

# MARX NOW

## BORDERS AND BOUNDARIES

October 9 - 10

Keynote speakers:

Maia Pal

Oxford Brookes University

Brenna Bhandar

SOAS University of London

Attendance is free

Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy  
Copenhagen Business School

Danish Society for Marxist Studies

Information and registration: [marxistiskestudier.com](http://marxistiskestudier.com)

CONFERENCE

2020

# Welcome!

The theme of this year's Marx Now conference is 'Borders and Boundaries.' Since we wrote the initial call for abstracts, the COVID-19 crisis has rendered this topic more pressing than ever, as borders have closed and states have pursued narrow nationalist agendas in response to the global pandemic. Class divisions have intensified, manifesting themselves in unequal exposure to contagion as well as the social and economic effects of lockdown. Meanwhile, capital continues to push production beyond the ecological boundaries of the planet. At the same time, it persists in its attempts to constantly displace the limits of accumulation as financial markets once again become increasingly unstable.

The speakers at this year's conference present a broad variety of highly original takes on the theme of borders and boundaries: we have presentations on credit and finance, borders and migration, the rise of the old and new right, reproductive labour, the climate crisis, state power, subversion and everything in between. As capital approaches the edge, we will push the limits of critical thought.

Marx Now 2020 marks the fifth installment of the conference. It will be held under extraordinary and - it should be openly admitted - uncertain circumstances, which impose a number of regrettable but necessary restrictions. We can admit no more than 100 participants, including speakers to the conference and the number of participants in each session will be further limited. Moreover, there is a very real chance that the schedule may change at very short notice. We hope you will forgive these inconveniences. Despite the uncertainty, we have received overwhelming interest and support from presenters and participants. We are both grateful and humbled.

We have been looking forward to welcoming you to the conference for a very long time and hope that you will enjoy it as much as we expect to.

DANISH SOCIETY FOR MARXIST  
STUDIES / SELSKAB FOR MARXISTISKE  
STUDIER

Mikkel Flohr  
Marie Louise Krogh  
Lotte List  
Søren Mau  
Esben Bøgh Sørensen  
Magnus Møller Ziegler

## CORONA INFORMATION

The current pandemic affects us all albeit in different and unequally distributed ways. In solidarity with those most exposed, we encourage all participants to be careful and take relevant precautions to avoid the transmission of Covid-19.

We ask that participants:

- Wear face masks when not presenting (will be provided)
- Keep one meter distance and avoid physical contact at all times
- Wash or sanitize hands regularly
- Cough or sneeze into elbow if necessary
- Stay at home if they experience any symptoms of sickness
- Follow government health advice and regulations.

Capacity:

- The conference is limited to a maximum of 100 participants in total
- There are limits to capacity of each room, which means that we may have to reject participants at the door if a room is full. We regret this and ask for your understanding
- For the Friday keynote, a spillover room will be provided for participants exceeding the main room capacity.

## PRACTICAL INFORMATION

### INTERNET

Please log on to eduroam OR choose the network 'CBS guest' and follow on screen instructions.

### TIMES

The conference runs Friday 10.15.-16.00 and Saturday 10.30-17.30.

### FOOD AND DRINK

Coffee will be served three times a day. Lunch can be bought at the canteen. CBS is located next to the mall Frederiksberg Centret, where you will find plenty of shops and cafes. Moreover, if you continue past the mall, you will arrive at Falkoner Allé, a street where you will also find many restaurants.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Marx Now 2020 is organized by Selskab for Marxistiske Studier (SMS) with support from the Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy (MPP) at Copenhagen Business School, who is also hosting the conference.

10.15-11.00 - Registration (obligatory, ROOM 112)

11.00-11.15 - Welcome (ROOM S10)

FRIDAY 9/10

## ROOM 112

11.15-11.55

Mikkel Nørregaard  
Jørgensen: Look Away  
and Let Die - Border  
Violence at the Shores  
of Europe

Break

12.15-12.55

FEM-MA: læring og  
praksis (workshop in  
Danish)

## ROOM 114

11.15-11.55

Karen Ravn: Social  
Reproduction in the  
Periphery - (Re-)  
Producing Life in  
Lebanon

Break

12.15-12.55

Silas Marker: Populisme  
er folkets identitetspoli-  
tik (in Danish)

## ROOM 212

11.15-11.55

Allan Dreyer Hansen:  
Laclau's Theory of  
Populism and the Problem  
of Antagonistic Borders

Break

12.15-12.55

Derek S. Denman:  
Barricade Politics -  
Occupying Critical  
Infrastructure and the  
Spatial Strategies of  
Radical Democracy

12.55-13.45

Lunch Break

## ROOM S10

13.45-15.00

Maïa Pal:  
Jurisdictional Accumulation - The Role of Early  
Modern Consuls and the Methodological  
Challenge of Marxist Historical Sociology  
(via videolink)

Break

15.20-16.00

Karen Helveg Petersen:  
Does Marx's Theory of  
Money and Credit Hold  
Today?

Break

15.20-16.00

Andreas Beck Holm:  
Égaliberté - Om Etienne  
Balibars vision for en  
postmarxistisk politik (in  
Danish)

Break

15.20-16.00

Lasse Thomassen &  
Óscar García Agustín:  
Post-Marxism in  
Argentina - Radical  
Politics from Perón to  
Kirchner

10.30-11.00 - Registration (obligatory)  
(ROOM S10)

SATURDAY 10/10

## ROOM S05

11.00-11.40

Louise Rognlien: The Scandinavian Muslimwoman as Threshold Figuration

Break

12.00-12.40

Frida Sandström: Circulation as Production - Dematerialisation of Labour since 1968

## ROOM S10

11.00-11.40

Eskil Halberg: Subsumption af naturen eller kommunistisk reparation (in Danish)

Break

12.00-12.40

Nicolai von Eggert: The Republican Roots of Communism - Albert Laponneraye and the Legacy of the French Revolution

12.40-13.30

Lunch Break

13.30-14.10

Christiane Mossin: Masks, Fictions or Identities? Legal Boundaries and Collective Possibilities

13.30-14.10

Ida Lunde Jørgensen & Juan Ignacio Starrico: The Museum as a Trench - Interweaving Hegemony and Subversion at the National Gallery of DK

Break

Break

14.30-15.10

Mathias Hein Jessen: The Separation of the State and the Corporation in Capitalism

14.30-15.10

Timm Graßmann: The Essence and the Limits of Monetary Policy According to Marx

Break

Break

15.30-16.10

Astrid Elkjær Sørensen Corona-krisens betydning for det lønnede omsorgsarbejde (in Danish)

15.30-16.10

Anna Krogh Kjeldgaard: Cognitive Capitalism, Social Acceleration, and Mental Distress

Break

Break

## ROOM S01

16.30-17.30

Brenna Bhandar: Racial Regimes of Ownership - Property, Possession and Colonialism (via videolink)

# ABSTRACTS

## BRENNA BHANDAR: RACIAL REGIMES OF OWNERSHIP - PROPERTY, POSSESSION AND COLONIALISM (VIA VIDEOLINK)

In this presentation, I will explore the historically embedded relationship between race and property, what I have termed 'racial regimes of ownership.' As a prime motor force of colonisation, the entanglement of race and property, haunted by the figure of the possessive individual, continues to shape contemporary modes of dispossession and racial subordination. The production of racial subjectivity and the constitution of private property relations are articulated conjointly, in ways that are neither inevitable nor transhistorical. Rather, the racial regime of ownership requires continual renewal and reinstantiation to prevail over other ways of being and living. I draw on Stuart Hall's theorization of articulation, and Cedric Robinson's conceptualization of racial regimes in order to emphasize three different aspects of the constitutive relationship between modern property laws and the racial subject: the non-inevitable yet non-arbitrary nature of this juridical formation; the (consequential) necessity for this formation to be continually renewed in the colonial drive to appropriate and control indigenous land; and the recombinant nature of the constituent parts of the racial regime of ownership. By emphasising the contingent and unstable nature of the racial regime of ownership, I will by way of conclusion consider tactics of de-propertisation and estrangement from predominant modes of ownership.

## DEREK S. DENMAN: BARRICADE POLITICS - OCCUPYING CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE SPATIAL STRATEGIES OF RADICAL DEMOCRACY

Although "throwing up the barricades" today often refers to the border closures and repressive policies of nationalist regimes, this paper follows a different genealogy of the barricade, from its deployment as an instrument of popular insurrection in nineteenth-century France to contemporary acts of occupying and blockading critical infrastructure. This counter-history of fortification is one in which popular and indigenous movements deploy barricades not to obstruct the free movement of people but to interrupt the circulations securing capital and state power. Infrastructure, logistical networks, and supply chains have become integral to understanding security politics and global political economy. As such, theorizing circulation struggle has become an essential part of envisioning radical democratic resistance to ongoing processes of settler colonization and extractive capitalism. The paper examines the history of the barricade as a fortification deployed in popular revolt. In doing so, it considers the legacy of the barricade for the spatial practices of circulation struggles along pipelines, at ports, and in cities. The paper concludes by suggesting the Blockadia Map, which tracks actions against fossil fuel extraction, attempts to "scale up" circulation struggles and construct a vision of spatial order running counter to logistical capitalism.

## NICOLAI VON EGGERS: THE REPUBLICAN ROOTS OF COMMUNISM - ALBERT LAPONNERAYE AND THE LEGACY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

With the advent of the French Revolution, republican ideas of self-government and citizens' active participation in government were adapted to mass politics. As a consequence, models for ensuring mass participation (welfare policies, local assemblies) were increasingly discussed by radical theorists such as Robespierre and Babeuf. With the reactionary turn of the French Revolution and European politics such doctrines were quickly suppressed – and thus unknown to the public – and figures like Robespierre vilified. In 1834, however, the first ever edition of Robespierre's Works were published in two volumes. The editor was Albert Laponneraye, who also wrote a lengthy introduction. Laponneraye was a writer and teacher who in 1831 had given a course on the French Revolution for working-class people of Paris. It was later shut down by authorities later that year and Laponneraye was imprisoned, but he nonetheless published a lengthy history of the French Revolution in 1838, the first such history to paint radicals such as Robespierre and Babeuf in a positive light. By the late-1830's, he was one of the most prominent of the so-called 'neo-babouvists' who, like Étienne Cabet, argued in favour of communism but who, unlike Cabet, believed the means for achieving that end was class struggle through which proletarians would liberate themselves. In this paper, I will present and discuss the political ideas of Laponneraye, focusing on how the republican legacy (particularly that of Robespierre) with its emphasis on self-rule and active political participation influenced Laponneraye's ideas about communism and class struggle.

## FEM-MA: LÆRING OG PRAKSIS (WORKSHOP IN DANISH)

FEM-MA er en feministisk-marxistisk læsegruppe, der blev dannet i efteråret 2019. Her mødtes vi over otte uger for at læse om og diskutere emner som arbejde, sygdom, kærlighed og familien for at forestille os, hvordan vi kan indrette en feministisk og

kommunistisk verden. Vi forsøgte at gøre læsegruppen så kollektiv som muligt ved at læse og lave mad sammen til møderne og lade diskussionerne tage udgangspunkt i vores egne erfaringer. I denne workshop vil vi dele erfaringer med eksperimentelle måder at lave læsegrupper på og diskutere, hvordan vi kan udvikle revolutionære måder at læse og lære på kollektivt. Med udgangspunkt i det zine, vi afsluttede læsegruppen med at lave, skal vi i workshoppen også selv arbejde med tekstbidder fra feministiske marxister. Vi håber, vi i workshoppen kan undersøge læsegruppens potentialer og kan inspirere hinanden til nye kollektive måder at læse kritisk teori på.

## TIMM GRASSMANN: THE ESSENCE AND THE LIMITS OF MONETARY POLICY ACCORDING TO MARX

The world market crisis of 1857-8 was the first one in which the European governments and state banks refrained from a policy of credit rationing and, in order to break the panic, resorted to a multitude of partly novel instruments and measures such as international coordination, debt moratoria, conversion of private debt into state debt and liquidity provision. In his notebooks on the crisis, the so-called Books of Crisis of 1857-8, published for the first time in 2017 in the Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Marx certainly took note of this "birth of monetary policy". Marx had previously assumed a very close connection between economic crash and political crises, mediated through a fiscal crisis, but in 1857-8 it became clear that the state's ability to manage crises was not as limited as he had previously assumed. Through monetary policy, the state was able to "borrow time" and avoid the political turbulence Marx had expected. Marx theorized this experience in his manuscript for the Third Book of Capital, where he defined the possibilities and limits of monetary policy in more detail. He pointed out that while no state action could avert the recurrence of crisis, wrong monetary policy would necessarily aggravate every monetary crisis, implying that the right one would mitigate it. The presentation will discuss what, according to Marx, the essence of a "right" monetary policy is, what its limits are and what political consequences Marx drew from this.

## ESKIL HALBERG: SUBSUMPTION AF NATUREN ELLER KOMMUNIS- TISK REPARATION (IN DANISH)

Kapitalen underkaster ikke kun naturen sin magt ved at brede sig ud over større og større dele af landskabet. Kapitalen er i færd med at skabe sin egen natur. En på den ene side humpende og deform natur, og på den anden side en 'effektiviseret' natur. I forlængelse af human-økologen Andreas Malm og litteraten Jasper Bernes, samt Moishe Postones begreb 'abstrakt tid' gøres et forsøg på en analyse af kapitalens reelle subsumption af landskabet under kapitalen. Kapitalen forsøger at omskabe naturens rummelighed og dens tidslighed for at øge eller forlænge akkumulationsprocessen. En bevægelse fra årshjul til stopur, og fra landdistrikt til automatiseret lagerhal. Tilsyneladende uden grænse. Men kapitalen har en grænse. Nemlig det biofysiske stofskifte mellem samfundslivet og dets materielle forudsætninger. Dette stofskiftet er blevet afbrudt af en forstoppelse af affald (ikke mindst drivhusgasser), der før eller siden vil sætte en stopper for kapitalens akkumulation. Om ikke andet ved en biosfærisk nedsmeltning og fortløbende katastrofe. Processen er frem-skreden. Subsumptionsanalysen fører til en række strategiske spørgsmål om klassekampens forhold til natur, fordi en ødelagt natur gør både reproduktion og kamp svært. Hvad skal den kommunistiske bevægelse gøre med den ødelagte natur i kampen mod kapitalismen? Den ødelagte natur – ørkendannelsen – er en del af klassekampen, fordi madproduktion og dermed reproduktion af livet bliver stadig mere afhængig af kapital. Subsumption af naturen under kapitalen er således også subsumption af arbejdsprocessen under kapitalen. Det er svært at lave mad i et ødelagt landskab og derfor svært at slippe fri af akkumulationsprocessen. Ørkendannelse skaber kapitalafhængighed. Madproduktion i vores samtid gør kamp umuligt, men kamp er omvendt også umuligt uden mad. Jeg vil argumentere for at, den kommunistiske bevægelse således må blokere kapitalens bevægelse og reparere landskabet i en og samme bevægelse. Revolution og reproduktion på samme tid.

## ALLAN DREYER HANSEN: LACLAU'S THEORY OF POPULISM AND THE PROBLEM OF ANTAGONISTIC BORDERS

In this paper I address the question of antagonism and populism in Laclau's theory. On the one hand antagonism has held a very prominent place in Laclau (and Mouffe)'s theory, as it is the foundation of the claim of the ontological primacy of the political – as he claims in a famous paper: "only antagonistic borders are authentic borders". On the other side the development of the theory has introduced other (post)foundational concepts such as dislocation and heterogeneity. Laclau never gave a definite answer to the status of antagonism vs dislocation, but antagonism's privilege (is a part of the) equivalent claim of the ontological primacy of (the logic of) populism. Through an exposition of Laclau's reconceptualisation of antagonism and a critique of its elevation to ontological primacy, I discuss Laclau's notion of populism. I argue that (the logic of) populism is not an ontological category. This not only poses theoretical problems but also strategic and political ones. Both sets of problems centre around the presence of the signifier people in populist movements. If populist logics are ontological, the organising (empty) signifier may be anyone. If it is not ontological, 'the people' or some equivalent thereof, must be present. I then move on to two political/strategic problems in Laclau's claim that populism (the construction of a people) is the main task for the left. The first is antagonism and democracy. A democratic order cannot be antagonistically divided internally, so how can an antagonistic divide between people and elite be democratic articulated? The second is the potentially nationalistic logic of the people. Can the organizing signifier be 'the nation' without turning nationalistic? And can populism transcend the limitations of the nation-state?

ANDREAS BECK HOLM:  
ÉGALIBERTÉ - OM ETIENNE  
BALIBARS VISION FOR EN POST-  
MARXISTISK POLITIK (IN DANISH)

Den franske filosof Etienne Balibar blev i første omgang internationalt kendt som medforfatter på Louis Althusser's hovedværk *At læse Kapitalen* fra 1965. Efter sit brud med det franske kommunistparti i 1981 har hans tænkning imidlertid bevæget sig uden for de traditionelle rammer for marxistisk filosofi, idet han dog – til forskel fra andre såkaldte postmarxister som Mouffe eller Rancière – hverken har gjort op med eller kritiseret marxismen. Et af hovedtemaerne i hans senere forfatterskab har været diskussionerne af racismens genopblussen i det europæiske politiske liv og denne genopblussens sammenhæng med nationalismen og nationalstaten. Samtidig har han med afsæt i disse analyser formuleret et politisk projekt, der ikke blot trækker på den klassiske marxisme, men også på eksempelvis menneskerettighedserklæringerne, og hvis formål både er at drage konsekvensen af nationalstaternes tiltagende magtesløshed i en globaliseret verden og at skitsere rammerne for en nytænkning af demokratiet på disse betingelser. Snarere end at give en bred introduktion til Balibars mangefacetterede forfatterskab vil dette oplæg præsentere netop dette element i hans tænkning der kulminerer med diskussionen af begrebet égaliberté. Det er en term, der står centralt i udviklingen af det, han selv kalder en menneskerettighedspolitik. Oplægget vil med andre ord præsentere et anderledes bud på en postmarxisme, der ikke er båret af kritikken af Marx, men derimod af en metapolitisk realisering af det uerkendt progressive potentiale i indoptagelsen af diskurser, som højrefløjen traditionelt har haft monopol på.

MIKKEL NØRREGAARD JENSEN:  
LOOK AWAY AND LET DIE -  
GRÆNSEVOLD VED EUROPAS  
KYSTER

“The boat drifted SSW for seven to eight days before it encountered a military ship between 3 and 5 April (point E). Despite approaching them in circles and witnessing the distress of the passengers, the ship left without assisting them.” In this description of a boat carrying refugees from Libya to Lampedusa in Italy from the art installation *The Left-to-Die-Boat* a survivor tells of a meeting with a military boat deliberately ignoring the law of the sea by not rescuing the passengers from the boat. Two later died. The artwork is made by the research community Forensic Architecture as a part of the trial against the responsible border authorities who let the boat run aground. Taking the *The Left-to-Die-Boat* as my starting point I seek to investigate different forms of border power in relation to EU's border efforts in the Mediterranean. In the analysis of *The Left-to-Die-Boat*, I will especially emphasize how border control functions not only as a “top-down” power relation, but as form of control taking form as a social, processual mechanism; as *Bordering* (Van Houtum & Naerssen 2002; Brambilla 2015, 2017; Mbembe 2018, 2003 (2019)) and as a spatio-temporal entity, as a so-called *Borderscape* (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013; Brambilla 2015, 2017; Brambilla & Jones 2019). Based on the artwork analysis and the exposé of the two theoretical concept, I want to argue that the installation raises questions to contemporary forms of border control that constitute the European border complex: A complex that operates through inclusion and exclusion at the same time – as a mechanism shaped by law, militarization and identity-processes working by complicating migration routes and look away when casualties show up at border crossings. In conclusion, I seek to discuss how the artwork both shows how the complexity of the EU's border control shields from criticism, and also shows holes of possible resistance against the border control with the aim of changing it.

## MATHIAS HEIN JESSEN: THE SEPARATION OF THE STATE AND THE CORPORATION IN CAPITALISM

In her essay 'The Separation of the Political and the Economic in Capitalism', Ellen Meiksins Wood chastised Marxists for having "perpetuated the rigid conceptual separation of the 'economic' and the 'political' which has served bourgeois ideology so well". This paper examines a particular subset of this separation, namely that between the state and the corporation. Despite Marx's characterization of joint-stock corporations as 'powerful engines' of capitalism, the corporation has rarely been thoroughly analysed by neither Marx nor Marxists. This lack has only increased with the multinational corporation rising to become the main engine of contemporary capitalism. In the vein of Meiksins Wood, this paper holds that Marxists and leftists have perpetuated the rigid conceptual separation of the 'state' and the 'corporation'. On the right, in neo-classical and (neo-)liberal thought, corporations are treated as a nexus of individual (voluntary) market-transactions and equated with individuals or small enterprises. On the left, corporations are treated as economic creatures separate from the state, encroaching upon and threatening the sovereignty and autonomy of the democratic state. The paper traces the roots of this separation in early liberal thought, where it holds that our way of understanding corporations and their relation to the state was founded, and which still haunts us today. Here, because of their similarity to the state, corporations were constructed as individuals subject to the power of the state, and thereby subordinate to, dependent upon, and separate from the state. At the same time, corporations were a central way through which to govern social life and achieve ends of government – mainly the accumulation of profit – by granting corporations a wide range of legal exemptions, immunities and privileges. This tendency continues today, where corporations are granted wide-ranging authorities to protect private property, minimize individual liability, and transgress international borders in search for profit.

## IDA LUNDE JØRGENSEN & JUAN IGNACIO STARRICO: THE MUSEUM AS A TRENCH - INTERWEAVING HEGEMONY AND SUBVERSION AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF DENMARK

This paper examines the contested process of national identity formation that is currently taking place against a background of intense political debate surrounding immigration and belonging. Grounded in a visual analysis of two artworks exhibited at a national museum in Denmark, the paper illustrates how the subversive interweaving of art creates counter-narratives, which subtly but profoundly change the meaning of the hegemonic ones. In doing so, it becomes apparent how strong national myths of a fair nation are transformed to allude to dark sides such as the exclusion of ethnic and cultural difference. We contribute to the field of Marxist studies by complementing a historically inclined neo-institutional approach with Gramscian theory of hegemony and visual methods of analysis, inspired by Ferguson, Barthes, and Panofsky, to attend to the contestation of myth and national identity through the strategic exhibition of art.

## ANNA KROGH KJELDGAARD: COGNITIVE CAPITALISM, SOCIAL ACCELERATION, AND MENTAL DISTRESS

How do the cluster of phenomena signified by the terms 'cognitive capitalism' and 'social acceleration' impact mental health today? Contrary to the current tendency to individualise mental distress in public health discourse, I will, in this presentation, try to integrate insights from both critical theory and Foucault's discourse analysis to see how mental distress is linked to social trends and modern structures of society. Especially in the workplace there has been an increased focus on individual optimization and performance rate. I will argue that this is a sign of a growing exploitation of human subjectivity as such, as employees are expected to both invest and regulate

their subjectivity to increase productivity. Thereby work and identity come to be intertwined, and this affects the very construction of identity and how we view ourselves both as individuals and as workers. To be more precise, I will look at how the subjective investment at the workplace is intensified in such a way that employees might experience emotional exhaustion, lessened job satisfaction, and fewer opportunities to mentally detach from work. In my presentation, I will explain how this way of doing work within cognitive capitalism is linked to social acceleration, and how these phenomena can lead to symptoms that are often considered to be a part of stress, depression or anxiety diagnostic criteria. I will show how an internalization of these issues can lead to further damage. This is why I propose to use the term pathological deceleration, as an umbrella term that can capture the different kinds of mental distress that may stem from social tendencies. With this term, I try to point out that the physical and psychological symptoms of mental distress are best understood as manifestations of social and cultural conditions within the individual. This term can help replace a predominantly individualized psychological view of mental distress, and help draw attention to the systems of knowledge, values and norms that validate and reproduce the social order that makes us fall ill in the first place.

## SILAS MARKER: POPULISME ER FOLKETS IDENTITETSPOLITIK (IN DANISH)

Trump, Brexit, Le Pen, Orban, Bolsonaro, Salvini, Åkesson. Dansk Folkeparti, Nye Borgerlige og Stram Kurs. Højrepopulismen spiller en stadig større rolle i dansk og international politik. Verden over mobiliserer populismen et "folk" imod en "elite" og iscenesætter samfundet som et konfliktfelt og en antagonistisk kamp mellem "dem på toppen" og et undertrykt "os." Ganske interessant ligner dette på overfladen jo arbejderbevægelsen og venstrefløjens historiske rolle. Og vi har da også set en venstrepopulisme i form af SYRIZA i Grækenland, PODEMOS i Spanien og La France Insoumise i Frankrig. Og alt efter definition: Corbyn i

Storbritannien og Sanders i USA. I Danmark har stemmer særligt omkring Enhedslisten luftet idéer om en ny venstrefløj. Dette oplæg vil tage udgangspunkt i den argentinske filosof Ernesto Laclaus populismeteorologi og bruge den, om end ikke uden kritik af den, til at forstå populismen som en politisk diskurs eller artikulationslogik på tværs af årtier og landegrænser. Populisme er ikke bare tom demagogi, appel til folkestemningen eller "uansvarlig" økonomisk politik, som man tit hører i den offentlige debat. Måske peger denne artikulationslogik tværtimod på noget grundlæggende i det politiske, nemlig at identiteter og konflikter er afgørende i politik. Det rejser spørgsmålene: Hvordan skal vi forholde os til populismen? Hvad kan vi lære af populismen, og hvad skal vi forkaste? Og er en venstrepopulisme virkelig vejen frem?

## CHRISTIANE MOSSIN: MASKS, FICTIONS OR IDENTITIES? LEGAL BOUNDARIES AND COLLECTIVE POSSIBILITIES

The paper examines inherited legal conceptualizations of collective personhood with a view to the hindrances they entail for the development of new forms of collectivity today. Especially, attention is drawn towards crucial collective concepts of European legal history decisive for the development of modern intra- and cross-state organizational forms such as associations, foundations and corporations, and for general assumptions as to the meaning of collective legal subjectivity. In the 19th/ early 20th c Roman Law concepts such as 'societas', 'universitas', 'corporationes' and 'persona ficta' were subjected to intense jurisprudential discussions regarding their modern definitions and implications within the context of modern private law and an emerging capitalist society. At stake was whether a collective of people - and not just an individual - could be ascribed legal subjectivity, and, if granted, how issues related to guilt, debt, honor, autonomy, public and private responsibility, temporality and change were to be determined

and differentiated on a collective level. These legal debates were not only significant for the development of modern private law, but contained a range of fundamental general reflections: Should collectivity be understood as something constructed (fictional) or natural, formal or informal, dynamical or fixed, immediately present or always mediated/dependent on symbolic representation or imagination, unitary or fragmented, instrumental or emotional? Such questions are no less philosophical than legal, just as they can be linked to broader cultural debates and imaginations of the period – and of today. The paper discusses the legal-philosophical thematizations in the light of bio-political considerations. The original Roman law concept ‘persona’ meant ‘mask’ – and highlighted a distinction between the personality ascribed to an individual through law and the natural human being. The question is whether this way of distinguishing has been lost in modern societies: is life increasingly reduced to the categories applied to it, not only legal, but also political, administrative and cultural categories – to the extent that such categories are being naturalized? Or do we witness an entirely fragmented situation in which naturalization and instrumentalization reigns side by side? In terms of collective personhood, the paper suggests that exactly the schism between naturalization and instrumentalization functions as a fundamental obstacle to the development of forms of collectivity capable of altering capitalist logics and roles.

#### MAÏA PAL: JURISDICTIONAL ACCUMULATION - THE ROLE OF EARLY MODERN CONSULS AND THE CHALLENGES OF MARXIST HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY (VIA VIDEOLINK)

In her keynote, Maïa Pal will present the concept of ‘jurisdictional accumulation’ as developed in her recent book and discuss the methodological issues at work with respect to marxist historical sociology: The majority of European early modern empires - the Spanish, French, Dutch and

English/British - are best characterised as developing practices of ‘jurisdictional accumulation.’ These practices are distinguished by the three categories of extensions, transports, and transplants of authority, and the book is mostly concerned with various diplomatic and colonial agents which enabled the transports and transplants of their sovereign’s authority. Through historical analyses of ambassadors and consuls in the Mediterranean based on primary and secondary material, and on the empires’ Atlantic imperial expansions and conquests, the book makes two major analytical contributions. It firstly develops jurisdictional accumulation as a conceptual innovation, based, secondly, on an interdisciplinary mix of methodological angles. These intertwined contributions enable us to go beyond common binaries in both conventional and critical histories of international relations and international law through the use of a Political Marxist framework and its concept of social property relations.

#### KAREN HELVEG PETERSEN: DOES MARX’S THEORY OF MONEY AND CREDIT HOLD TODAY?

The paper aims to present a coherent modern Marxist theory of the monetary system by tracing the conceptual and historical developments of the money, credit, banking and capital nexus. For obvious reasons Karl Marx did not develop an up-to-date theory of money and banking. Nonetheless, Part V of Capital Volume 3 gives valuable, albeit raw and incomplete, material on which to build a coherent theory of the interrelations of money and credit markets supported by the modern central bank. The Bank Act of 1844 granted the Bank of England quasi-monopoly of banknote issue in line with its gold and other reserves. In normal times commercial banks handled their settlements through a complicated web of money market dealers, but when crises hit, the Bank was lender of last resort. The paper explores the compatibility of ‘the money view’ of Perry Mehrling (The New Lombard Street), with Marx’s thinking. The money view stresses the key role of liquidity, whose modalities vary from

high-powered central bank money to short-term private credit, and a corresponding hierarchy within the monetary system. State debt fuels the markets. In view of the dollar replacing the pound sterling as world money, Mehrling redefines the role of the world's central bank, the Fed, as not only 'lender' but 'dealer of last resort' or as market facilitator of the international monetary and financial system. This in many ways unlocks Marx's writings. Quantitative easing following the 2008 financial crash has led to unprecedented growth in central bank and large bank balances through increased liquidity. The corona crisis has once more put the spotlight on the tools and role of central banks, but also raised the question: Can the integrated international financial and, at a deeper level, capitalist system continue to paper over its inner fault lines or will they crack open?

## KAREN RAVN: SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN THE PERIPHERY - (RE-)PRODUCING LIFE IN LEBANON

While having taken various forms in different historical eras, women migrant domestic workers have been employed into private Lebanese households for at least a century to carry out daily care and housework for little (or no) pay. In this project, I seek to explore that situation through a critical analysis of the organization of domestic labor in Lebanon. By applying the Marxist-Feminist analytical concept of social reproduction, I analyze the organization of domestic labor in households as constituted by larger market structures, and as positioned within social relations of (re-)production on a local, regional and global scale. The analysis, therefore, also involves the broader organization of "social reproduction" in Lebanon, meaning all processes and forms of labor needed for the daily (re-)production of life and labor power.

In the social/colonial formation of modern Lebanon (located in the Periphery), the centering of financial and trade interests in the political economy has simultaneously pushed the processes of social

reproduction to a peripheral position with crucial consequences for the majority popular classes and social relations of (re-)production. Such processes are visible through the long-lasting privatization of social welfare, in legislations on labor & family relations, (non-)citizenship laws, housing conditions, and unequal access to reproductive autonomy, particularly for women and those deemed non-citizens. It is shown that Lebanon as a financialized capitalist society, like elsewhere, results in an organization of social reproduction as both feminized, racialized, and either privatized or commodified. Reproductive processes, thus, become a contested field of survival, dependent on people's structural position with regards to both class, gender, citizenship, race, and sexuality, while enabling the political establishment to utilize social reproduction as a means to subordinate and gain political support.

As such, I argue that social reproduction in Lebanon appears to represent a rather permanent microcosm of current structures of social-reproductive conditions/crises on a global scale. In exposing the connections between global, regional, and local structures of domestic labor, I show that such an organization renders as co-constitutive of a large global labor force of temporarily employed (migrant) workers whose reproductive autonomy become significantly reduced to cut the costs of labor and (re-)production in order to increase capital accumulation. In other words, I expose that the organization of domestic labor and social reproduction in Lebanon ought to be perceived as directly structured by the capitalist mode of (re-)production on all its various scales, as intensely experienced in the current crisis-phase of Lebanon and globally.

## LOUISE ROGNLIEN: THE SCANDINAVIAN MUSLIMWOMAN AS THRESHOLD FIGURATION

My argument is three-fold: firstly, that the figure of 'the Muslimwoman' is an important figuration in contemporary Scandinavia, and secondly, that the contemporary expression of this figure is bound to a specifically situated history of alterity. Thirdly,

that this figuration functions through and as a demarcation. I develop the neologism 'Muslimwoman' first applied by Miriam Cooke, through an emphasis on the Muslimwoman as a figuration, inspired (amongst other) by Judith Butler and further with Sara Ahmed's concept of 'sticky objects'. Further to this I argue, when working on figurations like this one, that the analytical concept of 'thresholds' might be more useful than 'boundaries'. While the latter signals something more static and fundamental, the threshold accentuates mobility, a transformative potential and highlights an 'in-between space'. I also argue for the necessity of situating a figuration like this, geographically, historically and culturally. By situating the figure of 'the Muslimwoman' in a Scandinavian historical and contemporary context, a specific history of alterity comes into view. The latent historical imagery of alterity and homogeneity, highlights the connection to aspects of a Nordic colonialism and orientalism, as well as Nordic exceptionalism through the narrative of 'a Nordic model' of welfare and equality. I problematize this through a discussion of the concept of 'Nordic whiteness' and the so-believed 'achieved gender equality', in light of the concept of 'femonationalism' framed by Marxist scholar Sara Farris. The contribution is a gendered, postcolonial theoretical approach and a conceptual framework for working with figurations in general, and 'the Muslimwoman' specifically, and an advocacy of a necessary situated historical approach.

**FRIDA SANDSTRÖM:  
CIRCULATION AS PRODUCTION  
- DEMATERIALISATION OF  
LABOUR SINCE 1968**

In a short essay, cultural critic Ian White compares pornography to silent film: both sharing "a formal drive that turns action into a demonstration of itself for the sake of entertainment." More than just "people fucking", we also see "a formal presentation of it," White argues, bringing attention to how the formal construct of mediation alienates a disintegrated and displaced productive action from its simultaneous materialising and consuming reception.

This paper seeks to reinterpret the 1968 art-theoretical concept of "dematerialisation", introduced as the Western concept of art merged with everyday life during the downfall of the avant-garde, predicting an ascendant paradigm of (il-)liberal, "dematerialised" labour. Different from neighbouring post-Marxian concepts such as "immaterial", dematerialisation allows us to analyse closer the moment at which labour is turned "into a demonstration of itself". Virtual or not, this differently distributed mode of production circulates its living labour as (dematerialised, disintegrated) products - formal reception being essential to its materialisation and valorisation (as art objects, as commodities). In a recent poem, Mara Lee traces this circuit in gazes staring at a formal, transactive interface - distorting the worker (herself) behind it into an abstract instant of a mere image of action, in exchange. If abstraction, as Sohn-Rethel argued, doesn't "originate in men's minds but in their actions" - commodity exchange being a particular mode of "social interrelationship", then dematerialisation is abstract mediation: circulation as production.

**ASTRID ELKJÆR SØRENSEN:  
CORONA-KRISENS BETYDNING  
FOR DET LØNNEDE OMSORGSAR-  
BEJDE (IN DANISH)**

I de kvindedomerede omsorgsfag i Danmark har der i årtier hersket en bred utilfredshed med lønniveauet. En utilfredshed, der i 2007 og 2008 resulterede i nogle af Danmarkshistoriens længste og største strejker, og et vedvarende krav fra fagenes fagforbund om, at politikerne skal gå ind med en ekstra pose penge specielt øremærket til at hæve lønnen i de traditionelle kvindefag i den offentlige sektor. Omsorgsfagenes lønkamp står dog som følge af coronakrisen pludselig i en ny situation. Netop nu oplever pædagogerne, sosu'erne, sygeplejerskerne og alle de andre medarbejdere i omsorgsfagene nemlig en sjælden stor ros fra både politikere og befolkningen – og globalt tales der om en komplet revurdering af det før så oversete reproduktive arbejde. I de danske omsorgsfag giver den nye anerkendelse

håb om, at man ved den offentlige sektors overenskomstforhandlinger i 2021 endelig får det markante lønløft, som de kvinde-dominerede fagforbund har kæmpet for i årtier. Overenskomstforhandlinger 2021 vil dog uden tvivl også blive stærkt præget af en dansk økonomi i krise, hvilket vil vanskeliggøre større lønløft. I mit oplæg belyser jeg de historiske årsager til de kvindedominerede fags relative lave lønniveau, herunder hvordan den danske arbejdsmarkedsmodel har virket konserverende for lønhierarkiet mellem fagene i den offentlige sektor. I forlængelse heraf diskuterer jeg, hvilke scenarier vi kan forvente omkring overenskomstforhandlinger i 2021, og om hvorvidt corona-krisen kan ende med at føre til en opgør med omsorgsfagenes lønefterslæb.

## LASSE THOMASSEN & ÓSCAR GARCÍA AGUSTÍN: POST-MARXISM IN ARGENTINA - RADICAL POLITICS FROM PERÓN TO KIRCHNER

In this paper, we examine Ernesto Laclau's writings on Argentinian politics. Those writings consist of occasional pieces in newspapers, media interviews, and short pieces in lesser-known academic outlets, almost all of them only published in Spanish. We use Laclau's writings on Argentinian politics to show that, while Laclau's academic writing is often very abstract, the theory is informed by very concrete political contexts. His theories of hegemony and populism should be seen as attempts to think through the political challenges facing the Latin American Left, particularly in Argentina, from the 1950s onwards with its debates between, among others, those who followed the different internationals and those who argued for a national-popular strategy. In doing so, we contribute an understanding of the development of Laclau's post-Marxism and the development of the so-called Essex School. We then take on a tendency of Laclau to treat populism as diametrically opposed to institutionalism in his theory of populism. We show that, in his political writings, he thinks of Left strategy as a careful balancing of populism and institu-

tionalism, where the exact balance between the two depends on the particular historical circumstances. This is particularly evident in his interventions on Kirchnerism, and it is important for thinking about the implications of Laclau's theory of hegemony and populism for radical politics in Latin America and Europe today. In arguing this, we contribute to the literature on populism, showing that Laclau's contribution to that literature is more complex than both his theoretical writings and his critics suggest.

# LOCATION

## COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL SOLBJERG PLADS 3

**ROOMS FRIDAY:**  
112 (registration), 114, 212,  
s10

**ROOMS SATURDAY:**  
s05 (registration), s01, s10

Rooms s01, s05 and s10  
are on the ground floor,  
112 and 114 on the first  
floor, and 212 on the  
second floor.

**TRANSPORTATION:**  
CBS Solbjerg Plads is  
located close to the metro  
stop 'Frederiksberg,'  
served by lines 1, 2, and  
3. Please note that you  
are required to wear a  
mask on all public  
transportation (including  
stations).

