict on a case-by-case basis driven by an overlapping consensus (Rawls 1971) over core substantial values that underpin the common sense of society such as freedom, equality, difference, pluralism, mutualism and sustainability. The political restructuring of incentives around the core principles of a post-capitalist economic democracy would develop along the lines of a partner state enabling sustainable business models of open cooperativism.

Keywords: post-hegemony, the model of open cooperativism

1999–2014: The Organizational Endurance of Greek Social Movements

Vasileios Rongas

It is well-established in academia and the global counter-capitalist movement scene that greek social movements were highly active up until the 2015 referendum. How did this happen? What were the organizational infrastructures behind this remarkable progressive

social tide, and how did they evolve and collaborate over these sixteen years? Which ideas, political opportunities, and causal mechanisms were most significant for the activists of this period? Through a thorough day-to-day protest event analysis, we aim to address these questions.

Our study will explore the structures and networks that sustained these movements, from traditional unions to grassroots organizations and solidarity networks. We will also examine the interplay of ideological frameworks, political opportunities, and external crises that shaped activist strategies. By analyzing patterns of mobilization, collaboration, and endurance, we hope to uncover the dynamics that defined this transformative era in greek social activism.

Keywords: Social movements, Greece, left scene

Food Scarcity and Women's Collective Action during the First World War: The Case of Greece, 1915-1916

Vassilis Georgakis

The period 1912-1922 was a turning point in the history of the Greek state. The three consecutive wars it participated in (Balkan Wars 1912-1913, First World War 1917-1918, Greek-Turkish War 1919-1922), the National Schism which divided Greek society, the disastrous end of the Asia Minor campaign (known as the Catastrophe) and the exodus of 1.5 million Christians from Anatolia, completely changed the character of Greek society compared to the 19th century. As the country entered the Interwar period, new motifs emerged: statism, the intensification of the conflict between labour and capital, and the entrance of women into the public sphere. With the proposed announcement I intent to examine women's collective action during the period 1915-1916 on the issue of the cost of living and food shortages, placing women's mobilizations in the context of the war and women's involvement in social movements across Europe. At the same time, we will examine the contributions of historians on the issue and the ways in which women's mobilizations contributed to the shaping of the Greek Interwar period.

Keywords: Greece, Gender, Women's collective action, First World War, Food riots, Popular movements

Monopolized Earth: A Play on Property, Power, and the Politics of Class

Viktoriya Vinik

This paper explores the centrality of property to state-class formation, arguing that the inequality in property ownership as either the means of production or simply residential property both underpins class divisions and is sustained by the coercive mechanisms of the state. Drawing on the 1960s state debates and Marx's (2015) conception of ground rent, the paper posits that the capitalist state embodies materialized class relations, functioning to protect the bourgeoisie's property rights and suppress class struggles.

First, Marx defined class relations as exploitative social relations of production, emerge from the unequal distribution of productive assets and are perpetuated through the extraction of surplus labor from the property-less by the propertied class. However, rental residential property also provides the "third class" (i.e. landowners) with a means of exploiting proletarians and collecting a portion of their wages via ground rent, which creates for hierarchies of exploitation based in property (Marx 2015: 946). Second, the paper examines the dynamic interplay between class struggle and the state, emphasizing that the state's relative autonomy from economic structures is continuously reproduced through class struggles. Clarke's (1978, 1983, 1988, 1991) analyses highlights how the state enforces property rights via law and coercion, fragmenting collective resistance to sustain capitalist reproduction. Third, Wright's (1978) and Esping-Anderson's (1976) insights reveal how class struggles mediate and transform state structures, shaping the forms and functions of state interventions. By integrating Marx's ideas on properties and structuralist state theory, the paper advances a nuanced understanding of the capitalist state as both a product and an instrument of class struggle, with profound implications for Marxist strategy against the marketization of property.

Keywords: state theory, class theory, property relations, state-class formation, property rights

Is Populism compatible with Marxist Political Strategy?

William S. Lewis

To think about populism as a political philosophy is to seek to discern its normative core. A normative core is the idea of political good which structures a constitution and which informs the institutions that follow from it: courts, legislature, federal agencies, etc. The specification of a normative core answers the question of who should rightly have power over others and why. To name a normative core is also to specify why a certain constitution is desirable. In the last thirty years, much work in political theory has sought to locate the normative core of populism. A subset of this theorizing has considered left and right

populisms' relationship to Marxist political strategy. My talk will add to this subclass of work by arguing that there is something that all populisms have in common but that this is not a normative core regarding the good or justice that populism realizes. Rather populism's core is a particular and peculiar relationship to the good of democracy. Populist movements are always "haunting democracy" and they do so "when a portion of a democratic public feels that the democracy is not working for it" (Arditi 2004). If one of the core commitments of left populism is that the will and needs of all the people be respected, then this particular relationship is one that makes it difficult to think of left populisms as genuine populisms. This is because they tend toward universality and inclusion rather than particularism and exclusion. For those concerned about the compatibility of populist movements with Marxist political goals, this should be reassuring. The problem of incorporation becomes less one assimilation than of the transition from a spirit of democracy to its concrete realization.

Keywords: populism, political strategy, democracy

Althusser's nominalist Marxism in the 1960s and the 1970s

Yannis Kotzampasis

Many researchers have indicated the relation of Althusser's work to Spinoza and much work has been done towards that direction. Nonetheless, others find threads that connect it to nominalism and in this direction, which has not been sufficiently explored, my paper wishes to contribute.

In discussions with Fernanda Navarro, that took place in 1984, thus belong to the period of aleatory materialism, Althusser said about nominalism that 'I would say that it is not merely the antechamber of materialism, but materialism itself' (Althusser Louis 2006, 265). In general, the works of Althusser that are published after his death, allow us to see that notions which exist in a more processed or explicit form in aleatory materialism, appear in an unrefined form in some of Althusser's texts from the 1960s and 1970s. In my paper I will attempt to detect the nominalist dimension of the materialism of encounter in the texts of the 1960s and 1970s and particularly in his book *Philosophy for non-philosophers*, focusing on the concept of abstraction. In fact, I argue that nominalism is a main feature of Althusser's thought also in the 1960s and 1970s.

Moreover, nominalism is neither an element that contradicts the rest of his thought, during the aforementioned decades, nor is a separate feature of it that we can find a way to make it compatible with the rest of Althusser's work. On the contrary, it is a fundamental dimension that ultimately prevails constituting a nominalist dimension of his Marxism. Furthermore, I will demonstrate why Althusser's concept of the Whole is a nominalist one, by indicating its associations with formal logic. I argue that Althusser tries to ontologically

reduce the whole to its elements, meaning that it can be only a result of them. To do so, I refer to the notion of ideality and the concrete abstract in Ilyenkov. These notions connect with the concept of the essential whole, which is constituted by an internal relation amongst its elements. Such a relation leads to a particular process that is a part of the whole to become the essence of whole's elements. Nonetheless, this notion of essence is not an eternal and hypostasized essence. On the contrary is ever changing albeit it has greater stability than the particulars that compose it, being an internal relation of them.

Keywords: 'Louis Althusser', 'Evald Ilyenkov', nominalism, abstraction, essence, structure.

Conflict management and national security: on Keynesianism and sociology of conflict in the Cold War years

Yasmin Afshar

The integration of social conflicts in the post-war period is inseparable of the Keynesian doctrine. The bargaining power of the unions, as well as their level of organization, were reinforced, so that they gradually achieved institutionalization and became "political entities". Although the interventionist state did not come about as an application of Keynes' General Theory, this work shaped the economic and social management practices: Full employment appeared as a useful instrument to pacify social antagonisms, among other things. German welfare state was based on the establishment of codetermination (Mitbestimmung) and collective wage bargaining rounds (Tarifverträge), as well as state recognition of trade unions and the extension of social rights and mobility. In this sense, the welfare State is the political economical basis of the integration through conflict. For Antonio Negri, state planification recognizes and assumes class antagonism within the accumulation process, seeking to regulate it dynamically, "as the central pivot in the planning of development." Thus, the working class becomes "the engine of capitalist development." "Once the antagonism was recognized, the problem was to make it function in such a way as to prevent one pole of the antagonism breaking free into independent destructive action." [1] In the sociological field, this political configuration gives rise to a sub-discipline: the conflict sociology. Developed in the 1950s by Lewis Coser and Ralf Dahrendorf, it is an evidence and a product of the deactivation of the class struggle as a revolutionary factor. Dahrendorf summarized: "liberal democracy is government through conflict." [2]

My presentation will be divided into two parts: in the first, I will give a brief exposition of the sociology of conflict, its genesis and its parallels with Keynesianism, particularly in relation to the crisis and antagonism. In the second, I will present the critique of its presuppositions, based on the article "Anmerkungen zum sozialen Konflikt heute", published by Theodor W. Adorno and Ursula Jaerisch in 1968. I would like to argue

that, just as Keynesian policies can be interpreted as a security policy in the Cold War years, so the sociology of conflict is a security theoretical framework.

[1]Negri, A. (1988): Keynes and the Capitalist Theory of the State Post-1929. In: Revolution Retrieved. Writing on Marx, Keynes, Capitalist Crisis and New Social Subjects (1967-83). London: Red Notes, p. 7.

[2]Dahrendorf, R. (1965): Ralf. Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland. München: Pöppe, p. 174.

Keywords: conflict, antagonism, keynesianism, sociology, Adorno

"To Live is to Rise Up": A comparative study of Palestinian and Kurdish Colonization and Resistance

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Kurdish and Palestinian peoples emerged as the two largest stateless nations in the wake of the Ottoman Empire. While their resistance to national oppression followed many similarities and often intertwined, the Kurdish political and territorial sovereignty contrasts greatly with the lack of a Palestinian equivalent. At the same time, Palestinian resistance emerges as more resolute in its stance against colonization compared to its Kurdish counterpart. Building on Lenin's and Sayigh's theories of varieties of colonization and Sabbagh-Khoury's notion of "colonial citizenship", I argue that different modes of colonization provoke different forms of resistance. The lack of a settler population in the Kurdish case, and the policy of assimilation rather than expulsion, both allowed for much more widespread cross-border operation for the Kurdish movement compared to the Palestinian one. However, the same factor also contributed to the growth of expectations from the existing state system - expectations that are more difficult to maintain in the Palestinian case.

Keywords: Kurdish, Palestinian, citizenship, colonial, settler

Fascization of Politics: Transformation of State-Class Relations and Reframing Antagonism

[Yunus Yücel and Berkay Kabalay](#)

The concept of fascism has been attracting increasing attention in theoretical and political debates to explain the changes in contemporary politics. To explain these changes, we refer to the fascization of politics as a process that lacks a fascist regime or state form dominated by fascist parties. Thus, we offer to think of contemporary politics as a situation of in-between while getting away from its liberal roots and getting closer to fascistic ideas. In our view, the rise of authoritarian regimes and the proliferation of autocratic leaders are mere symptoms of this political process.

Fascization of politics is based on three transformations. The first is the erosion of norm politics—such as the rule of law, democracy, international order, and human rights – which are replaced by ‘normless’ politics. The second transformation involves capital-labor relations and the state’s class-oriented regulations favorable to capital. This transformation underlines the labor’s crisis of reproduction due to the prolonged effects of the 2007-08 Global Financial Crisis on work relations, precariousness, and welfare. The last transformation refers to working-class support for the fascization of politics, motivated by the fear of alterity. This representation conceals the exploitation and inequality faced by subaltern masses, creating new horizontal cleavages among gendered, racial, and cultural lines.

These three fundamental transformations are creating an environment in which both politics and societies are increasingly structured around authoritarian ideas sympathetic to fascism. These transformations illustrate the trajectory of contemporary politics, which can be conceptualized as the fascization of politics. Through this concept, we offer a different perspective on the discussions on fascism and contemporary politics.

Keywords: Fascization of Politics, Crisis of Reproduction, Antagonism, State-Class Relations

Migration and Refugees

Migrant as a Revolutionary Subject: Postulates at the intersections of Racial Capitalism, Abolitionism, and the Critique of Citizenship

Abdul Vajid Punakkath

While the concept of racial capitalism sought to, in certain sense, unite anti-capitalism and anti-colonial/imperial/racist politics under a common historical frame of reference; it has not managed to avoid or overcome the recurring debates around particularity vs universality, identity vs class, and representation vs revolution etc. Against these predicaments, we aim to develop an account of the migrant as an insurgent, universal, and irreconcilable political subject capable of the decimation of global capitalist-imperialism (contra socialism in one country).

In the context of border imperialism, Palestinian liberation and solidarity struggles, resurgence of radical unionism, and the constellation of social movements operating in this political context, we argue that the radical otherness of the migrant position is central to their proliferation and expansion. This is also one of the main logic behind the regimes of assimilation, repression, and deportation of migrant subjectivities, especially in its most radical articulations, throughout the globe. By reframing racial capitalism through the inclusive-exclusive operations of citizenship, which coheres and enables local (through super-exploitation of migrants) and global value extraction (inequality in global supply chain), migrant worker is identified as the point which traverses the particular and universal of our contemporary social totality. For this traversal point to become a revolutionary site, the migrant subject must be identified not as a victim of the border regime, but affirmed as a criminal and scandalous standpoint that continually threaten the coherence of citizenship through treason, expropriation, (inter)communalism etc. Such an affirmation, as a defense of the migrant Other in its otherness, taken to its logical extent, cannot but mean the antagonization of capital, nation-state, and imperial metropole, from which a new communist hypothesis adequate to it must be invented.

Keywords: migrant, communism, revolutionary subject, citizenship, racial capitalism

Crimmigration: the relationship between migration, penal policy and labor mobility

Alexandre Leal and Marianna Haug

This article addresses the relationship between migration, labor mobility, and international drug trafficking from the Marxist debate about the theory of value. Based on Gaudemar's concepts of labor mobility, and Marx's theory of value, we can understand the splendor between migration in Latin America and the determinations of the legal form and the mercancy form and their specificities of gender and race.

A large part of the migrant population imprisoned in Brazil is accused of international drug trafficking, with the criminalization of drugs being the main strategy for mass incarceration in Brazil and in most Latin American countries. We know that in a global aspect, most migratory flows occur from the South to the North, with final destinations mainly in European or North American countries. However, when we analyze the migration that arrives in Brazil, we mainly count other migrants from Latin America, Africa, and East Asia. There is an intersection between the fields of study on migration and criminalization called "crimmigration" which deals with the process of criminalizing the act of migration itself, placing migrants, especially those from the working class, in more precarious living conditions. When directly affected by the criminal state, these circumstances become even more violent.

To understand the relationship between labor mobility and international drug trafficking, we must first understand that drugs are mercancys and undergo the same process of value production as other commodities. Furthermore, with regard to the processes of criminalization of drugs, there is also a direct interest in the exploitation of these markets, given that it allows for the existence of a speculative sphere of capital that is extremely unregulated. Therefore, the fact that these mercancys are criminalized increases the risk in their production, which can add value to a clandestine market that allows for the accumulation of capital through authorized tax authorities, huge profit margins and a monopoly on the productive force and the consumer market.

Both the logic of illegality and the mobility of labor in international terms are part of the very form of the State and not "parallel" to it. However, it is in the face of these gaps and contradictions that the State, based on selective criminalization, will use the discourse of "war on drugs" to control borders and the migrant population.

Keywords: criminalization, migration, penal policy, drugs, labor mobility

Western Perspectives on the Alterity: The Cases of Israel and Jewish populations

Alexandros Oikonomidis

The aim of this presentation is to find out how and in what level The Western Imperialism changed its narrative towards Jewish populations after the Second World War and the foundation of the Israeli State. Also, a major question is the role of anti-Islamism in it.

While the genocide of the Palestinian people goes on, the Western Imperialism is standing with the Israeli State. The narrative with which the Western Imperialism justifies its stance is the presentation of Israel as a “Western liberal democratic state” fighting against “Islamic Terrorism”.

The case for the Muslim populations is very common in the West. An eternal enemy who is threatening the western way of life and the western countries themselves, an eternal enemy that has to be defeated in any means possible.

However, what is the case for Israel? Jewish populations have had a constant presence in the European territory and, especially until the Second World War, they were facing a lot of discriminations, not only from the so-called “extremes” of the Western societies and, of course, not only from the Nazis. This kind of discriminations against the Jewish population in possible times reached even at the point of state-organized pogroms.

How did Israel, the so-called “Home of the worldwide Jews”, converted to a “Western State”, in contrary to the discriminations the Jewish populations faced in Europe? Can the awareness raised by the Holocaust be a sufficient reason for that? Only by looking at other genocide cases all over the world, it seems that it is not a sufficient reason.

The end of the Second World War brought many changes in the Western Imperialism. Not only regarding its form, i.e. the unification under United States, but also regarding on the view of the Western Imperialism towards alterity. Changes that still occur on the Western societies, even though the “Great Enemy” of communism does not exist anymore.

Keywords: Islam, Israel, Zionism, Imperialism, Palestine

Bourdieuian conception of the State, migrants and radical democracy in the reflexive sociology of Abdelmalek Sayad

Andrea Girometti

The Bourdieusian reflexive approach was undoubtedly enriched by the sociology of migrations carried out by Abdelmalek Sayad (1999, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2014), so much so that we owe to it an epistemological break and a reshaping of the political struggle of the subalterns, to the point of conceiving migrant practices as an integral part of a theory of the state. Indeed, they unveil the process of naturalisation of borders and thus of the constitutive divisions (internal/external, national/non-national, etc.) that make the state first and foremost state thought. It functions as a paradigm of all power when it arbitrarily

imposes physical and symbolic boundaries from which it derives legitimation to manage the crossing of such boundaries and prevent their transformation. It follows, as we will highlight, that immigration, as a social condition as well as a practice which is objectively political, was created by the combination of the industrial revolution and the nation-state when the foreigner was transformed into a non-national. The latter is the unthought-of limit of the state in its ontological conjunction with the nation, and national sovereignty has its main prerogative in the (potential) exercise of expelling (or not letting in) the migrant as an emblem of the unassimilable (Sayad 1999). Considering that Sayad's theses represent an original declination of the Bourdieusian conception of the state as a 'two-faced Janus', whereby it is impossible to evoke a positive property without referring to a negative one (Bourdieu 2012; Girometti 2020), this article intends to assess its potential in the declination of a radical democracy. In particular, we will focus on the Bourdieusian approach and Sayad's constant reference both to the inessentiality of the legal distinction between citizens and non-citizens in Hans Kelsen's work (Kelsen 1945) and to Hannah Arendt's reflection on 'statelessness' (Arendt 1951).

Keywords: state thought – symbolic capital – migrants – national/non-national – radical democracy

(No) Climate Borders

Ciarán Ó Briain

Now is a time of catastrophic planetary crises, collapse and death. As global temperatures rise and planetary boundaries are transgressed, states of the Global North are erecting and fortifying 'global climate walls' (Miller et al., 2021) against the refugees of the late Capitalocene. This paper argues the growth of these walls signals the emergence of climate borders, a bordering regime designed to enable the imperialism of green capitalist paradigms, such as the European Green Deal (EGD), and jointly engage in the violent repression of displaced populations. Climate borders are both external and internal, sheltering the privileged minority in green capitalist enclaves from climate catastrophe, whilst exposing the global precarious majority to climate barbarism, deepening existing inequalities driven by colonial legacies and intersecting systems of race, class, and gender. Climate borders permit the (re)production of green capitalism, whilst simultaneously enabling and controlling the necropolitical consequences of global eco-apartheid. They create and enforce an ideological illusion of the security and sustainability of green capitalism in the face of climate chaos via a xenophobic bordering regime that violently excludes communities that have endured the sustained violence of the Capitalocene since its inception, and now suffer its climate chaos creation and 'solutions'. Climate borders are a green capitalist apparatus of planetary sovereignty and imperialist accumulation in this

time of planetary death.

This paper, drawing upon Autonomist Marxism, eco-Marxism and decolonial theory, firstly proposes the conceptual proposal of climate borders to describe the growing present and speculative future of Global North border regimes under green capitalism. Secondly, we engage in a Marxist political economy analysis of the climate border economy via European Green Deal and Fortress Europe. In the third section the paper constructs and assesses the potential of a no climate borders political theory and praxis of emancipatory struggle and solidarity action, through case study analysis of migrant and refugee-led border abolitionist resistance movements and grassroots organisations in Europe, engaged in insurrectionary and prefigurative praxis against / beyond borders. The paper argues these can guide resistance against climate borders and green capitalist imperialism. The paper concludes, by arguing that a no climate borders theory and praxis is counter-hegemonic, a North & South praxis led by the refugees of the late Capitalocene, that views migration as a process of autonomy and self-determination in the face of climate chaos. This is a politics and praxis of resistance and reparation in which no human being is illegal.

Keywords: climate change, refugees, borders, green capitalism, border abolition, migration resistance.

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Keywords: Green Capitalism, Eco-Apartheid, Borders, Refugees, Grassroots Cross-Border Solidarity, Migrant-Led Resistance, Border Abolitionism.

Refugee rentierism, racialised extractivism and the spatio-racial fix of humanitarian assistance in times of capitalist crisis

Danai Avgeri

This paper explores the humanitarian-development approach to displacement as a spatio-racial fix within crisis capitalism. Specifically, it focuses on Greece's Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation (ESTIA) program to unpack how Euro-white peripheries become crucial global nodes of georacial and capitalist stabilisation through the economisation of migrants' social reproduction. The paper argues that development-led refugee hosting strategies, marketed as win-win solutions for both 'hosted' and 'hosting' communities serve a twofold function: containing racially subordinate outsiders and compensating property owners for taking up the task of 'keeping out' by 'keeping alive.' By briefly and minimally supporting migrants' social reproductive needs, the racial biopolitics of the development-humanitarian nexus brings surplus populations into the folds of local capital accumulation, while sustaining the global colour line. In this process, humanitarian, intergovernmental and development actors come to operate as race relations managers: that is, they mediated the concessionary and uneven incorporation of humanitarised migrants into national systems of segregation and

exploitation, masking the racialised disposability of these same subjects once they cease to be of any economic and geopolitical value. In analysing the refugee humanitarian-development nexus as a postcolonial mode of containment that harnesses the vital capacities of surplus populations to mitigate the adverse effects of economic and political crises, the paper seeks to make three main contributions: analyse the expanded role of migration governance in reproducing capitalist relations beyond its role in ensuring illegalised exploitable labour; offer a reading of the biopolitical governance of migrant life through a social reproduction lens that integrates questions of race and political economy; and provide an empirical understanding of how the humanitarian-development nexus precipitates refugee disposability in 'transit countries'.

Keywords: humanitarianism, accomodation, migration, value extraction, social reproduction, surplus populations

Critical Political Economy of Migration Policies vis a vis the Rising Right-Wing Extremism

Ezgi Pinar

This research primarily aims to examine the development of immigration and integration policy in Germany and the political-economic background of migrant labour policies. The study posits that labour market policy and labour regime preferences are key factors in the social integration of migrants. This premise allows us to link migrant integration and labour market policies. In the aftermath of the 2008 global crisis, a strategic overlap emerged between refugee reintegration and labour market policies in the European political economy. Various economic, political, and social actors, along with their media outlets, supported the German government's new refugee integration policies under international and national regulations. This support primarily arose from concerns about the declining competitiveness of the German labour market following the 2008 global economic crisis. As a result, "migration became to be seen as positive because and insofar it helped to meet skill and price-specific labour demand." (Georgi and Schatral 2012:220)

The policy documents of government and business sectors present an explicitly pro-migration stance, with very positive and supportive discourse regarding immigration processes. Analysis of these documents and integration processes reveals a coherent and unified attitude among policy actors, rather than a contradictory one. However, recent European elections and state elections in Saxony, Thuringia, and Brandenburg have shown a rise in support for the anti-migrant, far-right AfD party. Public discussions about refugees reveal a less positive attitude. An anti-migrant sentiment is gaining ground in society and, increasingly, in the political sphere as well. This contrast between official policy and public

sentiment poses a complex challenge for German policymakers. They must balance maintaining an open, welcoming stance towards immigrants—crucial for addressing labour shortages and demographic challenges—with addressing the concerns of a growing population segment uneasy about the pace and scale of immigration. This paper examines this contradiction and analyses how it's reflected in the governance of migration policies.

Keywords: migrant labour, migration policies, Germany, far-right politics

The Racial Politics of Policing: Migrant Labour and State Formation in the Gulf

Hessa Alnuaimi

This paper explores the historical development of policing in the Arabian Gulf as a mechanism for controlling migrant labour and safeguarding the interests of Western oil companies during the mid-20th century. Drawing on archival research from British and Gulf sources, it argues that the emergence of police forces in the region was shaped by the intertwined imperatives of disciplining migrant and local labour, securing oil extraction, and upholding colonial racial hierarchies. Workers from South Asia were systematically racialised as unruly and expendable, subjected to surveillance, repression, and deportation, while their labour was essential to the Gulf's capitalist economy. This racialisation was both a means of disciplining the workforce and a strategy for consolidating the authority of the state, revealing the deep entanglements between labour control and the politics of legitimacy and state formation in the Gulf states. By examining these dynamics, the paper demonstrates that state formation in the Gulf is inseparable from the capitalist imperative of ensuring the cheap extraction of oil. Policing, in this context, functioned not only as a tool of domestic governance but also as a pillar of a transnational system of racialised exploitation, designed to stabilize the oil economy and protect Western imperial interests. The analysis also highlights moments of worker resistance, which exposed the contradictions of this racialised system of control, challenging the narrative of passive subordination often imposed on South Asian migrants. By situating the Gulf's policing apparatus within the nexus of labour, racialisation, and colonial capitalism, this paper also offers insights into the interconnected processes of colonial state formation, labour governance, and capitalist expansion in the Global South.

Keywords: Race, Colonialism, Migration, Labour

Genocide as an expression of the General Laws of Capitalist Accumulation: On the Contemporary Forms of Surplus Working-Class Population Production

Luis Cortez

This presentation aims to update aspects of the general law of capitalist accumulation in Marx's Capital. Focusing on how capital defines and produces the surplus nature of the working-class population, we will analyze genocide as an inherent characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, following contemporary cases such as the ongoing genocide in Gaza and the occupation of Palestine will be put in relation with other cases of surplus population destruction such as Haiti and Sudan.

The presentation will draw on the theoretical developments referred to machinery and large-scale industry contemporary to Marx on the reproduction of the working class, which explains how the drive of individual capitals to appropriate relative surplus value undermines the same source of surplus value, as it constantly excludes working population from the production process as a whole. However, following recent contributions of Juan Iñigo Carrera regarding the new international division of labor, we will show that specificity of the process in its current development is that it does not span sections of a national working class nor particular regions of a country, but rather entire countries or regions of the world that become constituted as reservoirs of a global industrial reserve army.

In this context, we will discuss the global dynamic that this process entails between the political forms that the administration of surplus population takes in industrial reserve army reservoirs, the ways in which genocide appears as the form of their systematic destruction, and how this relates with the flow of refugee population from these towards industrialized economies. With this, we aim not only to theoretically update Marxist analysis but also to delineate the current political challenges faced by the working class. In particular, we will emphasize the fragmentation of its political action as one of the main issues to be addressed.

Keywords: Capital - surplus population - industrial reserve army - relative surplus value

Human Mobility as a Consequence of Climate Change and Environmental Disasters: The Case of Thessaly

Mariza Tzortzi

Human Mobility as a Consequence of Climate Change and Environmental Disasters: The Case of Thessaly

"Environmental migration," although historically a significant mechanism for responding to successive environmental challenges, remains one of the most contentious issues globally. At the same time, as climate change and extreme weather events continue to cause increasingly severe consequences, while nations are still negotiating policies to reduce carbon emissions, there is an uncomfortable reality that must be acknowledged: in many parts of the world, local climate conditions have become so hazardous that adaptation is no longer possible. People will be forced to migrate in order to survive (Vince, 2022).

This study, conducted as part of a bachelor's thesis, examines the impact of flooding in Thessaly during the "Daniel" weather event, in September 2023, on population movements. The goal is to highlight the lived experiences of those affected and the changes in their lives one year after the disaster, providing new data in an underexplored field. Methodologically, the research adopts a qualitative approach, using semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis to systematically record and interpret the experiences of the participants. The research questions focus on their perceptions of the disaster, their experiences with relocation, the support networks they utilized, and the broader changes in their lives one year after the catastrophic event.

In an era when climate change and environmental disasters are displacing a growing number of people, environmental refugees/immigrants remain invisible on political agendas. The rise in mass population movements, globally and in Greece, underscores an urgent reality: the protection of their fundamental rights is inadequate, exacerbating exclusion (Behrman & Kent, 2022; Bittle, 2023). This paper aims to reveal the connection between environmental migration and social and political issues, emphasizing the need for a radical rethinking of environmental justice policies alongside a deeper reconsideration of societal organization as a whole.

Behrman, S., & Kent, A. (2022). *Climate refugees: Global, local and critical approaches*. Cambridge University Press.

Bittle, J. (2023). *The Great Displacement, Climate change and the next American migration*. Simon & Schuster.

Vince, G. (2022). *Nomad Century, how climate migration will reshape our world*. Flatiron Books.

Keywords: enviromental migration, Thessaly, floods, climate change, human rights

Migrant Rank-and-File Organizing in Los Angeles Garment, Auto, and Electronics Manufacturing in the 1980s in Response to Transnational Production, Circulation, and Informalization

Michael Purello

This paper examines the co-evolutions of U.S.-Mexico racialized value-chain restructuring and emergent transnational organizing tactics of rank-and-file trade unionists, particularly displaced Mexican and Central migrants to the border and to the U.S., with the disaggregated production and circulation within the hemisphere. The “world of signals” of respatialized production and commodities distribution enabled the enormous informalization and informationalization of previously aggregated industries and utilized Mexican and Central American migrants to address crises of profitability, restructure industry, and respond to particular class struggles of U.S. and Mexican unions and transnational revolutionary organizations. As capital restructured through the displacement and utilization of precarious migrant labor, union rank-and-file migrants and activists realized the need to respond with their own transnational organization. Thus, before the “sweatshop sublime” and the self-conscious anti-globalization movements, rank-and-file members within L.A. locals of the ILGWU, UE and UAW connected shifts in L.A.’s manufacturing and distribution landscapes of maquiladorization and logistical corridors to the emergent hiring of undocumented migrants in low-end manufacturing and distribution, and the emergent phenomena of twin plant see-sawing and logistical networks and flows across borders. My paper discusses how undocumented workers within the L.A. garment, auto and electronics sectors, in response to such political economic shifts, demanded union representation in the 1980s and applied pressure to the ILGWU, UAW, UE and their employers to recognize their calls for unionization, immigration aid, and protection from factory raids. In turn, the ILGWU, UAW and UE realized that, to have any hope of addressing capital flight, lean production, securitized commodity flows, and rapidly restructured workforces, they would need to organize transnationally. Despite significant failures and internal political disjuncture, the combination of undocumented worker demands and rank-and-file activism was crucial in promoting transnational initiatives that laid the groundwork for union, worker center, and grassroots organizing around undocumented worker and capital mobility, exploitation, and dispossession in the 1980s and 1990s.

Keywords: Transnational Production/Supply Chains, Labor Struggle, Migrants, Mexico, U.S.

Understanding Why People Die - The Role of Border Regimes in Contemporary Capitalism

Miguel Duarte

Detention and deportation centers, externalization deals, pushbacks, funding for border police, etc. have all exploded in recent years in what Mezzadra and Nielson call a proliferation of borders ¹. However, contrary to popular belief, border restrictions do not reduce migration fluxes ². In fact, rather than act as barriers to the passage of people, they determine the conditions of that passage. Borders allocate rights on the basis of factors such as nationality, income and vulnerability. Perhaps most significantly, they allocate the right to work legally and thus facilitate the exploitation of those forced to do it illegally. From this point of view, borders can be seen as state-sanctioned instruments of capital accumulation that render a section of the working class more disciplined and exploitable. It is precisely migrants' status of illegality that produces this particularly exploitable kind of labor power, thus justifying Hage's claim that "migrants are best wanted as unwanted" ³.

Luxemburg famously uncovered capital's need for an outside environment through which to expand. She interpreted that expansion in literally territorial terms, which led her to prophesize that capitalism would eventually run out of new land to conquer and would then face its inevitable demise. Mezzadra and Nielson propose a reinterpretation of this outside that is "non-literal and non-exclusively territorial" in order to encompass specific forms of economic activity and social arrangements that can serve as the necessary external environment ⁴. Given this tendency to constantly overcome its frontiers, we may conjecture that capital will always expand in a certain direction (be it territorial or not) if there are conditions for further accumulation in that same direction. In other words, wherever accumulation is possible, it will happen.

I argue that the reason why we have seen border regimes proliferate in the last 40 years is precisely that capital accumulation through these mechanisms became possible in much of the Western world. This form of accumulation exceeds traditional capitalist exploitation by mobilizing violent instruments such as detention and deportation to ensure a sufficiently disciplined workforce.

¹ Mezzadra, Sandro & Nielson, Brett (2013). *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. Duke University Press.

² de Haas, Hein (2024). *How Migration Really Works*. Penguin Books.

³ Hage, Ghassan (2000). *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Routledge and Pluto Press.

⁴ Mezzadra, Sandro & Nielson, Brett (2019). *Politics of Operations: Excavating Contemporary Capitalism*. Duke University Press.

Keywords: Border regimes, capital accumulation

Making "home" through food: Stories of Migrant Workers from the Underground

noura nasser

Urban public space is rapidly changing and has been profoundly challenged in the Middle East, crucially so, at times of political imbroglios, economic depression, and crisis-ridden landscapes. Migrant domestic workers, in Lebanon, tend to occupy the urban/rural private spaces, and have long been portrayed as occupying multiple functions and responsibilities. Migrant domestic workers operationalize social reproduction and occupy a kaleidoscope of under waged job positions varying from caregivers, nurses, childminders, physiotherapists, and housekeepers, to name just some. Research over the last decades has sought to demonstrate the linkages of racism, racialization, kinship, abuse, human rights, and migrant domestic work in Beirut as a racist city, best exemplified in the historical sponsorship system (*kafala*). Such a system can be described as modern-day slavery. However, migrant domestic workers in the kitchenscape and beyond, as well as the associated act of sharing, cooking, and preparing food, or the social practice of eating, cooking, and preparing food has seldom been addressed as a focal point in the context of urban (food) spaces and migrant domestic workers. Anecdotes and stories of workers reclaiming streets to sell food, negotiating parcels of land to culturally grow valued food in spaces, among others, are extant, and budding, in urban spaces especially during the genocidal attacks on Lebanon over the fall. In this piece, what I aim to do is to reflect and showcase, using ethnographic vignettes, and photovoice, the varied ways migrant domestic workers contest, reclaim, and reconstitute memories of home in order to create a sense of belonging and togetherness in a constantly disorienting and unlivable place. How do such local food-centred gatherings, and to what extent, can they shape the struggle of being, doing, and organizing in order to render as Judith Butler (2020) best articulates it, the "imperilled conditions of life" livable? What sorts of solidarities and collectivities emerge, and how do they connect to larger social movements, run by migrant justice activists? The urban spaces in which such food acts are performed will be in out of live-in spaces of independent migrant domestic workers, and in some instances, at shelters and centers of migrants advocating and building just and resilient systems for migrants in capitalist and state-sanctioned racist systems.

Keywords: migrant domestic workers, labour, organising, solidarity, resistance, food practices, ethnography

The migration industry: New forms of exploitation and expropriation of irregular migrants

Sibyl Italia Pineda Salazar

Contemporary migration is a process influenced by capital accumulation and responds not only to its structure but also to its inherent contradictions. From a political economy perspective, migrants are exploited by capital since they represent a part of the workforce - both active and part of the industrial reserve army - that generates surplus value in their countries of origin and destination. However, this perspective alone is insufficient to grasp the contemporary forms of exploitation faced by irregular migrants since capital has forged new spaces for valorization, transforming thousands of individuals into sources of profit throughout their entire migratory journey. These profits arise not only from traditional labor processes but also from the systematic commodification of migrant bodies, occurring both in illegal enterprises and businesses operating within the institutional framework established by the nations involved in the migratory process. Therefore, the presentation aims to explore this sphere of valorization, referred to as the migration industry, and to assess its extent in generating profits, as well as its repercussions on the lives of irregular migrants concerning exploitation and expropriation.

Keywords: Irregular migration, migration industry, exploitation

Struggle for a better life and struggle for survival. Common enemy for Palestinians in Gaza and Beirut: Imperialism and Zionism!

Sonya Ben Yahmed

Abstract

A genocide is undergoing in Gaza, in occupied Palestine, whose population and living beings has been massively exterminated for over a year in full view of the whole world, after being under blockade for 16 years. An extension of the war to the Lebanese and Syrian fronts has also recently taken place, upending any possibility of stability and just peace in the Arab world and the SWANA region.

As a part of the Gender (im)mobility and Precarious situation (GIPS) Project, the author of this communication carried out a fieldwork in the Borj El Barajneh camp in Beirut/Lebanon in April 2024, with Palestinian women and civil society organizations working closely with

the Palestinian and migrant population of Lebanon.

7 semi-directive interviews and one focus group were thus carried out, characterized by a strong emotional sharing. It was, as Blakely (2007, p.61) notes, "an affective, emotional experience in which researchers attune to the feelings of their research participants and to their own, inevitably shaping the research itself".

The genocide in Gaza has been impacting the daily lives of Palestinian women in Lebanon, well before the Zionist entity's bombings and military invasion that targeted the country between September and November 2024.

The fieldwork and emotional sharing have demonstrated the (hyper) precarity (Canafe, 2018; Paret & Gleeson, 2016), exploitation and "atmospheric" violence (Fanon, 2002) experienced by Palestinians in Lebanon, where they are deprived of many basic rights (Caron, 2012; Doraï, 2006). Among other things, they are notably prevented from working in several sectors but still constitute a labour-power from beyond the nation-state that can be hired and fired to meet demand without regard to social reproduction (Wills et al., 2010).

These common conditions of existence, in addition to the problematics more specific to women, are drowned in more general one and have been quasi-put aside since the beginning of the genocide.

To cope with all this, the women I interviewed demonstrate daily resistance that manifests itself in various forms. Their desire and acts of emancipation and their strategies of struggle and resistance have a collective essence inseparable from the critique, sometimes more articulated than other times, of the relations of colonial and capitalist domination. Their acts of emancipation being thus made by subjects that these same acts emancipate, emancipation is necessarily self-emancipation (Marx, 1982).

Keywords: genocide, Palestinians, women, Refugee camp, ethnography, Beirut, violence

Socio-Environmental Stream: Towards a Radical Eco-Socialist Praxis

Book Talk: Crude Capitalism: Oil, Corporate Power, and the Making of the World Market

Adam Hanieh

Oil emerged as the dominant fossil fuel in the mid-20th century and since that time has become deeply embedded in our daily lives, economies, and political systems. Introducing his new book, *Crude Capitalism: Oil, Corporate Power, and the Making of the World Market* (Verso Books 2024), Adam Hanieh examines the relationship between oil and capitalism, the changing structure of the global oil industry, and the strategic challenges this presents for Marxist politics today.

Keywords: oil, energy, climate justice

Ecological Translation: Smart Oceans and the Capitalocene

Alexander Damianos

How does ocean digitisation reconfigure capitalist, techno-social, and environmental relations? What analytic tools facilitate examination of their intersecting dynamics? These are central questions taken up through examination of an emerging effort to mobilise machine-learning to “translate” cetacean vocalisations into human language, namely: English. A complex network of remote sensors (hydrophones, satellites, motion-sensors) are linked via a cloud that gathers data, made available through applications supported by a growing number of start-ups backed by Google, Amazon, and the military. Drawing on ethnographic research of marine biologists, policy analysts at the European Commission, and NGOs in the Eastern Mediterranean, this paper asks how artificial intelligence is applied as a strategy of framing the deeply political problem of mechanising interspecies communication as if it were an objective, technical, and impartial activity. My analysis draws on climate governance literature, science & technology studies, critical data studies, and critiques of green-capitalism & sustainability governance to analyse interviews, scientific studies and policy reports. In doing so, I assess how venture-capital backed research into technologically mediated interspecies communication are implicating smart oceans governance to harmonise capitalist growth with sustainability mandates and the ‘recognition’ of more-than-human alterity. My paper suggests that smart oceans governance poses novel risks to efforts mitigating biodiversity loss. By reducing the radical alterity of cetaceans and other sea-dwellers to an algorithmic certainty, these efforts portray the biodiversity of the Eastern Mediterranean as a justification for further

encroachment of a 'green panopticon' that functions as a site of cloud-capital. I focus on growing controversy within the scientific community concerning the legitimacy of efforts to "translate" cetaceans into human language, and ask how such efforts unfold as promotional campaigns seeking to obscure the environmentally degrading effects of AI's insatiable appetite for energy. At the same time, I describe how the medium of smart oceans presents new limits to corporate consolidation of power and authority. Citizen science initiatives are also engaging with smart oceans governance in ways that assert a 'communitarian data sovereignty', unveiling new political and territorial ambitions, and carving out meaningful spaces for citizen-based marine stewardship under conditions of climate crisis. Ultimately, my paper asks: is smart ocean governance a symptom of the Capitalocene?

Keywords: Translation, smart governance, digital oceans, Capitalocene

Climate anxiety: a symptom and a way out

Alexandre Leal Oliveira Santos

Climate anxiety, a growing phenomenon in response to the environmental crisis, can be analyzed through the lens of historical materialism and dialectics, offering insights for revolutionary praxis. Climate anxiety arises as a psychological reaction to impending ecological collapse, characterized by fear, helplessness, and distress in the face of climate change. While often seen as an individual issue, it reflects deep structural conditions and contradictions inherent to capitalism.

Historical materialism, a Marxist method of analysis, enables us to understand the climate crisis as a product of the economic and social relations embedded in capitalism. This system, rooted in the accumulation of capital and the unchecked exploitation of natural resources, commodifies nature and generates devastating ecological externalities. The contradiction between productive forces (technology and productive capacity) and relations of production (private ownership and exploitation) is central to understanding how capitalism exacerbates environmental degradation while producing unequal distribution of climate impacts.

This perspective reveals that climate anxiety is not merely an emotional response but a symptom of systemic contradictions that must be addressed. Solutions cannot be individualized, as often proposed through "green consumption" or carbon offsetting strategies. Instead, they require structural transformation to reorganize social and economic relations.

Revolutionary praxis, in this context, involves conscious collective actions aimed at transforming the material and social conditions that perpetuate the climate crisis. Inspired by historical materialism, praxis recognizes the need for both theoretical understanding of systemic structures and practical mobilization. Social movements, such as anti-capitalist environmentalism, exemplify this praxis by exposing the structural causes of the climate crisis and proposing alternatives based on social and environmental justice, such as community-based economies and sustainable production systems.

Ultimately, climate anxiety, when channeled through revolutionary praxis, can be transformed into a driving force for political mobilization. Rather than paralyzing individuals, it can inspire collective organization and the struggle for a future where the relationship between humanity and nature is guided by principles of balance and solidarity. The resolution of the climate crisis is not solely an environmental issue but a political and social project requiring the construction of a new economic and ecological order. By addressing these systemic contradictions, humanity can move toward a world that prioritizes sustainability, equity, and harmony with the environment.

Keywords: Climate anxiety; revolutionary praxis; eco-socialism

Fossil Hegemony in Alberta's Regulatory Regime

Alie Hermanutz

In Alberta, Canada, where the world's fourth largest collection of hydrocarbon reserves lies, the focus of much ecosocialist and leftist critique has attended to the hazards of developing the infamous unconventional tar sands (Clarke 2008; McCreary, 2022; Preston, 2017; Zalik, 2015). Meanwhile, less attention has been paid to the drying up conventional reserves (traditional crude oil and fossil gas) from these critical research fields, including political ecology and economy. But, it is within these mature conventional production fields that the fossil capitalist class learned how to organize the regulatory regime, mobilize a capitalist-friendly geotechnical class of labour, and produce socioecological/regulatory fixes (Castree, 2008; Zalik, 2015) for the structural contradictions of production. In the public policy literature, claims of advanced 'regulatory capture' (MacLean, 2019; Yewchuk et al., 2023) and the securitizing against financial-environmental liabilities often hold pride of place in discussions of the industry's polycrisis. This paper moves beyond these concepts towards analyzing fossil hegemony within the province (Bernauer, 2020; Carroll, 2021). In 'studying up,' this paper analyzes the hegemony of the fossil capitalist class in Alberta through a critical environmental history/political economic lens of three specific areas: 1) their role in designing almost all aspects of the modern hydrocarbon regulatory regime, via the Alberta Energy Regulator (AER); 2) their mobilization of a geotechnical class of

labourers, which produce fossil capital value and act as organic intellectuals in policy making, regulatory law, and field oversight; 3) the use of state-capital alliances in creating socioecological fixes to curb social dissent against production due to the offloading of the externalities of production like financial liability and environmental hazardous waste. This final area is where specifically climate capitalist fixes have begun to manifest during the sundowning of conventional hydrocarbons, exemplified through the greenlighting of hydrocarbon firm's own carbon capture and storage projects, ensuring unconventional reserve extraction continues. This research has also revealed a medley of tactics that the fossil capitalist elite have employed over the last several decades in attempts to resolve the structural contradictions manifest in their capital accumulation. To advance these arguments, I use document analysis of internal and external policy missives obtained through information requests made to the province which show the influence of fossil hegemony and their control of this petro-state. I also rely on interview data drawn from my discussions with former and current key members of the AER and OWA, landowner advocates, and ecological scientific experts.

Keywords: fossil capitalism; socioecological fix; regulation

Out of Time: Exploring the Temporal Dimensions of the Climate Crisis

Alistair Bernal Holmes

At first glance, it may seem that the realities of a warming world have opened up the future after decades dominated by an all-encompassing present. Indeed, concepts like the 'anthropocene' and 'capitalocene' situate our current era within the vast expanse of geological time. These changes suggest a break with the 'presentist' regimes of temporality and historicity characteristic of the neoliberal epoch, epitomised by the Thatcherite slogan 'there is no alternative'. However, broadly speaking, business-as-usual still prevails. When the future does enter the political conversation, it is enclosed within the narrow bounds of an unchanging present, the onward march of the status quo. It remains a future locked-in to the economic rhythms of the present - of turnover cycles, returns on investments and the ever increasing expansion of growth. As we contend with the environmental consequences of industry past, the spiraling tendrils of accumulation reach out decades into the future, ensnaring it in the logic of capital.

At the same time, we are hurtling towards the point of no return. Once passed, a catastrophic world looks inevitable. This world is one in which the present will be overwhelmingly determined by the past - above all past greenhouse gas emissions. The deferred consequences of the growth of industrial capitalism - nature's revenge - pulsate to a rhythm inimical to the flattened, abstract time of contemporary capitalism.

Apocalyptic events of the like we saw in Valencia this year, with their subsequent social upheaval, are only the beginning of a jarring interruption of capitalist time - sure to rapidly increase in both intensity and frequency. What will be the result of this clashing of temporalities? What happens to history when the past collapses in on the present? This paper seeks to begin the task of answering these questions by exploring the temporal dimensions of the climate crisis and considering the implications they might have for a revolutionary alternative to catastrophic capitalism.

Keywords: Climate, crisis, time, temporality, history

The failure of the technology-fix: two cases of contradictions in the green transition

Angelica Sbardella, Maria Enrica Virgillito

This talk explores the contradictions of the green transition within the broader context of extractive capitalism, as deeply entangled with today's geopolitical restructuring and economic instability.

Green technologies are often presented as the primary solution to climate change, according to a technology-fix approach. However, such techno-optimistic view overlooks the need for a deep reorganization of contemporary capitalism to ensure that the transition is effective and equitable. As products of capitalist innovation systems, green technologies alone cannot address the climate crisis without a deeper rearticulation of the mode production, resource allocation, and policy frameworks. As empirical evidence shows, not everyone is equally responsible for the climate crisis: emissions are disproportionately caused by a few polluting actors—both corporate entities and national economies— and they must bear the burden of decarbonization. Therefore, merely adopting green technologies risks exacerbating inequalities between areas and communities that benefit from the transition and those left behind. We make the case of exploding "green divides" enhanced by the transition, focusing on two domains linked to climate change mitigation and adaptation technologies, namely, the dependence on critical raw materials and their problematic extraction processes, and green technologies embedding labour-saving traits.

We propose a framework of place-based industrial policies and restorative justice that prioritize environmental justice and the right to a dignified life, addressing the extractivist tendencies of the green transition, while accounting for the needs of marginalised communities impacted by outdated and exploitative production systems. In the climate struggle, it is crucial to prioritize "frontline communities" directly impacted by climate change: through their lived experiences and material conditions they can lead climate

activism against fossil capital, contributing not just scientific knowledge but also a broader social and political vision for change. Territorial knowledge should be mobilised and supported by state-led coordinated policy frameworks in order to guarantee scalability and universality of the benefits from a just transition.

Keywords: Green transition, left-behind areas, extractive capitalism, labour saving green technologies, critical raw materials

Failing infrastructure: State abandonment and self-organising amidst flooding

Antonis Petras

In September 2023, storm Daniel struck the region of Thessaly, claiming human and non-human lives, destroying property and damaging infrastructure. By underscoring that there is no such thing as natural disasters, but instead natural consequences of political decisions, state negligence and abandonment could be located before, during and after the subsequent floods. In the aftermath of the storm, specific neighbourhoods were rendered uninhabitable in the city of Volos. The sole form of support for those affected was that of political organisations, collectives and individuals who came together to organise a response. As discourses regarding climate collapse shift from ones of preventing it, to ones about mitigating its impact, a political, epistemological and practical vacuum seems to arise: how are we to deal with such events, when state actors reject the responsibility of dealing with them, while simultaneously the capacities of community self-organising are inevitably outweighed by the scale of the disaster? In other words, how do acts of solidarity aimed at dealing with the immediate effects of environmental degradation merge, coexist or contradict with the diachronic political demand for state responsibility in the face of ecological catastrophe? The current presentation narrates the case of “Steki” (“Horos Kinimaton - Steki Metanastrion”) in Volos, as a topos where people came together to build a structure for a self-organised kitchen, for the distribution of supplies and the setting up of teams for helping clean up the mud. Drawing on interviews conducted for my master’s thesis, but also reflecting on my own positionality during the floods, I explore what happens when the so called “flood defence” infrastructure fails. Amidst queries, difficulties and contradictions, but also a revitalisation of cooperation and comradeship in a city of the greek periphery with a particular political, environmental and social background, solidarity was the word behind which people rallied. More than a year after the floods and while its effects are still evident, I propose Steki not as paradigm to be looked upon, but instead an occasion of grassroots attempts to produce makeshift infrastructure filling the void, but also proposing an alternative to the colonial and neoliberal infrastructural formations.

Keywords: Infrastructuralism, flooding, plantationocene, solidarity

Althusser, a perceptive student of the thermodynamic machine ('fire engine'): On understanding how nature is turned into 'capital' and its 'environment'

Aristotle Tympas

On the grounds of a symptomatic reading (this time of Marx, not by Marx), in "Marx in his Limits" Louis Althusser devoted an impressive number of pages to the appropriate metaphor for the capitalist state, arguing that we should think of it as a machine, not as a tool, instrument or mechanism. In doing so, he offers, I argue, not just a proper understanding of the capitalist state, but, also, in the other direction, of a machine, as this differs from a mechanism, an instrument, a tool. Key to my argument is the Althusserian perceptibility to what we may call the 'constitutional invisibility' of turning raw fire into controlled motion through a thermodynamic machine, which follows in the pattern of the steam engine, initially called 'fire engine' – the same constitutional invisibility that Bruno Latour (a prime contributor to the understanding of how nature is socially appropriated through the scientific laboratory and the technological factory) zoomed on through the concept of the 'black-box', which he imported to the human-social sciences from engineering. Building on attention to the invisibility/black-boxing of a machine proper, my argument will come full circle by inviting attention to the emergence of the concept 'environment', to define the material space outside to the one where a machine is used for a desired production, an external space to which the undesired product of the machine/capital is directed (through, to follow the example of the pattern-setting case, a steam-engine factory chimney) as the prerequisite for the desired production in an interior/enclosed space. This way nature is turned into 'capital' and its 'environment'. It is then capital accumulation that brings along, by constitution, a corresponding environmental destruction. The more intensive the accumulation of capital the more threatening the destruction of the environment. The so called 'environmental crisis', by now an 'existential threat' of a 'capitalocene' period, is then integral to the capitalist mode of production.

Keywords: capital, environment, machine, Althusser

From Resilience to Resistance: Thinking of Ecological Practices as a Means Towards Autonomy and Insurgency

Bediz YILMAZ

Resilience is generally perceived as a way of coping with the destructive effects of Capitalocene, be them disasters or routine disastrous functioning of it. In this paper, deriving from a post-disaster experience, I will be tackling with the following questions: Is it possible to think of resilience as a way to build up resistance?

As an activist I took place in the reconstruction process after the earthquakes of February 2023 in Turkey. With a group of friends, we re-built and re-functionalised a small playground in Hatay province, heavily destroyed after the earthquakes. The park was transformed into a “life and play space” immediately after the disaster. And one year later, I conducted a very small project aimed at the ecological transformation of the park. This transformation comprised of two pillars: ecological infrastructure and ecological skills. The idea is to build a space autonomous enough to help the community survive a disaster; this autonomy means not only off-grid infrastructure in terms of energy, water, food and waste, but also ecological skills which are to be gained in the pre-disaster period as community practices. These practices include simple water filtering, desert cooler, solar oven, rocket stove, fly and insect repellent, heating, knowledge of edible herbs and flowers, composting, growing food, construction of dry and/or compost toilets, first aid and fire extinguishing techniques. The infrastructure and skills combined would mean another way of constructing life after a disaster when the “life” as known by a community had collapsed. In this presentation I would like to discuss building a resilient community by means of ecological practices and the possibility of thinking this community as way towards becoming an autonomous community. Thus, the main question is, how can resilience be thought of and used as a path towards resistance and insurgency.

Keywords: Disaster, resilience, resistance, community building, autonomy

The Politics of Food Inflation in an Era of Climate Breakdown and Geoeconomic Fracturing.

Brad Bauerly

Brad Bauerly – Panel Title: The Politics of Food Inflation in an Era of Climate Breakdown and Geoeconomic Fracturing.

The global neoliberal food system is failing, in part due to the fault lines emerging in the global neoliberal economy, and partially due to the contradictions of the industrial food systems mismanagement of the environment, including human beings. From the influence

on 'Arab Spring' uprisings and revolutions to the recent increase in rightwing nationalist vote shares on the back of food inflation, food prices are increasingly politically destabilizing. After a brief sketch of the origins and specifics of the neoliberal food system and recent political problems associated with rising food prices, a deeper analysis of the connections to the capitalist global order will be elucidated which will lead into an overview of how these shifts will increasingly foment political instability for the neoliberal and post-neoliberal global order. Finally, a brief sketch of left alternatives and points of intervention will make the case that food politics will be a necessary and potentially fruitful point of political intervention.

Keywords: Food System, Climate Breakdown, Inflation

Techniques of Limitation: Communism, Transition and Eco-technical Struggles

Burç Köstem

In much of the Marxist work that imagines what a future society might look like, communism is conceived of alongside an implicit theory of transition, which demands a scaling down of large-scale technical ensembles – the ability to break apart industrial agriculture, create local practices of farming, the ability to turn off mechanical production when the sun is out and to take long afternoon naps. So much of the contemporary ecological left – influenced not only by accounts of degrowth (Schmelzer, Vansintjan, and Vetter 2022; Saito 2023), but also those of comunization (Bernes 2018; Neel and Chavez 2023), and social ecology (Finley 2019) – is focused on this scaling down. No more megaprojects, technical systems that rely on a smaller throughput of materials and energy, more localized infrastructure and transport systems.

Yet a communist horizon would equally require the “scaling up” of technical culture, the generalization of what French philosopher of technology Gilbert Simondon called “technical activity” – the construction of technical systems that are more amenable to forms of collective care and maintenance (Berlant 2016). What if communism requires not the construction of new megaprojects, nor some accelerationist fantasy, but to build a generalized condition of eco-technicity, the ability collectively maintain and care for our technical ensembles? In this paper, I bring Simondon’s reflections on technicity (Simondon 2016; 2020) in conversation with recent elaborations of Marx’s theory of the metabolic rift (Mau 2023; Saito 2023), to sketch out what I describe as “eco-technicity” and “eco-technical domination”. Through this concept, I investigate how infrastructure and particularly the question of maintenance and reproduction has become a key site of eco-technical struggle and contestation for the left amidst, especially as it confronts a

capitalist green transition already underway. I propose that such an analysis could bring a more nuanced reading of how Marxists ought to address the theme of environmental limitation, as a political and technical practice, through bringing attention to questions of scale, path dependency, and class composition.

Keywords: technicity, metabolic rift, limits, ecology

Assistant Professor

Cagri Idiman

Climate, Class and the 'Other Transition': Why the 'Long' Eighth Century Matters for the Capitalocene... and Popular Democratic Politics in the Twenty-First Century

This paper revisits the origins of feudalism in the “long” eighth century (c. 6xx-8xx). The era marked the consolidation of Merovingian class structure and its subsequent elaboration through the Carolingian renaissance during the initial “thaw” of the Dark Ages Cold Period. Elaborating Wickham’s magisterial contributions to the study of the early middle ages, this paper locates Charlemagne’s ceaseless campaigning, the diffusion of bipartite manorialism, and the formation of a rough-and-ready imperial structure within Moore’s reckoning of climate-class conjunctures. Two proposals are explored. First, ruling class capacities in all class societies are influenced by climate conditions. The central mediation is the nexus of climate conditions and agricultural productivity, which shape the possibilities for surplus labour extraction. Second, while ‘favorable’ climate conditions enhance ruling class capacities, ‘unfavorable’ climate conditions undermine them. The historical pattern is therefore one in which unfavorable climate conditions are moments of political possibility for the direct producers – a pattern that stretches from the Dark Age Cold Period to the Little Ice Age and the origins of capitalism. An adequate historical materialism of climate-class conjunctures illuminates the twenty-first century capitalism’s “weak links,” and provides lessons for a popular democratic vision of the class struggle in the web of life.

Keywords: climate, class, feudalism, environmental history, world ecology

Rethinking State and Class Power in Political-Ecological Perspectives

Cemil Yildizcan & Cihan Ozpinar

Amid the ongoing ecological and climate crises, radical political-ecological perspectives such as eco-communism and eco-Leninism have gained renewed traction among critical scholars. These frameworks challenge the commodification of nature and accumulation-driven development paradigms, offering an alternative to mainstream, depoliticized approaches to environmental justice. By mobilizing resources through mechanisms such as expropriation, taxation, and state intervention, these perspectives foreground the role of class struggle and the re-embedding of state power as tools to transform socio-ecological relations.

This paper explores the radicalization of ecological imaginaries and examines eco-communist and eco-Leninist frameworks both as intended and unintended consequences of political trajectories that reintroduce state/class dynamics into ostensibly post-political narratives. By analysing their potential to envision a communist horizon or a mass-based ecological class struggle, the discussion situates these frameworks as acts of resistance against the capitalist logic of dispossession, extractivism, and greenwashing.

The paper aims to contribute to the broader debate on forging radical eco-socialist praxis by critically engaging with the possibilities for a mass-based re-emergence of the political within an era of post-democratic depoliticization. It argues that such perspectives not only offer a critique of the socio-environmental crisis as a systemic capitalist contradiction but also provide avenues for envisioning transformative pathways towards socially and ecologically just societies.

Keywords: eco-Leninism, eco-communism, strategy

Capitalocene, Anthropocene and Discount Rate

Chris Krol

It can be a helpful distinction for capitalocene vs Anthropocene, because the Anthropocene concept assumes humans will necessarily be ecologically destructive, while recognizing in the capitalocene concept the modes of production: primitive communism, feudalism, slavery, and capitalism, and communism each may have a distinct effect on the biosphere, such that we can assume communism would be less ecologically harmful, since the distributed ownership of stock exchanges in capitalism incentivize externalization of cost, and thus negative environmental externalities, and communism since not profit motivated would necessarily be interested in reducing harm, assuming a long term world view. And long term view is only possible if discounting rate on returns from investment of labor power is low, which occurs when individuals in the society feel less social pressure to accumulate wealth, since their basic material needs are already accounted for by the

communist system. That is, when needs are met by the communist system, the discount rate on ROI of labor power is lower, where the mechanism is that the threat of deprivation of consumer goods during capitalism makes actors competitive, and therefore myopic, therefore the low discount rate allows for more egalitarian attitudes and future focused policy.

Keywords: Discount, Communism, externalities

Environmental Impact Assessment: Protecting the Environment or the Entrepreneur?

Christos Avramidis

In order to proceed with a large investment today, an environmental impact assessment is required, which was introduced to protect the environment. However, a number of problems have been noted in the international literature, with the result that in many cases, the environmental impact study ends up either being bypassed by big interests, or directly helping investors to serve their own interests, without caring about the damage to the environment. The literature notes many different ways in which the interests of capitalists are served at the expense of the environment, but in Greece there is a uniqueness in the way in which Eldorado Gold managed to proceed with gold mining in Halkidiki, with the impetus of the European Commission. In this presentation, the relevant literature is referred to and the Greek Eldorado is extensively analysed through the case study of gold mining in Halkidiki.

Keywords: environment, capitalism, gold mining

"The River Is Our Street." Intersectional Organizing in Sacrifice Zones

Claudia Horn

Fragmentation and isolation from political participation impede collective organizing in rural "sacrifice zones" of large-scale development projects. The Tocantins-Araguaia industrial waterway project seeks to expand the export corridor for soy directly through Brazil's Amazon Forest, threatening to destroy ecosystems and local traditional communities' socioeconomic base. This study contributes to the critical eco-Marxist feminist investigation into the role and potential of intersectional organizing for climate action, given that it can reveal similar forms of oppression among diverse groups. It draws

on fieldwork accompanying a boat caravan of labor leaders from various movements representing fisher, peasant, family farmer, indigenous, afro-descendent Quilombola, women, youth, and church groups in their protest in defense of the river. It argues that the campaign's intersectional practices—recognizing autonomous cultural identities, building solidarity around crosscutting threats to production and social reproduction, and formulating unifying inclusive alternatives and demands— address the collective action problem in global peripheries. Moreover, the campaign reflects rural worker organizations' integration of regional, agrarian, and environmental justice in an attempt to broaden the understanding of and make visible the real world of labor.

Keywords: intersectionality, extractivism, sacrifice zones, social movements

The Herbarium of Rosa Luxemburg. For a Radical Ecological Critique and Praxis

Claudia Horn

Between 1913 and 1918, Rosa Luxemburg compiled and annotated pressed leaves and flower blossoms, including while imprisoned for political dissidence. Her herbarium—a little-known collection of 18 notebooks filled with pressed plants rediscovered in 2009—illuminates how the radical thinker imagined and felt the connection with her natural world. The paper presents the main arguments of a book manuscript that offers the first edited English translation of Luxemburg's original herbarium (under contract with OR Books for publication at the end of 2025). While Luxemburg's political economy inspires struggles against colonial capitalism, this manuscript discusses the relevance of her plant study for feminist, decolonial eco-Marxist critiques of capitalist false climate solutions rooted in Western conservationism and transgenic monoculture farming. First, the manuscript draws on Luxemburg's collection to develop radical environmental education practices, linking environmental history, seed justice, community agriculture, and agrarian issues. Second, the paper presents the results from an interdisciplinary climate change research and education project that uses phenology methods to analyze Luxemburg's herbarium specimens, compare them with contemporary databases and blooming periods, and assess the impacts of climate change on plant life.

Keywords: Rosa Luxemburg, Feminism, Political Ecology, Eco-Marxism, Political Theory, Colonialism and Plants, Conservationism, Botany, Climate Change, Environmental Education

The Simultaneous Destruction of Workers and the Environment: Commodity Frontiers and Slow Violence at Shipbreaking Yards in Aliaga, Izmir, Turkey

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The maritime transportation sector is crucial to the global economy, handling over 80% of worldwide commercial goods (Demaria, 2010). A key issue within this industry is the management of aging and unusable "scrap" ships. In 2023 alone, 446 ocean-going commercial vessels were dismantled, with 325 large ships stripped down on the shores of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, representing more than 85% of the total global gross tonnage.

Much like other industries, such as mining, textiles, and automobiles, the Global North often externalizes these "scrap" ships as waste, pushing the responsibility for their disposal onto countries in the Global South (Wallerstein, 2004). This process involves displacing hazardous activities and expanding "commodity frontiers" (Moore, 2000), externalizing ecological and human costs, including risks such as work accidents, occupational diseases, and even fatalities.

In Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, shipbreaking is predominantly conducted through a method known as "beaching," in Turkey, the "landing" method poses severe risks to workers' safety and the environment. Therefore, the coastline is not just a backdrop where the work takes place; it has also become an integral part of the labor process by "absorbing" waste and harmful chemicals, making them "invisible." This process also serves as a signal flare for a disaster unfolding over time, both for the workers and the coastal ecosystem. In this paper, we will apply the concepts of 'commodity frontiers' and 'slow violence' to uncover how and why workers and the coastal ecosystem are affected in the same labor process due to these 'successful' cost-shifting practices of capitalist enterprises.

Based on 33 interviews with workers and participant observation in Aliaga, İzmir, Turkey—one of the leading countries in shipbreaking—we explore the link between socioenvironmental harm from shipbreaking and workplace accidents, injuries, and diseases while evaluating the workers' 11-day wildcat strike as a potential radical eco-socialist response.

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Keywords: ship-breaking, commodity frontiers, slow violence, workers' resistance, Turkey

A Thessalian Plantationocene: Ecological Collapse, Extraction, and Race in the Draining of Lake Karla

Conor Smith

This paper focuses on the “plantationocene,” a term first posed by Donna Harraway and Anna Tsing, offering a periodizing approach that centers the plantation as the site and colonial technology from which previous indigenous ecological relations are ruptured and an extractivist logic, that which is later embodied in capital, is born. Thus, rather than taking the factory as the starting point of the radical reshaping of the climate of the Earth, we must first understand the ways that the ground on which the factory was built was produced by the plantation. This paper will emphasize further, however, the role that race plays in this web of ecological destruction and capitalist extraction, something which is largely absent in the theorization of Harraway and Tsing. That is, taking up critiques from the black Marxist tradition, race—and the dehumanization which underlies racialization—must be recognized as a central component of the plantation and as such any “capitalocene”—which flows from the plantation—must also be a racial capitalocene. Finally, moving from a theoretical discussion to more practical research, this paper presents a case study of the drainage of Lake Karla in Thessaly, Greece. The wager here is to see how logics and structures of the plantationocene constructively put a massive transformation of the environment—the complete draining of the then largest lake in Greece—within a colonial lens of extraction of natural resources, displacement of the local population, and destruction of the preexisting ecology and of relations between human communities and nature. Putting the draining of Karla within this framework allows a recognition of the degree to which colonial perceptions, interventions, and transformations of the environment continue to effect the present day and more so extend to countries, such as Greece, which occupy ambiguous positions with respect to colonialism and race.

Keywords: Plantation, plantationocene, race, Lake Karla, colonialism, colonial ecology

Dialectics of Human and Nature: Unveiling the capitalistic roots of disasters

Dimitra Papadopoulou

The reality of the world is structured in oppositions, which ensure unity, through a dialectical process. Nature is in a constant state of movement and change, just like human society, which is constantly being transformed (Hegel, 2019, Engels, 2024). The interdependence between nature and human is so strong that in fact this dialectical relationship is a constant transformative process, where the roles of ruler and subordinate are constantly alternating, making the social environment part of the natural and vice versa.

This paper explores the concept of 'non-natural' disasters through historical materialism, with emphasis on their social, political and economic background. While mainstream narratives often portray disasters as inevitable outcomes of natural forces (Claeys, 2018, Merchant, 2023), this analysis challenges this reductionism by highlighting the broader context of capitalist development and environmental exploitation. The case under examination is the devastating wildfire that occurred in Northern Evia in August 2021. The research questions aim to the initiatives of volunteers and affected residents, considering the community's profile, including its demographic and geopolitical characteristics, class features, and the population's vulnerability

Through the voice of communities, the research seeks to redefine disasters not as 'acts of nature' but as outcomes of socio-economic dynamics. Adopting a dialectical approach, it aims to illuminate the interconnectedness of ecological degradation, human agency and structural inequalities.

Those who witnessed disasters recognize the anthropogenic factors that can lead to or worsen a disaster (Stamatiou & Psaltaki, 2013; Klein, 2015). The role of the dominant socio-economic system, expressed through the adoption and implementation of specific policies on the environment and the use of natural resources, has shaped the long trajectory of climate change, whose consequences we are now experiencing severely. In this research, participants were given the opportunity to share their thoughts, opinions, and experiences regarding this connection between the "natural" and the "political."

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Keywords: dialectics, nature, disasters, communities

Rewilding as Ecosocialist Strategy - a perspective from Scotland

Dr Katharina Hunfeld

Given the immense urgency of the problem, how should we best go about resisting capitalism and addressing the climate disaster? Defending the contribution of Marx and Marxism as significant for ecological investigations of the contemporary capitalist mode of production, ecosocialists propose a variety of left environmental strategies for dealing with the ecological crisis. This paper engages with a strategic goal that is gaining increasing popularity within eco-Marxist circles: rewilding, which most generally entails a project of ecological protection and restoration following anthropogenic damage. Originally defined as ‘the scientific argument for restoring big wilderness based on the regulatory roles of large predators’ (Soulé and Noss 1998: 5), rewilding has been associated with a range of diverse ecological approaches. As an alluring vision that holds the promise of a slow but just absolution from ecocidal crimes, rewilding is not only increasingly taking shape in mainstream Western environmental imaginaries (Fraser 2009, Monbiot 2013, Tree 2018), but has also found its footing in ecosocialist approaches. In their recent but already quite influential book *Half-Earth Socialism: A Plan to Save the Future from Extinction, Climate Change and Pandemics*, Drew Pendergrass and Troy Vettese (2022) defend a socialist utopia that centres planetary rewilding alongside of veganism, renewables with energy quotas to responding to global ecocide.

In this paper, I specifically ask: What is the status of the wild for ecosocialist visions of the future? This question matter because wildness occupies a complicated place within the onto-epistemic resources of the Capitalocene. After drawing out some tensions and problems with the idea of wilderness, I discuss rewilding in the context of Scotland. Here, the topic of rewilding is phenomenally unpopular, as most prefer an alternative vision of “peopled, environmentally restored landscapes”. The problem of rewilding in Scotland is primarily a question of extremely unequal landownership. Less than 3% of Scotland’s land is in community ownership and patterns of private landownership remain highly concentrated. I argue that rewilding initiatives can therefore be a chance to re-politicise landownership. If planetary rewilding is to have a place on the ecosocialist horizon, it must remain a highly flexible goal adaptive to specific, local circumstances.

Keywords: Ecosocialism, strategy, rewilding,

Escapes routes from 'capitalocentrism': runaway ecologies of the commons

dr Łukasz Moll

The Marxist theories of the 'capitalocene' are much-needed responses to the influential narratives on the 'Anthropocene', which remain blind to the accumulation of capital and class exploitation or provide the false story that humanity as a whole is morally responsible for the ecological collapse instead of seeing the political responsibility of dominant groups in the post-colonial, racialized, and gendered division of labor. While eco-Marxists rightly claim that the capital, and not the ideological concept of 'the human', is the key to understanding the current crisis's character, what remains to be discussed is exactly how should we theorize the centrality of capital. Should we replace one centrism – 'anthropocentrism' – with another one – 'capitalocentrism'? Should we see the capital as a geological force of some kind which – since its rise – became an agent not only of human history but planetary history as well? In my paper, I challenge the 'capitalocentric' narrative from below: from the perspective of class struggles of the commoners which decenter the centrism of capital through resisting enclosures and developing alternative life-worlds. 'Capitalocentrism', while correcting the limitations of 'anthropocentrism', tends to overshadow the 'cracks' (J. Holloway) in its seemingly totalizing and unilinear logic. I intend to focus on one such crack: the persistence of old commons and the rise of new ones. Contemporary Marxist scholarship has contributed greatly to rediscovering the history of commons in capitalism. Struggles of commoners against enclosures, starting much earlier than in the era of industrialization and taking place in much wider contexts than most 'developed' countries, were recognized as class struggles with a communist horizon. Marx's interest in the communal forms of social life was discussed in-depth, along with discoveries of ethnologists and ecological concerns in his hitherto unpublished or neglected writings. As a result, the commons ceased to be regarded merely as things from the past, or the anachronisms of the present but became part of Marxist's ideas for the post-capitalist future.

What remains to be discussed is the non-capitalocentric potentiality of the commons. During hundreds of years of commoners' struggles, there emerges a set of social practices and modes of dealing with the non-human world which serve as a common reservoir for alternative designs. In my paper, I cling to the figure of the dispossessed commoner as a communist subjectivity who – through his mere existence at the margins of enclosures – experiments with new forms of life beyond the centrality of capital relations. Drawing on the global history of those who decided to escape from capitalist humanity – maroons, witches, pirates, squatters, communards – I aim to outline the runaway ecologies of the commons.

Keywords: capitalocentrism, the commons, ecology of the commons, runaways, eco-historical materialism

The Simultaneous Destruction of Workers and the Environment: Commodity Frontiers and Slow Violence at Shipbreaking Yards in Aliaga, Izmir, Turkey

Ekınsu Devrim Daniş - İrmak Ertör (2 co-presenter)

The maritime transportation sector is crucial to the global economy, handling over 80% of worldwide commercial goods (Demaria, 2010). A key issue within this industry is the management of aging and unusable "scrap" ships. In 2023 alone, 446 ocean-going commercial vessels were dismantled, with 325 large ships stripped down on the shores of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, representing more than 85% of the total global gross tonnage.

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Keywords: ship-breaking workers, coastal ecosystem, commodity frontier, slow violence, İzmir, Turkey

Austerity Infrastructure, Gentrification, and Spatial Violence: A Ceaseless Battle over Urban Space in Exarcheia Neighbourhood

Elia Apostolopoulou & Danai Liodaki

In this paper, we aim to understand how long-term state neglect of public infrastructure coexists with a renewed emphasis on profit-driven infrastructure development in urban contexts. We focus on Exarcheia, an Athens neighbourhood known for its radical character, where a lack of public infrastructure investment aligns with plans for new transport infrastructure and urban regeneration. Using a participatory action research approach and engaging in collective discussions with grassroots organisations opposing these plans, we argue that prolonged austerity following the 2008 economic crisis has redefined state-funded public infrastructures, aligning them more closely with the speculative interests of real estate, commercial, and infrastructure capital. The interplay of austerity infrastructure, gentrification, and spatial violence manifests as a form of slow urbicide, paving the way for revanchist urban regeneration that prioritises the commercial exploitation of urban space at the expense of the historical, political, and cultural identities of affected neighbourhoods.

Keywords: Infrastructure, regeneration, touristification, gentrification, austerity urbanism, urbicide

The Role of Productive Forces in Marx's Mature Critique of Capitalism

Filip Drača

Marx's theory of historical materialism, which critiques the capitalist mode of production, is traditionally linked to a productivist view of capitalist industry expansion. Marx and Engels, in *The German Ideology* and other works, argued that the development of productive forces in any historical period determines the production relations of its class society. As new productive techniques emerge, they generate new social relations, eventually leading to revolutionary transformation. This process is often seen as a linear progression toward human emancipation.

Early in his career, Marx believed that the advancement of productive forces under capitalism would eventually lay the foundation for liberation from it. This belief was tied to

a teleological and Eurocentric view of history, where capitalism was seen as a necessary stage toward future freedom.

However, in his later works during the 1860s and 1870s, Marx revised his view on productive forces, signaling a shift in his critique of capitalism. The development of production techniques no longer appeared as a transhistorical force pushing society toward emancipation. Instead, Marx began to understand the growth of production within capitalism as reinforcing alienation and increasing capital's control over labor. He introduced the concepts of formal and real subsumption to describe how capital transforms production for greater efficiency. Real subsumption, in particular, marks a theoretical departure from his earlier ideas about the forces of production.

In his mature works, Marx placed greater emphasis on nature as a source of wealth independent of human labor. He made a distinction between "real wealth" and value, which is inherently tied to the exchange of commodities in capitalism. Capitalism's drive for quantifiable value, Marx argued, actually impoverishes society by destroying nature, a crucial source of use values. Additionally, in his later writings, Marx's critique shifted focus from class domination within capitalism to the social relations formed through the exchange of abstract labor. This change reflects Marx's move away from the idea of labor needing liberation, as the concept of labor itself becomes shaped by capitalist exchange relations.

Showing these shifts in Marx's thought would contribute to contemporary philosophical discussions on Marxism and ecology. A critical Marxism that examines technology, industrial growth, and their relationship with human well-being is possible and would have great practical power in the present historical situation.

Keywords: anti-productivism, ecological Marxism, mature Marx, productive forces

"Just transition" and legal ideology: a critique from the plastics recycling chain

Flávio Roberto Batista; Leila Giovana Izidoro

The presentation draws from the critique of the legal form, in its dual constitution of legal subject and legal ideology, to discuss the concept of a "just transition" and its impact on the working class. To do so, it examines a case study focused on the role of waste pickers in the reverse logistics market for plastic packaging in Brazil, as well as in discussions surrounding the recent drafting of the Global Treaty on Plastic Pollution at the United Nations. Divided into three parts, the article first revisits the debate on the critique of the technology of social rights, demonstrating that the incorporation of social rights by the legal form throughout the 20th century does not represent a transition initiative of the mode of production. It then relates this critique to the "green jobs" agenda and the "green

new deal”, through a study of the exploitation of waste pickers' labor force in the reverse logistics market. In the final part, it examines the negotiations of the Global Treaty on Plastic Pollution, highlighting the harmful illusions of the “just transition” for the working class, particularly the most impoverished. The article concludes with some considerations on the form of transition that could be considered effective for the working class and the centrality of its organized movement having clarity about its tasks in the face of this challenge, from a class struggle perspective.

Keywords: Labor law; waste pickers; just transition; plastic pollution

Moishe Postone and Ecology

Fran Radonić Mayr

In his book “Time, Labor and Social Domination”, Canadian historian and Marxist Moishe Postone argues for a new reading of Marx, whom he interprets as a philosopher who does not criticize capitalism from the perspective of labor, but who criticizes labor within capitalism. Since Marx's labor theory of value assumes that work in capitalism creates value - after all, capital is accumulated labor - Postone concludes that labor within capitalism is the main object of Marx's criticism. Regardless if we think young Marx, who writes about alienated labor, or an older Marx, who lays the foundations of the labor theory of value, Marx remains a critic of labor, as well as a critic of the entire political economy as historically specific.

Postone's reading of Marx does not allow the modernist glorification of the worker as the bearer of progress, because progress within capitalism is precisely the growth of value. As soon as we present the progress of labor as something to aspire towards, we reify capitalist relations. Such a reading of Marx is particularly useful for contemporary ecological debates, which often still interpret Marx as a modernist philosopher. This paper will show how Postone's reading of Marx can expand ecological thought.

Keywords: Postone, Value, Labor, Critique of Value, Ecology

“Eco-anxiety” as a reactionary category

Gergely Csányi

In this paper, I argue that by classifying distinct phenomena in psy-scientific discourse as “eco-anxiety”, all phenomena of ecological disaster are subsumed within the psychological institutional framework. On the one hand, there is a succession of survey-type studies on the proportion of young people in each country who suffer from ecological anxiety. On the other hand, therapeutic methodology treats ecological distress as a type of generalized anxiety disorder. Thus, labelling these two different phenomena with one concept relates the second phenomenon to a social phenomenon as an individual set of solutions. The conflation of the two phenomena – a social phenomenon and a psychological condition – goes beyond scientific and therapeutic psychology and through the psy-complex (Rose 1985), becomes one of the most dominant aspects of the discourse on ecological disaster. Practices aimed at regaining a sense of control, while effective from a therapeutic point of view, only maintain the illusion of control from a political economy point of view – when at the same time the underlying problem is ecological-economic, not psychological.

Furthermore, I argue that in this way, the discourse of ecological anxiety functions as an ideology in the Žižekian sense (Žižek 2012), allowing individuals to continue to live as if the system is sustainable despite knowledge of ecological disaster. Thus, framing legitimate fear as anxiety and treating it as anxiety undermines the possibility of collective political action.

Finally, I argue that political action requires a reframing of emotions about ecological disaster.

Keywords: eco-anxiety, psy-complex, ideology

Contradictory Class Location as (Ecological) Unconscious: The “Split” Professional-Class Subject of Carbon Guilt Ideology

Isaac Thornley

This paper relates the concept of “contradictory class locations” to the “split subject” of Lacanian psychoanalysis by building upon Huber’s (2022) discussion of the “carbon guilt” ideology expressed in professional-class climate politics. I argue that a psychoanalytic Marxist concept of the subject (Žižek 1989; Heron 2021) as constitutively “split” or “divided” is useful for analyzing the ideological and psycho-affective dimensions of contradictory class locations, particularly in the context of the class war of climate change. Confronting unconscious desires in contradictory class locations might help us rethink labour and climate organizing as an antagonistic political practice.

Wright (1985, 43) developed the concept of “contradictory class locations” to describe “certain positions” that may be “in more than one class simultaneously” thereby exhibiting “a multiple class character.” Not only is the capital-labour relation itself “contradictory” (i.e.,

involving intrinsically opposed interests), but a contradictory location within this relation means “[partaking] of both sides” (ibid., 43). To be positioned in a contradictory class location is to be internally divided by the capital-labour relation.

From such positions, a model of rational actors navigating objective material interests is insufficient. Because these interests are traversed by a contradiction, I turn to the split (or desiring) subject of psychoanalysis. For Lacan, the subject is constitutively divided upon entrance into the symbolic order. In this passage from “nature” to “culture,” the linguistic being has its biological needs forever symbolically mediated thus transforming them into (unconscious) desires (Kapoor 2020, 6; Lacan 1977).

The professional class experiences “cognitive dissonance” by simultaneously “knowing the ecological crisis while living... a materially intensive lifestyle,” which generates an ideology of carbon guilt (Huber 2022, 156). From a Žižekian perspective, “ideology” is not distortion or false consciousness; rather, it is an effect of the subject’s internal division upon entry into a symbolic order riven by antagonisms and gaps. Ideology emerges as an unconscious fantasy to “smooth over” these gaps and restore meaning.

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Keywords: contradictory class locations, carbon guilt ideology, professional class, split subject, psychoanalysis

Agro-capitalism, EU subsidies, and dilemmas of food production in Czech Republic

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Over the last 35 years, Czech Republic has undergone a radical transformation of its agricultural production landscape. The rapid privatisation of collectively owned agricultural land combined with the liberalisation of the food markets paved the way for financialisation of agricultural production and an emergence of a post-socialist agricultural elite. The gradual consolidation of productive land (and food production) in the hands of the few oligarchs, agroindustrial concerns, and financial groups has resulted in the country having the largest average size of a farm in the EU (over 130ha). This has been exacerbated by the country's accession to the EU in 2004. This has led to the consolidation of political and social power by the large agricultural producers.

In this presentation, I will trace the post-socialist origins of the current agro-industrial complex in the Czech Republic, examine the role of the EU subsidies in solidifying the presence in corporation and financial groups in the agriculture, and explore the tools and discursive practices the Big Agro deploys to legitimise its position and lobby for further deregulation and liberalisation of the agricultural sector. I will trace the relationship between the EU funding, Czech political elite, and agro-lobby to advance a theory of post-socialist agro-capitalism that takes into consideration the historical-regional specificities in conjuncture with the shifting nature of the EU Common Agricultural Policy and the demands of global capitalism.

Keywords: Agriculture, Land Privatisation, EU subsidies, Agro-capitalis, Post-socialism

Thermodynamic Marx: The Conservation of Energy and Value

Jan Overwijk

Karl Marx shares a major impulse with ecological economics: coming to grips with growth means examining how material-energetic flows are transformed into monetary value. Thermodynamics therefore plays a crucial role, both scientifically and philosophically. As Philip Mirowski notes, Marx holds that value—like energy—is conserved in circulation as the “exchange of equivalents”. Yet in production, one finds a second conservation principle. As the means of production are consumed, value is “conserved” (erhalten) and “converted” into new products. This is why introducing machines and increasing the throughput of raw materials does not lead to an increase in value, even if capitalist competition necessitates both of these in an accelerating fashion. It is a dynamic that Moishe Postone calls “the treadmill effect”: value is conserved, while wealth (and waste!) explodes.

Yet this eruptive dynamic of conservation and (neg)entropy presupposes a constant “substance of value”, traditionally identified in Marxism as labor-hours (and as energy inputs in some ecological economics). This substance presents an ecological standard in

which economic value is rooted. As Marxist “value-form theory” has rightly charged classical Marxism, however, such “substantialism” constitutes an indefensible metaphysics of labor. Yet without the constancy of the substance, the treadmill effect does not work and Marxism loses its ability to explain the structural pressure on capitalism’s ecology. To solve this dilemma, I argue that what remains constant is instead the political relation between labor-power and capital. This value-relation provides the constancy of “energy” and determines how it is converted into economic “work”—into profits, wealth, and waste.

Keywords: Ecology, Value, Energy, Marx, Postone, Thermodynamics

Climate Change, Environmental Epistemes and Guideposts for World Making into the Future

Jaskiran Dhillon

This paper explores what it means to live, work, love, and adapt in the context of widespread and multifold, global climate disruptions and environmental violence. I chart several guideposts that serve as conceptual and practical anchors for considering how to care for the environments around us, for one another, and for a future that is deeply uncertain. By centering the importance of environmental epistemologies and political histories rooted in anti-colonial critiques of climate change, I insist upon an approach to future world-making and caretaking that recognizes the systems, structures, and processes that have produced our current social reality in the first place.

Keywords: Climate change, solidarity, colonialism

Eco-Socialist Critique and Self-Canonisation: A Critical Reflection On the Three Stages of Eco-Socialism

Joost Wijffels

This presentation critically considers the typology that has gained preponderance in eco-socialist discourse and among metabolic rift scholars, specifically. This typology maintains that first-stage eco-socialists floundered because they believed Marx was not an ecological thinker. Second-stage eco-socialists claim to have overcome this by returning to Marx’s work and highlighting his ecological interest, centered around the idea of the metabolic rift. Metabolic rift theory is now allegedly embraced by third-stage eco-socialism which seeks to apply it more concretely.

I argue that the abovementioned typology, whilst not fully unjustified, canonizes metabolic rift theory and presents first-stage eco-socialism, itself a questionable categorization, as outdated and misinformed. This is an issue because it can lead to intellectual rigidity, preventing us from attending to crucial insights provided by first stage eco-socialists. This includes the importance of extra-economic and political facets of capitalism, as highlighted by André Gorz and James O'Connor. These authors show how the state mediates access to, and the destruction of, natural and social conditions of production. They also explain how capital functions ideologically and comes to penetrate non-economic facets of our life-world to hinder the imagination of a non-capitalist 'otherwise'.

I contend that metabolic rift scholars have not sufficiently considered these extra-economic facets of capital. Accordingly, they might not satisfactorily explain how certain social metabolic relations become and remain preponderant. This is further emphasized by the fact that metabolic rift theory leaves largely undertheorized the position of women and the role of patriarchy in maintaining an eco-destructive socioeconomic system. On the one hand, then, abovementioned self-canonization can hinder accurate ecological critiques of capitalism by obscuring important insights provided by earlier scholars, whilst on the other hand, it might obscure the shortcomings in metabolic rift theory itself. I thus close by pushing back against the abovementioned typology and stressing intellectual openness and self-reflexivity.

Keywords: Eco-Socialism, Metabolic Rift Theory, Stages of Critique, Canonisation

Nature's Tools: Epistemic Injustice and the Rights of Nature

Joseph Rodriguez

Indigenous ontologies have long-standing views about the value of nature. They are commonly rooted in an idea of relationality. The thought is that humans share relations with all of life, including, most importantly, with nonhuman life. This paper looks at the uneasy relationship between these views and the rights of nature. It argues that rights of nature silence Indigenous ontologies, framing the problem through the lens of epistemic injustice: Whereas Indigenous ontologies highlight the value of relations, rights of nature are premised on a logic of conflict and are therefore alien to Indigenous understandings of nature. I suggest that rights of nature are better understood as political tools that Indigenous communities, activists, policymakers, and ordinary people might employ in order to resist forms of state domination. Although rights of nature have been effective in doing so, they come at the expense of epistemic injustice.

Keywords: Indigenous political thought; environmental political thought; epistemic injustice; rights of nature

THE DISCONTENTS OF HUNGER

Júlia Louzada¹

This summary is a fragment of an ongoing master's degree research called: HUNGER AND SOCIOPOLITICAL SUFFERING: The Map of Hunger - a question for Politics and Psychoanalysis, linked to the Laboratory of Psychoanalysis, Society and Politics, of the Postgraduate Program in Clinical Psychology at the USP Psychology Institute. The research aims to contribute to the construction of the theoretical field of studies on Hunger, through a Marxist perspective, in the light of psychoanalytic theory. And it intends to investigate the sociopolitical dimension of the suffering generated by the Hunger, and its intersections of class, race and gender. With the hypothesis that the issue of Hunger, as a traumatic condition, resulting from extreme poverty and social exclusion in the neoliberal economic model, produces a specific form of sociopolitical suffering, and that discursive helplessness deepens this suffering. The research starts from the context of Brazil's return to the Hunger Map, during Bolsonaro's neo-fascist government, in an attempt to further analyze the far-right policies of dismantling established policies to combat hunger and promote food security, pointing to Hunger as an instrument of domination of class. The research starts from the understanding of Hunger as a political category, formulated by Josué de Castro, from Freud's social texts, articulating the malaise in culture and its current expressions. The methods used in the research are exhaustive research in databases, document research and bibliographic review.

Keywords: hunger; food insecurity; psychoanalysis, sociopolitical suffering, discursive helplessness.

Place-Making in the Putukaväil Project: Recuperation and the Spectacle in an Era of Urban Governance Driven by Market Mechanisms

Karina Vabson

The pervasive belief that governments should operate like businesses has shaped policy-making since the late 20th century (Hartle, 1985), promoting market-driven governance rooted in financialized capitalism. This approach emphasizes standardization, technological innovation, and cost-effectiveness, aligning public institutions with market imperatives and exploitation mechanisms. While promising efficiency, it often undermines broader societal goals such as equity, care, and sustainability. Fraser (2016) argues that

this model has fueled the modern crisis of care and ecological crisis, limiting governments' capacity to address systemic challenges.

In urban contexts, financialized capitalism has commodified urban spaces, prioritizing aesthetics and marketability over substantive solutions to socio-spatial challenges.

Drawing on Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*, I critique recent urban projects for emphasizing surface-level imagery designed to attract investment rather than addressing structural inequalities. My study focuses on the Putukaväil (Pollinators' Corridor) project in Tallinn, Estonia, part of the European "Augmented Urbans" and "B.Green" initiatives. This project seeks to revitalize a neglected post-industrial railway corridor while intersecting with North Tallinn's hyper-gentrification pressures, particularly impacting a diverse, low-income area.

Over the years, the former Soviet railway corridor has also transformed into a green corridor, connecting several major forest areas in Tallinn and supporting diverse non-human species while simultaneously being perceived as a wasteland. While the project's stated goals – such as fostering participation, sustainable mobility, and non-human agency – appear progressive, its deeper implications raise critical concerns. Using the recuperation framework, my research examines how the project's planning methods and narratives co-opt progressive ideals, ultimately advancing commodification, gentrification, exploitation, and fostering a sense of hopelessness within the local community.

Keywords: wasteland, recuperation, society of the spectacle, political ecology

(Un)stable Coastlines: A Critical Theory of Climate-Related Land Loss

Kendall Gardner

As small-island states and coastal communities face permanent inundation, political theorists have taken up the challenge of forming a cogent theory of climate displacement with increasing urgency. However, though political theory has largely recognised a background condition of "territorial instability" (Capisani, 2020) the field largely fails to engage with this condition on its own terms. Specifically, instability is not internalised in political theories of climate displacement. Instead, the experience of instability is pushed from the centre to the margin, reifying experiences of precarity in locations already most at-risk, while solidifying an unchanging and stable experience of life within Western metropolises.

This paper seeks to redress this theoretical gap by integrating the empirical reality of climate-related land loss into our understanding of land as a political and economic concept. In other words, this paper aims to take impermanence seriously as one of land's

core characteristics and asks how this understanding can challenge the land-based political assumptions at the core of colonial-capitalism.

In a paper that connects critical theory to decolonial praxis, I aim to harness the reality of land's instability to prove the insufficiency of liberal political theory's approach to territory and decolonisation, particularly in the work of Anna Stilz and Margaret Moore. I argue that these theories rely upon the very conditions of stability that they aim to redress. Through decolonial critique, I show that the deployment of imagined conditions of land stability is no accident. Instead, I expose the coterminous construction of the land variable through colonial dispossession, a process mediated by abstraction, alienation, and imagined (stable) geography. Finally, I suggest how this understanding of climate-related land loss should inform climate organising in settler-colonial contexts, such as the United States. The entangled relationship between settler sovereignty and ecological fracture necessitates that we place full decolonisation at the heart of any climate movement.

Keywords: land back, decolonisation, climate change, land loss, sea-level rise, territory, sovereignty, settler-colonialism, instability

Class consciousness for radical institutional change and universal problems: A Lukács – Veblen approach

Konstantinos Loizos

Universal problems such as the climate crisis or the pandemic crisis are an offspring of the capitalist way of economic development which colonizes and commercializes ever-extended spaces of both social and physical-biological environments. In this respect, universal issues and values directly become class issues to the degree that the working class is formed as a class-for-itself in the pursuit of radical institutional change. Following Lukács, the process of shaping the working class-for-itself should imply a process of forming a class able to provide the anti-capitalist platform for all suppressed social groups and identities. Class consciousness is a constitutive continuous process of class formation and, at the same time, a continuous challenge against reification and fragmentation that emerges from the division of labor. Reversing this alienation process entails a new integrating relationship with nature which denies capitalist commercialization in favor of social planning both at the social and at the environmental level. However, building class consciousness is not possible without a class struggle which entails the existence of two interacting levels in institutional change: action at the group level on the one hand, and perception at the individual level, on the other hand. In Veblen's terms, collective action should go hand in hand with the revision of beliefs and change in the related habits of thought. However, a change in habits of thought entails a much deeper process than a

revision of beliefs to the degree that it challenges an individual's fundamental habitual way of thinking. This means, in turn, that social and institutional radical change hinges on deep-seated habits and consciousness change which is a much more long-lasting and difficult process than a radical political change from above. Approaching the problem of class consciousness, that Lukács has embedded within historical evolution, from a Veblenian non-teleological point of view, and connecting it to universal problems such as the climate crisis or the pandemic crisis, has the advantage of being able to grasp at the same time two dimensions of institutional change: a) The problem of continuous and profound metamorphosis that working-class consciousness should undergo both in capitalist conditions and in conditions of socialist transformation along with the possibility of bouts of regress. b) The ability of class consciousness to represent a fundamentally different approach to the relationship between human societies and nature which transcends bourgeois reification, integrates universal values, and seeks a new integration within a non-teleological history made by people.

Keywords: Universal problems, class consciousness, institutional change, Lukács, Veblen

Term Assistant Professor

Kurt Semm

Primitive Accumulation and Genocide: Settler-Colonialism, Water Rights, and Dispossession in the Cases of American Indians and Palestinians

Abstract

The expropriation of water rights reveals the enduring function of settler-colonial policies in facilitating both ecological destruction and genocide. This paper explores the legal and institutional mechanisms that transform communal water resources into private capital, focusing on the dispossession of American Indians in the Colorado River Basin and Palestinians under Israeli occupation. Drawing on Marxist ecology, classical political economy, and the work of John R. Commons and Katharina Pistor, I argue that water coding—the legal coding of water resources as capital—exemplifies the logic of primitive accumulation. By rendering water an accessory to land and subjecting it to rent-seeking and capitalist exploitation, settler-colonial states commodify and weaponize water to dominate and dispossess. In both the Colorado River Basin and Palestine, settler-colonial policies have systematically displaced Indigenous populations to secure control over land and water resources. The U.S. Homestead Act enabled white settlers to claim land and water rights in the Basin, undermining Indigenous water governance rooted in ecological consciousness and symbiosis. Similarly, Israel's water policies, including the restriction of Palestinian access to aquifers and control over water infrastructure, illustrate how

settler-colonial systems institutionalize resource inequality to sustain occupation and domination. In both contexts, the commodification of water advances settler-colonial goals by erasing Indigenous claims to sovereignty and survival. This analysis situates water depletion and dispossession within the genocidal logics of settler colonialism, wherein resource control is a tool of ethnic erasure and environmental degradation. By linking these practices to the dynamics of rent extraction and ecological collapse, the paper highlights the structural role of capitalism in perpetuating both genocide and environmental destruction. It concludes by calling for solidarity across struggles for water justice and liberation, emphasizing the need to resist settler-colonial and capitalist exploitation that continues to transform water into a weapon of domination and destruction.

Keywords: Primitive Accumulation, Water Rights, Settler Colonialism, American Indians, Palestinians,

Eco-socialist politics against capitalist growth without class?

Leon Switala

In the contemporary eco-socialist debate, there are two sharpened alternatives: Nostalgists and sceptics. Nostalgists are authors such as Matthew T. Huber, who call for productivism to overcome the ecological crisis by the industrial working class. Sceptics like Kohei Saito, on the other hand, formulate a critique of growth. He is sceptical about class, because he equates class with productivism. However, both approaches fall short in key respects. It is true that contemporary capitalism is a class society. In this respect, Huber is right. But the imperial way of life and the job vs. environment dilemma make an ecological awareness of the class subject more difficult. In this respect, Saito is correct. Ideologically, growth criticism casts doubt on effective measures, because under capitalism they are associated with the loss of work. But from an understanding of capitalism as a class society, both have shortcomings. Class is defined by the relation to the means of reproduction. If you want to change production, you have to mobilize the class in order to build up the necessary material power. – And to break with growth. Ecological class politics would therefore have to change the relations of production and resolve the job vs. environment dilemma. Existing projects show that there is no contradiction between social and ecological issues. Examples can be found in #WirfahenZusammen in Germany or the Collettivo di Fabbrica ex-GKN near Florence. Both show three things: Firstly, an effective ecological class policy has to mobilise workers, because they have the material power to change production. Secondly, change creates an awareness that a life beyond the compulsion of growth is possible. Thirdly, the subject of change is never limited to the workers.

Keywords: Eco-socialism, ecological class politics, capitalism, climate crisis

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Keywords: Eco-socialism, ecological class politics, climate crisis, capitalism

Rent, conflict and the role of the State in the industrial exploitation of lithium in Chile

Luis Cortes

The presentation will explain how the Chilean State became a landlord over lithium production. Following the developments of Marx on ground rent and the more recent contributions of Juan Iñigo Carrera, it will be shown how through regulatory Law and the

exercise of rights over the land where lithium is located, the State developed a social relationship based on the monopoly of the natural conditions that cannot be reproduced by human labor to produce this specific commodity.

This comes associated with green capitalism, as it sparked interest in 'critical' minerals for its implementation such as lithium. For this reason, since 2006, Chile has increased the production of this mineral, accounting for approximately 20% of the global market. The presentation will argue that the production method of lithium in the Chilean salares —mainly through water evaporation— combined with the recent rise in lithium prices, enables the State to appropriate differential ground rent.

However, as its appropriation follows administrative legal mechanisms, it is contested by different social actors. On one hand, there is the protection of the environment and ancestral territories by Indigenous communities, who perceive lithium extraction as a risk. On the other hand, the private firms are answering to the demand of the global market to increase production, while the progressive center-left coalition proposes as an alternative development as a national industrial policy by the Production Development Corporation (CORFO). The presentation will contest the views that argue that some actors would be disinterestedly defending nature and their traditions while others are engaged in a blind pursue of profit (present for example in the discussions surrounding the failed Constitutional project arising from the 2019 revolt in Chile). The aim would be to show this process as the dispute of this extraordinary surplus by different social subjects.

Keywords: socio-environmental conflicts, land rental, lithium and climate change

Industrial development in Chile? Ground rent, social conflict and the role of the state in the industrial exploitation of lithium

Luis Cortés - José Ledesma

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Keywords: Lithium - Green Capitalism - Chile - Socio ecological transformation - Ground Rent - Law - Industrialization

Ecology, culture, and subalternity in the Marxisms of Gramsci and Mariátegui

Meindert Boersma

Radical eco-socialist praxis means struggling not only against capitalism as a planet-destroying system, but also against capitalism as an ideology that renders nature as expendable and renders certain people – along lines of race, class, gender, etc. – as part of this expendable nature: we need to stop not only capitalism’s destruction of the planet but also the totalising ideology that permits this destruction. But readily replacing capitalism with a one-size-fits-all “socialism” is not enough: as decolonial thinkers have argued, a truly radical emancipatory project entails liberating the infinitely different ways of relating to the non-human natural world, not replacing one totalising ideology with another. With much productive work having gone into decolonising socialism from without, I propose a closer engagement with antecedents of decolonial thinking within the Marxist canon. Specifically, I argue that the thinking of both Antonio Gramsci and José Carlos Mariátegui can help understand the challenges and opportunities for building a decolonial eco-socialism today. Both of these thinkers – who crossed paths in 1920s Italy – sought to use Marxism for theorising capitalism’s destruction of rural/indigenous ways of life and potential for ecologically grounded resistance, Gramsci for his native Southern Italy and Mariátegui for his native Peru. Situated in between the Marxist intelligentsia of 1920s Europe and their subaltern origins, both Gramsci and Mariátegui were uniquely positioned to think a global material struggle against accelerating capitalist destruction (a parallel

between the 1920s and 2020s) together with the cultural struggle for ideas. With their respectively rural and indigenous focus, Gramsci and Mariátegui can contribute to developing an eco-socialist praxis that does not discard its universalist project of planetary protection but grounds it in the practices of those communities who already know what it means to defend one's world against capitalist destruction.

Keywords: Gramsci, Mariátegui, theory, decolonisation, eco-socialism

Peatland Agroecology: Examining Community-led Eco-socialist Strategy

Miqdad Fadhil Muhammad

Agroecology is important in peatland ecosystem agricultural development due to its unique soil characteristics. While peatland stores a large amount of carbon below ground, it also has acidic soil, making it difficult to grow plants without fertilizer. This paper investigates the roles of agroecology in meeting the community's food demands while preserving the quality of the peatlands. It rejects the notion of the global food system and corporate-based ecosystem restoration since those concepts do not aim to feed the world and keep the carbon but only become a new mechanism of capital accumulation. The context of Pulau Padang, Riau, Indonesia, depicts how corporate-led peatland management disrupts the nutrient cycle and reduces the soil fertility. On the other hand, the farmers community of Pulau Padang is still trying to develop an agroecology system as their form of resistance. This paper also interrogates the feasibility of agroecology development by examining the peatland carbon stock and land availability. Using Land Equivalent Ratio (LER) and Cost Equivalent Ratio (CER) equations, this paper finds that the sago palm and rubber tree polyculture is the most efficient strategy of peatland agroecology in Pulau Padang. However, the market problem became a barrier to community-led peatland management. To address that issue, this paper contends that farm consolidation through land reform projects is a necessary strategy for communities to seize the market. Diverging from neo-populist scholars who believe small-scale farming is superior in agroecology strategy, this paper asserts that community-led industrial farms could be an alternative for balancing food production and peatland ecosystem restoration.

Keywords: Agroecology, Peatland Management, Ecosystem Restoration, Community-led Farming

The Ecology of Separation: The Restructuring of the International Division of Labor and Its Socio-Metabolic Consequences

Nikos Markogiannakis

Taking as its point of departure Nathan Brown's claim that the capitalist process of Separation has led to "the destruction of ecological conditions of possibility for equality and freedom" (Absolute Alienation, e-flux, 2023), this paper investigates the triangular relationship between the laws of motion of capital, the international division of labour (IDL), and socio-metabolic processes in four steps.

First, Marx's value-form analysis—interpreted here as a monetary (labour) theory of value—is restructured around the concept of Separation, emphasised in Brown's earlier work, *Rationalist Empiricism* (2021), demonstrating the dialectical relationship between capital and the division of labour. To develop this further, the work of the Centre for Research as Practical Criticism (CICP) on the New International Division of Labour, via the notion of total global social capital, is juxtaposed with Milios and Sotiropoulos's (*Rethinking Imperialism*, 2009) assertion that social capital is nationally instituted—and can only be conceived as such—due to the alterations of the capitalist law of contradiction within the international market.

Second, the paper analyses the emergence of the historical present as the long process of restructuring of the international division of labour. To illuminate this, we critically engage with the historical analysis advanced by the Marseille-based political group *Théorie Communiste*, highlighting the centrality of class struggle in the historical reconfiguration of labour segmentation and the global relocation of production processes that began in the 1970s. This analysis is further enriched by engaging with the scholarship on Critical Logistics, which underscores both the calculative logic of capital driving contemporary globalisation and the infrastructural technologies necessary for its realisation.

Third, drawing on Marx's theory of metabolism, the paper engages with literature on Industrial Ecology and Material Flow Analysis to highlight how concrete forms of labour, shaped by the capitalist division of labour, produce localised socio-metabolic impacts while enabling global consumption patterns. Building on this foundation, the paper critically develops Cahen-Fourot and Magalhães's (*Matter & Regulation*, 2020) concept of the Accumulation-Metabolism Nexus, examining the structural relationship between capital accumulation and ecological degradation, mediated by the division of labour—shaped itself by class struggle.

Finally, by theorising the geographical disparities of ecological degradation in relation to the historical development of the spatial division of labour, the paper returns to its starting point to consider the political implications of Separation. Here, Separation is understood both as division of labour and as unequal exposure to environmental issues. The paper concludes that any effective "green transition" must challenge the capitalist imperative of accumulation and restructure the international division of labour to address systemic ecological disaster and global inequalities. This restructuring is also a necessary guiding

principle for securing the collective organisation of labour on a planetary scale. In this regard, the point of Absolute Alienation may not have been reached yet, but it could emerge as the outcome of labour's defeat in the struggles of the coming years.

Keywords: Separation, Capital Accumulation, International Division of Labour, Unequal Ecological Exchange, Accumulation-Metabolism Nexus, Logistics, Class Struggle

An Ecology of Desire: Military Tree Plantations and Flower Bombing in Kashmir

Omer Aijazi

Colonialism is the domination of ecological desire: what forms environmental action can take and which horizons it can point towards. Taking these considerations to the disputed territory of Kashmir- particularly the section along the Line of Control under Pakistan's control- I explore how the environment becomes a stage for dominating desire, filtered through the lens of the ongoing conflict and local demands for self-determination. The military yearns for control and predictability through industrial-scale ecological restoration projects, such as tree plantation campaigns where thousands of trees are exacted in the earth in perfectly straight lines. Military tree plantations contrast with the exceeding and unruly ecological practices pursued by residents that suggest a far more expansive moral and imaginative capacity. In particular, I look at flower bombing or the intentional dispersal of seeds on public lands. Flowers blooming adjacent to the ugly infrastructure of barbed wire, sandbags, and army barracks challenge constraining visions of the future under military control. Seed dispersals are anticipatory gestures and modes of waiting and welcoming, which below the radar of surveillance, gesture for a Kashmir yet to come. Flower bombs challenge the military's encroachment on both ecology and the imagination.

Keywords: Militarized landscapes, futurity, desire, affective ecologies, Line of Control, Pakistan-administered Kashmir

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The Creation of the Social Individual: Towards Aesthetic Materialist Praxis.

Paris Selinas

In the midst of an ongoing and multifaceted crisis of society and nature, there is a revived interest in utopianism and post-capitalism. Communities and scholars experiment with and theorize new forms of life outside the confines imposed by the real abstraction of value. These are often embodied in visual and physical forms through means of art and design, especially in their conceptual, speculative, and/or socially engaged tenets. Despite a proliferation of artistic and creative interventions, we still lack the philosophical foundations that underpin creative activity. There is a profound absence, this paper argues, in a theory of creation that addresses fundamental questions and exists reciprocally with praxis: Why do we create objects in the first place? How does praxis relate to imagination and thinking? How does the creation of objects mediate the formation of our subjectivity and senses? How does the capitalist mode of existence modulate these? And, at the end of the day, what does it mean to be human?

This article goes back to the early writings of Karl Marx and traces a philosophy of creation termed Aesthetic Materialism. It delineates the process of creation as the intertwined relation of alienation and socialization. Unlike capitalist subjectivity, which treats objects

as individual possessions and commodities, human praxis erupts from the feeling of our needs and passions, and those of others. The human subject objectively externalizes and expends their internal energy, ideas, and skills, as well as those of nature, in the creation of objects. It then alienates itself from them, as the objects depart, engage in socio-ecological metabolisms, and become social. The result is not merely the creation of this or that object, but also of a subject that exists harmoniously within the contradictions of individuation and socialization, thinking and doing, society and nature: the creation of the social individual.

Rather than the modes of production externally imposed and mediated by waged labour and the market, Aesthetic Materialism foregrounds a mode of existence that neither affirms nor opposes them one-sidedly. Instead, it aspires to transcend them by attending to our senses and needs beyond the aesthetics of Capital. To add texture to this theorization, the article draws on practical examples from the author's own artistic and community-based research and practice. In so doing, it contributes to Marxian theory by providing a materialist theory of aesthetics that enables Marxian and critical scholars to engage with utopian experiments on the ground.

Keywords: Speculative Art; Utopian Imagination; Materialist Aesthetics; Real Abstraction; Praxis-based Research.

Clouds, Wind, Fish, Peat: Datafication and Resource-Making at the Frontiers of Green Capitalism

Patrick Brodie

In the unfolding landscape of climate transition, different industrial milieu are becoming central factors in emerging modes of production at the intersection of “green” and “digital” capitalism. However, amidst the resource-intensivity of the hyperscale “cloud” enabling these transformations, there remain irresolvable contradictions to policies promoting the utility and efficiency of corporate-enabled climate technologies. These contradictions are imaginatively offset, in and through the circulatory markets of carbon and finance, by emerging regimes of legibility and calculability – and, as I argue, extraction – which are enabled and intensified by the infrastructures of datafication.

This presentation will theorise the extractive dimensions of the digital “cloud” by articulating its infrastructural expansion into diverse places and ecologies through forms of big tech climate action. While frequently dismissed as “greenwashing” or cynical “techno-solutionism,” US hyperscale cloud providers such as Amazon Web Services, Google, and Microsoft are becoming increasingly involved in infrastructuralising particular

regimes of climate calculability by supporting AI and datafication in various ways. I argue that this represents an emerging practice of resource-making in and through cloud-enabled technologies, deepening the extractive relationalities of big tech's well-known data harvesting regimes.

Bringing together two strands of my recent research into the datafication of so-called "post-extractive" contexts – formerly mined peatlands, and the domestication of Atlantic salmon – this presentation will thus attempt to frame these processes as resource-making regimes towards the planetary calculability of green capitalism. Disrupting these regimes, however, are the alternative value systems and heritage encompassed within the different industrial "transitions" taking place with these resource landscapes at their centre. To articulate the politics of more justly energetic decarbonisation and climate action, the harnessing of these elemental and biological relations needs to be conceived within more careful historical ways, attuned to the technological dimensions of place, contestation, and underdevelopment that have formed these relations in the first place. This presentation will thus also speculate on a few alternative ways of conceiving of and practicing an anti-extractivist politics against the unfolding frontiers of "green" datafication.

Keywords: metabolic rift, extractivism, resource-making, artificial intelligence

Capitalist development and extractivism "From Hobson and dependistas to shale gas"

Petros Psarreas

The escalation of antagonisms between nation-states, the peripheral conflicts and full-scale war clashes in the Middle East and Ukraine, the upheaval of nationalisms and the uprising of alt-right and neo-fascist governments in several countries, along with the militarization race across the globe, sketch a spectre of dystopia in the making.

Furthermore, the competition in the international markets, the race for capital accumulation and the "extraction" of relative surplus value in the interim of capitalistic social formations that is correlated with expanded reproduction on an ever-growing scale, namely capitalistic development, constitute another dimension.

Competition, accumulation and the race for development have to be "fueled" with labour exploitation, raw materials and fossil fuels that in turn have to be extracted at a growing scale and rate. The aforementioned political, economic and material framework is organically interconnected with aspects of the dominant ideology of national development and militarization, industrialization, "our nation first", and the appropriation of every available natural resource beyond any climate barrier.

The last dimension is that of the climate crisis, genocide, war victims, the working class and

the ruled-exploited classes that are already facing a dystopia on multiple levels. The consequences of the climate crisis are already critical for billions of people across the globe and yet it seems that an utterly international existential issue for human societies directly contradicts the fundamental structural competitiveness of capitalism.

In the capitalist mode of production, the functions of exploitation (production of surplus value), continuous growth (accumulation), and reproduction on an expanded scale (capitalist growth -development) coalesce into a single systematic process. Thus, the plundering and exploitation of natural resources on a continuously increasing scale, with the resulting pollution and various forms of waste during the process of continuous growth (that exceed the capacity of ecosystems to absorb and regenerate), constitute a main cause of climate change and the ecological crisis on a broader scale. As a result, the fundamental developmentalism that exclusively characterizes capitalism as a mode of production is organically interrelated with both the extraction of raw materials and the energy supply. Starting from concepts of extractivism and neo-extractivism and critically analyzing their theoretical affinity with imperialism and dependency theories, we will identify extensive large-scale extractions as a fundamental necessity of capitalist development, beyond spatial or other developmental boundaries, and extractivism as a mode of accumulation constituting a constant potentiality of a capitalist social formation, depended from a variety of multiple factors.

Keywords: Extractions, Extractivism, developmentalism, Imperialism, dependency theories

Garlands for May Day: romantic environmentalism in the making of the Polish socialist movement (1890-1914)

Pola Melonowska

In the last few years, the need to build a coalition between the working class and ecological movements has provoked debates on the Marxist Left. One of the challenges to address is the classist assumption that workers' movements do not have their own environmental consciousness, and this is why 'Green' issues need to be injected by external actors. Meanwhile, historical sources clearly show that ecological consciousness was developed in the socialist movement from its beginnings. Recent research on 'working-class environmentalism', 'environmentalism of the poor', or 'romantic anti-capitalism' demonstrates that worker's movements did not have to wait for the scientific reports on global warming, or scholarly discussions on the Anthropocene, to be conscious of ecologically destructive logics of capitalism. Stemming from the collective experience of industrialization, extraction, and pollution, and aiming at the defence of its living conditions, workers were among the first modern environmentalists.

In my paper, I will track the traces of working-class environmentalism during the formation of the socialist movement in Poland between 1890 and 1914. My research materials are the May Day issues of Polish socialist newspapers of the period. Reports on the celebrations, political proclamations, and commemorative songs and poems provide a wide range of environmentally concerned arguments and proletarian practices. Before May Day was proclaimed an International Workers' Day, it for centuries set a date for the popular holiday of spring across Europe. Traces of this origin can be found in the celebrations of Polish workers. Political rallies, protests, and marches were followed by field trips and open-air dances. In woods and meadows, workers could escape the police, engage in radical discussion, and sing forbidden anthems. They could gather unmediated by capitalist relations – while restaurants refused to host socialist banquets, an open-air picnic could host hundreds of working families. Floral decorations on the houses allowed for joining in the socialist holiday, without risking one's livelihood.

These testimonies show that the early formation of political subjectivity of the working class included environmental tropes, longing for nature, and Green symbols along the Red ones. My aim is to analyze them as manifestations of working-class environmentalism of the early socialist movement in Poland.

Keywords: May Day, green marxism, working-class environmentalism, environmentalism of the poor, romantic anti-capitalism

Labour, Pixels and Affects. Tackling Fossil Capitalism through Small-file Ecomedia

Radek Przedpełski

Driven by the concern that ICT contributes 4% of global greenhouse gas emissions, of which 1% comes from streaming media, media scholar Laura U. Marks started Small File Media Festival to affirm low-bandwidth movies streaming with no damage to the planet. Small-file media are experimental low-bandwidth video works of no more than 1.44 MB/minute in online transmission. The paper will consider small-file media in terms of a Marxist-inspired project of revolutionary transformation and eco-political activism that proceeds on the premise that a change in superstructure cannot proceed without a change in the economic base. Online streaming is condensed labour-time, indexing both human labour and the carrying capacity of the earth. At the same time, small-file ecomedia can be framed as laboratories of collective critical making which deterritorialize the substantialist take on Marxism at play in Kate Crawford and Vladan Joler's diagrammatic interventions, such as *The Anatomy of an AI System* (2018), in favour of a transductive Marxism focusing on Simondonian modes of transversal individuations happening across heterogeneous

levels.

As will be claimed, in order to mitigate carbon footprint of streaming, one has to tackle what we have identified as “bandwidth imperialism” rampant in over-infrastructured counties, alongside an overreliance on big tech entrusted with their monopoly over imagining the future. By articulating this ecological call for action valuing change on the ground and of the ground, we explicitly counter Timothy Morton’s reactionary assertion that “we are already ecological,” and as well as Thomas Nail’s subordination of Marxism to the transcendental idea of absolute entropy, which produces a death-affirming inhuman ethics of energy dissipation. At the same time, the eco-activist project of small-file media transforms the notion of media itself, proposing a re-consideration to the economic base/ground to include cosmological and animist perspectives—their energetic, affective and libidinal economies.

Keywords: carbon footprint, streaming media, bandwidth imperialism, ecomedia, fossil capitalism, media art

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Keywords: carbon footprint, streaming media, fossil capitalism, bandwidth imperialism, eco media, experimental media art

The climate crisis and the struggle against industrial agri-food system in the city: the case of Istanbul

Selma Değirmenci and Ayla Ezgi Akyol Giagtoglou

It is now a clear reality that the climate crisis, which has become apparent in today's capitalocene age of patriarchal capitalism, will cause irreversible destruction in the very near future. One of the important production areas that leads to the climate crisis is a current industrial agriculture-food system. This industrial agriculture-food system contributes to the climate crisis with methods such as overproduction, increasing exploitation of land, excessive use of water, and non-ecological transportation. In terms of “relations of production”, it includes exploitative relations between rural producers and large food companies at the macro level and between landowners, small producers, household works, sharecroppers, agricultural workers and intermediaries at the micro level. Moreover, patriarchal capitalism consumes within unequal distribution relations that operate around social hierarchies based on class, race, ethnicity and gender.

In this capitalocene time, the struggle and organizing of alternative networks may key to understand today’s resistance and planning tomorrow’s eco-cities. This presentation will look at the perceptions and attitudes of activists who carry out local and collective forms of struggle in the city against the industrial agri-food system and who prioritise the building of alternative production-consumption networks, the climate crisis, the problems they express with regard to the city and possible solutions, from a gender perspective. The presentation is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with 22 food activists, 11 women and 11 men, who are engaged in voluntary work in food cooperatives, vegetable gardens, food communities and organic markets in Istanbul on the climate crisis and the agri-food system. The findings on what kind of opportunities alternative agri-food organisations in the city offer against the climate crisis, the activists' thoughts on the climate crisis, how they relate the agri-food system to the climate crisis, the collective solutions they propose, and how gender differences affect the level and form of impact of the climate crisis will be presented. Although this field study contains a lot of data, we aim

to focus primarily on two issues in this presentation. The first is that the urban dwellers are not passive observers of the industrial agriculture-food system, but one of the primary subjects in both the struggle against this system and the solution of the food crisis. The second issue to be noted is that neither the climate crisis nor the food crisis can be addressed with a gender-blind perspective.

Keywords: climate crisis, agri-food system, gender, urban, food crisis, patriarchal capitalism

Labour, Nature and Capitalism: An Ethnographic Exploration on the Interface between Trade-Unions and Working-Class Environmental Movements in Kerala, India

Silpa Satheesh

This paper seeks to explore the complexities involved in the relationship between labour, nature and capitalism through an analysis of the changing relationship between trade unions and working-class environmental movements in the South Indian state of Kerala. Renowned for its unique model of development and labour struggles, Kerala offers a perfect setting to understand the relationship between labour, nature and local variants of capitalism and how that manifests in labour-environmental relations. Placed against the backdrop of an issue of industrial pollution in the Eloor-Edayar industrial belt, the paper delves into the tensions between the industrial workers' trade unions and grassroots environmental movements (constituted by unorganized workers), which are both constituted by working-class members. The ethnographic method and analysis used in this project are informed by a combination of the extended case method (Burawoy) and constructionist grounded theory (Charmaz) to effectively examine the intersection of structure and agency. The paper argues that the growing schism between institutionalized trade unions and resource-dependent workers in the informal sector is indicative of the larger trend in Kerala, where the political left and grassroots environmental struggles are polarized on issues pertaining to economic growth and development, thus creating fragmented class interests and identities. Importantly, the findings demonstrate how the shifting labour politics in Kerala (from class-conflict to class-compromise) play a crucial role in shaping the conflicts between labour and environmental movements. Reiterating but problematizing the significance of class in movement studies, the paper argues that singular conceptualizations of class politics must be replaced by intersectional understandings that recognize the heterogeneity of class interests and identities to build broad-based working-class solidarities. The analyses indicate that it is equally important to consider the unique ways in which capitalist forces mediate, infiltrates and manipulates the movement landscape to thwart anti-capitalist initiatives and alliances in postcolonial movement settings.

Keywords: Labour-Environmental Conflicts, Class and Social Movements, Kerala, Capitalism,

Assistant Professor, Researcher

Sofia Adam and Alex Pazaitis

Social reproduction as an evolving concept has come to denote the biological reproduction of the species and their ecological frameworks, the reproduction of labour power as well as the reproduction of social relations enabling the creation and maintenance of communities. Amidst an era of multiple interrelated crises, this expansive view allows for the reframing of different crises as articulations of a social reproductive one. Such reframing would allow for an integrated engagement with existential challenges, such as the endangering of the reproduction of human beings (demographic crisis), the reproduction of species and their ecologies (climate and ecological crisis, and biodiversity loss), and the reproduction of the labour power (the increasing 'unnecessariat'), as well as the diminishing abilities of communities to sustain themselves against these challenges. The social reproduction crisis framing offers a richer understanding of the current crisis in comparison with other buzzwords such as polycrisis and/or permacrisis which do not situate the multiple facets of the enduring crisis within the capitalist totality.

This paper explores a missing link between the theoretical approaches underlying the significance of prefigurative politics in the form of the Commons and Social Solidarity Economy (SSE) and social reproductive struggles. Our analysis is based on preliminary qualitative observations stemming from the exploration of an ecosystem of SSE practices situated in the wider area of Ioannina in Greece. Our intention is to identify the potential and limits of these practices in addressing social reproductive needs towards a post-capitalist and post-growth future. Our argument holds that this potential is contingent on their ability to: (a) articulate new/unmet social needs; (b) enact collective modes of provisioning; and (c) politicize alternative modes of collective reproduction of life and livelihood.

In the first section, we offer an understanding of the current conjuncture as a social reproduction crisis. In the second section, we explore the locus of the Commons and Social Solidarity Economy practices within post-growth and post-capitalist strategies. In the third section, we describe the ecosystem of SSE practices upon which our analysis rests. In the fourth section, we present the preliminary findings with regard to the three identified analytical axes mentioned above. In the concluding section, we critically engage with these findings in order to detect the potential and limits of these practices as social reproductive struggles towards a post-capitalist and post-growth future.

Keywords: social reproduction, commons, social (and) solidarity economy, post-growth

Financialization and Water Governance: Lessons from São Paulo's 2014-2015 Water Crisis

Tamara Zambiasi

This article presents the results of fieldwork conducted in Brazil during 2023 and 2024, analyzing the water crisis that affected São Paulo between 2014 and 2015 through the lens of financialization and its impact on water management. During this period, Sabesp, a state-owned company responsible for water supply, operated under a hybrid model: it was controlled by the São Paulo state government but had shares listed on the stock market. This model, guided by both public objectives and market pressures, led to decisions that prioritized financial interests, affecting the sustainability of water supply and exacerbating social and economic inequalities in the region.

Drawing on Milton Santos' theory of the human space and data collected during the fieldwork, this article explores how economic, political, and social dynamics interact to transform geographic space. It examines how Sabesp's decisions during the water crisis were influenced by a profit-oriented market logic, which limited the implementation of more equitable and sustainable water management strategies.

Recently, Sabesp was privatized, adding relevance to this study as a contribution to reflections on future policies in the water sector. Privatization raises new questions about the ability to ensure equitable access to water and address the needs of the most vulnerable populations under this new institutional framework. This article argues that, in light of this change, it is essential to reassess the governance model of essential public services, promoting a balance between profitability, sustainability, and social justice in access to basic resources like water, particularly in contexts of climate vulnerability.

Keywords: Water crisis; Financialization; Governance; Privatization; São Paulo

Anticolonial resistance for the Earth we share and the many worlds we inhabit

Tania Gomez

To be politically mobilised by the crisis of the Earth demands the simultaneous exercise of a strategic visualisation of the unsustainable order of things we share and fight against, and the recognition of the many non-human worlds that were forcefully turned into 'superstitions' and 'raw materials' by the fossil regime. These two human capacities, a

materialist visualisation of the mute compulsion of the social order we inevitably share, and the attentive listening of the expelled dimensions that inhabit the Earth, which appears to some participants in the climate movement as a novel realisation, speak of a disposition to the political that has been active, mutating and resisting since the first moments of the imposition of the imperial colonisation of the West. In this presentation, I propose to use this double disposition to analyse how anticolonial politics in Latin America have attempted to fight for a world in which many worlds can fit. I ask how alliances of Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples fabricated their resistance methods against the forces of the imperial states, conversion institutions and capital, direct executors of the upheaval of our Earth. For this, I will present the platforms of the return to the wak'as, the land for those who work it, the defence of life and integral territory found in the Peruvian anticolonial history of resistance, as products crafted by defensive and strategic materialism and an attentive listening.

Keywords: anticolonialism, ecoarxism, new materialism, climate crisis, Latin America.

Climate, Crisis, and Worker Health: Green Capitalism and State Policy in Canada

Theryn Arnold

As Hurricane Milton ravages Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, it has become clear that the capitalist mode of production is ill-equipped to deal with the climate crisis. Regardless, capitalist states have developed a plethora of climate change mitigation policies under the umbrella of “green capitalism.” Green capitalism refers to market-based environmentalism driven by state subsidies. I aim to assess how state policy influences the implementation and success of green industrial initiatives and the extent to which these projects contribute to genuine reductions in carbon emissions—their socio-economic outcomes, particularly regarding job creation, wages, and resource allocation. The state is chosen as the particular focus because the state, in theory, has a broader focus on things like social welfare. The state also acts as a mediator between corporate interests and the labour force, thus making it particularly relevant when policies around labour standards, worker protections, and access to healthcare directly impact the conditions faced by workers in green industries.

The following two essential theoretical claims guide this paper. The state is not a thing but a (complex set of) social relations. The interests of the economic elite fundamentally shape it. Still, the state is also a terrain of conflict between the elite in pursuit of private profit and everyday people who suffer from the social-ecological effects of the accumulation strategies of the elite. The state must act to respond to the demands of

people for better social-ecological conditions of living. While it seeks to mitigate the effects of climate change, it does so while not fundamentally altering the broader political-economic structure within it (i.e. its participation in global capitalism). While embedded in the current discussion on the state, including what has come to be known as 'the environmental state', my project also aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion of Marxist theories of the state regarding climate change. It will re-theorize the territoriality and scalarity of state-economy relations in the context of state climate change mitigation efforts – in particular, how the operation of the state at the location, regional (provincial) and national scales shape the state's climate policy. My paper will also contribute to an on-going discussion on workers' health in a world undergoing climate change and how the state can improve it in response to workers' struggle for better working and living conditions.

Keywords: Marxism, climate change, state theory, worker health

Technology, Automation, and Resistance

THE EDUCATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PURPOSES THAT GUIDE TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION IN ACADEMIC PRODUCTION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

Adda Daniela Lima Figueiredo Echalar

Brazilian education policies have been subjected to science, technology and innovation (ST&I) policies in a movement that has led to the organization of education to meet the process of internationalization of the economy, by selling “technological solutions” as a fetish that serves as an instrument for accumulating more value. This article is derived from research by the Kadjót research group and aims to explain the conceptions of innovation that make up the discourses of capitalist society. It is based on the foundations of historical-dialectical materialism (HDM), especially the works of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, as well as the works of Ricardo Antunes, Demerval Saviani and Joana Peixoto. To this end, a conceptual study was carried out on the relationship between school aims, ideologies and pedagogical ideals and their links with innovation in the school environment. Theoretical studies on innovation in Brazil date back to the 1970s and can cater for different pedagogical and epistemological currents, so they can be based on conservative and progressive school aims, which are constituted by reformist and revolutionary ideological bases. In addition to the conceptual study, an exploratory study of Brazilian production shows a profound influence of reformist and neo-technical pedagogical bases, which reinforce technological innovation as a mechanism for adhering to neoliberal logic. In this way, they subject the individual to expanding their employability capacity, blaming the student and/or teacher for the inability of capitalist employers to absorb the labor available in society. The dominance of the bourgeois ideological base is a hallmark of academic production, which emphasizes the dichotomy between technical and pedagogical, content and form, material and immaterial, teaching and learning, etc. in educational processes. Innovation for contemporary reality is an educational process that exposes the contradictions of capital society and collectively builds horizons for overcoming them.

Keywords: Education; technology; teaching; fetishism; innovate.

Intellectual Activity and the Process of Real Subsumption: A Case Study in the Early US Iron Industry

Alec Israeli

Marx describes the “real subsumption” of labor under capital as the technological transformation of the labor process in capital’s service, such that the further development of productive forces presupposes that transformation. Real subsumption implies an epistemological shift of abstraction—the reconceptualization of different production sites as part of a single, socialized industry, and the reduction of productive processes to their general features through the “conscious use of the sciences”— that intensifies the “mystification implicit in the relations of capital.” So abstracted, production “does not appear as the productive power of labour.” This process is recursive. Once one industry’s labor is subsumed, the demands of that industry prompt the subsumption of upstream support industries still functioning through older methods of production. What did this process look like on the ground, contemporary to Marx’s analysis? How can we specify and historicize this process, to see how it may have progressed in its time, rather than to assume its inevitability, such that we may further criticize and counter its implications today? Moreover, given Marx’s gesturing toward scientific practice and epistemological abstraction, what intellectual or conceptual developments are occasioned by, or necessary for, a socially integrated, technological reorganization of production? To pursue these questions, this paper will take as a case study the antebellum US iron industry, which was indeed not fully subsumed, despite producing key inputs to fully subsumed industries in the production of machine parts, railroads, and steam engines. I will compare the thought of two intellectuals at opposite ends of 1850s iron production: Philadelphia geologist J. Peter Lesley and St. Louis worker-philosopher Henry Clay Brokmeyer. Lesley was sent by northeastern iron capitalists eager for consolidation to survey the nation and write a scientific compendium of iron production sites. He engaged in a preliminary intellectual labor of subsumption through abstraction, reconceiving the industry as a social, national whole, and rescaling iron itself: no longer a feature of the labor process, but rather an object of scientific interest, scaled down to the molecular and up to the geological. Brokmeyer, in contrast, represented the as-yet-subsumed iron production of the US interior, working in a small Missouri foundry while writing philosophical diaries and developing a peculiarly Hegelian theory of the immediate labor process. In studying how capitalist subsumption implicated and demanded a particular shift in intellectual conceptions of production, perhaps, too, it may be shown how thought itself came to be subsumed by capital.

Keywords: Capital, subsumption, abstraction, intellectual history

Ecological Translation: Smart Oceans and the Capitalocene

Alexander Damianos

How does ocean digitisation reconfigure capitalist, techno-social, and environmental relations? What analytic tools facilitate examination of their intersecting dynamics? These are central questions taken up through examination of an emerging effort to mobilise machine-learning to “translate” cetacean vocalisations into human language, namely: English. A complex network of remote sensors (hydrophones, satellites, motion-sensors) are linked via a cloud that gathers data, made available through applications supported by a growing number of start-ups backed by Google, Amazon, and the military. Drawing on ethnographic research of marine biologists, policy analysts at the European Commission, and NGOs in the Eastern Mediterranean, this paper asks how artificial intelligence is applied as a strategy of framing the deeply political problem of mechanising interspecies communication as if it were an objective, technical, and impartial activity. My analysis draws on climate governance literature, science & technology studies, critical data studies, and critiques of greenwashing to analyse interviews, scientific studies and policy reports. In doing so, I assess how venture-capital backed research into technologically mediated interspecies communication are implicating smart oceans governance to harmonise capitalist growth with sustainability mandates and the ‘recognition’ of more-than-human alterity. My paper suggests that smart oceans governance poses novel risks to efforts mitigating biodiversity loss. By reducing the radical alterity of cetaceans and other sea-dwellers to an algorithmic certainty, these efforts portray the biodiversity of the Eastern Mediterranean as a justification for further encroachment of a ‘green panopticon’ that functions as a site of cloud-capital. I focus on growing controversy within the scientific community concerning the legitimacy of efforts to “translate” cetaceans into human language, and ask how such efforts unfold as promotional campaigns seeking to obscure the environmentally degrading effects of AI’s insatiable appetite for energy. At the same time, I describe how the medium of smart oceans presents new limits to corporate consolidation of power and authority. Citizen science initiatives are also engaging with smart oceans governance in ways that assert a ‘communitarian data sovereignty’, unveiling new political and territorial ambitions, and carving out meaningful spaces for citizen-based marine stewardship under conditions of climate crisis. Ultimately, my paper asks: is smart ocean governance a symptom of the Capitalocene?

Keywords: Translation, smart oceans, climate governance, Capitalocene

The City as a Field of Resistance: Sustainable Architecture and Social Action in the Capitalocene

Alexandros Kalemis; Dimitrios Kotsifakos

In the Capitalocene era, urban spaces have become central to the contradictions of capitalist exploitation, serving as hubs of resource consumption and arenas for resistance.

This paper examines the city as a site of counteraction against environmental degradation and socio-economic inequalities, proposing sustainable architecture and urban planning as transformative tools. Drawing on Crist's critiques of anthropocentrism (2019) and the dual role of Artificial Intelligence (AI) highlighted in recent analyses, the study explores how participatory urban design may foster community resilience while contesting dominant capitalist narratives. The proposed approach integrates community-led initiatives, participatory AI tools, and sustainable architectural practices to redefine public spaces and challenge privatization and overexploitation. Specific examples include urban gardens, reclaimed green spaces, and collaborative housing projects, embodying resistance against homogenized capitalist urban planning. Furthermore, the role of AI is reframed from a tool of corporate exploitation to an instrument empowering local communities through data-driven solutions for environmental justice and equitable urban distribution. Through the lens of environmental ethics and ecofeminism, the paper argues for a shift toward inclusive and ecological urban design. By bridging social movements and architectural innovation, cities transform into spaces of solidarity, sustainability, and resistance (Dürbeck et al., 2021). Therefore, they offer a blueprint for challenging the extractive tendencies of the Capitalocene while envisioning an equitable and resilient urban future.

Keywords: Capitalocene, sustainable architecture, social action, artificial intelligence, environmental ethics.

Control Consent Coercion: Rethinking Labour Process Theory in the Age of Platforms and AI

Alexandros Minotakis

Over the past decade, interest in worker struggles has grown significantly, particularly in relation to platform labour and supply chain labour. Platform workers worldwide have challenged platform capitalism's practices of labour misclassification and algorithmic surveillance, while supply chain workers have resisted the intensification of the labour process and pervasive surveillance. These struggles have prompted Marxists and critical scholars to shift their focus away from earlier debates on digital labour—which had largely reached an impasse—and towards grounding their research in actual worker organising and both new and traditional forms of resistance.

However, current debates often lack a connection to the rich theoretical framework of labour process theory. This tradition, among other contributions, has examined exploitation through the lens of the consent-coercion dialectic, emphasised control as a critical point of contention between capital and labour, and systematically integrated case studies into the broader tendencies of the capitalist mode of production. Without this connection, contemporary studies on platform labour risk becoming overly particularistic,

portraying workers' struggles as isolated incidents rather than part of systemic trends. Moreover, as artificial intelligence becomes increasingly integrated into workplaces—through algorithmic management and surveillance—platform labour and its associated struggles offer valuable insights into broader transformations in labour and technology. This paper proposes revisiting foundational texts and research from the 1970s and 1980s, including the works of Braverman, Burawoy, Beynon, and Nichols. By drawing on these concepts and debates, the aim is to bring greater systematisation and theoretical rigour to contemporary studies on labour, resistance, and technology.

Keywords: platform labour, artificial intelligence, labour process theory, algorithmic management

Wall Newspapers

Anthony Iles

Part evaluation of parallel critical art practices and publishing projects and part media archaeology, this paper explores the lineage and media-form of the wall newspaper, street newspaper or big character newspaper (dazibao) through art-adjacent publishing projects such as Info Centre, Art & Language and Inventory and movements ranging from the Chinese cultural revolution, to Italian Autonomia and the Hong Kong Umbrella movement. Using Steve Wright's concept of 'document work', I look at the proximity of militant and art-publishing practices for working creatively and subversively with the printed word to circulate and spatialise dissent in the city over a 50 year period and consider what supporting media-forms frame the wall newspaper and what activity or interactivity between readers and writers, militants and others does this media form in turn support and spur into action.

Keywords: art, publishing, media theory, print, dissent, riot

"Ideology has no history, ...it has no history of its own": Who, then, may be the owner of the history of artificial intelligence?

Aristotle Tympas

We live under the ideological hegemony of what has been aptly called the 'smartness mandate' (Halpern and Mitchell), with the talk about 'artificial intelligence' being central to it. If artificial intelligence is not actually all about ideology, ideology is integral to what artificial intelligence may be all about. "Ideology has no history", according to an infamous

statement by Althusser, who immediately added that this “emphatically does not mean that there is no history in it (on the contrary, for it is merely the pale, empty and inverted reflection of real history) but that it has no history of its own”. Through this presentation, I will invite us to think this statement in connection to the history of artificial intelligence, focusing, both, on why the ideology of artificial intelligence has no history, and, simultaneously, on who the owner of the history of artificial intelligence may be. To this end, I will share research that suggests that the ideology of presenting machines in general and computing machines in particular as intelligent has no history. This ideology is a defining constant of the period of historical capitalism as a whole. As for the owner of the history of artificial intelligence, the research to be presented will focus on representative samples from the ranks of those working with (or working to, for example, construct, localize, maintain, reconfigure-in-use) computing machines that were presented as intelligent. In doing so, the emphasis will be placed on the ‘black-boxing’ of selected parts of the machine -displaying selected parts vs encasing others- as key to how the labour of the computing workers was concealed so as to make the machine look intelligent. To be sure, the ideology of artificial intelligences was not just about images, it was also about words. The presentation will then point to what we may call a ‘spontaneous history of technology’ (the engineering and historical equivalent of what Althusser has called the ‘spontaneous philosophy’ of scientists) as crucial to keeping the workers-owners of the history of artificial intelligence unknown. This spontaneous history took the form of narratives about the past offered by engineers from the top of the computing labor pyramid, but, also, it took the form of new concepts (conceptual breaks), which we may call ‘condensed spontaneous histories of technology’. These concepts were introduced so as to present, in an essentialist manner, the dependence on labor as having been due to some inherently inferior technology of the past. Of primary importance here has been the 1940s introduction of the analog/inferior/feminine vs the digital/superior/masculine demarcation and it’s a posteriori projection to the past, which set the stage for the subsequent change from the concept ‘computer’ referring to a human to referring to a machine.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, ideology, history, Althusser, analog-digital

Precarious Employment and Labor Unrest in China's Platform Economy

Barış Yentür

In parallel with the global patterns of deregulation of employment relationships, the privatization of the state owned enterprises and massive layoffs in 1990’s have led to a precarious employment in the labor market. The end of the “Iron Rice Bowl” system which offered employment guarantees, has resulted in increasing unpredictability and experiences of “permanent impermanence” of Chinese workers. Labor scholars have shed

light on precarization in the service sector, particularly in the platform economy, using Mezzadra and Neilson's concept of the "multiplication of labor," which includes three dimensions: "intensification," "diversification," and "heterogenization." In addition to being less regulated compared to manufacturing sector, Chinese state's tolerant approach to non-standard employment stypes facilitates the precariousness and uncertainty in the sector. While the constant measurement of workers' output through the individualising power of algorithmic management and multiple work arrangements intensifies the workers working hours, platform companies transfer production costs and risks to workers while making huge profits. The platform economy has also significant effects on the forms of organisation of labor relations. Predictions that the growth of the platform economy would make it more difficult, even impossible the workers' unrests have been proven false by the increasing number of unrests in the sector, notably by regulatory protests (demanding protective instutions) and distributive protests (seeking for a greater share of created value). Unlike traditional, workshop-based collective actions, the flexibilization and informalization in the sector have led to new forms of worker agency, including informal solidarities and large numbers of strike actions, as shown by the China Labour Bulletin Strike Map. In summary, this study examines labor relations in the platform sector in China, analyzing precarious conditions of workers and the changing and growing workers's unrest.

Keywords: Multiplication of Labour, Precarity, Labor Unrest, Platform Economy,

Recentralisation and working class power in platform capitalism: insights from the Global South

Caetano Patta Barros

Platform capitalism has been identified as a new form of accumulation, driven by advancements in communication technologies, large-scale data collection and processing, and the availability of venture capital in a deregulated environment. It is characterised by the recentralisation of management, control, and value capture, marking a recomposition of capital through the neoliberal transformation, which includes financialisation, globalisation, and the flexibilisation of production and consumption. A key aspect of this transformation is the impact on labor. Since the 1970s, the shareholder revolution has pulverised mass production in the global South, breaking down workplaces and contracts while increasingly mobilizing informal labor within production chains. In this context, the platform revolution recentralises management and control over labour in the global South, while maintaining and deepening the precarisation of conditions. In other words, platformisation rationalises the precarisation and superexploitation of labour in post-colonial societies. What are the consequences of centralising the management and

control of precarious work within a global and financialised production chain? This paper aims to discuss not only the capital gains in this process, but also the changes that this recomposition implies for the economic and political power of the working class in the global South. The discussion is based on empirical research with app drivers and couriers in Brazil, in comparative dialogue with other empirical research in Latin America. The hypothesis is that the recentralisation of platform capitalism opens up new possibilities for the unification of identities, demands and struggles, increasing the structural power of precarious working class groups and the possibilities for regulating labour protection in these markets, but that the same process deepens the pulverisation of everyday activities and poses challenges for these groups in developing forms of organisation, association and representation that effectively counter the rationalisation of capital and the class orientation of the state.

Keywords: platform capitalism, power, labour, work, global south, associativism

Marxist Critique of Technological Determinism

Débora de Araújo Costa / Marianna Haug

David Harvey, in "The Madness of Economic Reason" introduces the term "technologically induced unemployment" referring to unemployment caused by the replacement of living labor by dead labor or of workers by machines. Today, we have the technology necessary to drastically reduce the workday, freeing workers to live beyond their jobs. However, what we are seeing is an increase in precariousness, with working hours similar to those at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, which Ricardo Antunes calls "a new era of deanthropomorphization of labor". This brings us to the debate about the neutrality - or not - of technology and the Marxist position on it. We can think of technology on two fronts: on the one hand, it is appropriated and instrumentalized by capitalism to expand value and thereby destroy living labor, but it could, in another social relation, be used for revolutionary purposes. On the other hand, it is possible to say that technology created within the scope of capitalist relations of production is inherently capitalist and its use in other social relations - as occurred with the use of the Taylorist organization of labor in the USSR - would be doomed to be destroyed along with bourgeois society. The underlying debate that is being raised, and that has been and continues to be addressed on several fronts, is the relationship between productive forces and social relations of production. In other words, from a revolutionary perspective, is it possible to change social relations of production and overcome capitalism without changing the productive forces, especially the machines and technologies produced by Capital?

The aim of this presentation is to demonstrate how Marx addresses the issue of technological determinism in his work, from *The Poverty of Philosophy* to *The Capital*, the

result of ongoing doctoral research. Although this debate is, in principle, philosophical, it has practical consequences in guiding political action in the face of technological development and labor protection.

Keywords: Marxism; Labor; Technology

Pattern of Technical change by sectors in Colombia from 2001 to 2022

Diego Ramírez Reinoso and Carlos Alberto Duque García

Following a classical-Marxian framework, this paper identifies the patterns of technical change in the Colombian economy, disaggregated by sectors, from 2001 to 2022. Using the growth-distribution schedule and Colombian data from national accounts relates to labor, capital and output all by sectors, a clear Marx-biased technical pattern was identified for the Colombian economy and five of its nine economic sectors between 2001-2022. Two sectors presented the input-saving pattern with increased capital intensity and the remaining two sectors, technical regressions with increased capital intensity. Two stages in technological change were also identified: 2001-2007, with seven sectors increasing their capital productivity, and 2008-2022, with seven sectors decreasing their capital productivity. In addition to outstanding results the present research has two important contributions: an applying of Foley and Marquetti (1997) methodology of technical change focuses by sectors which had not been done before and extends the Marquetti (2017) findings about Colombia.

Keywords: Technical change, labor and capital

Contesting the division between internal and foreign politics in Russian aggression: an infrastructural approach

Dimitris M. Moschos

The ongoing Russian aggression against Ukraine has sparked numerous debates about the nature of this conflict. Nevertheless, debates rage in Marxist and non-Marxist cycles on analyses that overly emphasize the class of economic and foreign politics of the Russian Federation with the so-called Western counties. Approaches that take into account internal politics of Russia in relation to the war tend to reproduce mystifications and simplifications about “Russian criminal elites” or tend to naturalize aggression in a form of transhistorical essence of the Russian state’s will to create a “lebensraum” in its former

imperial and Soviet territories. I argue that these approaches do not pay attention to the specificities of this war and the nuanced discourses employed by the Russian state around this war. Expanding an already existing argument of a minoritarian take in Marxist current debates about the Russian-Ukrainian conflict as a post-Soviet civil war that took a geopolitical spin, I approach contemporary Russian politics and discourses around class, war, and capitalism as a matter of infrastructural, technological, and urban development legacies of the late Soviet Union that keep exercising a specific material pressure on the politics, policies, and political imaginaries that form contemporary relations between former Soviet republics. Societies and their political complexities do not exist separately from their technological and infrastructural background. This infrastructural pressure, I argue, actually blurs the division of internal and foreign affairs in Russia and ex-Soviet countries, making internal issues interstate and vice versa, a pattern repeated in Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Georgia that has to be addressed as such if we seek a way out of the conflict.

Keywords: Russia, Ukraine, War, Infrastructures, technology

Platform capitalism and how to respond to its contradictions

Dionysios Skliris

The presentation will analyse the current form of capitalism that is based on gig economy. The new digital technology companies are too small compared to the earlier ones of the Fordist period, which were based on mass production and hierarchical management structure, while there was also the possibility of efficient union representation for workers, as well as job permanence. The model is now the lean firm, which aims to maximize profits by minimizing production costs and waste. This latest development has led to a surplus of hoarded money, searching for investment, while interest rates are low. The sharing economy prevails, which allows individuals and groups to generate income from unused resources, such as their free time, homes, cars, or skills they did not use until then. The challenge presented is the network effect, i.e. the fact that the more the users use a platform, the more important it becomes to subsequent users, which leads to an extremely strong tendency to monopoly. The surveillance of all citizens no longer takes place only for state interests, but is already inscribed in the mode of capitalist competition, so that only by achieving mass surveillance can a company have a comparative advantage. For this reason, it is not only states and agencies that monitor in the context of the new Orwellian panopticon, but an entire system of surveillance capitalism is installed. The further issue is that if we all "work" for these companies in our "spare" time, but also during the work we might do, then no new jobs are created. The fourth technological revolution does not create jobs like the previous ones, with the result that after every crisis

we have jobless recoveries. What are possible ways out of the crisis? One of them could be called "digital laborism" and consists in new forms of strike by refusing work-orders (see the strike against E-food in 2021 in Greece and Deliveroo in the United Kingdom in 2016-2017). A second one is based on collaborative platforms, that are accountable to workers and communities, and could limit the profit rate to 10% so that there is no exploitation. Platform socialism could be based on the resistance of the prod-users, with an emergence of alternatives, such as public search engines without exploitation of the users.

Keywords: platform capitalism, gig economy, surveillance capitalism

Phd Candidate

Dominique Arsenault

Making Plans and Planning Making: Industrial Commons and Democratic Economic Planning

Dominique Arsenault

PhD Candidate at Université de Technologie de Compiègne

The apparent inability to curb emissions and natural resource degradation in capitalist society has prompted a revived interest in theories of economic planning, from ecosocialist as well as degrowth thinkers. Distinguishing themselves from regimes of soviet-era economic planning, these proposals call for simultaneously democratic and ecological forms of economic planning. The literature on the commons, particularly the "industrial commons," has key insights for developing such planning proposals.

This paper is divided in three sections. The first examines the convergences between literature on the commons and democratic economic planning (DEP) theory, proposing the concept of "collective-self limitation" as a framing for democratic governance of the social metabolism. It also examines DEP literature's proposals for institutions at smaller scales and commons literatures study of institutions at larger scales to understand the relevance of these bodies of thinking for one another. The second section articulates the concept of "industrial commons" by offering key examples, summarizing relevant literature, and finally proposing unique features of this commons – specifically that the resources governed in these commons derive their value from labour rather than nature, and that they are often characterized by high levels of technical complexity – and how this may inform DEP theories and models. Finally, the third section articulates three problematics that emerge from a combined reading of literature on industrial commons and DEP: the tension between knowledge produced at the global scale and tacit knowledge produced at the local scale, including a discussion of the social relations embodied in and concealed by production infrastructure; the barriers to and

costs of participation in shared governance processes; and obstacles to systems transformation that can be theorized based on the barriers to growth faced by current industrial commons.

Keywords: commons, manufacturing, planning, social metabolism, scale

Surveying From Below: An Experiment in Platform Worker Data Science

*Dr Cailean Gallagher (University of St Andrews) and Dr Marion Lieutaud
(University of Edinburgh)*

Platform-mediated gig work such as riding for Deliveroo or driving for Uber is widely known to be exploitative. Conditions have kept deteriorating with the introduction of AI-managed fares (dynamic pricing) and increasingly sophisticated surveillance (live GPS tracking of riders to calculate delays and impose sanctions). Workers' efforts to understand how platforms drive down pay and conditions are hampered by companies' determination to conceal data on workers' movement and payments. What can enable gig workers to counteract data imbalances in their struggle to resist exploitation?

In an experiment conducted in Edinburgh, we developed a workers' inquiry with South Asian and Spanish-speaking food delivery riders, providing workers with tools and training to create and distribute a survey researching their conditions. Through the process of its design and distribution, a collective started forming. The data collection process (survey administration) was a community-building undertaking, providing riders with a reason and methods to engage with other riders and collect contacts. The quantitative data analysis process supported workers to "distinguish between personal experience and collective oppression" (Oakley, 1999). The output helped to shape demands, tactics (rate monitoring, boycott) and raise the profile of the campaign.

We draw on this and other experiments to discuss the concept and merit of participatory workers' data science (Gallagher et al, 2024), as a method not only of building research and data but of developing the workers' inquiry tradition as a creative means to foster collective organising and bolster workers' power where they are deeply disenfranchised.

Gallagher, C., Gregory, K. & Karabaliev, B. (2023) Digital worker inquiry and the critical potential of participatory worker data science for on-demand platform workers. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12286>

Ann Oakley, "Paradigm Wars: Some Thoughts on a Personal and Public Trajectory," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 2, no. 3 (1999): 251.

Keywords: Union organising; migrant work; labour process; challenges of AI

Critical Pedagogy in Vocational Education and Training: Considering the Content of Technical Knowledge and the Uses of Technology as Tools of Social Change

Dr. Kotsifakos Dimitrios

Critical pedagogy is a school of thought that aims to liberate the student from oppressive structures, promoting awareness, autonomy, and social justice. In this context, the integration of critical pedagogy in vocational education and training takes on particular importance, as these sectors often focus on transmitting skills for the labor market, without highlighting issues of social responsibility and critical thinking. Technical education and technology play a central role in shaping the modern world, however, the emphasis on functionality and economic efficiency can lead to an educational process without social meaning. Critical pedagogy proposes the development of curricula that connect technology with social reality, strengthening the understanding of the relationship between technical skills and social needs. In particular, vocational education can act as a field that encourages learners to interpret technological progress through a critical lens, analyzing issues such as the impact of automation on work, inequality of access to technology, and the ethical dimensions of its use. In this way, learners acquire technical expertise and the ability to actively participate in shaping a more just and sustainable future. Connecting critical pedagogy with vocational education and training, technics, and technology is a way to bridge the gap between knowledge, practical application, and social responsibility, leading to a holistic approach to the educational process.

Keywords: Critical Pedagogy, Vocational Education and Training, Technical Knowledge, Technology, Social Change

Late Ottoman Lighthouse Network as a form of Navigation Safety Infrastructure for the Capital Circulation

emine esra nalbant

In Grundrisse Marx says that “the circulation of capital is at the same time its becoming, its growth, its vital process.” This circulation includes the marketing of the product within a system of distribution. As Banaji notes the velocity was critical due to its function of

compressing the chain of circulation. The transportation time as well as the frequency was a vital part of it. This paper will focus on the lighthouses as a tool of navigation and a type of coastal safety infrastructure appears as an instrument to provide order and overcome the limits of oceanic space in nineteenth century. In nineteenth century, maritime transportation transformed due to the steamships. Their speed created a space time compression in the oceanic space; within the network of the ocean highways. On top of that the wind and ocean currents do not bound the maritime transportation. Both factors indicate a new mode of maritime transportation which is faster and more frequent. The told conditions above signifies an intensified circulation of capital with promise of significant amount of profit in the global market of the maritime commerce. The high frequency and speed of trade were vital for capital circulation which made the idea of delay almost an enemy. The delay occurred to the environmental in our case specifically oceanic obstacles leading to accidents and shipwrecks. In my study I consider lighthouses as a coastal safety infrastructure which aims at overcoming the spatial barriers of the oceanic space.

Keywords: technology, circualtion of capital, history of maritime infrastructure

The Digital Nexus of Neofascism: Cyberspace, Class Conflict, and the Rise of the Tech-Bourgeoisie

Erkin Güney

Ever since the crises of capitalism during the Great Recession(s) of 2008/09, the 2010s have witnessed a surge in far-right movements and authoritarian leaders globally. These developments coincided with the rise of progressive, class-based, contentious movements against capitalism and the far-right in advanced industrial countries and the Global South. This study argues that a new transnational neofascist movement has emerged, forming a strategic alliance with the rising tech-bourgeoisie to counter these progressive movements. The research identifies three key dynamics: first, the use of cyberspace by the neofascist movement to organize and disseminate far-right discourse; second, the exploitation of working-class disillusionment with global capitalism to legitimize its growth and influence; and third, a tacit partnership between the rising tech-bourgeoisie to dilute and suppress progressive movements that could develop into anti-capitalist social movements. This study conducts descriptive analysis to define the characteristics of this new neofascist movement and uses ideological discourse analysis to examine how neofascism organizes in cyberspace, disseminates far-right discourse, and legitimizes its presence in public discourse. The findings aim to contribute to understanding the intersection of neofascism, technology, and class dynamics in the contemporary era.

Keywords: neofascism, far-right, capitalism, tech-bourgeoisie, cyberspace

State, platform capitalism and infrastructural power: Microsoft's data centres in Greece 2.0

Eugenia Siapera

This article examines the under-explored role of the state in enabling platform capitalism by analysing Microsoft's infrastructural investment in Greece as part of the country's post-pandemic "National Recovery and Resilience Plan: Greece 2.0." While much of the critical literature emphasises platform companies' control over infrastructure and data, we argue that the state facilitation is a crucial component of platform capital accumulation. Through a case study of Microsoft's construction of three data centres in the region of Attica region, we show how the Greek state actively facilitated this investment, framing it as a driver of modernisation and economic recovery. We base our study on a comprehensive document analysis of official communications, regulatory frameworks and legal documents. This involvement exemplifies how semi-peripheral states like Greece, shaped by neoliberal restructuring and economic dependence, contribute to consolidating the power of tech corporations, often at the expense of local communities and the environment. By integrating theories of state capitalism and techno-colonialism with critical platform scholarship, this article contributes to a deeper understanding of the political economy of platform capitalism, revealing the symbiotic yet exploitative nature of state-tech partnerships and urging a re-centring of the state's role in facilitating corporate dominance over digital infrastructures and global platform capitalism.

Keywords: Platform capitalism, state capitalism, neoliberalism, Greece, Microsoft, Google, data centres, infrastructures

AI and Psychometrics: Socio-classification in a Monopolized Digital Age

Francesca Carta

Psychometrics and AI are closely intertwined, and the use of AI as a psychometric tool is often underestimated. What is underestimated is not only the effective use of algorithms as psychometric tools, and as sociometric ones, but also the connection between these dimensions and the monopolistic nature of the AI market, which is entirely governed by a small number of tech companies. Psychometrics emerged and spread in the post-industrial context with the aim of classifying and hierarchizing the population, primarily to assign

individuals to specific social roles and tasks, and to match people with roles where they could perform most effectively.

I will first aim to demonstrate how algorithms have proven to be highly effective psychometric tools. In classification, for instance, studies have shown that application logs or digital traces, such as Facebook likes, Instagram stories, and tweets, have reliability and validity comparable to (or even surpassing) that of the most widely used personality questionnaires. Digital trace-based measures also offer numerous advantages over traditional tools, including high ecological validity, greater capability to track behaviors, faster processing, and lower invasiveness.

Today, with the explosion of Generative AI, we are witnessing an even more pervasive use of AI in the hierarchization of skills, as LLMs increasingly serve as comparators for human competencies. These new neural networks are thus imposing new forms of sociometric control.

In the final section, I will attempt to problematize the monopolistic dimension of the current market. The production and governance of these increasingly pervasive algorithms are controlled by very few companies. AI is thus transforming into a psychometric and sociometric monopoly of control. By critically analyzing this metrological dimension, we will examine the implications of AI as a tool for measuring and reshaping intelligence, labor, and social organization in the digital age.

Keywords: AI, Psychometrics, Sociometric, Monopoly

Ms

Francesca Medici

Eschewing the dystopian: Visual trend or effective formal strategy in contemporary British Theatre?

In an age where catastrophe has become increasingly normalised amid ever-rising socio-political tensions, it has become increasingly apparent that a certain dystopian imagery is being subsumed under neoliberal ideology. The late decade has seen an explosion of dystopian sensibilities in numerous political plays, albeit with very different results: plays such as *Greenland* (Buffini, Charman, Skinner, Thorne) and Lucy Kirkwood's *The Children* treat the dystopian element as a mere visual setting informing a superficial and paradigmatic political engagement. Conversely, in other texts such as Alistair

McDowell's *X*, Sam Steiner's *Lemons Lemons Lemons* and Philip Ridley's *Karagula*, the dystopian is not merely a superficial element in these plays, but instead is deeply felt within the aesthetic negativity of each composition: it emerges as a structural and linguistic feature rather than only presenting dystopic content or simple portrayal of an imagined worse society. Accordingly, the paper considers this second group of structurally 'dystopian' plays to illustrate how they configure the dystopian as uniquely tragic, a mode of mimesis which avoids a rational understanding of suffering, and which is creatively performed in a way that disturbs existing social hierarchies and limitations. Alongside these considerations, the paper investigates how the dystopian can uniquely weaponise the liminal status of the play as text, both as a structural element of the performance and as an autonomous work of art which thus cannot be reduced to empirical reality. The paper contends that this aesthetic modality can prove to be a successful site of resistance if, rather than trying to outdo reality, it works to uncover the actual trauma and oppression inherent in our socio-political system through a reflection which denies cohesion and totality to it.

Keywords: Dystopian, Resistance, Political imagination

Out of the Fire and into the Frying Pan? Racialised labour and the Precarity of Migrant Food Delivery Workers in Venice, Italy

Francesco Pontarelli

This study examines the pivotal role of migrant labour in the on-demand food delivery platform industry in Mestre-Marghera, a metropolitan area of Venice, Italy. It explores how digital platforms intersect with migration regimes and labour reproduction, shaping the working experiences of migrant workers. While extensive research has documented platform work's poor wages, high precarity, long hours, and inadequate health and safety protections, this study focuses on the racialised dimensions of these experiences, utilising in-depth ethnographic methods.

Findings reveal that algorithmic management in platform work introduces a depersonalised form of employment, which many migrant workers perceive as neutral compared to sectors like tourism or shipbuilding, where informal employment often involves overt discrimination. On-demand delivery platforms offer workers relative autonomy and a sense of agency due to minimal direct supervision. However, this perceived neutrality masks the broader discriminatory structures underpinning platform work. Workers endure long, uncertain hours, low piece-rate wages, and a lack of stability, leaving little time for family or leisure activities, exacerbating their precarious living conditions.

This research critically highlights the systemic exploitation and precariousness of migrant labour in a market deeply reliant on cheap, racialised workers, mirroring the international division of labour and inequalities among countries. While digital platforms may seem detached from overt racism, they perpetuate structural exploitation by capitalising on these systemic inequalities.

By analysing the intersections of race, technology, and labour, this study sheds light on how migrant workers navigate and resist precarious digital platform work in an environment where discrimination remains deeply entrenched. It underscores the need for critical engagement with the socio-economic and racial dynamics shaping platform economies, particularly in regions dependent on migrant labour for economic sustenance.

Keywords: migrant labour; digital platform, racialised labour, precarious work, algorithmic management, Venice

Elements for a materialistic interpretation of some theses of Shoshana Zuboff on “digital society” and “surveillance capitalism”

Gabriele Borghese

The research proposed by Zuboff aims to represent the critical interpreters of digital capitalism who in some cases explicitly aim to hinder the process of concentration of power and control in the hands of managers and owners of platforms (Zuboff S., *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*, 2019, pp. 543-549, tr. it.). Zuboff focuses on the economic, political and social dynamics in the age of “surveillance capitalism,” which would represent a violent evolution of industrial capitalism and pose the greatest threat to human essence. The presentation will critically analyze Zuboff's thesis that a new public awareness of the use of technologies can lead to a redemption capable of “reactivating the Friedman cycle that correlates public opinion and firm laws” (Zuboff S., 2019, p.538). The paper aim is to compare this interpretation, at its bottom libertarian, with the one developed from Marxist theory.

This expression refers to now-classic analyses and methodologies, often hastily deemed obsolete when compared to the current state of development of capitalism. Engels and Marx developed the materialist method (Engels F.-Marx K., *The German Ideology*, 1845/1846; Engels F., *Anti-Dühring*, 1878) noting that it can work only from not speculative generalizations but by considering men first and foremost as “real individuals, [in]their action and [in]their material conditions of life” (Engels F.-Marx K., 1845, p.16) and consider technology by lowering it into the economic and social context.

A conclusion such as Zuboff's sees the free and competitive market as the solution to the problem of monopolies in the sphere of digital platforms, a solution that might lead to a prospect of improvement on the level of economic freedom but certainly does not solve the problem of epistemic inequality, the problem that at the pedagogical level opens up a real crisis in our present age. What makes the difference in education, even in light of the pervasiveness that social networks have in the world of youth, is precisely this plus of knowledge that the platform has over its user, and modifies his behavior through refined prediction algorithms that are subsequently readjusted to the user's behavior. More than anything else, in fact, the virtual-digital machine aims to reinforce the mechanism of the real subjection of labor under capital - from the point of view of production, while from the point of view of distribution to track down potential buyers of goods - not to set as its goal the control of the end user.

Keywords: Technology; Power; Control; Subjection; Capital

Student Workers and Hospitality Platform Control in Britain

George Briley

The potential for platform labour to transform work through the integration of algorithmic management and digital surveillance technologies is well documented in logistics work. The emergence of hospitality service platforms represents a novel development in the so-called "gig economy". Platforms promise flexibility but often deliver intensified work conditions and deskilled labour processes that aim to minimise autonomy in the labour process. The technical composition of platform hospitality work reveals how workers become "appendages of the machine," tracked through location services and managed through punitive rating systems.

This paper will discuss a hospitality platform in Britain exclusively targeting student workers. The specific mechanisms through which student workers are drawn into platform work, beyond financial necessity, require further investigation. The relationship between educational policy changes, particularly the 2010 UK higher education reforms, and the emergence of a student-focused labour platform needs deeper examination.

Inspired by workers inquiry methodology and covert ethnography of platform work, this paper will analyse how student workers navigate platform control. It will examine the intersection of technical and social composition in platform hospitality work through firsthand data collected as part of a PhD project, along with interviews with workers and organisers. This research will map the specific ways platforms reshape the hospitality

labour process through technological surveillance and divisions within the labour process. It will investigate how the "predatory inclusion" of students into platform work interacts with broader trends in higher education policy and labour market transformation.

This research is important for understanding how platform capitalism is reshaping service sector work through the targeted exploitation of specific worker demographics. Understanding these dynamics is essential for developing effective strategies for worker organisation and resistance in an increasingly platformised hospitality sector. The focus on student workers provides insight into how platforms capitalise on and reinforce existing social vulnerabilities.

Keywords: Labour Process Theory, Platforms, Gig Economy, Hospitality, Workers Inquiry

Is left accelerationism still relevant today?

Georgios Marias

Around ten years ago, in the aftermath of the 2011 movements, there was a boom in a specific kind of Marxist literature in the West. Left-wing accelerationism, or more generally, the search for a progressive post-capitalist future, sought to embrace technological change—particularly automation and digital technologies—as tools to build an egalitarian society. However, today, the term post-capitalism is more likely to refer to a dystopian transcendence of capitalism than to a progressive alternative. At the same time, the Right has its “accelerationist” moment. Tech oligarchs increasingly govern global politics in a far-right manner, autonomous drones are going to war, artificial intelligence is used in a live streamed genocide and to mute those who oppose it, Big Tech algorithms reshape labor, social services, and free time in increasingly detrimental ways. Among the working classes, dissatisfaction and fear toward new technologies are growing, despite their widespread use.

This social shift is reflected in political theory. To understand this reversal, we critically examine the relationship between emerging technologies, politics, and ideology over the past decade. We seek the conditions under which techno-optimistic versions of political theory emerged and gained relative popularity and identify the turning points where this trend appears to have reversed. The hopes of left accelerationism have been profoundly challenged by this reality, leaving open questions about how to confront technological power and reclaim it for collective benefit. Was there an "elite capture" of these technologies, as they were co-opted to serve profit and control rather than liberation, or was the vision of reclaiming the future through technology a naïve dream to start with? How could some of the core demands accelerationism brought to the forefront be

reformulated, considering these developments? Is there still room for a digital politics of hope, or is neo-Luddism the only consistent position in the 2020s?

Keywords: "accelerationism" "neo-Luddism" "elite capture"

A communitarian approach to digital data

Gianni Fraioli

The following paper aims to engage in the discussion regarding the administration, ownership and management of digital data. Its objective is to showcase an alternative regulation of digital data. I begin by outlining a tentative cognitive map (Jameson, 1990) of the digital landscape, in which I assume that we can find three sets that group the main discourses around the alternatives ownership systems of data. Each set functions as an "ideal type" (Weber, 1985): the first one is the private ownership system, where the implementation of a free data market would allow prosumers to negotiate freely with the platforms the sale of their personal data; the second is the public ownership one, comprised of those who deem that in the face of the internet oligopoly (Smyrnaio, 2018) and platform capitalism (Srnicsek, 2018), the only solution is for the State to take control of the administration of the data flows; finally, the communitarian alternative is usually fostered by those who believe that the control must rest under the supervision of smaller political communities. In this presentation, I will focus on the latter, because it takes in consideration the potential dangers that could ensue from the relinquishment of data in the hands of the State (Morozov, 2018) and at the same time fosters the active and democratic participation of the digital denizens (Morozov and Bria, 2018). I will try to demonstrate that this technopolitical proposal is able to combine the advantages of the other two systems: first, by reiterating the defense, that the proprietary one makes, of an increased and direct control of the prosumers over their digital data; secondly, by acknowledging the social character of the process of datafication that the public proposal usually emphasises when trying to overcome the atomistic vision of the digital milieu. Drawing from Dardot and Laval (2015), this paper aligns with the "politics of the common" in considering that the regulation of the topoi where social cooperation takes place is of paramount importance and hence suggests a modest proposal.

Keywords: political economy - digital economy - Critical Internet studies - Marxism

Pattern Recognition in Warfare and Political Economy: From Perceptron to Pattern-of-Life Analysis

Giorgio Ciani

This presentation aims to frame the historical evolution of pattern recognition techniques, from the first artificial neural network to contemporary people analytics. The scope is to provide a genealogy of pattern-of-life analysis techniques as common to military and platform capitalism. The core thesis is that social physics, or dataveillance, constitutes a new model of governance and management that gather politics and economy. A first turning point in this genealogy is the signals intelligence (SIGINT) revolution in the US military doctrine, which allowed the former director of NSA Michael Hayden to say: “We kill people based on metadata.” The interest of the US military apparatus to automate pattern recognition has driven the development of Artificial Intelligence since its cybernetic origins: from Project PARA (i.e. Rosenblatt's Perceptron) up to the NSA systems such as Skynet and Prism. A second turning point is the rise of a new division of labour and regime of capitalist accumulation, emerging from information and communication technologies, especially from the egemony of Silicon Valley's digital capitalism and its monopoly on data and server infrastructures. The purpose of the research is to outline both the pivotal role of pattern-of-life analysis in contemporary warfare and political economy, and to trace its origins in the dialectic relation between these two fields.

Keywords: AI, pattern-of-life analysis, pattern recognition, warfare, political economy

AI, Simulation and Extractivism: Capital and the Automation of Second Nature

James Steinhoff, Patrick Brodie

This paper confronts an emerging tool of capital for managing ecological contradictions—AI-driven simulations—through the lens of the Marxist concept of “second nature.” We unite two different developments of the concept while interpreting the recent move of big tech capital into the realms of energy infrastructure and resource extraction. Second nature describes how the social relations of capital take on a putatively natural form, wherein value as a real abstraction structures reality with an “inexorable necessity” (Lukács 1972, 83). Smith (2008) offers an ontological interpretation of second nature wherein “nature is progressively produced from within and as part of the so-called second nature” (54). A related but distinct epistemological interpretation is developed by Sohn-Rethel (2019 [1974]) who describes how the “scientist investigates what can be experienced of first nature through the epistemological concepts of abstract second

nature.” We argue that by producing virtual environments big tech capital is facilitating deeper abstractions of ecological relations—premised on extraction.

This talk probes the interface of second nature with the “raw materials” of extraction amidst transforming productive relations of datafied capital. It will examine extractive industry simulations such as “Robotec AI,” an Amazon Web Services-enabled product which models “autonomous mining operations”. The language of these models reflects the increasingly computational logics that shape production, as the autonomous mining operations themselves depend on migration to the “cloud” (Arboleda 2020). We argue that simulation acts as a tool of the “capitalist world eater” (Dunlap and Jakobsen 2019): a theory which posits that abstract value relations are themselves churning the planet into continuous capitalist production and growth, even in a time of “green” transitions and “cloud” technologies. Building on work surrounding the political ecologies of extraction (Bruna 2022), and using media studies to articulate the concrete logics and practices of big tech in these areas (Brodie 2024; Dunlap et al. 2024), we demonstrate that second nature provides a theoretical grounding for understanding the relationships between advanced datafication, AI, and its application in extractive industries.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, automation, simulation, extractivism, ecology

Meritocratic managerialism as a guideline for ICT inclusion policies in basic education - the case of the state of Goiás-Brazil

Jhonny David Echalar

Based on the studies and postulates of Karl Marx, Karel Kosik and Antonio Gramsci, it is understood that understanding reality is not achieved by simply identifying and finding links between different social structures and phenomena. In fact, this is a first step in grasping the essence of phenomena, but it is essential to understand the historical development of the phenomenon, building on different elements to see how it was established in the forms of current social activities and relations. This assumption of historical-dialectical materialism points out that it is by analyzing the social, economic and political processes recorded in history that we can critically understand the reflections of this process in the present political context. Thus, by identifying the history behind the institutional architecture of a public school network, the institutional planning of different public-administrative units and spheres, and the policies formulated and implemented within this public school network, it was identified that neoliberal meritocratic managerialism has underpinned public policies for the introduction of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in the state of Goiás, Brazil. As a result, work and teacher training have been configured to meet the logic and demands of capitalist

production, with a focus on the formulation and implementation of digital systems aimed at pedagogical and administrative management in school units, from a factory perspective in which teachers and managers must feed such programs linked to a meritocratic policy of bonuses and evaluation of “school performance”. In addition, there is evidence of the formulation and implementation of projects aimed only at equipping school units with artefacts of little use or to maintain the aforementioned business-managerialist policies, with no inclusion of elements intrinsic to educational intentions that make it possible to reduce social inequalities. As they stand, these policies ensure that the working class is kept in a subordinate position in relation to the appropriation of scientific knowledge.

Keywords: Meritocratic managerialism; school performance; policy of evaluation and monitoring.

Technology and the Master's House – AI and critical theory of technology

Joel Hänninen

Audre Lorde once remarked that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. Lorde saw mainstream approaches to feminism lacking in their capability to account for difference, regressing to one-dimensional thinking on the large. In other words, for Lorde, existing accounts perpetuated antidialectical, dualistic mode of thinking. Indeed, one of the central mechanisms of capitalism relies on constructing arbitrary divisions, reifying the epistemological boundary between those dualisms of subject/object, self/Other - and technological/natural.

Prevailing approaches to artificial intelligence are likewise prone to reproduce these distinctions - especially the distinction between technological and natural. Dialectics of AI necessitate that one consider AI as not separate from social relations, production or our societal impulses, but part and parcel to them.

As I claim, AI is shaped not only by the dictates of capitalist accumulation and its conjoining process of technological fetishism. As a boiling point of modern technology and economic, social and cultural imaginaries, AI might be an arena well suited for various present and future struggles – struggles, that on the theoretical front are waged against reductionist, dualist thinking.

I suggest that a critical approach to technology and capitalism would benefit from (re)imagining an AI for the people, one that will not amount to a mastery; one that would consider AI technologies not only as master's tools. Contemporary critical theory of technology is especially suitable for this. It rejects the determinist interpretations and accepts that AI and technology as "necessities" for e.g. solving anthropogenic climate

change, is only a retroactive construct. Technology and AI are, rather, grounded in contingency, and become "necessary" only after the fact. It is thereby that I argue for a dialectical, retroactive approach to AI and technology. Such an approach would help us see how the master's house implicates the master's tools and vice versa. In Hegelian speculative terms, a critical technology theory puts emphasis on Lorde's distinction, but expands on it: seeing subject as substance, master's tools as master's house, thereby radically envisioning emancipatory politics.

Keywords: Technology, AI, critical theory, dialectics, Lorde, Hegel

Authoritarian Neoliberalism & Social-Control

John Sokol

This paper interrogates the authoritarian tendencies inherent in liberal economic ideology and practice, emphasizing the dialectical relationship between state power, capital accumulation, and labour-control. Through an analysis rooted in the political economy of austerity and its historical manifestations in fascism, it debates liberalism's role in fostering a paradigm of authoritarian governance. Building on Clara Mattei's exposition of austerity's fascist lineage and Michal Kalecki's insights into the capitalist aversion and liberal aggression the paper demonstrates that austerity's true purpose lies in its ability to dismantle collective agency to maintain the capital order. Far from being a mere model-framework, neoliberal discourse and legislative practice function to embolden a disciplinary regime, where punitive fiscal policy is used to consolidate control. This analysis highlights ideological and bio-political dimensions of neoliberal economics, revealing its intersections with race, gender, and colonial power. Liberalism's moral-logic, as seen in fascist Italy or Pinochet's Chile as well as contemporary austerity regimes in Europe, reveals its broader role as a tool of repression, justifying systemic inequality while fragmenting collective resistance. The com-modification of all aspects of life aligns with capital's violent depletion of labour and nature, legitimizing state violence as an instrument of profit. As it remains central to any potential subversion of the status-quo, Marxist analysis unveils the violent and repressive character of capitalist accumulation. Drawing from historical examples of neoliberal governance, the analysis demonstrates how liberal social-control disempowers workers while entrenching existing power-structures of ethnicity, gender, and class. By reframing neoliberal policy as an act of economic violence, this research highlights the potential for labour to reclaim agency and challenge capital's authoritarian imperatives through solidarity and militant strategies. This advances a vision of resistance grounded in collective and transformative practice, based on emancipatory insight and resistance on the frontline of social-constructed hegemony.

The paper situates the discursive constructs of efficiency, innovation and resilience, socio-technological advancements as they are employed by the neoliberal state, to fragment labour and discipline workers, forcing them to embrace narratives which suppresses their capacity for resistance. This argument posits labour struggles in solidarity with struggles of systemic racial- and gender discrimination on global scale, confronting the authoritarian philosophy at the foundation of the contemporary catastrophe of capitalism. This study advances the historical materialist critique of and calls for a re-articulation of anti-fascism that dismantles liberalism's constructed moral reality poses as the logic underlying austerity, reclaiming solidarity and emboldening transformative change from below.

Keywords: Authoritarian Neoliberalism, Historical Materialism, Austerity, Labour-Control, Capital Accumulation, Fascism and Liberalism, Bio-Politics, Economic Violence, Social Control, Anti-Fascism

BEYOND TECHNOCENTRISM: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Júlio César dos Santos (Júlio Vann)

Criticism of technocentrism is a recurring theme in academic production that addresses the relationship between technology and education, with emphasis on the argument that technologies alone do not promote significant changes in pedagogical practices. The use of technology does not overcome the reproductive dimension of social inequalities, as long as the material foundations of society remain exclusionary in their structure. However, this same production often aligns itself with the technocentric perspective of technological determinism, by reinforcing the imperative need to incorporate technological advances into educational practices. With the accelerated development of technologies, including artificial intelligence (AI), new determinations emerge that intensify this discussion, often reverting to an instrumental view of technology. This article, based on the critical perspective of Karl Marx, Demerval Saviani and Andrew Feenberg, understands that technology is not neutral, but rather a field made up of multiple determinations - historical, social, economic and cultural, subject to multiple interpretations based on specific contexts. The focus in this work lies on the relationship between Technologies and Education. It is understood that in order to overcome technocentrism, it is essential to adopt the dialectical critique proposed by Marxist historical materialism, based on the movement of thought that moves between the concrete and the abstract, returning to the concrete thought based on an expanded understanding of the implications that AI can bring to education, considering its social construction and the power relations involved.

Keywords: Education and Technologie; Artificial Intelligence; Technocentrism; Dialectical logic, Critical Perspective.

The Artificial Representation of the Post-Industrial Working Class: Precarity, Isolation and the Intelligence of Capitalism.

Kostas Maronitis

During and soon after the UK General Elections on the 4th of July 2024, social media users expressed their disdain for the outgoing Conservative government and Prime Minister Rishi Sunak. A series of artificially generated photographs were posted of social media platforms depicting prominent Conservative politicians doing jobs and performing tasks generally associated with low paid migrant labour. Under the titles “AI Re-imagines Tory Politicians in Regular Life”, “AI has the created the politician as an immigrant”, and “Tories without the privilege” this series of images show former ministers and senior Conservatives as Deliveroo riders, Amazon warehouse workers and Uber drivers among other recognisable social roles and professions allegedly below the high status of a politician. The fact that the reimagining in question is done by AI points towards the examination of the relationship between the imaginary, the real and the artificial with reference to the institution and the social relationship of work. Drawing on Marx’s theory of surplus value, Gorz’s externality of work, and J.K Gibson-Graham’s non-hegemonic formations, the paper makes three distinct yet interconnected arguments: First, the ethnic background of Conservative politicians featured in these AI generated photographs reinforces the dominant political thinking and popular belief that essential service jobs are and should only be performed by immigrants. Second, while the immigrant gig worker is visualised and personalised through the depiction of prominent Conservative politicians “as an immigrant and without the privilege”, s/he remains isolated from colleagues and fellow workers and inevitably powerless to be part of a mass labour force qualified to challenge exploitation and precarity. Third, AI is not designed to imitate biological intelligence but to reproduce the dominant ideology by imitating the existing social and labour relations.

Keywords: automation, immigration, labour, AI, representation

A Scratch Embellishing an Empty Face: “Shamate” Subculture and Chinese Migrant Workers in *We Were Smart* (2019)

Ling Zhang

This article examines the “Shamate” subculture of Chinese migrant workers through Li Yifan’s documentary *We Were Smart* (2019), illuminating a form of unconscious, embodied resistance woven into the fabric of global capitalism’s margins. Emerging in the late 2000s and flourishing across digital platforms, Shamate youth distinguished themselves through extravagant hairstyles and flamboyant clothing. Ridiculed by urban elites and marginalized by mainstream narratives, they constructed identities that defied labor exploitation, social isolation, and urban exclusion. By forging online communities on platforms like Q Zone, Shamate members challenged conventional class hierarchies, asserting a shared sense of dignity and history beyond the assembly line.

We Were Smart, created collaboratively with these communities, transcends conventional documentary practice. Like “light media” that democratize cultural production, the film bypasses monopoly-driven circuits of distribution and engages audiences through grassroots screenings in cafés, bookstores, galleries, and private homes. Drawing on the radical spirit of Latin American Third Cinema, it embraces a participatory ethos, encouraging dialogues that disrupt passive spectatorship. The film’s circulation—often outside the control of commercial platforms—reflects a commitment to making visible the lived realities of migrant workers, countering sanitized visions of industrial modernity and showcasing subaltern creativity.

This article integrates labor studies and working-class cultural studies, fields often restricted by geographical, linguistic, and disciplinary boundaries. It reveals how digital and social media enable new forms of self-expression and community-building among a population that, though central to global supply chains, remains culturally marginalized. By situating the Shamate phenomenon within broader media ecologies and considering how workers’ own audiovisual productions function as historical testimony, this study reimagines the aesthetics and politics of working-class culture. It thereby opens a globally resonant dialogue on class, identity, and cultural resistance in the digital age.

Keywords: Chinese migrant workers, Shamate, subculture, digital media

From Rational Agents to Taskbots: A Genealogy of Human Functions Encoding through Abstraction and Labor

Lorenzo De Lellis

In this paper, I will trace a genealogy of the concept of agent from neoclassical economy to the rise of Deep Learning. Designating an individual pursuing and utility maximization function within a free market economy, the notion of agent was originally, in neoclassical economic theory, equivalent to that of homo economicus.

A reframing of the concept appears in the work of John Von Neumann and Herbert Simon, two of the most influential thinkers for the development of AI, both economists engaged in the attempt to redefine neoclassical economics in more rigorous mathematical terms, as well as to model machines that could act rationally – i.e., that can pursue a specific goal through an optimal strategy.

In the 80s the notion was utterly reconceptualized by Marvin Minsky, who conceived agents as simple functions of human cognition in which mental processes could be separated. The disintegration of human cognition in simple functions paved the way for the emergence of contemporary AI models, whose aim is to reproduce and scale up different conceptualizations of human information processing functions. This genealogy underlines a process of increasing abstraction and modularization of human cognition for purposes of value production.

Finally, I will claim that, to be effective, contemporary AI models need to be continuously fed with human knowledge extracted from data work, the human labor of data labeling and output verification for AI models. Data work, mostly carried out within online platforms or by third-party suppliers located in the Global South, represents a form of labor through which human knowledge is used to train artificial agents via its epistemic reduction to the model categories. Thus, while potentially substituting humans in certain activities, the development of AI is also producing new labor practices, whose goal is to encode fragmented human knowledge in task-oriented machines.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, Data Work, Agent, Neoclassical Economics

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Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, Data Work, Agent, Neoclassical Economics

Miss

Lu Wang

This paper examines the formation and evolution of tech workers' mobility power in China's rapidly changing internet industry. Over the past decade, Chinese internet companies have experienced exponential growth followed by sharp stagnation, significantly impacting labour relations between tech workers and employers. The study focuses on the career and spatial mobility of Chinese tech workers as the industry expands from megacities to smaller urban centers. The research investigates two key questions: How do tech workers change jobs during booms and downturns in China's internet industry? How do tech workers achieve upward social mobility through downward spatial mobility?

Through an on-site internship and six months of fieldwork in Beijing and Chengdu, the author collected observational data and conducted interviews with 30 tech workers. Data

analysis using Atlas.ti software revealed two main findings: First, the abundant labour supply in China's market enables internet companies to absorb and dismiss tech workers at will, contributing to a "functional" employment regime favourable to capitalists. Second, tech workers strategically use spatial mobility to navigate the precarious labour market, despite limited job opportunities in the employment structure.

The study argues that skilled tech workers can develop mobility power during rapid growth phases, but this power weakens as the industry matures during economic downturns. Consequently, high labour mobility within the industry shifts from a signal of prosperity to one of precarity, and previously cooperative labour relationships quickly transform into a "functional" regime that allows companies to expand and contract flexibly with market fluctuations.

Furthermore, the geographical expansion of China's internet industry from megacities to emerging cities both replicates capitalist production modes and provides opportunities for tech workers to retreat from increasingly precarious labour markets in megacities. This translocation has formulated a technology community that spreads capitalist production and reproduction across larger geographical areas.

This research contributes to the field of digital labour studies by moving beyond the classic presumption of workers' collective actions and instead examining the agency of individualized technology workers through their mobility strategies. It highlights the complex interplay between industry dynamics, labour market conditions, and workers' career decisions in China's evolving tech sector.

Keywords: technological capital, tech workers, labour migration, labour control

Prolonged obsolescence in the global automotive industry: the cases of VW do Brasil and Škoda

Luis Cortés

The discussion on technology and automation in Marxism sidelines the fact that outdated productive methods have been extended and prolonged in different historical moments. This presentation brings the problem of obsolescence to the fore through the divergent trajectories of two Volkswagen subsidiaries amid the global transition toward electromobility – VW do Brasil and Škoda.

The presentation will start from a specific historical timeframe (between 1974 and 1982) in which there is evidence that VW do Brasil operated with outdated technology sent from the German headquarters as foreign direct investment. Drawing on the theoretical developments from Marx referred to relative surplus value and to the determination of the socially necessary labour time that establishes the exchange value of a commodity, the possibility of a productive process that can be sustained over time profitably becomes at

least suspicious. It is explained how the extraordinary surplus value appropriated through ground rent from Brazil's natural resource monopoly and the superexploitation of labour. Škoda, the Czech subsidiary of Volkswagen, is able to successfully integrate into the German-dominated European automotive sector through its lower-cost labor, but without relevant transfers from natural resource ground rent. The comparison aims to criticize the explanation of this phenomenon in the Latin American dependency theory only through superexploitation, showing how ground rent as a social relation has a determinant role in indirectly enabling industrialization under backward conditions in the region. Instead, Škoda reveals the integration as a differentiated working class in an internationalized production process, whereas South American countries keep in place a local production through indirect compensation mechanisms.

The use of depreciated fixed capital — discarded machinery and equipment — embodies how uneven development is an expression of global capital accumulation. This challenges the notion of industrial modernization in South American economies and highlights the interests of European and US capitals in it.

Keywords: Automobile - Technology - Obsolescence - Relative surplus value - Fixed Capital - Volkswagen - Industrialization

Pre Doc

Luisa Gehriger

This paper reflects on a research project on political alienation in two cases of housing dispossession in Basel and Athens. It firstly analyses difficulties within approaches that associate alienation with either a subjective or collective experience of fragmentation or suffering. Basis on this reflection, the paper revitalizes a dialectical understanding of alienation that highlights the connection of economic exploitation, polit-economic domination, and political subjectivation. Analyzing how property regimes within housing structure subjective or collective experience of tenants and vice versa, the paper argues against the backdrop of rising right populisms for additional research on the interconnection of economic exploitation and class-based political domination, structuring the formation of public discourse and (collective) subjectivation processes in contestations around housing.

Keywords: Alienation, dispossession, domination, tenants.

Metabolic Interactions' in Whale Oil and Oil Wells - Looming Technological Shifts in 'Lighting the World'

Lukas Geiszler

One core dimension relevant for understanding the genealogy – and conceiving passageways out – of today's ecological predicament, disambiguated by the term 'Capitalocene' (Malm/Hornborg, 2014; Moore, 2015), are qualitative changes in the societal relations to nature, and specifically between animals and technology. Even taxa that do not fit into categories like "livestock" or concepts like "companion species" (Haraway, 2003; 2008) find themselves dissolved and/or recruited into those lethal and destructive ecological dynamics formed by the capitalist mode of the "metabolic interaction between man and nature" (Marx, 1867/1976: p. 290; Foster, 2000). Whales, as 'wildlife'-animals, are frequently conceived as having been relieved of imminent extinction due to the market-driven development of petrochemical products, functionally having replaced whale-oil and whalebone (Haines, 2010; McCollough/Check, 2010; Gustafsson, 2012; Reamer, 2022). Today's perception as charismatic megafauna (Burnett, 2012) stands in contrast to centuries of commercial and industrial whaling (Melville, 1851; Gordon, 2004; Roberts, 2007). While the exploitation of the fat tissues of whales, extracted through "pericapitalist salvage accumulation" (Tsing, 2015: p. 63), did not cease abruptly with kerosene and combustion engines (Burnett, 2010), their supposed reprieve ended with the current oceanic realities of a planet in climate crisis. As of late, their dwindling numbers led to investigating how to synthesize whale faeces for stimulating deep sea biodiversity and carbon dioxide sequestration (Vaughan, 2022; Baltas et al., 2023).

In my paper, firstly, I want to question the understanding of technological development as alleviating relations between capitalist societies and nature, by reflecting on the chequered history of whales and whaling. Secondly, I aim to further investigate the 'human-animal' component of the "Capitalocene", beyond atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations. Finally, I want to consider for open question whether and how, from a(n) (Eco-)Marxist standpoint (Winner, 1986/1989; Saitō, 2023), "metabolic interaction" necessarily entails technological domination of nature.

Keywords: Philosophy of Technology - Animals & Technology - Climate Crisis

Big Tech, mercancy production and the class struggle

Marianna Haug and Débora Araújo Costa

In the neoliberal phase of capital accumulation that we are currently experiencing, Big Techs are the largest companies in the world in terms of capital concentration and stock market appreciation, such as Amazon, Apple, Meta, Microsoft, Nvidia and Alphabet Inc. This is an unprecedented concentration of power, generating large monopolies that reorganize the distribution of labor, with great porosity for entry into the most varied markets. In this scenario, we must ask ourselves: what makes them so powerful? And what can we do, as working class, in the face of this?

To answer this question, we need to return to Marx and understand the concept of expanded capital accumulation and the processes of value transfer from the global South to the global North in the face of the capture of extraordinary surplus value, which is what we intend to do in the article and presentation. Furthermore, there is a debate about whether or not Big Techs are producing mercancy from the mined data that is auctioned in programmatic advertising on their social networks, so that this would allow the opening of new spaces of value appreciation.

Since Big Techs are generally linked to digital platforms that are capable of capturing our data, there is a great debate about the role of the so-called “cyberariat” in the production of this information and this potential new commodity. Knowing that social networks can mediate a large part of our daily relationships, and that this mediation also involves data capture, we also intend to debate the impact of moving issues that would otherwise be outside the networks to these platforms and how this impacts the class struggle.

Keywords: Big Techs, technology, commodity, surplus value, cybernetics, social networks

Carbon Capture and Storage: The Cost and Coordination Motives Behind State Involvement

Marko Mann

This presentation examines the growth of Carbon Capture, Use, and Storage (CCUS) technology in policies addressing global warming through a critical political economy lens, particularly with regards to the pivotal role of the state in its deployment. Applying the Entrepreneurial State (Mazzucato, 2015) and Derisking State (Gabor, 2023) frameworks, we illustrate how the state plays a central function to the deployment of CCUS, not only through direct investment and de-risking but also, perhaps more significantly, as an agent of coordination in this emerging market. The evidence presented suggests that CCUS is an effort to ecologically modernize production that can be a source of profit generation for capitalists, but not without a strong helping hand by the state. We examine its role in coordinating the deployment of CO₂ value chains - covering capture, transport, utilization, and storage - to illustrate how corporate interests and state power collaborate, potentially facilitating the emergence of a green accumulation regime. Our findings reveal that Oil and

Gas (O&G) firms are leveraging Storage as a Service within new business models, suggesting that CCUS is showing potential for a novel accumulation avenue for fossil capitalists. The study also explores why industrial polluters favour CCUS over other emission reduction methods, finding that CCUS minimizes sunk costs and more importantly, stranded assets by allowing for the retrofitting of capture modules onto existing production infrastructure. This appears to be key in managing the risk related to the phasing out of polluting activity and capital devaluation in the transition. The research concludes that CCUS's growing importance in the climate crisis involves complex interactions between numerous actors with diverging interests, at the centre of which state institutions and capitalist interests intersect. As CCUS is developing as an example of an industry designed to restore the environment as anticipated by J. O'Connor in 1991, this study illustrates a concrete instance of green capitalism as a technology (and finance) - led accumulation regime.

Keywords: Carbon Capture, Green Capitalism, Technology, Climate, Fossil Capitalism, State, Profit, Techno-optimism, Business as usual

We are not data: an analysis of representation, production, and resistance

Matthew Alexander

How can we think about labor, life, and data in the age of so-called “artificial intelligence?” This paper seeks to disentangle the relationship between these three things, to provide analytical clarity for those working to resist the subsumption of all forms of life into datafied representation. Dominant approaches in critical data studies argue that the profit models of Big Tech are based on the expropriation and exploitation of the data created by the users of these platforms and technologies. I understand the attraction and rhetorical value of this framing, presenting us—the users—as the unjustly dispossessed creators of digital value. However, I argue that this analysis is already captured by the epistemologies of Big Tech, accepting too many assumptions about the nature of data and circumscribing our responses within a framework of property rights and consumer resistance. My aim in this paper is to establish the separation of data and activity, actual as well as analytical, and identify the production process, and what this means for critical theory and strategy. The first section attempts to establish life and data as separate material flows, in a non-representational relationship linked by capitalist forms of knowledge. In the second section, I outline the production process of data flows. Finally, I argue that this framing requires us to rethink our strategies of resistance: data capitalism must be contested at its material base of production. Technology exists in the real world, is produced by labor in the real world, and has real relationships of ownership and control. I argue that the fight must

be for a neo-luddite assertion of collective control over the incentives and direction of technological development.

Keywords: Data, representation, technology, resistance, neo-Luddism

The Need for a Return of Utopias in Politics

Megi Popova

After the end of the Cold War, "the end of history" was declared. Although the scientific community did not take this statement seriously, the assessment of the "end of history" became part of the political practice of most of the "catching up" countries: countries that until recently were on the other side of the Iron Curtain - including Bulgaria. It turned out that the logic of only chasing and catching up within the political sphere is not a functional political horizon. The utopian as a horizon, as a regulative ideal of society that is never reached, dissolved into the notion of "the other place" - heterotopia. This place is attainable and is usually referred to by the geopolitical term "the West." However, the political reality we observe after 35 years of residing in a state of "after the end of history" shows otherwise: the very blissful place of the Western world is being shaken by different crisis. The thesis I commit to and aim to argue in this presentation is that these crises are caused by the lack of utopia. This need is being filled by different forms of the return of metaphysics and the transcendent in different forms: the most striking of these is the return of nationalisms and fake populisms. Such a trend has been diagnosed within mainstream political analysis as a 'crisis of liberal democracy'. But does the state after the end of history - the residence in the module of improvement of liberal democracy, which has deprived us of utopian consciousness, cause this crisis?

The normative thesis of this presentation is that the elegant way to overcome these crises is the return of the utopian to politics. Utopia today, first and foremost, must be resistance to the lack of an alternative (TINA).

Keywords: utopia, resistance, alternative, politics, crisis, critical theory

The subject of law in front of information technologies: considerations for a critique of ideology

Murilo Amadio

In book III of *The Capital*, Marx highlighted capital's preference for piecework wages as a method of remuneration. In addition, Marx predicted that, gradually, capitalist society would implement this work system throughout its production practices.

In this sense, it is with the consolidation of post-Fordism and information technologies that it becomes possible to observe the materialization of Marx's prediction. The transition from one mode of accumulation to another, from Fordism to post-Fordism, does more than highlight the precariousness of the workforce, it makes the contractualization of society spread and take root, in the sense, of course, of sophisticating the process of subsuming labor to capital. According to Marcus Orione, who extends the Marxian contribution, today we see the crystallization of the hyper-real subsumption of labor to capital.

This article is set in the context of transformation - informed by technology - of labor relations. Based on Evgeny Pachukanis' critique of the legal form and within the framework of dialectical historical materialism, the research aims not only to open up perspectives on the reception of law to the new modes of accumulation, but also to add to this discussion elements for the critique of ideology, in the sense of demonstrating the main ideological discourses that structure the capitalist use of information technology.

To this end, the article sets out the Marxian diagnosis of the transformations of employment relationships and their operational modalities in order to achieve higher rates of surplus value.

Next, the discussion is restricted to the critique of labor law and the process of hyper-real subsumption of labor to capital, a structuring form of the new mode of accumulation, in which the mediation of labor relations by technology stands out.

Finally, the article articulates elements of the theory of ideology to demonstrate how legal ideology is articulated to welcome this new facet of the subjects of law: now crossed and deformed by technology.

Keywords: Subject of rights; Ideology; Labor relations; Information technologies.

AI, 'Creativity', and Options for Refusal

Nancy Salem

The emergence of Generative AI technologies presents a range of implications for labour markets, affecting both demand for and value of cultural and creative labour. This paper examines the production of an AI and 'creativity' discourse by state, corporate, and

university actors through research programs, funding opportunities, teaching modules and cross-sectoral initiatives. As I will argue, this AI creativity discourse reframes the emergence of Generative AI as a question of aesthetic quality and capacity for computational creativity that should be recognised and celebrated. Further, in this reframing, industry and educational programmes suggest that workers should rethink themselves as creative ‘collaborators’ to technology, adapting their practices to accommodate this corporate appropriation. This runs from gig workers who are encouraged to pivot from writing, editing, and design tasks to become ‘prompt engineers’, and a broader demand for creative practitioners to defend, retrain or upskill their practice vis a vis an imagined computational creativity. Drawing on fieldwork conducted with photographers, photojournalists and their professional associations, I discuss their response to this creativity discourse and effect of generative AI technologies in their field. I discuss how a discourse of AI creativity leads workers to organise around a discursive battle of human vs. machine creativity and agency, deflecting action from initiatives that focus on refusal or a regulated deployment of AI models (Minotakis and Faras, 2024) that were built on the theft of their creative work. As Bueno et al., argue, the question should be ‘where’ creativity is, not ‘what’ creativity is (2024) A materialist analysis can provide a long view of the generative AI value chain, from the invisibilized labour in AI that include practices from data annotation to moderation (Newlands, 2021) and practices of model training that alienate workers from their work.

Keywords: Generative AI, Creative Sector, Refusal

Surveillance in Education: A look at the increasing interaction of technology speak in Indian politics

Niharika Singh

In 2019, the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) government in New Delhi installed CCTV cameras inside classrooms and in the halls of the public schools. In 2020, some of the same schools were in the process of installing facial recognition technologies (FRT). In the privacy rights regime, both incidents were condemned for their violation of the privacy of minors, the confused legality in data collection and use, the inaccuracy of the outgoing feed, and, of course, unjustified surveillance. The studies, though, did not look enough into the social composition of public schools, the caste and class locations of the students (primarily lower and lower middle-class income households), and the rhetoric used by the party leader, Arvind Kejriwal. In his speech, Kejriwal promised a live feed of the classrooms to the families and guardians. A key study here is the social values attached to surveillance technology intervention when rights of surveillance are shared by an alliance of schools, the state, and parents. A politically motivated morality was attached to the digital

intervention, which leads to my research question: What is the relationship between digital technical infrastructure, politics, and political action, especially in sectors such as education and institutional care of children? I do not wish to limit it to an understanding of surveillance but rather to question the political perception of transparency and how it retools politics of secrecy.

The breakdown of the universal imagination of digital technology into affective fragments as it enters the territory of the south is central to my research. By South, I am following AbdouMalik Simone and Edgar Pieterse whose definition I utilise as cities where the majority holds political, economic, spatial and ecological vulnerability. I add that this precarity has come about by geo historical processes of colonialism and globalising capitalism. The postcolonial narrative of technology is focused on the political intent of these technologies, giving them a spectacular nature (Nandy, 1988). Another study on healthcare suggests that postcolonial societies have an oscillating attitude towards technology (RR, 2021); this is so because the philanthropic models to introduce technological interventions in healthcare, medicine, telecommunication, and the internet promote a short-term welfare model for a long-term profit-driven agenda. In the midst of these understandings, I attempt to trace the transformation of digital technologies as they look at gender and young adults in the urban city. I look at how policy, intervention, political speech and infrastructure influence and create a machinic assemblage of the social and economic life of institutional care.

A second inquiry is to analyse the tug between access and the modified manner of accessing digital technologies. Much like Gautam Bhan's work on southern urban practice, where he acknowledges that the challenges in the urban geographies of the global south cannot be considered by the methods designed in authoritative literature and canon, I similarly wish to take these conundrums as a serious aspect of the technology of the moving peripheries of the south. I question: What are the theoretical conditions, methods, and practices that make the theory of the technology of the south?

In questioning the potential of a theory of the technology of the South, I am asking in what ways is technology reproducing and being actively subjectivized by the social and political conditions pertinent to the South? What role do desire, repair, and rediscovery play in the intensification of these digital surveillance technologies in the mundane lives of people in the city? And how does it transform citizenship and public participation in a democratic society?

Keywords: digital technology, education, surveillance

Ms

Nihira

Marx's argument that it is not the cotton but the capital generated from a factory that interests the capitalist holds true for digital economies. It is not the service provided or the 'gig' enabled but the value derived from it that interests employers/investors today. It is in this context that I want to present the research I produced on the extraction of not only value from digital labour but also their transformation into customers and 'micro-entrepreneurs' in India. While the flows of capitalism manage a person under the logic of labour, digitalization masks this relationship by atomising a worker into exactly what they are not: a entrepreneur. In India this is an increasingly big social, political and economic challenge that the process of digitalisation imposes on the prospect of labour power because it fragments social connection between workers, weakens political movements by individualising collective experiences, and dilutes the economic position of people by peeling away few 'benefits' (like social security) of traditional employment won through the strength of socio-political struggles. It makes these hard-won concessions seem like a distant goalpost and diverts our attention to re-attaining them. The current moment demands the unmasking of the real power dynamics of digital labour in relation to capital. My research does this also by making clear that platform services in India are closer to informal labour with no contractual protections for workers especially when it comes to firing by 'ID blocking' the workers profile. I have for long felt that in India, we ignore exactly how digital markets entrench pre-existing hierarchies like caste. Nor do we discuss the impact of such already existing concentrations of power. What does it mean when a caste of Dalit Bengali Muslims forced into low-wage, undignified work are migrant workers being 'booked' as domestic cleaners by someone clicking buttons on an app? This technological relationship of instant service manifesting in the very real territory of feudal servant-like standing surely furthers long-questioned ethical dilemmas in many contexts. What does it mean when a single mother struggling to put food on the table is given two-stars by someone who felt entitled to obedience and was refused such as an act of protest? My report also highlights this dimension of resistance and its consequences in the country.

Keywords: Digital labour, india, gig work

Shaping AI Narratives: Polarisation, Industry Influence, and Resistance in France (2012–2022)

Panos Tsimpoukis, Nikos Smyrnaiois

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Ever since the launch of ChatGPT, there has been a tremendous buzz in the public sphere regarding the applications of artificial intelligence (AI), the potential risks it poses to society, and the advantages it offers. In France, debates around AI have unfolded against a backdrop of rapid technological development and government initiatives, such as the “France AI” strategic plan, which aimed to position the country as a global leader in AI.

Our research explores how public discourse around AI has evolved in France from 2012 to 2022. By analyzing 24,055 French press articles and 3,599,000 X posts, we found a major shift in media discourse during 2017–2018, following the announcement of the “France AI” strategic plan. This moment saw a surge in media coverage and the diversification of actors, including Big Tech, the French government, and the defense sector, alongside increased attention to themes such as AI geopolitics and ethics. Simultaneously, X platform witnessed the emergence of lobbyists, consultants, and influencers who prioritised AI applications and economic potential.

From 2021 onward, a polarisation is observed in the press and on X, with new actors criticizing concrete AI applications such as facial recognition. This criticism was linked to the 2021 Global Security Law, which allowed police live-feed access to body cameras and drone footage. Left-wing political actors, activists as well as conspiracy theorists, voiced concerns about surveillance and data misuse.

Overall, our research highlights the dominance of narratives of the Big Tech oligopoly, which develop AI technologies and applications and influence media agenda-setting around these applications, and those of the government and the European Union, which use AI as a lever for economic growth and technological sovereignty. However, dominant technology ideologies are challenged by the emergence of contesting narratives, which originate from social groups struggling against exploitative AI applications.

Keywords: AI, facial recognition, contesting discourses

Mr

Paul Geyer

Subscription Subjects of the world (pay and), unite! A new point of resistance in the digital world

In recent years, subscription services on social media have grown in their presence. The boldest attempt at this is Elon Musk's thrusting of the subscription services onto X (formerly known as Twitter). However, Meta has recently announced an interesting development for EU users. They have stated that for those who subscribe to their ad-free experience: if a person chooses to subscribe, they won't see ads and we will not process their information for personalised advertising" (Meta 2023). Meta has developed this in an attempt to keep up with EU law. A useful question to ask is, what would happen to the advertisement industry if all users subscribed to the Meta? In essence, what would happen to social media if data was not sold to advertisers? The data-collection model that often defines our understanding of social media seems to have a point of crisis. In essence, there is a developing part of social media that utilises a fee instead of data as the main source of economic stimulation. Therefore, from a point of resistance, what would it mean if all EU users of Meta bought a subscription? This abstract intends to investigate this new role of resistance that EU users of Meta potential have as they now occupy more directly a line of economic stimulation, and from a point of collectivisation, there is a universal connection that runs throughout all these users. In essence, this paper will investigate the new political and economic influence subscription subjects have over the subscription side of Meta.

Keywords: Social Media, Resistance, Subscription Services, Data

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Keywords: Social Media, Subscription Services, Resistance, Technology, Digital

Big Babies: The Infantilization of Everyday Life

Peter Bratsis and Kristin Lawler

Our contemporary world of digitized, Fordist, capitalism has transformed modern adulthood into a never-ending childhood. We speak in baby terms (google, yahoo), we sit on high chairs in restaurants, we dress as perpetual teenagers, we play video games on a daily basis, we are fixated on comic books and super-hero movies, and we go to Disney World for our honeymoons. Tellingly, the proto-fascist right rides to power on a wave of publics crying out for a strong, austere, and authoritarian “daddy.”

Perhaps most importantly, we have lost much of our capacity to think for ourselves, to make things, and to have mastery over our everyday lives. We have become dependent on capitalist technologies for remembering directions in the cities and towns we grew up in as well as the phone numbers of our friends and family, we don't know how to fix and repair household items, how to deal with our lives and anxieties without recourse to therapists and life coaches, and even cooking our own meals or making something as simple as a coffee have become replaced by automation and delivery services. Much like children, we have lost our ability to navigate the world around us without constant assistance, supervision, and guidance. And yet, unlike children, we lack the vitality to imagine and to play, our so-called “leisure” time utterly subsumed by the blasé equivalence of the endless scroll, during which we train the algorithm precisely to make us less creative.

Our capacity for autonomy is being fracked and sold back to us, isolating us, infantilizing us, and stripping us of the kind of collective subjectivity necessary for any real opposition to this alienation. This paper will examine this tendency toward infantilization of digitized capitalism, attending to the way in which both schooling and Christianity prepare the ground for it, as well as to the kinds of strategies necessary for us to reclaim our capacities to imagine, to create, and to act.

Keywords: Alienation, Attention Economy, Infantilization

A.I., Workers, and the Politics of the Left and Right

Robert Latham

This paper starts from the observation that the right has already begun to politicize A.I. development, reaching workers in the global north, as a way to attack the left and as a means to appropriate critiques of A.I. (e.g., regarding its implications for the further exploitation of workers by large corporations, the concern of the right rather than capitalism, per se). The ethical issues of A.I. (surveillance, privacy, algorithmic bias) are part of the right's critique (even if one dismisses the orientation as superficial). In what ways does this political development affect the prospects that the left has for building modes of resistance around the ways A.I. and robotics challenges the working class and social and political life? Central to these prospects, and the pathway of development on the right, is the changing nature of capitalism's relationship to the left and right. That relationship, in turn, will be shaped by whether economic transformations associated with A.I. and robotics are anchored in individual corporate decisions, tied where necessary to state policies, or in potential capitalist macro transnational governance regimes yet to be fully established (regimes that might address the relationship between national workforces, migration, political formations, and social reproduction more broadly). In the end, the prospects (which remain real) for building and sustaining genuine forms of resistance will depend on multiple factors.

Keywords: A.I., robotics, politics, left, right, working class, exploitation, resistance, transnational capitalism corporate power

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The dead labor of dead actors: A.I. implementation in the film industry, and resistances to automation and autonomization

Saad Chassot (author)

Through the last technological advancements, dead actors are brought back to life on screen, and scenarios write themselves in a few seconds. This revolution, allowed only by the recent developments in Artificial intelligence, was not met very well by those whose past work fueled it and were now threatened to be replaced by the machine they fed, materializing in claims and demonstrations of the SAG-AFTRA strike of 2023. Reaching spaces until then left untouched by mechanization, this moment sheds light on an underestimated aspect of productive and social structure: the technology surrounding us and its evolutions.

A.I. appears in this context as the next big step in the mechanization and automatization of labor: this move in favor of the ruling capitalist class does not go without bringing contestation from the working class. But is this just a novel version of a recurring historical and social phenomenon of technological advancement, or does it wield larger consequences on the structure surrounding labor and production?

According to Marx's analysis of the transmutation of living labor into dead labor by accumulation at the hands of the capitalist class and the mechanization of production, this phenomenon can be seen as an extension of this transmutation; however, this article will also argue that this technological revolution reconfigures the structure of labor in terms of autonomization of the mean of production, which profits the capitalist entrepreneur equally. This two-faced nature convokes specific manifestation in the resistance they generate among the work force, which can be seen in similar historical events. Ultimately, it aims at demonstrating that AI as a technological evolution demonstrates aspects of both

autonomization and automation, which favors the capitalist ruling class and is in capacity to generate large structural changes in the composition and social identity of the working class.

Keywords: Automation; productive structures; autonomization; labor; artificial intelligence; technology.

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Keywords: Automation; productive structures; autonomization; labor; artificial intelligence; technology.

doctoral student

Sarah Durkee

The technology we create serves to both enhance and endanger our human experience. The rapid advance of technology over the past several decades has thrust us into a digital age that prompts the question of our immersion in and reliance on technology. I aim to investigate the dilemma that humanity's engagement with technology poses to our reason.

My paper, "Where is Enlightenment?" examines Kant's conception of enlightenment and questions, due to technological advancement, if it is conceivable in our present day. Kant argued that enlightenment requires the freedom of public discourse, where ideas can be openly contested through debate. I refer to Jürgen Habermas' work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, to clarify the space Kant outlined and its role in enlightenment. Yet in our current day, where do we see this public sphere—where is enlightenment? My paper analyzes whether the current digital landscape, especially with the internet and online communication platforms, realizes or undermines Kant's vision of a public sphere that nurtures enlightenment.

While recent technological developments appear to have dramatically expanded our forums for sharing and debating ideas, I argue that the space for digital communication is incompatible with the conditions Kant saw as essential for enlightenment. I define this digital space as the cyber realm. Through comparison, the cyber realm exposes itself as the failure to artificially produce the public sphere Kant argues for. The cyber realm reflects not an expansion of the public sphere Kant envisioned, but a distortion of it.

My paper illustrates how current communication platforms erode the depth of human interaction and reasoning essential for enlightenment to take hold. Ultimately, I conclude that online spaces for discourse ultimately fail to facilitate and in fact harm enlightenment—both in the cyber realm and the world beyond our screens.

Keywords: enlightenment, technology, Kant, cyber realm

Making Labour - The Retroactive Production of Generative AI

Sebastião Quelhas Freire

Large language models (LLMs) and generative AI in general make use of the digital common - i.e. the collected recorded linguistic and cultural production on the internet - as a new condition of production in the form of training data. This digital common is rendered productive through the new and still evolving mechanisms of machine learning.

However, the activities that went on to make these data in the first-place bear scrutiny. If data is now understood as an economic object - evidenced by the contemporary debates on assetisation and digital rentierism - the user activity that produced it in the first place is still not always considered an economic activity. This is a question that still animates the debate on digital labour which is still divided into how data-producing activity, both waged and unwaged, can be understood as part of the process of value production in digital capitalism.

The following paper proposes a marxist framework to understand the location of unwaged user activity in the processes of valorisation of digital capitalism through the notions of the gratuitous forces capital appropriates and the distinction between productive and unproductive labour. In order to do so, I make use of Marxist thought to argue that activities that are not necessarily productive labour can nonetheless become productive for capital.

As such, first, departing from an analysis of the recent partnership between Reddit and OpenAI, I explain the features of the political economy of generative AI and how it differs from the modes of valorisation associated with the surveillance economy.

Second, I isolate unwaged immaterial human activity from other conceptualizations of digital labour, in order to pinpoint how data is also created outside of a capital-labour relation.

Third, I highlight Marx's notions of nature and cooperation as free gifts for capital. Following, I highlight how fixed capital in machinery also provides a free service for capital by rendering living labour more productive. Concomitantly, I discuss how Marx argues that unproductive labour can be retroactively turned into productive labour and how this too can be framed as a free gift for capital.

Finally, I argue that this theoretical framework helps understand how the rendering of past data into an economic object requires a conceptualisation of past human activity as being capable of being retroactively made into labour. This, I conclude, is necessary for a proper understanding of the political economy of generative AI.

Keywords: Generative AI, Marx, productive and unproductive labour, big data, immaterial labour

Amazon's Mechanical Turk: An interface to the expert of the future

Simos Kalfas

"It is well-known that an automaton once existed, which was so constructed that it could counter any given move of a chess-player with a counter-move, and thereby assure itself of victory in the match." As it turned out, the automaton, which was made to look like a man wearing a Turkish attire, was inhabited by a person who, being an expert player, produced the impossible for the time illusion. In fact, it is almost certain that multiple such experts inhabited the machine in the years it was touring the fairs. Despite that, the secret was not revealed until after it was retired. Almost 100 years after Walter Benjamin penned his reference to the 18th century marvel at the very beginning of his famous Theses, Amazon evoked the same historical artefact to name of one of its most profitable current services. The platform allows one to assign the task of training and tuning an AI system (such as an instance of chatGPT for a specific commercial purpose) to a host of decentralised experts around the world. A typical example of such a task consists of labeling instances of data or censoring and tweaking individual responses to prompts that have been flagged as misaligned to the preferred ones. The precariousness of this work, along with its menial nature, challenges the traditional perceptions around expertise and knowledge authority, alienating the labouring experts, while at the same time increasing the demand for such qualifications. As part of a wider project on the relation of AI with knowledge, this talk aims to discuss the effects recent modes of mediation have had on the historical forms of expert labour, through the presentation of some aspects of the material processes involved in the training and alignment of deep learning models.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, Mechanical Turk, Amazon, Intercafe, Expert, Alignment

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Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, Mechanical Turk, Expertise, Labour, Knowledge

Should the left support nuclear energy?

Stefan Aleksić

In recent decades, the left has been identified as a political force that generally does not support nuclear energy. And this should be contributed to several reasons. However, my argument is that the left should turn its support toward nuclear energy as the only viable source of carbon free baseload energy.

In my presentation, I will argue why the left should at least reconsider its support for nuclear energy. I base my argument on several points: nuclear energy is necessarily international, it is utopian as it promises abundance and emancipation from limited energy sources, and it is necessarily collective endeavor. Nuclear energy also is - for the workers - much better option as it offers structurally better bargaining power to workers due to its robust supply chain, that stands in sharp contrast with so called sustainable sources of energy that are very prone to leaning of the production process and its supply chains.

But most of all I base my argument on its economical properties: nuclear technology is necessarily complex and collective endeavor thus also being necessarily socialised industry - providing a very interesting road for the forces of the "left" in reappropriating both economy and the state. Not suprisingly, nuclear energy was, as it is one of two most complex technology mastered by the human race, a collective endeavor (as is any science).

Also, let's not forget that the reason why nuclear energy has had its downfall was (arguably) because of neoliberalism and its privileging of private investments over state investments - which is why I also believe that this is precisely why the fall in nuclear energy development coincided with neoliberalism.

Of course, technology development always happens in a certain political-economic context, so recent advancements in nuclear technologies - namely technology of small modular reactors - has made progress in precisely circumventing this. To put it simply, SMRs are being developed precisely because they allow for leaning of supply chain and enable private investments in this field (which is something that is already happening).

But the left's answer should not be rejection of nuclear technologies, but rather struggle to resocialise it and reappropriate it.

Keywords: Nuclear technologies, nuclear energy

The Nature Mystification

Tatiana Fernández

Fascism claims a national community that, as a product of its history, is linked to the land of its birth. To this end, it invokes a natural purity that has been corrupted. This natural purity is hidden in the rural way of life of the national community. The purpose of fascism is the rebirth of the natural purity of the national community. In the famous triad of the productive forces of capital developed by Marx, Lefebvre reminds Marxist theory that there are in fact three, not two: "land, capital and labor forces. The oblivion of the Marxist critique of space, of land, has created an explanatory void that Lefebvre has been able to illuminate in a vast literature of more than 70 books. Through Lefebvre's theory, we will understand how every nation has its origins in what Marx described as primitive capitalism. After the establishment of the free market, every nation will need the conformation of a competitive national market. The national market will understand the whole territory in logistical terms. From the 19th century onward, what is known as "second nature" would be born, destroying the essence of nature to give rise to an automated and market-dependent nature.

Keywords: Lefebvre, Nation, Fascism, Nature, Land, Rural Life

Artificial Intelligence, the Corporate University and the Capture of the General Intellect

Tony Iantosca

Artificial Intelligence has been rigorously investigated, with some examining the social-historical roots of AI (Pasquinelli 2023), others applying a political-economic lens to the topic (Butollo & Nuss 2022), and still others emphasizing its roots in exploitation and extractivist politics while indicating communist horizons for its potential use (Into the Blackbox 2023). A parallel body of scholarship has conceptualized the modern university as a site of capitalist production rather than simply part of the cycle of capitalist reproduction (Harney & Moten 1999, 2013; Giroux 2014). Here I synthesize these two lines of research by studying how the corporate university simultaneously mobilizes and captures specific subjectivities (Lordon 2010), formatting their dispositions in the process (Lazzarato 2015). In this way, educational institutions take for granted an economized biopolitical subject whose features are nearly identical to the “ideal” forms of life assumed, mobilized and captured by artificial intelligence. Considering the tendency towards the real subsumption of all society (Negri 2003), I claim that what some call *neuropower* (Stiegler 2019; Neidich 2024) has been developed to consolidate and control the circuits of knowledge that constitute what Marx originally termed the general intellect, a source of potential antagonism (Marx 1993; Virno 2004). This mutation in capitalist power is the most recent of techniques to manage the unpredictable potential that labor power always entails (Iantosca 2024). From this perspective, the long history of assessments and corporate audit culture that have infused North American universities are a subset of a generalized epistemological battle that assumes and produces calculable, abstractable and optimized forms of life, mystifications beyond those first identified in Marx’s characterizations of the commodity form (Marx 1978). I close by calling for a renewed engagement with the transindividual potentials of the general intellect, which, far from leading to a “natural” antagonism, must be radically politicized.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence; Corporate University; General Intellect; Forms of Life; Capture

Algorithmic Governmentality and the Nomos of The Air: Conflicts and Power within the Theoy of Drone

Valerio Specchio

This paper explores the relationship between algorithmic governmentality, Carl Schmitt's Nomos of the Earth, and Grégoire Chamayou’s theory of drones, focusing on how power and conflict are shaped by artificial intelligence (AI). At the core of this discussion is the

idea that AI systems are not just tools but are actively involved in governing and controlling our lives, changing the way power operates in modern societies.

Algorithmic governmentality refers to the idea that algorithms—systems of rules used by computers to make decisions—are increasingly responsible for how societies are managed. This concept expands on the work of philosopher Michel Foucault, who studied how governments control populations. Today, algorithms, through technologies like AI, help manage everything from our behaviors to our access to resources. These systems are often invisible and can be more powerful than traditional forms of government, since they shape our lives without us even realizing it.

Carl Schmitt's concept of *Nomos of the Earth* traditionally dealt with how territories and political power are structured, with an emphasis on physical land and borders. This paper adapts his ideas to think about a new kind of political space: the air. In today's world, control is increasingly exercised not only over land but also in the skies, especially with the rise of drone technology and AI systems. This shift in power from land to air creates a new kind of political order that is governed by algorithms rather than territorial boundaries. Grégoire Chamayou's work on drones also contributes to this analysis, as drones represent a new form of power and control. Drones, which are unmanned flying vehicles, enable surveillance and strikes from a distance, giving those in control a sense of omnipotence. In a similar way, AI systems used for surveillance and security today function like drones, allowing governments and corporations to monitor and control people from afar, without direct confrontation.

By combining these ideas, this paper looks at how AI technologies shape new forms of governance and conflict. It asks how algorithms, drones, and control of the airspace are redefining power structures and what this means for sovereignty, freedom, and the future of human society

Keywords: algorithmic governmentality, the Nomos of the Earth, Theory of the Drone, Cyber Warfare

Shifting East? U.S. Big Tech and AI-Driven Transformations in Eastern Europe

Vali Stan

Eastern Europe is emerging as a strategic hub for artificial intelligence (AI) innovation, driven partly by investments from U.S. tech giants such as Amazon, Alphabet, and Microsoft. Attracted by the region's untapped infrastructure capacity, labour market incentives, and energy resources, these firms are increasingly integrating Eastern Europe into their global AI operations. This paper examines how the three companies structure their AI investments and operations in the region, drawing on several Orbis databases and

business press coverage to analyse the geographic distribution of their corporate strategies, including AI-related subsidiaries, mergers and acquisitions of local AI start-ups, and relevant patent filings. The paper also explores financial data on revenue streams, operational costs, and expenditures on physical capital and research and development to understand how these firms leverage Eastern Europe's competitive advantages to increase their regional footprint while facilitating profit-shifting within their entangled global chains of wealth and value. These developments intersect with European Union debates on digital sovereignty and the risks of over-reliance on U.S. tech provision for critical AI infrastructure. By situating these dynamics within broader geopolitical and economic contexts, the paper illustrates Eastern Europe's dual role as an emerging AI node in the global AI ecosystem and a semi-peripheral region dependent on external technology, raising pressing questions about digital development, economic integration, and environmental sustainability.

Keywords: Big Tech; Eastern Europe; AI; development

Towards the recentralization of class struggle and proletarian negativity. Prerequisites for a Marxist theory of machines.

Vasileios-Panagiotis (Vasilis) Mitanis

The aim of this presentation is to expound, beginning with the Althusserian concept of the epistemological rupture and its dual character – both its non-bypassability and its structural incompleteness –, certain crucial aspects of Marx's late work, particularly regarding the first volume of *Capital*, in which it can be argued that the earlier, non-Marxist, Marxian philosophical problematic and its theoretical commitments resurface in a manner expressed through the reintroduction of teleological, essentialist, and economistic elements in Marx's articulation of the theory of machines.

In this framework, I will attempt to demonstrate how these elements converge into a tendency – inherent to *Capital* – to break away from the fundamental achievement of historical materialism as a science: the demonstration of the centrality of historicity, i.e., the elucidation of the decisive, continuous, and irreducible nature of class struggle and proletarian negativity.

Simultaneously, by examining the manifestations of this ahistorical tendency – specifically by discussing the problem of the "objectivist" (a term coined by Raniero Panzieri) representations of the productive forces, the substitution of class struggle by the "contradiction between the productive forces and relations of production", the question of causal directionality in their determination and Marx's affirmation of the singular and

unified nature of Capital's Denkprozess – it will be suggested that the path towards restoring the analytical potency of the Marxist theory of machines, especially in a historical context marked by an intensification of techno-fetishistic social representations, passes not merely through a theoretical update via the incorporation of a theory of logical machines, but, more importantly, through a potentially fruitful (albeit challenging) encounter between Althusserian Marxism and the tradition of Italian workerism, one which can recentralize both class struggle and proletarian negativity in an authentically materialistic and historical manner and, simultaneously, decisively undermine any notion of class neutrality regarding the production and implementation of capitalist technology.

Keywords: Marxist theory of machines, Althusserian "structuralism", technology, class war

AI in surveillance: preventive counterrevolution and governance models.

Zamile Kampa

The use of AI in surveillance is changing the way states exercise control over populations. So-called algorithmic surveillance introduces the possibility of processing huge amounts of data in an automated way (machine learning), so that mass surveillance of citizens becomes possible. At the same time, it changes the power relationship between the one who owns the data and the one who provides it, with or without consent, or as MARK ANDREJEVIC calls it, big data divide. Big data denotes the moment when automated forms of pattern recognition known as data analytics can catch up with automated forms of data collection and storage. In this paper, we are concerned with the use of artificial intelligence in public space video surveillance systems and how it leads to a model of proactive suppression. In the name of security, a fundamental political freedom is violated, but also a democratically guaranteed right, that of assembly. We can talk about a synchronised panopticon, but with one important distinction. Unlike Bentham's austerity, the AI introduces a direction of comprehensive and effective monitoring. From the symbolic monitoring of Bentham, we are led to a real monitoring. The above differentiates models of governance of capitalist states, their legal fortification, the form of repressive policy. In this paper, we are concerned with the use of artificial intelligence in public space video surveillance systems and how it leads to a model of proactive suppression. In the name of security, a fundamental political freedom is violated, but also a democratically guaranteed right, that of assembly. We can talk about a synchronised panopticon, but with one important distinction. Unlike Bentham's austerity, the AI introduces a direction of comprehensive and effective monitoring. From the symbolic monitoring of Bentham, we are led to a real monitoring. The above differentiates models of governance of capitalist states, their legal fortification, the form of repressive policy. The aim of this paper is to open questions in relation to the scheme of preventive counterrevolution and governance models.

Keywords: AI, surveillance, preventive counterrevolution, governance models.

Marxist Feminism, Gender and Sexuality Stream

From Protest to Provision: People's Kitchens as Spaces of Collectivised Social Reproduction and Resistance

Anna Verwey

In the context of capitalist food systems and urban activism, People's Kitchens emerge as self-organised spaces for food preparation and provision on a donation basis. While providing affordable meals, they address issues of collectivity and precarity by supporting protests through food provision and care. Under capitalism, food provision is framed as social reproductive labour and relegated to individuals and private households. By contrast, People's Kitchens collectivise social reproduction and disrupt the gendered socio-spatial structures underpinning capitalist social order. Rejecting charitable approaches, they emphasise solidarity, mutual aid, and experimentation with alternative food provision practices.

A key aspect of urban food commoning is the community's involvement in negotiating access, use, and responsibilities related to food and care. These principles align closely with the solidarity and collectivity foundational to People's Kitchens. Using Social Reproduction Theory, I examine the relationship between reproductive labour and the commons. From a feminist perspective, I explore the role of collective cooking in activism as a solidary alternative to capitalist provision structures. Drawing on ethnographic material from People's Kitchens within left activism in Germany, I highlight their feminist and political dimensions, transformative aspirations, and contributions to the urban food commons debate.

Keywords: cooking, care, activism, feminist, food commons

German Debate on Intersectionality and Marxist Criticism

Asmen Rojda Uruk

The discourse on intersectionality began in Germany in the 2000s, although debates on taking multiple discrimination into account began in the 1970s. Responsible for that are discussions from the (post-)68 student movement, which wanted to shatter Marxist universalism. The student movement distanced itself from the base and superstructure concept of Marxism. Reasons for the criticism from the student movement were prevailing dogmatic interpretations of Marxism, the Volker shock beginning as well as the 1970s, which created a pessimistic view on the revolution that led to delegate political responsibility only to politicians. Class struggle as a political strategy was gradually

abandoned; the aim was to find solutions with and through the involvement of marginalized people in institutions. During this time, the social sciences developed into the “>absolute primacy of the cultural< in which culture was declared to be a fundamental factor in the constitution of society” (Lucht/Steinrücke 2021, p. 86f). The result of this are classless analyses of inequality.

The German-Marxist criticism of intersectionality gained relevance in 2021. Two publications were in particular crucial for the emergence of intersectionality: First, the anthology 'The Diversity of Exploitation' by Bafta Sarbo and Eleonora Roldán Mendívil. Second, the magazine issue of Z (german: Z - Marxistische Erneuerungen) titled On the Critique of Intersectionalism, in which John Lütten and colleagues were challenging the concept of intersectionality. My Master thesis, which is published in renowned Springer publishing house, is an academic piece on the German Marxist criticism on the concept of intersectionality.

I argue that the results of a non-materialist-dialectical inequality analysis are essentialized identities which create the inability to act through towards societal and economic changes. Therefore, intersectional analyses rather lead to a system-preserving factor instead of being a driving force for political change within capitalist societies.

Keywords: Marxism, Feminism, Intersectionality

The Dialectics of Patriarchy and Capital: A Comparative Analysis of Social Reproduction in Greater China's Capitalist Development

Cheung Shui Yee, Kristen; Lau Pak To, Alex

The development of capitalism in modern China, including Hong Kong and Taiwan, presents a unique trajectory distinct from Western experiences, particularly in how patriarchal systems interface with capitalist relations. This paper examines how the patriarchal system in East Asia serves as a universal framework within which capitalism embeds itself, contrasting with Western development where capitalism reconstructs family structures to serve its logic of private property and social reproduction.

In Chinese historical development, the patriarchal system functioned as a prevalent social system for reproducing state power and economic production, especially in household production and peasant economies. The modernization and colonization of Greater China regions preserved and utilized this patriarchal system of womanhood and motherhood, with state and market forces providing social reproduction support to anchor family units during capitalist transition.

This research demonstrates that while Western patriarchy emerged through capital's penetration into family structures, Chinese capitalism developed through the universal patriarchal family's embedding into society. The paper analyzes three distinct manifestations of patriarchal capitalism across Greater China: Hong Kong's colonial-capitalist model, which used patriarchal family to push women into feminized labor markets while outsourcing reproductive labor; Taiwan's hybrid model, which maintains women within patriarchal families through social welfare while empowering them as "mothers of citizens"; and mainland China's state-socialist turned market-reform model, where state feminism and patriarchal capitalism combine to manage social reproduction and marketization.

The study argues that these variations in patriarchal capitalism across Greater China reveal how different historical conditions and state strategies produced distinct forms of social reproduction. In Hong Kong, colonial capitalism utilized Confucian patriarchy to create a feminized service economy. Taiwan developed a unique model balancing market forces with familial welfare support. Mainland China established a state-managed patriarchal-capitalist system that effectively maintains social stability amid rapid economic development.

This analysis is particularly relevant given rising tensions in the Taiwan Strait and Greater China's growing global significance. Understanding these distinct patriarchal-capitalist formations provides crucial insight into potential internal crises and social movements that may emerge.

Keywords: Patriarchal Capitalism, Social Reproduction Greater China Neoliberal Feminism, State-Market Dynamics, State and Family, Gendered Labor, Colonial Capitalism, Confucian Patriarchy

Dr

Christos Marneros

Beyond the Law and the Outlaws: The case of Rote Zora

The radical feminist, urban guerrilla group Rote Zora (Red Zora) operated in West Germany between 1974-1995, being responsible for bombings and arsons aimed against those the group considered as ideological enemies – these 'enemies' were targeted because they were promoting and engaging in sexist practices and reactionary politics in order to maintain and extend the hegemony of the capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal

society of the West.

In this article, I argue that Rote Zora's militant feminist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist politics are compatible with an ethos which is (or should be) prevalent in anarchafeminist thinking and politics. To that extent, through an examination of Rote Zora's interviews, communiqués and actions, I want to highlight the importance that these texts may have in advancing and enriching an militant feminist theory and practice that can fight any form of oppression coming both from the apparent enemies (the law, patriarchy the state, capitalism, the police) and from the enemy within (any tendencies of domination and/or the neglect of certain groups and sensitivities within radical groups themselves).

Keywords: Rote Zora; Urban Guerrilla; West Germany; Militant Feminis

Egg Freezing and Social Reproduction: An Analysis of Women's Labour, Neoliberalism, and Maternity in Spain

Clara Camps Calvet and Anna Morero Beltran

This paper offers a theoretical-empirical reflection on egg freezing in Spain, drawing on the Marxist theory of social reproduction, originally developed by Vogel and revisited by Arruzza, Bhattacharya, Arruzza and Bhattacharya, and Ferguson. This theory views social reproduction as a process encompassing biological reproduction, the daily reproduction of the workforce, and the generational reproduction of working-class families. It acknowledges the essential role of women's domestic labour in social reproduction, while also recognizes that new processes of social reproduction can emerge depending on the stage of the capitalist accumulation cycle. Consequently, the family, the state, the market, and other factors are crucial for understanding the reproduction of the workforce.

Our objective is to analyse the role of egg freezing in the reproduction of the workforce, considering whether this technique serves a practical function in workforce reproduction or, conversely, contributes to the growth of the assisted reproduction industry by keeping women productive and continuously engaged in the labour market during their fertility years. To do so, we examine data on egg freezing, the profiles of women who use this service (age, education, socio-economic status), and the companies that offer it. We also assess the reasons that drive women to choose this technique and the type of advertising used by clinics to attract them, focusing on the portrayal of maternity presented in this advertising.

To conclude, we argue that egg freezing is not strictly decisive for the reproduction of the labour force. However, we reflect on whether the provision of this service, within the private sector, addresses a disjunction characteristic of the neoliberal era. This disjunction

stems from the entry of women into the labour market in a highly precarious manner—together with residential precariousness and a lack of social support from the State—alongside the ideal of motherhood as a necessary condition for women to be truly fulfilled. In this regard, we believe that, in the current phase of the capitalist accumulation cycle, egg freezing could play a key role in the reproduction of life in specific social strata.

Keywords: Egg freezing, social reproduction, maternity, neoliberalism

‘Women Speak Out Against Zionism’: Anti-imperialism in the archives of 1980s British Feminism

Eleanor Careless

This paper revisits the split over Zionism which fissured the collective of the British feminist magazine *Spare Rib* in the early 1980s, after it published a fierce critique of Israel’s invasion of Lebanon. Through close readings of archival feminist writings on Israel and Palestine in the British context, I want to ask: is this split a salient example of resistance to gendered hierarchies that serve imperialist and militarist narratives? What were the consequences, then and now, for the wider British feminist movement? How did anti-imperial, internationalist perspectives shape the ‘new’, strongly anti-Zionist iteration of *Spare Rib* and other feminist publications of the 1980s in ways that can elucidate our present moment? Taking the *Spare Rib* split as a starting point, I aim to challenge a narrative of ‘second-wave’ feminism that tends to obscure and sanitise such solidarities.

Keywords: Zionism, anti-Zionism, Palestine, British feminism, British feminist periodicals, anti-imperialism

Socialism and Feminism in Interwar Greece: The Case of the Socialist Women's Group

Eleftheria Papastefanaki

Despite the weak presence of the social-democratic tradition in the country, Greek socialist women of the interwar period succeeded in establishing in 1919 a distinct and active feminist organization, the *Socialistikos Omilos Gynaikon* (SOG) (Socialist Women’s Group), which developed its own perspective on the woman question and socialism, while attempting to establish relationships with feminist organizations abroad. The SOG was among the interwar organizations which, following the tradition of the Second

International, participated in the activities and processes initiated by the Labor and Socialist International (LSI, 1923-1940). Alongside with these activities, the SOG maintained an ambivalent stance towards the agents of “bourgeois feminism” and their activities, both domestically and internationally. While following the policy guidelines of the LSI regarding alliances, the SOG acknowledged the necessity of a coordinated women’s activity and supported activities initiated by “bourgeois” feminist organizations. The SOG did not oppose joint action with progressive “bourgeois” feminists, but distinguished, within the women’s and feminist movement, both domestic and international, between progressive and conservative forces, potential allies and potential enemies. Besides, the Second International tradition favored gradual reform within the established bourgeois regimes and not violent rupture, in contrast to the Third International tradition which advocated socialism as the only way out of the problems that bourgeois societies experienced.

The paper explores the SOG’s participation in domestic, international, and regional initiatives during the interwar period and its ambiguous stance towards collaborations with “bourgeois” feminists, with the goal of highlighting the networks of cooperation it developed at all three levels. Based on the case of the small but particularly active SOG, both within and beyond country’s borders, the paper contributes to a broader understanding of the entangled histories of the socialist and liberal feminisms of the period.

Keywords: Socialism, Feminism, Socialist Women's Group

TRABALHO DOMÉSTICO NO BRASIL: ANÁLISE A PARTIR DO TRABALHO E ALIENAÇÃO EM KARL MARX

Emanuelle de Castro Moreira

Este artigo pretende estudar o trabalho doméstico exercido pela mulher brasileira, levantando dados acerca dos direitos concedidos nos últimos anos, bem como analisá-lo à luz da perspectiva de Karl Marx acerca das categorias trabalho e alienação. Salienta-se que a discussão marxiana acerca do Trabalho se mostra ampla e de caráter antropológico, atingindo uma dimensão teórica mais desenvolvida. É importante entender que o trabalho doméstico no Brasil, data do início do século XVI, quando realizado, predominantemente, por mulheres negras africanas que foram escravizadas em solo brasileiro no Período Colonial. Em 1888 a Lei Áurea, no Brasil, é promulgada para abolir a escravidão dos povos africanos, entretanto a libertação proposta pela Lei não veio acompanhada de nenhuma garantia institucional que assegurasse aos libertos o real gozo da independência. Ao revés, sem qualquer perspectiva, ex-escravizados permaneceram prestando serviços domésticos nas casas de seus antigos senhores em troca de abrigo e comida. Diante disto, o

trabalho doméstico expressa até os dias de hoje os marcadores sociais herdados do passado colonial: marcadores de gênero, cor e classe. O arquétipo da mulher-negra-pobre. Entende-se, portanto, por quê somente em 2015, com o advento da Lei Complementar 150 de 2015, este profissional é equiparado aos empregados em geral e lhes são concedidos todos os direitos trabalhistas do ordenamento jurídico brasileiro. Na produção teórica de Marx, o trabalho é a condição eterna do homem. Lukács, outrossim, enxerga no trabalho a categoria fundante do ser social. Todavia, ancorados pela reflexão marxiana, em determinadas formas históricas, as objetivações tornam-se alienação, como ocorre na centralidade do trabalho no sistema econômico capitalista. Portanto, o Trabalho no Capitalismo, nos marcos da propriedade burguesa, avesso à emancipação humana, é alienação, que se reflete no conjunto das relações humanas. A título de hipótese, o Trabalho Doméstico, no Brasil, é expressão da alienação na dimensão mais desumanizante.

Keywords: Trabalho doméstico; trabalho; alienação;

DOMESTIC WORK IN BRAZIL: ANALYSIS FROM WORK AND ALIENATION IN KARL MARX

Emanuelle de Castro Moreira

This article aims to study the domestic work carried out by Brazilian women, collecting data on the rights granted in recent years, as well as analyzing it in light of Karl Marx's perspective on the categories of work and alienation. It should be noted that the Marxian discussion about Work appears to be broad and anthropological in nature, reaching a more developed theoretical dimension. It is important to understand that domestic work in Brazil dates back to the beginning of the 16th century, when carried out predominantly by black African women who were enslaved on Brazilian soil during the Colonial Period. In 1888, the Áurea Law, in Brazil, was enacted to abolish the enslavement of African peoples, however the liberation proposed by the Law was not accompanied by any institutional guarantee that would ensure the real enjoyment of independence for the freed people. On the contrary, without any prospects, former slaves remained providing domestic services in the homes of their former masters in exchange for shelter and food. Given this, domestic work expresses to this day the social markers inherited from the colonial past: markers of gender, color and class. The archetype of the poor black woman. It is therefore understandable why it was only in 2015, with the advent of Complementary Law 150 of 2015, that this professional was equated with employees in general and were granted all labor rights under the Brazilian legal system. In Marx's theoretical production, work is the eternal condition of man. Lukács, moreover, sees work as the founding category of social being. However, anchored by Marxian reflection, in certain historical forms, objectifications become alienation, as occurs in the centrality of work in the capitalist

economic system. Therefore, Work in Capitalism, within the framework of bourgeois property, contrary to human emancipation, is alienation, which is reflected in the set of human relationships. As a hypothesis, Domestic Work, in Brazil, is an expression of alienation in the most dehumanizing dimension.

Keywords: Domestic Work; work; alienation

Title: Care Crisis: Social Reproduction and Care fixes

Evgenia Mavridi

"The theoretical lens of Care and social reproduction can offer a dual and interconnected critique of capitalism: first, of dominant forms of (neo)liberal subjectivity and, second, of the gendered and racialized power relations reinforced by the subordination of social reproduction on which the existence of forms of (neo)liberal subjectivity is based "(Dowling,2018:3)

We want to argue that the care crisis of the last decades reflects the systematic deconstruction of social safety networks (including the welfare state mechanisms) under the weight of neoliberal policies. This means that traditional forms of care, based on state and community care, are being replaced by individualistic market ideology, promoting self-sufficiency, personal responsibility, and competition as its dominant value. Care is, globally, a tremendous accumulation of emotional and physical labor, often of unpaid and feminized care, and in many forms a commodity as in all care professions. Care, then, as a fundamental element of social solidarity and reproduction, becomes commodified, consolidating, and perpetuating class, gender and racial divisions. These care fixes (E. Dowling) embody a double movement of power: on the one hand, they disguise capitalism's dependence on care as a reproductive (of society and of the labor power) process and on the other hand, they marginalize care from the mainstream production of value processes, reproducing gender and class oppression. Migrant and working-class women often embody the most exploited and oppressed part of the care system and as workers in informal, low-paid or unpaid positions, they become the 'invisible' pillars of capitalist accumulation, forced to take on the care that capitalism refuses to acknowledge or shoulder. Their labor, necessary for the re-production of labor power, is not recognized (Fraser,2016) as such while they themselves survive on the margins of social and economic life, notwithstanding the dependency of whole countries (South-east Asia) on this 'care industry'. The 'care fixes', presented as "relief", perform the function of normative violence: they legitimize the fragmentary and inadequate support from the State, perpetuating exploitation and ensuring the minimum possible investment in social reproduction. The problem for radical politics today is to liberate the notion of care from its capitalist constraints in a society that will recognize care and solidarity as some of its main values.

This calls for a radical critique - and eventually radical politics- of neoliberal, care-less notions of communities, where the commodification of care undermines collective well-being, fostering individualism and fragmentation instead of solidarity

Keywords: Care Crisis, Social Reproduction, Care Fixes

Careless whispers. Queer public and artistic archives in the state of exception.

Ewa Majewska

The artistic archives are often opposed to those created by the state, especially in times of returning fascism (Cvetkovich). Anti-gender governments often launch homophobic hate speech as their narrative, thus sustaining an impression of the impossibility of building a queer archive within state structures. However - artistic archives, as true as they are to the lived experiences of sexual minorities, also tend to live short, dangerous lives, abstaining from prospects of creating stable, solid queer heritage for the future societies. In the Capitalocene we might be less preoccupied with the archives of marginalized groups, however they are still produced, and if uninterrupted, they haunt those whose justice was refused (Derrida), those without privilege (Zinn) and the policed (Hall; Farge). In the presentation, the notion of "situated knowledge" (Haraway) will be used to interpret the queer artistic archive's possible transition into public, state funded archives. Such process requires conciliation between the typically "anti-normative" queer theory and the supposedly "totalizing" dialectics of the social archive production. Inspired by the discussions of the "long term" (Herring and Wallace), "solid desire" (Brilmeyer) and normative (Jagose), this paper looks at the queer archive projects (Bishopsgate London, IHLIA Amsterdam, Queer Museum Warsaw), artistic practice of queer artists (Radziszewski, Żukowski, Zeic) and negotiates the public queer archive strategies in order to contradict the neoliberal erasure of minoritarian politics and to bridge between queer theory and activism, archive and the state.

Keywords: queer theory, archive, couterpublics, policing, critical theory

Everyday Feminist Antifascism

Fiona Jeffries

Albeit under different guises and at varying and intersecting scales, the Left has been fighting the rise of fascism for over a century. The period since the global financial crisis of 2008 ushered in a violent phase of fascist organizing across many parts of the world, culminating in both electoral victories and the proliferation of a fascist public sphere, fuelled by social media entrepreneurs. By the rise of fascism, we do not only mean the electoral victories of far-right parties, heightened anti-immigrant rhetoric of political leaders or institutionalized constriction of freedom of expression in public space. As has always been the case, fascism is rising through multiple scales and facets, from micro to macro, from mundane to the structural. Fascism is as much organized in the everyday as it is in the political arena.

The rise of fascism, on the other hand, has almost unexceptionally been accompanied (or rather articulated with) with violent patriarchal politics, intensified attacks on women's bodies and autonomy and an almost a literal war against LGBTQ+ lives. The preservation and perpetuation of heterosexual nuclear family seems to be one of the common threads of different articulations of fascism.

Yet at the same time, we've been witnessing inspiring forms of women's organizing and movements, from the Feminist International to the Kurdish Women's Movement and the insurgency spearheaded by women in Iran. All these struggles have offered new ways of thinking and acting towards a politics of everyday antifascism. Drawing on a materialist feminist role of social reproduction, what Silvia Federici characterizes as the "point zero" of revolutionary politics, this paper considers some possibilities of feminist antifascism today. It asks what feminist organizing, tactics and strategies can offer to an antifascist politics, historically, contemporarily and conceptually? What examples of antifascist organizing can we draw on, learn from, be inspired by?

Keywords: Feminism, Antifascism, Social Reproduction

Reclaiming Radical Feelings: From capitalist violence and alienation to affective internationalism

Franca Marquardt

My PhD project explores different threads of affective relations within internationalist feminist social movements and to what extent this relates to a new form of intersectional, prefigurative practice of movement-building. As such, it interrogates how we can move from an isolated narrative of identities towards a political struggle, taking into account the complexities of interlocking systems of oppression. Internationalist feminist movements spearhead intersectional thinking as they centre revolutionary love, a more-than-romantic

feeling of relation based on a common vision for liberation. The affective dimensions of internationalism are central to this inquiry, as illustrated by the Palestine solidarity movement, which continues to resist despite violent repression. In this context, the thesis advocates for a deeper understanding of affective ties in social movements as transformative tools against systemic violence and capitalist alienation.

Violence also has to be understood through its psychological impacts. Alienation, a concept extensively explored by Marx, is a form of psychological violence where individuals become estranged from their labour, from each other, and from their own humanity (Marx 2007 [1844]). It holds renewed significance today as it is a direct consequence of living in a system where economic relations dictate human interactions. While depression and anxiety, among other mental illnesses, have become a new pandemic, the normative narrative still categorises them as individual afflictions (Proctor 2024).

In this presentation, I will analyse how imperial- capitalism controls our feelings and affective lives by relying on normalisation and indifference. Reclaiming radical feelings we hold for each other, therefore means not only fighting indifference but also engaging in prefigurative politics of relatability. Hennessy (2000) argues for a broader understanding of love, one that encompasses both personal and collective dimensions and recognises the systemic production of unmet needs under capitalism.

By examining how love and friendship function as survival strategies, prefigurative experiences, and forms of resistance, this chapter sheds light on the affective dimensions of social movements. I will explore intersectionality and internationalism not merely as strategic concepts but as affective categories that point us towards liberatory futures. This involves analysing how social movements embrace internationalist politics as a way of fostering feelings of solidarity towards others and the world at large. This approach aims to understand how feelings of relatedness are cultivated as forms of resistance against the violence and alienation of capitalism, while also taking into account collective needs for a good life for all.

Keywords: revolutionary love, internationalism, capitalism, social movements

Feminist Movement in Brazil: The Historical Journey Towards Gender Equality and the Challenges of Women's Rights in a Capitalist Society.

Gardênia Gonçalves Rodrigues and Amélia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel.

This paper aims to explore the struggle of Brazilian women for gender equality in a dependent capitalist country. Brazilian women have achieved significant historical

milestones, such as the right to vote in 1932, the inclusion of labour rights in the Consolidation of Labour Laws (CLT) of 1943, and the enactment of the Maria da Penha Law in 2006, which provided protection against domestic violence. These achievements reflect decades of struggle for equality and justice amidst structural challenges. However, the full realization of these rights remains hindered by persistent resistance in a society marked by gender and class inequalities. Brazilian women continue to face violence in its various forms—including femicide, physical assaults, threats, stalking, psychological abuse, and rape. According to the 18th Brazilian Public Security Yearbook, in 2023, these forms of violence affected 1,238,208 women. Wage disparity is another harsh reality, with data from IBGE revealing that, in the same year, men’s average salary was 28.3% higher than that of women. In light of this context, this research seeks to address the question: Does the enforcement of women’s rights depend solely on legislative and institutional reforms, or does it also require a reconfiguration of economic and social relations that subverts the capitalist logic? Therefore, it is essential to deepen the debate on the impact of the capitalist system in perpetuating gender inequality and to promote actions that merge feminist struggles with a critique of the regime of capital accumulation.

Keywords: Feminism, gender, Brazil, equality, capitalism.

Striking social reproduction: contested genealogies of the feminist strike in Italy

Greta Rossi

In 2016, feminists worldwide recognized in the fights against abortion bans in Poland and against male violence in Argentina a universal character and joined their call to organize a transnational feminist strike on March 8, 2017, thus opening up a process that survives to this day. Still, the first global feminist strike in 2017 “made a difference” (Rudan et al. 2018), involving more than 40 countries, creating durable transnational connections between contingent struggles, challenging the definition of work and initiating processes of subjectivation – to the point that Arruzza defined the feminist strike “the international process of class formation of this phase” (2018, 4). In Italy, the 2017 Sciopero delle Donne (Women’s Strike), organized by Non Una di Meno, the national feminist network born just a few months prior on the heels of a rising global tide, saw the participation of more than 60 cities.

My contribution tries to understand why, once the word strike began circulating among feminist circles worldwide, it gained such traction in Italy. The paper thus looks beyond the immediate present and at the larger cycle of protest that preceded the strike; at longer movement trajectories, at the discursive advancements they produced as well as at the structural transformations and crises they faced. In line with literature focusing on breaks

and continuities within movement processes as well as with processual approaches to the study of contentious politics, this paper will reconstruct the national genealogies of the feminist strike in Italy. In particular, the paper shows how militants belonging to different collectives and traditions were able, over time, to reclaim the strike and use it outside the boundaries of production, how they displaced the strike's preferred subject, male factory workers, and issued joint calls for migrant, social and queer strikes. Within these unorthodox strikes, different political understandings around (re)productive work and workers were deployed and oftentimes juxtaposed – a richness in frictions, contradictions and bargaining which the feminist strike all'italiana surely inherited and which this article hopes to acknowledge. Albeit largely underexplored in literature, it is precisely through these political innovations that a shift was operated from grievance-related to political strikes, ultimately paving the way for the feminist strike. In exploring how it promoted sustained interaction and dialogue between militants, this article proposes the strike itself as a factor of continuity between different phases of mobilization thereby contributing the sociological studies of movements and their dynamics of contamination and diffusion.

Keywords: feminist strike; social reproduction; Italian feminism

"Drowning, Cruising, Working: The construction and subversion of the sexual subject in the colonial encounter as inspiration for the necessary recommoning of subjectivity in the present"

Grietje (River) Baars

In this paper I present my Queer & Trans Historical Materialist ('QTHoMo') research on the prosecutions for sodomy of the 'sexual outlaws' of the Eastern Dutch Empire by the VOC during the 17-18C. These cases show the construction through laws, policing, cruising and fucking, of a multifaceted, deviant/tolerated, homosexual identity or 'sexualised subject' (inflected through race and captured in a model of sexual enclosure) in the colonial encounter, within, and as a function of, European imperialist capitalism, and by extension, capitalist law. The VOC prosecutions demonstrate a desire for dutch national-racial supremacy in Asia, target specific inter-class and interracial relations, demonstrate the use of religious/superstitious fear of disaster (storm, disease, etc.) to exert social control. At the same time, in the shadow of the prosecutorial archives we also find evidence of an active world - perhaps the true hydrarchy - of sexual encounters, cultures, sex work and even romance and long-term relationships, cruising/subverting racial and hierarchical lines.

The contested 'sodomitical' subjectivity 'boomerangs' back to the Dutch Republic in the early 18C, causing the well-documented 1730 'gay panic'. The 17/18C VOC prosecutions and the archive's shadow side allow us to reinterpret '1730', homosexual 'identity' and

indeed 'identity' more broadly, and thus our conceptualisation of liberation throughout the past three Centuries until now. I argue for a 'recommoning' of subjectivity, and find inspiration in the Early modern sexual outlaws.

The present political moment or phase requires and is ripe for an abolitionist reframing of 'identity' as relational and a refocussing of our collective energies on collective liberation and it is hoped that understanding how individualising identity was both constructed and resisted in the colonial encounter and in the transition to capitalism can serve as an impetus and inspiration.

I would like to present this paper on a panel with Tori Ball of Durham University, UK.

Keywords: Queer Trans Historical Materialism, transition to capitalism, colonial encounter, sexuality, imperialism, law, liberation

ALIENATION AND DISPOSSESSION: New Perspectives on Political and Epistemological Critique

IRENE RAPANELLI

The concept of alienation, after years of marginality, has returned to prominence, particularly within Critical theory, thanks to the new generation of the Frankfurt School. This resurgence reflects the urgency of interpreting alienation as a symptom of a historically and politically defined condition, tied to late-stage capitalism and neoliberal policies.

The aim is to examine contemporary theories of alienation, highlighting innovations, addressing ambiguities, and proposing developments of the concept through an interdisciplinary approach. The study offers a comparative analysis of alienation and dispossession, integrating Marxist and Gender perspectives, with attention to Decolonial critiques to emancipate the concept from its Western tradition.

An innovative contribution on alienation is provided, among others, by Rahel Jaeggi, who redefines the concept as a "relation in the absence of a relationship." However, this view has been criticized for its detachment from the historical-political context, thereby weakening alienation's potential as a tool for social critique.

To overcome these limitations, the concept of dispossession is proposed both as a substantial mechanism of the logic of capitalist accumulation, in a Luxemburgian sense, and as a root cause of specific phenomena of expropriation, which trigger cultural, linguistic, territorial, and sexual alienations. This approach underscores how oppression arises from concrete, historically situated power structures, offering a contextualized perspective on the dynamics of estrangement.

Connecting alienation and dispossession keeps the dialogue between different bodies of knowledge open and reinforces the critical potential of both concepts. This approach ensures that alienation retains its capacity to analyze social conditions and respond to contemporary political and epistemic needs.

Keywords: social critique; expropriation; domain; emancipation; capitalism

Investments in Punishment: A Marxist-feminist Critique of Carceral Capitalism

Jana Kujundzic

This paper provides a Marxist-feminist critique of carceral capitalism, arguing that calls for the expansion of the carceral state are often disguised as demands for protection. This obscures the corporate and private interests that benefit from punitive measures.

Currently, more people are imprisoned globally than ever before, with prisons and policing playing a crucial role in the capitalist state's control over its population.

In an era characterized by global instability, genocide, and militarism, the crackdown on protestors—particularly those who challenge the flow of capital—from the United Kingdom to Serbia and beyond highlights the relentless functioning of repressive state apparatuses in response to the failures of ideological neoliberal control. Additionally, what Duff (2018) refers to as “feminism-as-crime-control” advocates for longer sentences and the introduction of new criminal offences, such as femicide, in the name of protecting women.

Building on Roberts's (2017) assertion, the law is not simply a repressive tool for the ruling class; it is also an integral part of the social ontology of capitalism. In this context, social ontology refers to how the law plays a productive role in creating and reproducing both social relationships (such as private property and wage labour) and gender relations (Roberts, 2017). The law is never neutral or objective; it carries gendered and class-based characteristics, shaping norms around femininity and sexual propriety.

Moreover, technological advancements and the mobility of global capital are contributing to the creation of “surplus populations” that are either incarcerated—where they generate value—or integrated into the economy as debtors (Wang, 2018, p. 65). This paper argues that the focus of policing and criminalization is often less on protecting the public from violence and more about controlling, labelling, and disciplining specific groups of people. In some cases, it even involves the killing of those who are perceived to disrupt the social, economic, and political status quo.

Keywords: Carceral capitalism, Marxist-feminism, repressive state apparatus, policing, prisons, femicide

Historical Materialism, Psychoanalysis, and Feminism: Towards an Archaeology of the Symbolic Order

Júlia Lull

The course of our lives is delineated by two forces that intertwine and operate in harmony—or clash head-on. These forces are the Symbolic Order (SO) and the Mode of Production (MP). Together, they construct a social present shackled by the conditions they impose, which often appear deterministic, resisting the change demanded by any dynamic society.

Since Lacan suggested in 1953 that human reality is mediated by three intertwined and inseparable dimensions—Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic—these registers of the unconscious channel our lacks and remnants. Archaeology, too, is shaped by this dynamic, which, counterintuitively, asserts that remnants are not lacks: remnants lack nothing. From this perspective, it becomes compelling to consider the Marxian Modes of Production not because they are deficient but because their materialist residue always walks alongside a persistent companion: the Symbolic Order. The synthesis of SO and MP is an indispensable challenge for a complex and open archaeological approach aimed at investigating the distinguished objects of any past or present society. This text focuses more on SO than on MP because the investigative potential of psychoanalytic proposals runs counter to the grain of historical-archaeological disciplines and demands greater attention and development.

We believe that biological bodies and the social body are coextensive—the former biologically constituted and the latter socially instituted—and they are intertwined in an irreducible linkage, both conscious and unconscious. Together, they forge the matrix of individual and social behavior because they are traversed by discursive social relations, which, fueled by the SO, aim to define how both bodies should appear, their (re)presentation, the relationship between bodies, and what each should do to display, identify, and behave appropriately as part of the social body.

The interplay between psychoanalysis and materialism is explored through the prehistoric figure of Hohle Fels. The choice of this object (the first representation of a woman) and its context (prehistory) serve as optimal starting points for an interdisciplinary analysis. This approach allows us to explore new methodologies capable of addressing the establishment, legitimization, and continuity of the Patriarchal System while equipping us with committed tools for its subversion. This disciplinary convergence, integrating psychoanalysis with historical materialism, invites us to rethink how we interpret the

remnants of the past—not as inert witnesses but as active expressions of a dialogue between forces that continue to shape our present.

Keywords: Symbolic Order, Mode of Production, Historical Materialism, Psychoanalysis, Feminism, Archaeology, Hohle Fels, Patriarchy, Social Body, Cultural Remnants.

The Phantasmatic Dimension of Gender: Rethinking Performativity in Judith Butler's Work

Kostas Pinnikas

Judith Butler, with the publication of their work *Who's Afraid of Gender?*, revisits the issue of gender and attempts to outline the framework within which the fear surrounding the term "gender" is maintained and reproduced. In this context, the theoretical formulation of Jean Laplanche is adapted to demonstrate how gender is understood as a phantasm with destructive powers, emerging within a phantasmatic scene. This novel approach expands Butler's theory of gender and seeks to provide a framework for the formation of inclusive alliances. The aim of this paper is to analyze the ways in which the phantasmatic dimension of gender is constructed and to connect this analysis with Butler's previous work, particularly their concept of performativity. This framework will critically examine arguments derived from the phantasmatic dimension of gender, as presented in *Who's Afraid of Gender?*, in response to anti-gender ideology proponents. The discussion will center on the debate regarding the participation of trans athletes in international organizations. Through this example, the paper will seek to highlight both the possibilities and the limitations inherent in this particular analysis. Finally, it will be demonstrated how the analysis of the phantasmatic dimension of gender extends, without overturning, the performative dimension of gender as developed in Butler's work, from *Gender Trouble* to the present day.

Keywords: Judith Butler, Gender, Anti-Gender Ideology, Phantasmatic scene, Phantasm

Care and Social Reproduction: Parallel and Opposite Discourses? Convergences, Differences and Future Prospects

Kyriaki Lampropoulou

Since the 2000s, the study of care, which counts more than forty years of extensive debate among feminists, has been gradually freed from its almost exclusive attachment to gender,

shifting the focus of scholarly interest to other social differences and how these are intertwined with caregiving. Along with the shift of interest from the care provider and gender to the care itself, the emergence of its socio-political frame of reference is also gradually gaining weight. This contemporary trend is characterized by an interdisciplinary approach to the subject, accompanied by the shift of theoretical and research interest from the local to the global, with an emphasis on care chains and the role of migrant women in caregiving, as well as the re-establishment of the concept of social reproduction as an interpretive tool.

On the other hand, especially due to the recent pandemic that has brought the issue of care back to a central place on political agendas, social reproduction theory forces marxists feminists to reconsider features of theory and politics which had previously been regarded as peripheral in marxist feminist thought. One of these areas, a prominent one, is care. Although care policy has been included in Marxist critiques of the state and social policy, the new prominence of care and responses such as the Care Collective's 'Care Manifesto' calls marxists to scholarly engage with the (re)conceptualization of care.

The aim of this paper is to briefly present the theoretical debates on care vis a vis social reproduction, clarifying differences and commonalities and to articulate future developments for theory and political practice.

Short CV:Kyriaki Lampropoulou is a PhD Candidate in the field of gender and social policy at the Department of Social Policy of Panteion University. She is a graduate of the Department of Sociology and she has completed postgraduate studies in social policy with an emphasis on gender and care at the Universities of Bristol, Oslo and Mannheim. Her research interests focus on the concept of care in social policy and its relationship with gender. She works as a senior investigator in the Greek Ombudsman Office.

Keywords: Care, social reproduction, gender, intersectionality

Pedagogies of cruelty in the apocalyptic phase of capital: Rita Segato on the interconnections between capitalism, racism, and patriarchy at the borders

Mariana Teixeira

In the 2000's, the world was confronted with the shocking account of femicides in Ciudad Juárez, in Mexico's northern border, where sources claim more than 500 women and girls – in their overwhelmingly majority poor and of indigenous ascent – were murdered between

1993 and 2011. The Argentine-Brazilian feminist anthropologist Rita Laura Segato reflected on the extremely violent, sexualized nature of these crimes in her 2006 book “La escritura en el cuerpo de las mujeres asesinadas en Ciudad Juárez” (“The inscriptions on the bodies of women murdered in Ciudad Juarez”). Segato is specially known for her research on gender in indigenous villages and Latin American communities, violence against women, and the relationships between gender, racism, colonialism, and capitalism in the peripheries of capital. In her book, Segato coins the term “pedagogy of cruelty” to account for the de-ritualized death “that leaves only residues in the place of the deceased body”. It involves “acts and practices that teach, habituate and program the subjects to transmute the living and its vitality into things” – a kind of reification that captures “something that flowed errant and unpredictable, as is life, to install there the inertia and sterility of the measurable, marketable, purchasable and obsolescent thing”. Segato argues that it is not possible to make sense of the specific “surplus violence” of these crimes if one does not account for their location at the border between Mexico and the USA, between South and North, lack and excess – a frontier “that money has to cross, virtually and materially, to reach the firm land where capital finds itself finally safe and gives its rewards in prestige, security, comfort, and health ... the frontier to the most patrolled country in the world ... the frontier of the world’s most lucrative traffic – in drugs; in bodies ... the frontier that separates one of the most expensive labor forces from one of the cheapest”. One must not forget, in this context, that a large part of victims was employed in the “maquiladora” industry, widely known for their cheap labor and exploitative conditions, rendering women workers particularly vulnerable. In this paper, I discuss Segato’s contribution to the discussion about the interconnections between capitalist exploitation, gender violence, and racial oppression, particularly in the extreme forms of reification of life in the borders between the centre and the peripheries of what she calls “the apocalyptic phase of capital”.

Keywords: Femicide, Periphery, Precarious work, Reification, Surplus violence

Relationship between law and gender oppression in capitalism

Marianna Haug

Based on the contributions of Pachukanis and Edelman about Marxist Critique of Law to recognize how the legal form is specific to capitalism, the aim is to understand the relationship between law and gender oppression in capitalism. To this end, we used the Unitary Theory of Social Reproduction, which understands the relationship between work and reproducing the conditions of daily and generational exploitation of the workforce with the expanded accumulation of capital. On the one hand, feminists from the “Wages for Housework” movement, such as Silvia Federici, argue that reproductive work is costless and, therefore, devalued in capitalism, generating exploitation and oppression of women;

authors such as Angela Davis propose that black women have been paid for domestic work since the beginning of capitalism and that this does not mean that they are no longer exploited, but the opposite. However, the authors are dealing with work that appears distinct in the logic of capital: even though it is exactly the same work as preparing food, washing clothes, cleaning the house, washing dishes, taking care of children, when this work is carried out by a family member it is not mediated by the logic of the work contract, but by Family Law, and there is no salary for the activity itself. However, when it is carried out by a person outside the family, it is remunerated in the logic of the work contract. The law operationalizes this difference because it is important for the reproduction of capital, since it substantially distinguishes the work by who does it and for whom, given that the appearance of this division is necessary to constitute social relations themselves. The contractual logic of equivalence presents the working class as working voluntarily and to support itself, sublimating the exploitation of one class by another through the appropriation of surplus value. The legal formatting of the family will present intra-family work as work for oneself that is done out of love, based on the logic of maternal sacredness and family obligations, which does not depend on the mediation of an work contract to occur. The mediation of this work with a boss is eliminated, since reproductive work cannot appear as something that benefits a third party, because this character would show that it happens in this way as a function of capital so that the labor force then placed under conditions of exploitation produces surplus value.

Keywords: gender, law, marxism, Unitary Theory of Social Reproduction, family

Models of women in bourgeois society

Paula Magalhães

The text aims to problematize Hegel's interpretation of Sophocles' Antigone and, more broadly, the role of women in the 19th century. Hegel understands Antigone as a model of femininity, that is, the preservation of the family and the association between the feminine and the particular, as opposed to the masculine and the universal. There is an extensive and multifaceted debate about the role of the figure of Antigone within Hegelian philosophy, which is divided between those who harshly criticize the role of women restricted to the home as defended by Hegel, which is irreconcilable with the feminist demands of our time, and those who propose to think about which Hegelian concepts are still useful for feminist thinking. Furthermore, the historical period in which the philosopher lived was after the process of primitive accumulation, which deprived women of access to land and reproductive control, thus providing the foundations for the consolidation of the bourgeois nuclear family and, consequently, capitalism. This imprisonment of bourgeois women in the family sphere is the reason why they fall ill, as Marx says in his text "On Suicide".

Keywords: Capitalism, family, women, feminism.

Shifting Caring Communities: Collective Forms of Care and Provision

Rivka Saltiel & Anke Strüver

In view of the prevailing care crisis and crisis of social reproduction, collective forms of care beyond the nuclear family and beyond institutionalised and commodified forms of care are attributed greater importance. Caring communities are (made) necessary and intensively discussed - with all their possibilities and pitfalls. Against this background, we outline our reflections on everyday caring communities in this article, building on debates about community, collectivity and connectivity as well as dependencies that arise from human precariousness and that are a fundamental part of social life. In doing so, we emphasise the necessity – and constant presence – of collective practices and lived experiences of caring with. The latter build on social interdependencies and raise ethical and political questions about shared responsibility. These deeply embodied communities and their social relations are constituted otherwise. Instead of social or spatial demarcation and exclusion, they are characterised by interconnectedness, interdependence and the participation of 'strange others'. Through doing and relating in common, these other caring communities experiment with collective forms of care and provision – beyond capitalist structures. They thus represent subversive public micro-politics that do not (re-)produce precarity, but accept shared precariousness. In this contribution, we ask about the possibilities and conditions of 'other' caring communities. We do this from a 'feminist post-structural materialist' perspective that expands structural theoretical approaches and political-economic analyses of feminist historical materialists to include a care perspective and focuses on social interdependencies. Using an example of collective care of and with precarious migrants in Brussels, we illustrate how and which forms of communities are performatively produced in the process of caring with and examine how it entails shifts in societal modes of functioning, organising and relating.

Keywords: care, caring with, community, feminism, interdependence, precariousness, precarity

Far from Justice, Close to Class: Women's Access to Justice in Poverty Alimony Cases in Turkey from a Marxist Feminist Perspective

Sine Gençaslan

The rising conservative and authoritarian political climate in Turkey exacerbate existing prejudices in the judiciary. Increasing pressure from conservative political groups and men's rights activists to reform alimony laws reflects a backlash against women's rights. These actors claim indefinite alimony is unfair to men, yet their stance reflects ideological opposition to gender equality rather than empirical evidence.

Access to justice requires more than procedural fairness; since legal equality does not always mean substantive justice, it must also address the needs of those seeking justice within the ideologies that shape laws and judicial actors. In patriarchal societies, women's legal access is often hindered by entrenched gender norms and discriminatory practices, especially in matters such as divorce and alimony, which can further deepen economic inequality. The study aims to show that the pressure to limit alimony is part of a broader political agenda aimed at reinforcing traditional family structures. This political agenda has not only created a legal environment that influences judges' alimony decisions but has also created a cultural structure that further disadvantages women in divorce cases. Women have been pushed into a weaker position economically and have been left stuck between poverty and unhappy marriages. Although Turkey's judicial system has an egalitarian legal framework, it has been increasingly influenced by the authoritarian and conservative political climate in the last decade. The debates over "indefinite alimony" reflect this shift and are part of a broader backlash against protective measures in the Civil Code that aim to address the economic inequalities that women face after marriage.

This study adopts Marxist feminism as its theoretical foundation to examine how capitalism and patriarchy intersect to perpetuate women's labor exploitation and poverty. From this perspective, the class and gender-based barriers within justice systems are critically analyzed, interrogating how capitalist patriarchy shapes access to justice.

Keywords: authoritarian political regime, gender inequality, Marxist feminism, civil law, divorced women

Psychologist, PhD in psychology

Tasos Travasaros

Social constructionism is an influential current of thought that has a strong impact in various fields of social sciences and especially in psychology. However, some versions of social constructionism suggest implications that are questionable to many researchers: for instance, there is no reference to an objective reality; there are no criteria to discover the truth or to distinguish the true from the false; and science is merely a tradition among other traditions, such as religion. The result of all this is that the deconstruction of the

dominant discourse that it attempts, particularly the racist and sexist discourse, is weakened and ultimately fails. We argue that Marxist psychology and in particular Vygotsky's cultural-historical school can contribute to a dialectical overcoming of the relativism/positivism dichotomy and also to provide a theoretical framework for critical discourse analysis in psychology that does not forget material structures, but instead highlights that sexist and racist discourse constitute ideological systems with a material basis. Historical materialism holds that we must examine society's material production to understand its movement and therefore to understand people social consciousness. The mode of production of material life determines the conditions of spiritual life. According to Marxism, relations of production are the basis on which the legal and political superstructure of society is built, as well as the corresponding forms of social consciousness. Hardline social constructionism in psychology has failed to contribute to the social critique of the material socioeconomic structures that support the sexist and racist discourse. In this respect a significant conceptual and political gap appears, and to address it, as Willig notes, it is essential to turn to Marx—to the historical-materialist analysis of society and Marx's dialectical method. Marx explained that bourgeois ideology 'naturalises' exploitation and domination by presenting the world in an inverted way, as what is social-historical is presented in people's consciousness as natural and self-evident. At the same time Marx showed that this inversion stems from the material process of life itself. The Marxist view of ideology and fetishism, and the fact of the effect of fetishism on language as Vygotsky has demonstrated, can help us to understand the invisible but not therefore less violent ways in which sexist and racist discourse is imposed on people. We thus argue that Marxist psychology helps us so that we can more effectively carry out a deconstruction and critique of the dominant discourse, particularly that which is sexist and racist.

Keywords: marxism, Vygotsky, sexism, racism, social constructionism

Social Constructionism: Critical Analysis from a marxist Perspective

Tasos Travararos

Social constructionism is an influential current of thought that has a strong impact in various fields of social sciences and especially in psychology. However, some versions of social constructionism suggest implications that are questionable to many researchers: for instance, there is no reference to an objective reality; there are no criteria to discover the truth or to distinguish the true from the false; and science is merely a tradition among other traditions, such as religion. The result of all this is that the deconstruction of the dominant discourse that it attempts, particularly of the racist and sexist discourse, is weakened and ultimately fails. We argue that Marxist psychology and in particular

Vygotsky's cultural-historical school can contribute to a dialectical overcoming of the relativism/positivism dichotomy and also to provide a theoretical framework for critical discourse analysis in psychology that does not forget material structures, but instead highlights that sexist and racist discourse constitute ideological systems with a material basis. Historical materialism holds that we must examine society's material production to understand its movement and therefore to understand people social consciousness. The mode of production of material life determines the conditions of spiritual life. According to Marxism, relations of production are the basis on which the legal and political superstructure of society is built, as well as the corresponding forms of social consciousness. Hardline social constructionism in psychology has failed to contribute to the social critique of the material socioeconomic structures that support the sexist and racist discourse. In this respect a significant conceptual and political gap appears, and to address it, as Willig notes, it is essential to turn to Marx—to the historical-materialist analysis of society and Marx's dialectical method. Marx explained that bourgeois ideology 'naturalises' exploitation and domination by presenting the world in an inverted way, as what is social-historical is presented in people's consciousness as natural and self-evident. At the same time Marx showed that this inversion stems from the material process of life itself. The Marxist view of ideology and fetishism, and the fact of the effect of fetishism on language as Vygotsky has demonstrated, can help us to understand the invisible but not therefore less violent ways in which sexist and racist discourse is imposed on people. We thus argue that Marxist psychology helps us so that we can more effectively carry out a deconstruction and critique of the dominant discourse, particularly that which is sexist and racist.

Keywords: marxism, sexism, racism, vygotsky, social constructionism

Black Shirts, Pink Triangles: Historicising the Emergence of Contemporary Queer Fascism

Tom Cowin; Tanja Weis

The Rassemblement National and the Alternativ für Deutschland, Europe's most prominent fascist parties, both have openly gay leaders despite the deep heteronormativity of their programmes. This partnership between particular forms of queerness and fascism is typically understood as a novel response to the emergent threat of the racialised, purportedly homophobic, Muslim migrant. In contrast, this paper argues that the co-articulation of certain forms of queerness and fascism is nothing new. By taking a historically materialist approach, we attempt to resolve this 'contradiction' by reconstructing a potted history of the interactions between queerness and fascism. We firstly emphasise the early engagements between proto-fascism and queerness at the tail

end of the long 19th Century, which we argue were borne out of the contradictory dynamics of the publicization and privatisation of sexuality, and which crystallised in the fascism of Ernst Röhm. Secondly, we unpick the biological underpinnings of post-war liberal queerness, demonstrating its underlying imperial and eugenicist logics. Thirdly, we consider the relationship between queerness and fascism through the Neoliberal transition. We argue the co-option of white, LGB queerness into imperial relations of production worked to erode fascist opposition to limited expressions of queerness, while building consent within middle-class liberal queer spheres for logics of domination. This move was predicated on, and encouraged, the bifurcation of radical queerness (especially trans-ness) from respectable 'private' forms of lesbian, gay and bisexuality. By tracing this *longue durée*, we conclude that the paradox of queer fascism may yet endure through today's conjuncture. Recognising this possibility exhorts scholars and activists seeking emancipation from heteropatriarchy to re-orient their analyses towards resisting the racialised, sexed, and classed project of imperialism; ultimately, it is the imperial system of white supremacy that provides the material circumstances and ideological resources from which certain forms of queerness and fascism find common ground.

Keywords: LGBTQIA+; Queer Fascism; Far-Right; Imperialism; Pinkwashing; Race

Lessons from a dalliance in defending liberal institutions

Tori Ball

In 2022, leading into 2023, there was a veritable spike in anti-trans sentiment across many parts of the world, showing face through the shut down of Drag Time Story Hour events across public libraries in narm (Melbourne) in so-called Australia. In this period a network of anti-fascists attempted to collaborate with local government libraries to defend these events from fascist and right wing conspiratorial harassment. Through these efforts a number of contradictions about the meaning and function of the concepts of safety and inclusion were put to the test, with valuable lessons to be learned from the ostensible failure to defend these community events. The challenge of transmitting a coherent narrative of the slow creep of fascism stands out as a particularly critical lesson to be further explored, which will be the focus of this paper. Moreover, the widespread ease with which conspiratorial right wing groups forgot about their obsession with the trans threat after the genocidal attack on Gaza began on October 8, is an important case study in remembering to build power and interpret correctly when we are faced with diffuse and disorganised opponents. Organising against the moral panic of anti-trans hysteria remains a hall of mirrors yet to be properly understood, with many valuable lessons available to share with other forms of anti-fascist struggle.

Keywords: fascism trans narrative organising critical

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Keywords: trans organising fascism critical reflection