

## FRIDAY 1/10

### PANEL: MILJØKAMPE, ONTOLOGI & DEMOKRATI

#### **Martin Karlsson Pedersen: Klassekampens militante miljøhistorie – erfaringer fra 70'ernes Australien og USA**

I *How to Blow Up a Pipeline* rejser Andreas Malm en kritik af klimabevægelsens principielle taktiske standpunkt: brugen af ikke-voldelig civil ulydighed. Malm fremhæver i kontrast hertil, hvad han kalder en "radikal flanke", som har benyttet sabotage (ødelæggelse af ejendom) som et taktisk våben til at ramme kapitalisten der, hvor det gør mest ondt: profitten. Malms historiske oprids af en radikal flanke er vigtig at få forbundet med den militante del af den vestlige klassekamps miljøhistorie. Den kan på samme måde fungere som et korrektiv til klimabevægelsens tendentiøse historiefortælling, med dens klassefravær, samt give Malms analyse en klassesdimension: her tog arbejdere også mere radikale taktikker i brug i kampen for miljøforhold og mod kapital, markedsløgn og produktion for profit.

Klassekampens militante miljøhistorie giver både empirisk og historisk kød på den principielle teoretiske diskussion blandt øko-marxister om arbejderklassens "pro-økologiske potentiale". Samtidig sætter den fokus på de positive historiske alliancer mellem arbejderbevægelsen og miljøbevægelsen, og den fælles kamp for både sociale og økologiske behov. Herved får vi givet vigtige historiske argumenter for klassekampens (stadige) relevans for miljø- og klimakampen. Jeg vil fokusere på to historiske eksempler fra begyndelsen af 1970'erne: Green Bans bevægelsen i Australien ført an af Jack Mundey og NSWBLF samt OCAW i USA ført an af Tony Mazzocchi og kampen mod Shell i 1974. Jeg vil ud fra disse to historiske eksempler uddrage og diskutere nedenstående fælles erfaringer i den bevidste kamp mod kapitalens naturødelæggelse:

1. Hvordan miljøkampen udgik fra "the point of production" samt en radikaliserings af taktikker: industriel sabotage og strejkevåbnet.
2. Den rolle som en øget anti-kapitalistisk og socialistisk bevidsthed – den militante minoritet – spillede i begge fagforeningsgrene.
3. En fremhævelse af "fælles interesser" mellem arbejderklassen og miljøbevægelsen samt hvordan de modtog kapitalens splittelsesredskaber (eks. "job blackmail").

#### **Anne-Marie Eggert Olsen: Socialontologi eller samfundsteori? (in Danish)**

'Socialontologi' har siden 70'erne gradvis etableret sig som svar på det omdiskuterede spørgsmål om, hvad Marx egentlig lavede, og hvad en filosofisk videreførelse af Marx' tænkning ret beset går ud på. Der kan imidlertid findes gode grunde til at have reservationer overfor, hvad betegnelsen stipulerer både om filosofi og om samfund. Oplægget vil – polemisk – præsentere og diskutere nogle indvendinger med udgangspunkt i Kritisk Teori, nærmere bestemt Theodor W. Adornos bestemmelse af samfundsteori: "Die Theorie der Gesellschaft ist aus der Philosophie entsprungen, während sie zugleich deren Fragestellungen umfunktionieren trachtet, indem sie die Gesellschaft als jenes Substrat bestimmt, das der traditionellen Philosophie ewige Wesenheiten hiess oder Geist." ('Soziologie und empirische Forschung', GS 8, 196).

#### **Gert Sørensen: Demokratiets tunge byrde – Det italienske case (in Danish)**

Hvor er det demokrati på vej hen, som vi i vor del af verden har kendt til siden Anden Verdenskrig? Det er det store spørgsmål, som der endnu ikke findes klare svar på. Konsekvenserne for de politiske systemer har ellers været mærkbare, efter at neoliberalismen tog over som den kapitalistiske produktionsmådes dominerende praksis og diskurs. Det har banet vejen ikke bare for kapitalens financialization men også givet nogle afgørende fordele til High Tech. De politiske systemer er sideløbende med denne udvikling nærmest blevet eksproprieret og har tilladt, at stadig mere af deres myndighed er overført til ukontrollable globale aktører, der dermed har fået vidtgående beføjelser til at diktere 'nødvendighedens politik'. Her melder Italien sig som 'det svage led', hvis størrelse og institutionelle porøsitet flere gange har bragt EU på kanten af en eksistenskrise. Igennem de sidste 25-30 år har landet været igennem en lang række politiske eksperimenter med snart teknokratiske regeringer og snart populistiske bevægelser ved roret (fra Berlusconi's Forza Italia til Salvini's Lega og den såkaldte Femstjernebevægelse). Flere af disse bevægelser er allerede imploderet, men de har efterladt en dyb tvivl om den demokratiske styreform's evne til at træffe langtidsholdbare beslutninger med bred folkelig opbakning og give et bud på de løbende økonomiske, miljømæssige og sundhedsmæssige kriser. Indlægget vil se nærmere på den entropi, der tilsyneladende har dikteret de seneste årtiers udvikling i Italien og andre steder, og som kalder på modstrategier. Det bliver derfor også et forsøg på at indkredse den kritiske teoris store koordinater.

#### **PANEL: URBAN ENVIRONMENTS & STRUGGLES**

##### **Anders Lund Hansen, Mads Barbesgaard, Louise Fabian and Vasna Ramasar: Uneven Urban Operational Landscapes and Sand Extraction**

This paper aims to advance our conceptual and empirical understanding of uneven urban operational landscapes and sand extraction. The city's material skeleton is founded on extraction of sand. The United Nations Environment Programme considers sand as the "unrecognised foundational material of our economies". We unpack the socio-ecological metabolism of operational urban landscapes by 'following the sand'. This paper follows up on the calls within both rural and urban studies regarding the need to supersede the urban/rural divide in order to better elucidate contemporary processes of socio-spatial transformations and their implications. This means that analysing urbanisation processes and their implications today, theoretically and empirically takes us far beyond the "city". The research contributes to this theoretical challenge through the intersection of theories on planetary urbanization, political ecology and social reproduction. Connections between urbanisation processes and relations to nature are frequently assumed rather than examined and overgeneralization is common. In this paper, we lay out the theoretical ideas and present some initial empirical analysis of the urban operational landscape and the on-going processes of the urbanisation of sand in the Greater Copenhagen/The Oresund region. The paper makes a theoretical contribution by operationalizing the three mutually constitutive moments of urbanization laid out by Brenner and Schmid (2015): concentrated, extended and differential and connects to the metabolism of nature.

**Bjarke Skærlund Risager: Financialized Gentrification and Class Composition in the Post-Industrial City – A Rent Strike Against a Real Estate Investment Trust in Hamilton, Ontario**

Through a case study of a rent strike against a real estate investment trust in a working-class neighbourhood in Hamilton, Ontario, this paper asks how we might understand class and class struggle against financialized gentrification in a post-industrial context. While class has been central to gentrification literature, working-class experience and struggle have often been ignored or conceptualized in a way that precludes agency. New research on financialization of housing often focuses on struggles but has so far paid limited attention to class. In this paper I draw on Italian operaismo (workerism) and its concept of class composition to contribute to the current debate by suggesting that financialized gentrification and struggles against it might contribute to a recomposition of the urban working class. Through a qualitative account of the 2018 East Hamilton rent strike, I analyse this struggle as two moments of class composition in the sphere of social reproduction. First, the extraction, exploitation and displacement pressure tenants experienced is analysed through the lens of technical class composition. Second, the rent strike itself is analysed as an expression of political class composition involving a confrontation of urban capital, a politicization of housing precarity, and the building of collective, autonomous power.

**Derek S. Denman: Hostile Architecture, Militarized Policing, and the Enclosure of the Urban Commons**

The literature on public space refers to the “fortress city” to denote a proliferation of defensive architecture: spiked ledges, divided benches, and other restrictive measures intended to regulate mobility, access, and urban use. These material forms are made more hostile by practices of sustained harassment by police and through laws targeting the unhoused. This combination of discomfort by design, regressive legislation, and racist policing produces what Mike Davis calls the “architectural policing of social boundaries.” While the enclosure and policing of public space has been well documented, my aim in this paper is to demonstrate the generative role of warfare in this process. I argue that the fortress city is not merely a metaphor for highly securitized space, but arises from a set of imperial circuits moving practices of control from occupied cities to the conduct of urban governance. Focused on these pathways of militarization, the paper follows the doctrine of crime prevention through “defensible space,” formulated by the architect and urban planner Oscar Newman. I seek to reveal how “defensible space” echoes notions of defense in depth spelled out in notions of military fortification. By following this pathway of militarization, I show how the design of the built environment serves as a relay between war front and home front. In doing so, the paper aims to contribute to the study of enclosure and primitive accumulation, building upon recent scholarship that reveals how violence at the origins of capitalism persists within its subsequent social formations.

**PANEL: IDEOLOGY & CRITIQUE**

**Signe Leth Gammelgaard: Indebted Bodies – Literary Decadence and Late Nineteenth-Century Financialization**

In this paper I argue that the literary movement of decadence in the late nineteenth century can be understood through the perspective of the contemporaneous financial expansion. I argue specifically that the formalist characteristics of the decadent style mirrors traits from Marx's understanding of finance capital and loan capital more generally. In order to do so I show parallels between the new economic thinking of the period, Ferdinand de Saussure's concurrent innovation of linguistics, the decadent style, and the logic of finance capital. By examining three novels from the period of the nineteenth century, namely Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin*, Huysmans's *À Rebours* and Wilde's *The picture of Dorian Gray*, I show that this development in the credit economy and in finance registers on the bodies of novelistic characters and affects the way that debt is portrayed. Finally I speculate on the use of studying literature to understand the history and dynamics of capitalism.

**Victor Cova: What was the Marxist Critique of Progress?**

The rejection of progress, which was once a prerogative of the right, is now predominant on the left. It appears that progress never really did take place but was only a narrative meant to justify countless horrors, or worked for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. In any case, even if it had once happened, we hear, it must now stop – or else a climate catastrophe will ensue. Although this may well be the case, it raises the question of the specificity of the Marxist critique of progress, which never amounted to a rejection of progress as such. In this paper I outline this critique, from Marx through Kautsky and Lenin to Benjamin, Adorno and Kolakowski, as a clarification of the crisis of bourgeois society under the industrial mode of the production, of the self-contradictory becoming of the core metaphysical categories that organise its thought – necessity, possibility, freedom, history, nature – and of their disintegration in progressivism and stalinism in the aftermath of the failure of the world revolution in the 1920s. As a result of that critique, it becomes possible to see that those contemporary social movements on the Left that are apparently most critical of progress in fact embody some of the most pernicious aspects of progressivism, from the conflation of morality and history to the relinquishing of freedom in the name of necessity.

**Mathias Hein Jessen: Corporate Subjects – An Intellectual History of the Corporation**

The corporation is arguably the central subject of contemporary capitalism. Contrary to popular belief and economic textbooks, economic activity in contemporary capitalism is not dominated by individuals, but by firms, companies and corporations. Central for this functioning is the corporate form, which gives a collective the right to own property, to be an object and subject of law, to be a legal or fictitious person or subject. In short: to act as an individual. This paper argues that in order for the corporation to function in capitalism, it has been equated to and configured as a person, as an individual, and as a subject. This personification, individualization and subjectivation goes beyond its rights and privileges as a juridical person, but has throughout the history of capitalism endowed the corporation with a number of duties, privileges and rights. As such, there is a contradiction in

conventional economic thinking, which equates firm action with individual action (theory of the firm), which cannot explain the existence, dominance and political influence of corporations. Corporations today account for a dominant percentage of the world's top 100 economies, responsible for the majority of global carbon emissions, increasingly politically influential, taking over more and more aspects of governance, and continue to be the driving force of value extraction and spreading of capitalism around the world. Consequently, critical scholarship on the corporation and the corporate form has sprouted in recent years within a number of different disciplines such as history, geography, legal studies, sociology, political science, and even Marxist studies. However, this paper argues, we need to understand how the corporation has been, and is continually being, constituted as constructed as a subject with particular rights (property, legal personality), privileges (limited liability, entity shielding, immortality) and duties (responsibility, fiduciary obligations, accountability, publicity).

## **PANEL: GREEN-WASHING & DE-POLITICIZATION**

### **Mads Barbesgaard: Capital, Ocean Space and the Blue Economy Paradigm**

Since the turn towards green and blue growth was widely endorsed at the Rio+20 gathering on sustainable development in 2012, heads of state, international institutions, transnational corporations, investors and NGOs increasingly look to the oceans and their resources to solve a stream of global challenges. The OECD, for example, has argued that the ocean has an indispensable role in addressing a range of challenges from world food security and provisioning of energy and natural resources, to climate change. For the oceans to play this role, however, the OECD and others have argued for dramatic transformations in the political economy of global ocean space in order to facilitate the expansion of new types of ocean industries: from the more speculative (e.g. deep-sea mining for raw materials for 'green' technologies) to already existing (e.g. offshore wind). Where existing academic and political work tends to emphasize the immediate dispossessory dynamics associated with blue growth (e.g. "ocean grabbing"), new conflicts concerning use and control of ocean space within and between these new ocean industries are also emerging. Building on critical political economy of ocean space literatures, this intervention seeks to elucidate contemporary competitive accumulation in the global ocean through an examination of the conflicting interests between these new and emerging ocean industries as they seek to position themselves strategically in the so-called blue economy. The intervention thereby seeks to contribute an analysis of the role of capital in appropriating and re-organising the oceans according to its own needs through a scrutinization of who exactly is appropriating the oceans and how they are seeking to do so under the emerging blue economy paradigm.

### **Lotte Schack: Bridging Crises and Struggles – On the (De-)Politicization of the Swedish Climate Movement**

In recent years, the climate movement has seen a rise in popularity which can be seen in the wide mobilisation e.g., of Extinction Rebellion and Fridays for Future. Sweden, the homeland of the latter, is no exception. Large segments of the movement have insisted on the necessity to remain apolitical and present the climate issue as purely scientific in order to secure support from a broad range of politicians and civil society actors. However, in recent months, the movement has started to engage in more explicitly political topics. To

analyse the co-presence of politicising and depoliticising tendencies in the movement, I draw on Nancy Fraser's (2021) concept of crisis. According to Fraser, the climate crisis cannot be understood as an isolated crisis but must be conceptualised as one crisis among many that together constitute a general crisis of capitalism. Any attempts at conceptualising the crisis as a single issue thus risk leading to its depoliticization. Instead, to effectively combat the climate crisis, the climate movement must be what Fraser calls 'trans-environmental': it must not confine itself to addressing the climate crisis as an issue separate from other political struggles. However, what could such a movement look like? What struggles should it align itself with? And what drives its emergence in Sweden at this point in time? I analyse how different currents of the Swedish climate movement take up this challenge, for example through connecting industrial forestry to indigenous struggles or rejecting it, insisting on the importance of a strict focus on the climate question. In exploring the different strategies and tensions within the movement, I seek to examine how different parts of the movement relate to activism, politics and social justice, and how their different approaches construct and (de)politicize the problem of climate change and its agents.

### **Albin Söderlund: The Oatly Controversy and the Limits of Corporate Climate Activism**

Oatly, a Swedish company specializing in plant-based foods, has consistently been vocal about their devotion to combat climate change. Despite their commitments, in July 2020, Oatly took on private equity firm Blackstone as an investor. When the deal was announced, people were disappointed and puzzled, and boycotts occurred. In response, Oatly explained that if they could show big investors that companies such as Oatly are profitable, it would be the most important thing they could do for the environment. The paper analyzes this controversy through the theory of metabolic rift. I begin by outlining what I take to be the most plausible understanding of the theory of metabolic rift. I proceed by arguing that Oatly's strategy to safeguard the planet is a non-starter, since as long as value inserts itself as a mediator in the transhistorical metabolic relation between human and nature, metabolic rifts are bound to happen. In this way, it is the economic form determinations, not the lack of green investment that lies at the heart of the ecological crisis. I suggest that the inherent structures of capitalism motivated the Blackstone deal, which, in turn, highlights that it does not matter whether companies are genuine or not in their commitment to combating climate change – no single actor can bend the inherent rules of capitalism. Finally, I argue that the controversy presented itself as a political opportunity for an eco-socialist movement. The already existing broad dissatisfaction with climate corporate practices together with the discrepancy between Oatly's commitments and actions formed an advantageous situation in which a critique of capitalism, not individual capitalists, had potential to reach a wider audience.

**PANEL: AGRICULTURE & FOOD**

**Marie Huntley Andersen: Mapping the Complexities and Socio-Economic Relations of Pig Meat Production**

This master's thesis explores the politically economic relations of pig meat production in Denmark. The objective is to gather a nuanced understanding of the dynamics present in the pig meat commodity chain as it relates to the increasingly global nature of the industry. With the guiding research question, 'How can recent changes of the pig meat industry be explained?', I explore the contradictory circumstances that characterize the current phases of the industry. These are related to the role that the meat industry used to play in Denmark as historically rooted in the cooperative movement and to the current realities of TNCs dominating the industry. The slaughtering company Danish Crown is used as an anchor of the analysis for its role as a lead firm in the pig meat industry. The analytical pillars are built around the framework of the Global Commodity Chain (GCC) that is a lens through which central actors and relations are mapped out: in particular, the relationship between Danish Crown and labor (slaughterhouse workers) and the relationship between global demand actors and Danish Crown's production. The labor aspect is most salient in the analysis and the perspective of slaughterhouse workers is assessed through a historical referencing of conflict and unrest. In particular, how labor has responded by different means to the changing challenges. I argue that the dynamics of the pig meat GCC is rooted in capitalist modes of accumulation that draws, and thrives, upon unsettled problematics of workers' organization.

**Morten Hugaard: Urban agriculture as Potential Antithesis to Food-related Alienation**

Globalisation and increasing industrialisation has led to a rather substantial food liberalisation, paving the way for the possibility to consume food from anywhere and nowhere. This has led to people being alienated from the food they consume, due to distance from production and the normlessness found in modern consumption – so called gastro-anomie. A potential opposition to this, can be seen in the increasing popularity of urban gardening and foraging – but to what extent can this be seen as a direct response? By investigating the potential de-alienating properties of urban gardening and foraging, the study presented is looking at the practice of these in relation to local foodscapes and human-nature interrelation. The study was methodologically conducted through literature-reviews and interviews with practitioners of urban-gardening and urban foraging in and around the city of Aalborg, while theoretically understood through the lens of early Marxian work on human-nature relationship, gastro-anomie and foodscapes. Throughout the study it was found that most informants took great pride in their practice, since it in their eyes, directly opposed modern food production methods. Although their practise was not spawned from a direct hatred towards modern alienated production, it became their direct opposition. The practitioners did not see themselves as part of a geographically constructed local foodscape, but rather a symbolic one. Urban agricultural and foraging practises can be seen as showing a lot of promise in regards to de alienating its participants. The practise is seen by its practitioners as an antithesis to modern food related mass-production, but the practice needs further integration into the local foodscape to garner real change in regards to food related alienation and gastro-anomie.

**Kristian Rehfeld: Monsanto, 'Terminator' Seeds, and the Real Subsumption of Contemporary Agriculture**

In 2018 a merger was approved between the U.S. based Monsanto, previously known for its production of the dioxin-based herbicide 'Agent Orange' during the Vietnam War, and the German multinational Bayer AG, once infamous for its use of slave labour and human experimentation in Nazi concentration camps. If their collective histories failed to make such an acquisition adequately horrifying, then their staggering control over global seed markets should. Following the deal, the locus of power over global food supplies centralised further; by 2019 more than 60% of global proprietary seed sales were controlled by just four firms: Bayer, Corteva, Syngenta and BASF. In the same year an estimated 690 million people were hungry and over 2 billion lacked access to safe and nutritious food. Two years on following the Covid-19 crisis these figures have only grown more dire. A decade prior to the acquisition Monsanto gained access to 'terminator' seeds, genetically modified to sterilise after a single harvest to prevent a second generation from maturing, ensuring rural farmers are further indebted to global agrobusiness. The ethical implications of a handful of multinational corporations controlling such large swathes of the global food production and supply process, and their capacity to develop such technologies, are not difficult to discern. Perhaps before all else this technology fundamentally endangers the livelihoods of much of the world's population who rely on traditional seed saving and localised plant breeding to sustain themselves and their communities by forcibly subsuming them to the logics of capitalism. To understand how agriculture reached this point requires an exploration of the industrialisation of agriculture, the centralisation of capital, and the manipulation of contemporary patent and regulatory frameworks. This paper explores these phenomena primarily through Marx's writings on the centralising tendency of capitalist accumulation and the formal and real subsumption of labour. In doing so it aims to illuminate the irrational logics which lead companies like Bayer-Monsanto to resort to such things as 'terminator' technology, and how the monopolisation of global agriculture allowed them to do so.

**PANEL: HISTORY, CAPITALISM & CRITIQUE**

**Adrian Ortega Camara Lind: Marxism at the University – the Disciplinary Critique (fagkritik) and the Critique of the (bourgeois) Cultural Radical Pedagogy**

In the bourgeois public sphere, the popularity of Marxism in the 1970s university world is used as a mythologised spectre. But what did the Marxists of the day really want? Did they really simply want to "overthrow and destroy society" as some say? This paper will explore the critique and programme of the Student Revolt, also known as the Disciplinary Critique (fagkritik). The Disciplinary Critique was closely linked to the dawning of Marxism at the university. It developed during the Student Revolt and became the tool that students used in their struggle against professor-rule (professorvælde) and against the established scientific authorities. The main emphasis of the presentation is on the programme and theory of Disciplinary Critique, but I will also discuss its preconditions, emergence and development. In particular, the presentation will examine the Marxist critiques of bourgeois pedagogies of the time (especially the critique of the cultural radical pedagogy). The paper will also present the critique of the bourgeois university as well as the critique of the dominant bourgeois scientific paradigms. The presentation will also address the student rebels' idea of the critical university and the fate of this idea. I will critique the existing

recent literature on the subject, in addition I will discuss in detail a few important works by Danish Marxist thinkers of the period and highlight their strengths. Finally, we will discuss together the relevance of Disciplinary Critique, as well as the status of Marxism and the critical sciences in the university today.

### **Markus Christian Hansen: How do we Study Causality in Capitalist and Non-capitalist Societies?**

This presentation will suggest that we cannot provide a transhistorical theory of economic determination. One of the great issues of philosophy, sociology and history is the question of determination – economic, technological, institutional, or otherwise. This is especially the case in Marxism, which has at times indulged in the (in)famous “base-superstructure” metaphor presented by Marx in the introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in 1859, and later voiced by Engels in his letter to J. Bloch from 1890. Despite the diminutive size played by such comments in the overall body of work of Marx, they have shaped not only Marxist theoretical discussion, but also the general reception of “Marxism” as a theoretical field, to an outsize extent. On the other hand, there has also been a striking theoretical poverty when investigating issues of historical development. Various factors are highlighted on an ad hoc basis with little concern for providing some theoretical establishment of the order of determination or causality between for example ideas and economic practices. The result has been a mixing-up of causal factors in a way which cannot spontaneously be justified. By utilizing a Political Marxist approach, I will suggest that the issue of how social causation functions can only be answered with reference to historical specificity. I will argue that capitalism is in fact more economically deterministic than previous historical socio-economic forms, whereas for example feudal society allows for a much greater degree of free action. The practical upshot of this is that we must allow for greater causality of “superstructural” elements when studying non-capitalist societies.

### **Esben Bøgh Sørensen: The Ecology of Agrarian Capitalism in Early Modern England**

The advance of ecological Marxism in the last twenty years has, to a large extent, revolved around the reconstruction of the ecological impulse inherent to Marx’s thought. In this context, Marx’s critique of 19th century capitalist agriculture (the period of British “high farming”) and his preoccupation with contemporary natural scientific, especially chemical, thought has been essential for identifying capital’s compulsion to create disturbances in the metabolic relation between humans and nature and rifts in natural cycles and processes such as the nutrient cycle essential for sustaining soil fertility. The metabolic rift analysis has been employed mainly to explain contemporary ecological crises, including those produced by industrialized and globalized agriculture. However, capitalist agriculture arose much earlier in the pre-industrial era in the context of the 16th and 17th-century English countryside as immediate producers (peasants and farmers) became separated from their means of subsistence. While this separation has been noted as the initial metabolic rift, we lack further studies into the ecological roots of capitalism in this period. In this paper, drawing on the metabolic rift theory and the Political Marxist notion of social property relations, I provide an overview of the ecological implications of the rise of capitalist agriculture in early modern England. Using secondary literature and primary sources from contemporary agricultural writers, I point to the destruction of previous local ecologies by

capitalist farming, the innate drive to subsume labour and nature to the requirements of competitive farms, and the profound ideological changes in natural knowledge implied by this process. Finally, I discuss how such an approach differs from the World-ecological approach and try to draw some consequences for the further development of ecological Marxism.

#### **PANEL: CLIMATE & STRATEGY**

##### **Erika Brandl: On operationalized Solidarities – Insights of Ecosophy and Other Reconnaissance Tactics for the Climate Age**

A movement and a strategy of radical aspirations in face of the ecological crisis, deep ecology used to be a dominant theme in environmental philosophy, but its standing today is severely diminished. In their hope to overcome the noxious dualistic separation of human and nonhuman systems, deep ecologist advocates like Norwegian Arne Næss (regarded as among the developers of environmental ethics) ended up attaching too great an importance to people's individual experience of reality as a source of bettered environmental attitudes – with the result of the movement's contemporary downfall. Yet I claim that Næssian insights on unity, “joyful sharing” and togetherness can inform and improve on cannon practices of solidarity. While it has been well argued that the relationship between the theoretical-rhetorical uses of the term “solidarity” and its potential as conceptual tool is a tricky one, I think that these are notions which hint at solutions to modify our current activities towards more sustainable – and fair – economic and environmental praxis. These short, selected insights, which follow from Næss' own “ecosophy”, here constitute a toolkit of sorts – a flawed, curious toolkit that reflects back on the ways we (hope to) develop and operationalize solidarity. In the piece, I comment on the ecosophical method that Arne Næss proposed with the intention to curb and end men's exploitation and destruction of the natural world. I discuss the effects of a reconceptualization of Næss' “indistinguishability” of interests by that of mutuality, and make the case that his strategy for self-identification and self-realization is one which, through exercises in recognition (reproduction) and collective living, can increase an individual's preparedness to share resources with others. I defend the position that these so-called exercises need not be of ontological essence, but that they can be reworked as simply political. To conclude, I attempt at qualifying the “type” of solidarity here at play, and briefly contrast it to important traditions of solidarity (social theory tradition, socialist tradition, Catholic tradition), in order to assess its subversive potential.

##### **Jean-Claude Simon: Bifurcation and Transition – The Political Economy of Socio-ecological Transformation**

This paper is about applying theoretical foundations, derived from Marx, Polanyi and Kovel to develop an eco-socialist praxis in the context of the current economic, health and social crisis of ordo(neo) liberal capitalism. It provides the framework for a society project. The eco-socialist transition is not a technical solution but an in-depth societal change toward a political economy of work necessary to put an end to all forms of exploitation and domination. My starting point is thus the « deadly infinity » of capitalism: exponential growth, competitiveness and profit maximisation that, taken together, turn people and nature into things. The society project is anchored into two necessary processes: First, a

change of course (bifurcation), a rupture with capitalism; that is to say a significant change in political conditions to be led by a popular social movement in the current context of the multiple crises of the mode of production. Second, a long-term transition that will combine significant and progressive changes in the political, economic and social fields in order to build new institutions in the context of popular power. To lead such a change, the social movement must become hegemonic, able to think and lead the process toward eco-socialism. It is thus a class-based revolutionary initiative. The bifurcation will be the starting event for three « de-commodifications »; work, nature and money will be placed outside of market relations, will become commons, and be « instituted » as such. Democratic planning will determine the placement of available resources according to a needs-based economy that will also be multi-level: local, regional, national and international. The transition itself will be based on the switch to 100% renewable sources of energy and a radical conversion of industry and agriculture.

### **Daniel Vernegg, Alf Jørgen Schnell & Yngve Heiret: Green New Deal – Green Keynesianism or Socialist Strategy?**

The proposal for a Green New Deal (GND) is spreading like wildfire on the global left. The concept of GND accommodates a wide range of climate strategies that advocate the necessity of a strong state to promote transformations through ownership and strategic investments in green industries and infrastructure. The GND hinges on the experiences from the inter-war New Deal politics in the US, inspired by the economist John Maynard Keynes who advocated for an expansive state to stabilize the capitalist economy. In the same way that the original New Deal challenged the contemporary dominance of laissez faire ideology, the GND seeks to break free from the neoliberal hegemony by reasserting the importance of the state in climate politics. However, while all GND strategists share Keynes' belief in a state-led economic transformation, there is disagreement on the left about the purpose of a climate politics in which the state takes control over the economy. While the Keynesian left seeks to break with neoliberalism, there is a strong current of Marxist thought arguing that the GND should be part of a gradualist socialist strategy to break not only with neoliberalism, but with capitalism as such. This paper elucidates these different perspectives on GND as a strategy by taking the Norwegian left as a starting point.

Mobilizing in a context in which welfare institutions and the other victories from the golden era of social democracy remain more intact than in most other European countries, the Norwegian left is arguably in a favorable position to launch a radical and visionary proposal for sustainable economic transformation. Indeed, there is a wide-held belief on the left that the more left-leaning the political environment is, the more it offers the possibility of launching radical solutions. Nevertheless, assessing the proposals for a GND on the Norwegian left, we argue that the Nordic variety of GND is fundamentally Keynesian, in that it recognizes the ecological and social contradictions of capitalism, but nevertheless invokes a “strong” state to push capital in a green direction with the explicit aim to establish a more sustainable capitalism. In this presentation we provide a critique of Norwegian Keynesianism and propose an alternative perspective on the GND as a gradualist socialist strategy

**PANEL: CLASS, IDENTITY & SEXUALITY**

**Daniel López Pérez: Life Chances and Class – An Alternative to Capitalism**

How are Marxists not only scrutinising, understanding, and criticising, but overthrowing capitalism? What theoretical tools have Marxists, and what tools are missing for this endeavour? Is it necessary to further politicize Marxism, so it turns its scholarship into praxis? The problem of the crisis of capitalism is a subject extensively investigated in Marxism. Undoubtedly, we have accomplished a great deal to critique and identify capitalism's contradictions. We argue that one of those contradictions is that the system that we so vigorously criticise is also the system that enables and concedes millions of exploited labourers living conditions. While we must continue a critique of this society, how are we addressing the ontological demands of labourers, that is, the necessity to survive and have a "good life"? This paper proposes recasting the concept of life chances, which could twofold attack capitalism. First, it could enable unveiling exploitation as the other main constitutive factor of class. Second, it could enable us to understand and foster the organisation of the working classes around alternative forms of production of life—ultimately addressing the contradictions related to the environment. We propose recasting life chances and creating them in a class-conscious way. Such an endeavour could be attained by paying more attention to class-based forms of social entrepreneurship. These forms of production and social organisation have been already developed. However, their study and theorisation have restricted mostly to liberal literature on economy and business management. Their models on shared value and corporate social responsibility manage to conceal the contradictions of capitalism and depoliticise the social initiatives and collective actions for life chances. Marxism ought to take the concept back from liberal sociology, associated mainly with Weber, and place it alongside exploitation in the core of the class analysis.

**Jeannette Søgaard: Is Marxist Identity Politics Possible?**

Identity politics has undoubtedly brought along important discussions and both juridical and political rights for many minority groups. In academia, Identity Politics are often discussed within the concept of intersectionality and here, some scholars claim that this theory is incoherent. Amongst the critics are Marxists, who see intersectionality as a replacement of a material analysis of social relations with intersubjective forms of oppression and therefore see identity politics as incompatible with Marxist theory even though both Marxism and intersectionality are dominant on the political left. Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) is a recent theory that claims to be able to combine Marx' materialism with an intersectional theory of oppression by placing oppression within the material condition of production by focusing on reproduction of the workforce. In this talk, the possibility of a combination between intersectionality and Marxism will be discussed in two steps. Firstly, I will use the historical Marxist-feminist debates of female oppression under capitalism and the related intersectional, queer and Marxist critiques of Marxist-feminism. Secondly, I will try to evaluate whether SRT is able to account for those critiques. and try to sum up some of the theoretical challenges SRT faces today from newer Marxist critiques as a point of departure for further discussion of the possibility of a Marxist identity politics.

**Mathias Klitgård, Liu Xin & Laura Horn: Sexualities and Critiques of Capital – An Introduction by the Editors**

Emphasis on the political significance of sexuality presents one of the most important feminist contributions to critiques of global capitalism. While the relation between the economic and the cultural/non-economic, and between redistribution and recognition continues to be subject of debate (see for example Fraser 1995; Butler 1998; Oksala 2017), there is a general consensus that sexualities and sexual politics are both foundational to and shaped by the capitalist mode of production and accumulation (see for example Drucker 2015; Reynolds 2018), as well as the changing relations of labor and formations of statehood (see for example Liu 2015; Chitty 2020). For example, it has been argued that the contingent inclusion of particular sexual minority identities in nationalist narratives and imaginaries feeds into the neoliberal logic of “privatization and personal responsibility” (Duggan 2003, 12) on the one hand, and the figure of the exceptional and civilized nation-state on the other hand (see for example Puar 2007). Moreover, the restructured relation between capital and labor through the logic of financialization, has been said to form what Lisa Adkins and Maryanne Dever call the “post-Fordist sexual contract”, which instead of separating production and reproduction “places the ideals of intensive mothering, domesticity, entrepreneurialism and an investor spirit towards work and working on the same continuous plane” (Adkins 2016, 3). The purpose of this talk is to present background, structure, preliminary insights and ideas in progress behind the upcoming special issue of *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* on sexualities and critiques of capital. This special issue provides a platform for critical analysis and debates that shed light on the complex and often contradictory ways through which sexualities and capital are related to, shaped by, and constitutive of each other. It invites discussions that concern how the changing mechanisms of capital accumulation and the restructuring of labour in post-Fordist capitalism shape sexualities and sexual politics, as well as how sexual oppression under capitalism foments critiques of domination and communities of resistance.

**PANEL: LIFE, WORK & SPECIES-BEING**

**James Day: Preliminary Notes on the Abolition of Species-being**

Fracture, non-identity and radical difference were preconditions for recoiling from, for tracing the contours of, the dialectic between human potential and capital according to the “Gloss on Humanism” written by Gianni Carchia for circulation at the “Conference against Repression” held in Bologna in 1977. If the cycle of protests across the globe over this period spelled the end for notions of class struggle based on the affirmation of working class identity, Western Marxism nevertheless predominantly preserved an ideal of human nature and community turned inside out by alienation. In the current cycle of struggles, however, it might be argued that the critique of conceptions of human nature and human community present throughout Marx’s work appears to be an urgent necessity. This paper will seek to reconstruct Marx’s views on species-being and human community across his writing, with special attention to the shifting terminology around labour power in the critique of the political economy. Is it possible to posit a fundamental change in species-being with the establishment of the capitalist mode of production? Is Marx’s notion of abstract labour untenable once his notions of humanity, and human labour, are critiqued? “End of the month: end of the world.” This slogan, which appeared in the fusion of the yellow vest movement with climate marches, concisely posits the coherence of wage labour and

the myriad climate crises. This paper will conclude by asking whether the possible sublation of human community and species-being in forms interspecies co-existence is part of the development of the workers movement and its forms of struggle (from the general strike, to the human strike, to the climate strike), or requires the undoing and renunciation of the vocabulary of the theory of revolution.

### **Philip Højme: Rethinking Communism as Biocommunity – Life and Species-being**

This presentation seeks to reconceive the little known concept of biocommunity (Dyer Witheford 2008; Wróbel 2020a, 2020b) in light of the growing realization that Nature is increasingly knocking down the bulwarks constructed by late capitalism. To reconceive Communism as biocommunity, at present, means to awaken the branch of Marxist thought concerned, not so much with society as with life itself. This concern is similar to both Agamben's bare life (1998[1995]) and Butler's precarious life (2004, 2012). Biocommunity constitutes, in my interpretation, a conception of communism much in line with Bookchin's idea of social ecology (2006) – which in turn distinguishes biocommunity from both Stalinism and Leninism – instead, biocommunity is anarchic, rather than statist, and plural, as opposed to universal. By starting from Dyer-Witheford's suggestion of returning to the young Marx's idea of 'species-being' or *Gattungswesen*, this presentation aims, on the one hand, to sketch biocommunity as less techno-optimistic than Dyer-Witheford's original proposal, and on the other, as less utopian than Wróbel's conception of biocommunity as an 'overcoming of biopolitics'. Instead, I will suggest that biocommunity ought to be concerned with the present lives in their actual present situations as these present their bare or precarious suffering to the world. In conclusion, I am offering an interpretation of biocommunity as a possible reconception of Communism in an age where uncontrollable Nature has once again become visible. At the same time, I am also offering a novel qualification of the earlier conceptions of biocommunity. The latter makes biocommunity a fruitful concept for further research under the present conditions – climate change, COVID19, etc. – because the qualification suggests a need to reorient Communism towards life itself rather than society. Lastly, biocommunity can provide us with this reorientation without any recourse to positing neither a technological nor a post-biopolitical future.

### **Thea Yan Pan: Neijuan (involution), Education and Labour in China**

My presentation will be a reflection on economy and education, responding to the recent public frustration signified by the social phenomenon of neijuan (involution) in China since 2020. Neijuan refers to a social process of endless competition and depletion in which many Chinese people find themselves. It is a brutal rat-race where everyone exhausts themselves in the competition for limited opportunities. The tendency towards neijuan has been intensified in the context of China's deep integration into the global market economy and its partial transition from agricultural, industrial economy, to post-industrial, knowledge economy. It also is accelerated along with the transition of educational ideology, from socialist ideals to neoliberal developmentalism, where education and students, as future workers, are commodified as human capital for economic development. Education in contemporary China in many ways is a contentious site that reproduces economic and social inequality where schools, students and disciplines are stratified, mirroring the

hierarchical order in the labour market and social classes. My presentation will first greet the audience with living examples of neijuan and its different manifestations to help the audience familiarize with the social phenomenon. Then I will shift the focus on analyzing the relationship between labour commodification, education and neijuan. I will try to answer these questions: What is the class composition in contemporary China? How has labour commodification, both in industrial and postindustrial areas in China, rendered intensified, new, complex, unequal status of employment? What are the goals and market mechanisms that mobilize people to enter competition, and what role does education play in this process? In the end, I will touch upon the emerging forms of resistance among Chinese youths.

## SATURDAY 2/10

### KEYNOTE: Andreas Malm: Climate Breakdown as it Unfolds – The View from 2021

In the summer of 2021, the climate crisis took another turn for the worse, with an unbroken string of extreme weather events hitting countries from Madagascar to Russia, Germany to the US. And yet, after the brief slowdown of 2020, business-as-usual was again resurgent, with fresh investments in oil and gas and coal across the board. This talk will offer some preliminary reflections on the current conjuncture of climate breakdown and politics. It will consider inter alia the inert power of fossil capital; the apparent swing from far-right denialism to capitalist climate governance in the US; the ubiquity of mechanisms of denial; the absence of the climate movement in the global North since the outbreak of Covid-19 and prospects for its return; what tactics the next cycle of climate unrest could and should deploy, and, last but not least, the looming spectre of solar geoengineering.

### PANEL: AESTHETICS & MATERIALISM

#### Eva la Cour: 'Naturrikdom og Kuldrift på 78' – Geo-aesthetical Perspectives on (a) Changing Svalbard

Herta Grøndal, an Austrian photographer who throughout the latter half of the 20th century shot an extensive number of still photographs on the High Arctic Archipelago of Svalbard selected to feature Svalbard on postcards, stamps and in museum displays, is an important source for visual research related to Svalbard. Less known are Grøndal's films from the 1960s and 1970s, commissioned by Store Norske Spitsbergen Kul Kompagni (SNSK). I propose to consider Grøndal's films as historical assemblages of Svalbard, which scenographically offer themselves as material in the present, and to discuss the kind of narratives that they are enrolled in telling in a contemporary context of (a) changing Svalbard: speculating upon contemporary productions of Arctic imaginaries, Grøndal's film provide a historical contrast to the planned decommissioning of coal extraction, with a time when Svalbard's settlements were still functioning and imagined foremost as coal company towns. That is, Grøndal's filmpractice mobilizes material anchored questions of access to the past as much as to its recollection, when considered in the context of an ongoing development of Svalbard's ascending role as a Norwegian flagship pristine wilderness, attractive adventurescape and aspiring Arctic sustainable exemplar. This draws from the basic assumption that, in order to understand climate change (being the dominant framework of environmental and Arctic imaginaries) as a human-caused threat of 'loss' it is useful to understand that the Arctic was never authentic. Rather, I claim, the 'loss' consists in the increasingly impossible conditions for processes of historical becoming, whereby Svalbard's historically but also continuously depends on coal – historically as an energy source and currently as an imaginary foundation for Norwegian presence.

#### Mikkel Krause Frantzen: The Hyperobject, Ecomarxism and Science Fiction

Let me start with a paraphrase that encapsulates the hypothesis of this paper and of the article ("Ecology, Capitalism and Waste: From Hyperobject to Hyperobject", 2020) and book (Klodens fald, 2021) on which it is partly based: The wealth of the contemporary world, in which the capitalist mode of production still prevails, paradoxically presents itself as an

immense accumulation of waste. To account properly for this situation, I argue in this paper, we need a concept of the hyperobject. In the first of this paper, then, I will outline the main conceptual characteristics of the hyperobject, while pointing to some of the key – theoretical, analytical and political – differences between that concept and that of the hyperobject as formulated by Timothy Morton. Having substantiated my definition of the hyperobject as a planetary infrastructure of waste and demonstrated how it offers a crucial materialist and feminist perspective that Morton's theory does not, in the second part of the part I will show how this concept is of relevance to contemporary ecomarxism, including theories of the Capitalocene, of the metabolic rift and of toxic colonialism. In the third and final part, I will consider how the field of literature, art and culture – more specifically the genre of science fiction and Kim Stanley Robinson's two most recent novels – can assist Marxist studies of Capital, Climate, Crisis.

### **Tobias Skiveren: Misinterpreting New Materialism; or, Why Malm got it all Wrong**

In *The Progress of this Storm. Nature and Society in a Warming World* (2018), Andreas Malm launches a fierce critique of the recent turn to matter in the humanities and social sciences also known as “new materialism.” Targeting a wide range of contemporary thinkers, Malm claims that new materialism fails to deliver adequate tools for counterworking the climate crisis, because it obscures the human origins of this crisis by distributing agency across human/non-human divides. In this paper, I want to argue that Malm bases his polemic on a methodological dogmatism that takes critique to be the only legitimate mode of analysis, thereby misconstruing the analytical aims of many new materialist thinkers, Jane Bennett in particular. These thinkers, I claim, distribute agency, not to critique the acts of rocks, but to change anthropocentric modes of perception and, in so doing, foster “ethical energetics” that can condition societal change. Drawing on recent discussions about postcritique, I'll make my case, first, by studying how the valorization of critique undergird Malm's claims, especially his emphasis on human responsibility. I'll then demonstrate how this very same valorization fails to acknowledge the political-ethical value of new materialism's emphasis on response-ability. Ultimately, the paper pushes back against the hegemony of critical methods by underscoring the advantages of methodological pluralism.

### **PANEL: EMPLOYMENT, EXTRACTION & ALTERNATIVES**

#### **Magnus Andersen & Marlene Spanger: The (In)visible Migrant Worker – The Migration Infrastructure and Digital Platforms in Denmark**

All over the world, platformisation allows companies to ‘employ’ a flexible, yet precarious workforce for instance within the service industry such as food and groceries delivering, cleaning and waiter services. In Denmark Wolt, Vigo, Nemlig.com, DAO, Hungry, Happy Helper and Hilfr are examples of companies that organise and transform labour on platforms in one way or another (Andersen & Spanger 2021). Drawing attention to the figure of the labour migrant, we examine how digital platforms intermediary work or more precisely ‘employ’ migrant workers, and challenge the predominating categorisations in the so-called ‘Danish model’. Taking point of departure in the case of the food delivery company Wolt, we analyse how the occurrence of the digital platforms changes the conditions for a ‘differential inclusion’ (Mezzadra & Neilson 2013) of migrant workers on the Danish labour

market. Drawing on the concept of the ‘migration infrastructure’ (Xiang & Lindquist 2014) we examine how different actors such as the migrants themselves, the trade union, the platform companies as well as the state challenge the highly institutionalised Danish labour market with their different histories, motives and logics (Spanger & Hvalkof 2020). Doing so, we argue that the figure of the migrant working on these digital platforms becomes (in)visible. On the one hand, they are visible performing the work in the everyday urban space. On the other hand, migrants performing labour on digital platforms become invisible in the institutionalised national space as they transgress the categorisations of ‘the Danish model’. As a result, this (in)visibility shows how the mobility of a heterogeneous group of migrant workers in Denmark is regulated and exploited in complex ways.

**Vasiliki Makrygianni & Kostas Petrakos: Spaces of extraction and struggle – Primitive Accumulation and Urban Struggles in the Case of ‘Skouries’ Gold Mining in northern Chalkidiki, Greece**

Despite the widespread attention to the spatial expansion of extractive frontiers around the globe, the power imbalances between multinational mining companies, host countries and local populations remain underexplored. In this presentation, we examine the case of a gold mining project in Greece, a country that has been in the epicenter of a financial and social crisis. During the last decade, the Canadian company Eldorado has undertaken a gold mining investment in the environmentally sensitive area of Skouries. A fruitful social struggle has emerged against this project, both in the rural site and in the urban Greek metropolis. Following autonomous Marxist literature (De Angelis 2007, Federici 2011, Hardt and Negri 2009), the circulation of capital could be interrupted by social, class, gender or ecological struggles. To unsettle this view, we build on recent critical scholarship on new enclosures, land-grabbing and the permanence of primitive accumulation and we explore the inter-articulation of gold mining projects and neoliberal policies in crisis-scapes. Moreover, drawing on insights from literature on critical geography (Massey 1994, Allen 2003, Bridge 2014), and on current debates over extractivism and neo-extractivism (Svampa 2013, Acosta, 2016, Gudynas 2018), we explore the corporate strategies and techniques of power used in spaces of extraction, and problematizes the dialectic relationship captured in the repeating pattern of emergence and bankruptcy of mining companies shifting between job prosperity and expanded unemployment at the local level. In addition, we unsettle the differentiated state strategies that foster continued extraction and discuss how the state promotes the forcible appropriation of land for mining operations. We pay attention to the social mobilization at the extractive frontier, and we highlight how extraction, apart from a spatially localized form of development, is a privileged site of gender segregation in mining sites. Through this case study we investigate not only how the financial crisis but also the recent COVID state of exception provide an opportunity for multinational mining corporations to expand their zones of exploitation and how social resistance can reclaim common resources and question processes of capital accumulation.

**PANEL: CLIMATE JUSTICE**

**Vasna Ramasar: Building an Inclusive Climate Justice – Is Race the Elephant in the Climate Movement?**

This paper offers a critical examination of how the climate movements in Europe and the tensions that exist in engaging environmental racism. Activists have been fighting for social and environmental justice in different local conflicts for decades. Over time this has spawned global economic justice movements like the debt cancellation movement. Today, climate justice brings together a global concern with a justice movement. This paper explores the political role of a global climate movement for fostering the diversity of life and movements around the world. The paper uses a qualitative approach drawing on discourse analysis and empirical examples to build the argument. In the first part, a critical perspective to global environmental movements is offered by articulating the challenges of an inclusive climate movement in terms of race, gender and ethnicity. A potential concern for planetary justice as a mobilizing concept is the risk of a singular narrative of justice where restrictions of the dominant system are reproduced. Using climate mobilization as an example, the exclusion of people of colour and the appropriation of indigenous struggles are discussed in terms of the power and politics at play in global movements. The second part of the paper draws on the work of the Global Tapestry of Alternatives to suggest a more pluriversal approach where an intersectional climate justice is encompassing different ways of being, knowing and living in a world where many worlds fit. The paper concludes with some lessons from global movement building that is based in local action.

**Line Skovlund Larsen: Climate Blame Below The Glaciers – Challenges to Climate Justice in Peruvian Mountains and German Courts**

In this talk I will discuss the notions of climate responsibility and climate blame in relation to climate justice between the Global South and the Global North. I will do so by focusing on climatic changes and risks in a Northern Peruvian city in the Andes and a related climate lawsuit against a coal mine in Germany. In this discussion I will introduce the term diffuse responsibility – a term I have coined to explain the common (mis)understanding that “everyone” is responsible for the climate crisis. I argue that the discourse of attributing blame for climate change to local livelihood management strategies creates guilt in individuals and conceals major emitters’ climate responsibility. The talk will take as its starting point the research for my master thesis in which I investigate climate blame amongst a local population in the Northern Andes, Peru, and relate it to arguments on climate liability in German courtrooms. I do so on the backdrop of a climate lawsuit filed by a Peruvian farmer (Saúl) against a German coal- and electricity company (RWE). Within the local Andean population I find a range of perceptions of climate change causes, and I show that residence, livelihood strategies and worldviews have influence on perceptions of climate change. Through theories of climate justice, individual guilt, and collective responsibility I find that the majority of the local population blame themselves or their own community for climate change. This curiously resembles arguments put forward by the coal mining company for exempting their climate liability. In the paper I also offer a critique of the project of the lawsuit concerning community involvement, and a discussion of the potentials of climate litigation as a tool for climate justice.

## **PANEL: DANISH CAPITALISM**

### **Caroline Anna Salling: A gift of heating: To Odense, from Facebook**

Within several places in Denmark, district heating infrastructures and Big Tech's data centres and are getting converged to utilise heat from servers in warming up local homes, factories, shops, and institutions. In 2020, a particular form of taxation was removed as part of the recent climate initiatives of the Danish parliament to motivate use of heat from industrial processes for district heating. The Facebook corporation took a leading role in the lobby work to remove the tax to gift the heat "for free" to the local heating infrastructure in the city of Odense. A few people involved with overseeing and calculating the socio-economic framework for such a change in tax policy have argued that this might afford 'fake productions of excess heat' as the tax no longer constructs a limit for over-producing excess heat and thereby might under-prioritise work on making industries more efficient in their electricity use. On the other hand, using the excess heat might help with phasing out the use of fossil fuels such as coal while it simultaneously contributes to the increasingly growing infrastructure of tech capitalism. What comes with this gift of heating enabled by changed tax policy, and how is Facebook written into the local infrastructure through the gift-giving? In this paper I turn to Anna Tsing's (2009; 2013; 2015) analysis of the roles of gifts and commodities in capitalist accumulation. This also includes ways that formally function non-capitalist such as gifting but always comes with certain obligations, politics and needs for reciprocation that contribute to accumulation and concentration of capital. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Odense and with people involved in the changed tax policy, I will discuss an emerging relation in a moment of capitalist entanglements between data and environmental change.

### **Rune Møller Stahl & Christoph Houman Ellersgaard: Elites and Populism in the Danish power Bloc**

In this paper, we analyse the ideological position of key actors in the Danish power bloc. Based on 38 in-depth interviews with individuals holding core positions in elite networks, we explore the core ideological project that unites interlocked corporate directors, union leaders, business association executives, senior civil servants, professors and politicians in a coordinated market economy. The interviewees were sampled so all hold central positions in the elite network, but at the same time occupy the most divergent positions of those integrated in power elite networks. We show a hegemonic project tied to 'the extreme center' and a growth model of export-led growth unite both the representatives of capital as well as the most centrally placed unions. Populism and radical political parties are frowned upon, while even corporate leaders support moderate income distribution and a continuation of relative egalitarianism. We show how populism in the case of corporatist cross-class elites is constructed as a pathological element in democratic politics. Elites forcefully renounce other elites who cave in to the asserted allure of populism. We show how elites access the credibility and seriousness of others based on whether or not they refrain for using 'populist' rhetoric, in particular anti-EU, xenophobic, anti-globalization, anti-capitalist discourse. We finish the paper looking at how elites construct key contemporary societal challenges, highlighting how these are understood in ways in which the current power block may have to adapt, but not change fundamentally. We discuss the paradox of elites not linking these challenges to the rise of populism, but instead view populism as an externality to current societal developments.

### **Johannes Lundberg: The Investment Dispositive and the Climate Crisis**

This presentation will investigate the role of financial capitalism in mitigating/aggravating the climate crisis. More particularly, it will analyse the way finance theories have affected Danish pension funds' divestment decisions (i.e., decisions to end investments in fossil fuel companies). By now, various studies have documented that the specific economic interests of fossil fuel companies have led them to a highly successful lobbyism to delay climate regulations. As the power of capitalism is sliding from owners of means of production towards owners of means of finance, investors now have a critical role in influencing the fossil industry. On this backdrop, the investigation takes up a double task: First, it will identify a logic of an 'investment dispositive' (i.e., a tendency transversing different types of techniques, theories, practices, and documents). The investment dispositive will be traced in financial theories concerning 'agency theory,' 'modern portfolio theory,' and 'fiduciary duty,' proposing a tendency to: define investors' responsibility to maximise profit, highlighting risk management, delimited active ownership, and neglect of environmental consequences of investments. Second, it will trace how the investment dispositive has translated into textbooks, laws, and investment models and practices, focusing on how this has shaped the divestment decisions of Danish pension funds. The analysis of Danish pension funds will focus on to which degree and how: a) Co-ownership in pension funds gives a stronger voice and concrete political influence to climate concerned members compared to commercial and state-owned pension funds; b) Transparency strengthens public discussion about investment policies and policies of active engagement; c) The investment dispositive hinders Danish pension funds in implementing investment policies aligned with the goals of the Paris agreement.

### **PANEL: KAMPE**

#### **Mustafa K. Topal: Kurdiske kvinders implementering af deres nye feminisme i Rojava**

I min afhandling Kvindekrigere i den kurdiske nationalbevægelse PKK: Et kønsreflekteret perspektiv (RUC, 2020) undersøger jeg bevæggrundene for kurdiske kvindekrigeres deltagelse i Kurdistans Arbejderparti (PKK) og i partiets politisk militante kampe. Det empiriske grundlag i afhandlingen udgøres af etnografiske feltstudier, herunder deltagerobservationer blandt kurdiske kvindekrigere i Kurdistan (Irak og Syrien). Udover kurdiske kvinder, der deltager i PKK's kampe mod den tyrkiske stat for at få den til anerkende kurdernes rettigheder, har jeg også i Syrien/ Rojava interviewet kurdiske og ikke- kurdiske kvinder, der sammen forsøger at implementere et nyt demokratisk samfund, mens de også aktivt er med til at føre en kamp mod Assad-regime, Islamisk Stat og Sunnimuslimske Jihadister, der støttes af Tyrkiet. Dette empiriske grundlag analyseres ud fra et postkoloniale, poststrukturalistiske, og ny-materialistiske kønsblik, for dermed at kunne begribe de kurdiske kvindekrigeres personlige og kollektive, identitetsmæssige forandringsprocesser. Afhandlingen konkluderer kort at kurdiske kvinder tilslutter sig PKK for at udvide deres egne handlemuligheder. Det nye styresystem som især kvinder finder sig ansvarligt for at implementere i Rojava kaldes demokratisk konføderalisme. Det er et system, som PKK's leder Abdullah Öcalan har udviklet under sin fængsling (siden 1999) med inspiration fra den amerikanske anarkist og socialfilosof Murray Bookchin (1982). PKK's første manifest fra 1978 havde som mål at skabe en uafhængig kurdisk stat som

middel til at standse den vold og undertrykkelse, som kurderne igennem tiden har oplevet. Med en verden i forandring, især efter Sovjetunionens fald har Öcalan modereret PKK's ideologi og er begyndt at være kritisk over for nødvendigheden af en nationalstat. Hen imod slutningen af 1990'erne begyndte Öcalans at udvikle demokratiske konføderalisme som et alternativ til nationalstaten og statssocialismen.

### **Anna Krogh: Radikalisering af psykoterapien? Et skridt på vejen mod en mere kulturkritisk og kollektivt orienteret psykoterapi**

Skal målet med psykoterapi altid være at udrede og ændre klienten? Eller kan det som Prilleltensky et al (2009) fremsætter også være en forandring i individet med henblik på, at individet skal forstå, stille sig kritisk overfor og måske endda forandre ydre omstændigheder? Den kritiske og kriseprægede situation menneskeheden befinder sig i post-COVID19, har tydeliggjort en presserende opgave for psykoterapien: hvordan behandler vi mennesker der oplever psykisk mistrivsel, således at ansvaret ikke placeres hos dem? Hvordan kan vi i terapien inddrage de ydre betingelser, der kan belaste mennesker og rette opmærksomhed ud mod dem og den måde de foldes ind i individer på? I denne præsentation, vil jeg introducere kritiske måder at forstå psykisk mistrivsel, der peger udad mod strukturer og tendenser ude i verden, i stedet for indad mod individet. Arbejdet er især inspireret af Hartmut Rosas kapitalismekritik, og den allestedsnærværende sociale acceleration berøres også i oplægget. Indledende vil jeg skitsere hvorledes vi kan udbrede psykoterapiens genstandsfelt. Her gør jeg brug af særligt Carsten René Jørgensens tilgang til psykoterapi, da han advokerer for at arbejde med en bredere og mere integrerende forståelse af årsagerne til psykisk mistrivsel. Herefter fremsætter jeg tre forslag til måder hvorpå man kan trække kultur- og samfundskritik ind i det terapeutiske rum: først, hvordan man vha. Foucauldiansk teori og analyse kan søge at afdække skjulte magtforhold og -positioner i klientens liv. Herefter, ved at kortlægge fælles forståelseshorisonter i samfundet og søge efter måder at bryde med disse. Og slutteligt at undersøge og forstå coping-fænomenet som noget kollektivt. Afslutningsvis vil jeg adressere det ansvar jeg mener, der ligger hos mennesker der arbejder med psykoterapi, for at gøre brug af kritiske perspektiver. Og hertil overveje hvorledes en terapeut kan og bør reflektere over egen indlejring i samfundet. Herunder, hvordan vi der arbejder med terapi, kollektivt kan udfordre hvilken viden, og dermed også behandling, der betragtes som legitim når man beskæftiger sig med psykoterapi.

### **Bertel Nygaard: Marx' Kapitalen på dansk gennem 150 år – mellem boghistorie og samfundshistorie (in Danish)**

Karl Marx' kritik af den politiske økonomi har været omstridt, siden den blev formuleret. Den er blevet læst, oversat, forstået, brugt – og ofte påfaldende ignoreret – på vidt forskellige måder siden 1800-tallet. Så gennem de danske modtagelser af Kapitalen og dens beslægtede skrifter kan man ikke blot foretage bogfilologiske kortlægninger. Man kan også tegne konturerne af skiftende sociale, politiske og kulturelle kontekster. Derigennem kan man samtidig åbne for forskellige måder at tilgå værket på – og desuden forsøge at værne nutidige nylæsninger mod at gentage gamle, glemte fejl. Formålet med dette oplæg er følgelig at undersøge det historiske arvegods, som ligger i de skiftende danske modtagelser af Kapitalen. Hovedvægten lægges på tre højdepunkter i interessen for Marx

og Kapitalen, hver med cirka 40 år mellem sig: 1890, 1930 og 1970. Derudover perspektiveres til de tidligste Marx-receptioner i slutningen af 1840'erne og den nye interesse for Marx' økonomikritik inden for de seneste 10-15 år. Ved hvert af disse punkter spørges til, hvilke politiske, sociale og kulturelle aktører, der udbredte Marx' tanker, hvem der modtog dem, hvilke former disse tanker fremstod i, og hvilke betydningsgivende samfundsmæssige sammenhænge de indgik i. Oplægget skal samtidig præsentere en ny bogudgivelse fra forlaget Slagmark om danske Kapitalen-læsninger med særligt fokus på 1970'erne og nutiden.

## **PANEL: MARX & MARXISMS**

### **Morteza Samanpour: The Historical Ontology of Capitalism in Marx's Capital: A Critique of Value-Form Analysis**

Value-form analysis in the broad sense of the term (Neue Marx-Lektüre as well as those influenced by it: Bonfeld, Heinrich, Postone, Systematic Dialectics, etc.) is one of the most influential philosophical interpretations of Capital that treats Marx's Critique of Political Economy as critical theory of capitalist societies, an enquiry into the most basic fundamental relations constitutive of the capitalist mode of production. The object of Marx's critique in Capital, according to value-form theory, is not the history of capitalism but only the 'inner structure' of capitalist societies in its 'pure state' or its ideal average. In distinction to value-form analysis that interprets Marx's theory of value as the 'ontological ground' of capitalism presented in a dialectical-logical form, I will argue that Marx's social ontology has a processual character whereby the 'inner structure' of capitalism is articulated in its motion and dynamics, that is, in relation to its 'history'. The historical chapters such as 'So-Called Primitive Accumulation' and 'The Working Day' are not merely historical illustrations of an already developed logical-theoretical argument, having simply a secondary and subordinate role in Marx's supposedly logical dialectics. Rather, the historical genesis of capitalism and the historical tendencies of capital constitute crucial moments within Marx's critique of capitalism that attempts to grasp the most fundamental social relations of capitalism in their dynamic. This is not an arbitrary methodology but, rather, stems from the practical-critical or 'dialectical' nature of Marx's discourse that treats its object from the standpoint of 'its negation' by virtue of identifying the possibilities of social transformation within history. Towards the end of the paper, I draw out the theoretical implications of interpreting Marx's Capital as 'historical ontology' (the social-ontology that is constituted by history) for both social reproduction theory and the postcolonial-informed theories of capitalism wherein the relationship between the social-ontological structure of capitalist societies (the production and circulation of value) and the 'non- or extra-economic' condition of capital's reproduction (patriarchy and colonialism) becomes central.

### **Magnus Møller Ziegler: Fowl Play: Owls, Eagles, and the Future in Marx and the Young Hegelians**

At the end of Marx's published "Introduction" (1844) to his unpublished critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, he writes that, "the day of German resurrection will be heralded by the crowing of the Gallic cock". In this paper, I argue that Marx's avian metaphor relates to another feathery piece of imagery, viz. Hegel's famous dictum that, "The Owl of Minerva

takes flight only at dusk” (Philosophy of Right, preface). In his metaphor, Marx is invoking two things. First, what Wolfgang Bunzel and Lars Lambrecht has called the ‘symbolic topography’ of Young Hegelianism, i.e. the tendency to ascribe symbolic and theoretical meaning to topographic signifiers, in casu France and Germany. Second, as – in the Young Hegelian imagery – France and Germany represents practice and theory respectively, what Marx is implicitly invoking is the Young Hegelian notion of praxis understood precisely as a kind of post-theoretical practice. Hence, I argue, he is contributing to the Young Hegelian rehabilitation of the future as a relevant category for political philosophy, since to these Young Hegelians it is only in a future post-eschatological moment that such a human praxis can be realised – illustrated by the future tense of Marx’s sentence: the day will be heralded... However, in the essay Marx also begins a radical reconceptualization of the Young Hegelian concept of praxis. To Marx, praxis does not just denote the fully realised state of human flourishing of the post-eschatological moment but also the kind of human activity needed to bring about this moment. In other words, praxis, to Marx, is the act of drawing the future into the present.

### **Søren Mau: Marxism and the Body**

Since the 1980’s, critical scholars in the humanities and social sciences have confronted the tendency in Western intellectual culture to devalue or ignore the corporeal dimensions of human existence. This ‘corporeal turn’ has been dominated by non- or anti-Marxist theoretical traditions such as phenomenology, post-structuralism, psychoanalysis and new materialism, while Marxist perspectives have been perspicuously absent. In this talk, I will discuss what a Marxist contribution to the corporeal turn might look like, and pose the question of what insights a specifically Marxist approach to the body can produce, and how it differs from and relates to other approaches.