100 Years of Now

Dangerous Conjunctures

Resituating Balibar/Wallerstein's *Race, Nation, Class*

Dangerous Conjunctures

Resituating Balibar/Wallerstein's
Race, Nation, Class

Racism articulates itself through class relations and intensifies in nationalist currents. A new understanding of this dynamic is needed in order to create emancipatory and solidary social models. That is the diagnosis of the seminal volume *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* by Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein. Thirty years after it was first published—at a time when this sinister triad rises again—it has become urgent to redefine the ambiguous effects of their relations.

Both state and society are undergoing widespread change, whether through the effects of global financialization on local markets, the logistical interpenetration of production and everyday life, or increasing digitization, which presents entirely new challenges, for example to the concept of citizenship. Through global capitalism, racist structures are realigning and previously established class structures are being transformed. In contrast, new transnational social movements are forming, such as feminist initiatives, the Black Lives Matter movement, and migrants' struggles for rights and self-determination. This conflicting situation demands an examination of the conjuncture of racism with regard to class relations and nationalisms.

The three-day symposium *Dangerous Conjunctures. Resituating Balibar/Wallerstein's "Race, Nation, Class"* pursues this redefinition with theorists and activists from a variety of professional, linguistic, and local perspectives. In discussions, lectures, and presentations, they will examine new forms of racism and question conventional notions of class as well as the radical transformations of the concept of nation today. At the time of writing, Balibar, a political philosopher, and Wallerstein, a sociologist and historian, understood their book project as a "practice of theory"—a perpetual dialogue between different positions and a space for new perspectives. By pursuing the question of how historical constructs of race, nation, and class correlate, they ventured to define the conjunctures of a new racism, which today need to be updated. The symposium takes up this exploration in a dialogic form to come to a common understanding and interrogates the globalized context of these ambiguous constructs. How can their ongoing effectiveness be sociopolitically negotiated today, and how can a theoretical practice be instrumental in counteracting dangerous conjunctures?

Curated by Manuela Bojadžijev and Katrin Klingan

INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS

Racisms Today?

Session 1

Balibar and Wallerstein's classic text offers prescient readings and analytic terms for our contemporary symptomologies of race, nation, and class. To what extent do these terms remain relevant today, nearly three decades on? What new racisms—seemingly operating independently of the once dominant biologistic arguments—eclipse past understandings of racism as inequalities are deepened? While the ongoing relevance of social categories of race and class has often been denied, it can be observed that nationalism is on the rise in the face of proliferating demographic and cultural heterogeneities; bodies are being individualized, yet inscribed with renewed ethnoracial markings; and whole groups have been "evaporated" by being made stateless. How is racism being reconfigured as technological developments remake bodies; transform, if not render obsolete, large swaths of work and labor or reorganize it across borders; and promote aggressive militarization as well as new surveillance techniques? How is religion being refashioned and repurposed to obscure the workings of race, class, and nation while simultaneously rewiring them? What critical anti-racisms are being imagined and activated today as key responses to these developments?

Program in collaboration with David Theo Goldberg and Françoise Vergès

Thu, March 15, 3 pm

INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS

The Nation-Form: Histories and Presence

Session 2

In their chapter *The Historical Nation*, Balibar and Wallerstein describe how racism emerges with the constitution of classes, thus ensuring social stratification. Nationalism, in turn, mobilizes society to demarcate the state in contrast to others and to enforce imperialist strategies. How do we read this analysis in our current conjunctures, with its proliferation of authoritarian and racist nationalisms? Today, the nation-state is being rearticulated through political, technological, economic, social, and cultural transformations. For example, traditional household structures have dissolved while reproductive labor has been outsourced to care chains and surrogate motherhood at a global scale. Digital technologies increasingly structure all aspects of social and economic interaction, which introduces a new set of questions concerning citizenship and workers' rights. It has become evident that there is an inherent contradiction between the push for the free circulation of goods on the one hand and an intensified effort to restrict the movement of human bodies across national borders on the other; the domain of property becomes ever more expansive. But what impact do these changes have on the current understandings of the nation-form? In the current context, which sees a repetition of some earlier structures and atmospheres of authoritarian nationalism while also operating within newer regimes of transnational, financialized capital, how can issues of individual and collective rights as well as a democratic constitution for societies be imagined? How does this enclose and disclose political mobilizations for the Left?

Program in collaboration with Manuela Bojadžijev, Katrin Klingan, and Kaushik Sunder Rajan

Fri, March 16, 10 am

INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS

Rethinking Class and Class Politics Today

Session 3

Class and class politics are not the same. There is a need to ask when and under what conditions class politics is effective. It cannot simply be conceived as dependent on the presence and activity of specific organizations (political parties or unions) capable of producing a particular class identity. Today, some of the most important moments in class politics are defined by the emergence of autonomous practices, which challenge and transform the organizations of the labor movement. These practices often blur the boundary between body and territory, law and violence, and life and labor. New feminist mobilizations in Latin America and elsewhere, Black Lives Matter in the US, and #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall in South Africa, as well as the struggles of migrants in, around, and across Europe, are all examples of new social movements. Each points to elements of a "civil war" logic between labor and capital, that infiltrates the fabric of social cooperation. At the same time, they suggest that class must be thought about in connection with race, gender, and nation, thus raising crucial questions for a rethinking of the notion of class in relation to "difference."

Program in collaboration with Verónica Gago and Sandro Mezzadra

Fri, March 16, 3 pm

DISCUSSIONS

Current Conjunctures of Racism

Session 4

How is racism produced and reproduced as a network of social relations in global capitalism today? What forms of racism have emerged, in view both of the changes to the nation-state system on the one hand and of increased nationalism in many places in the world on the other? What racist structures are at the bottom of current class politics? Do we need to update our understanding of class? Balibar's diagnosis seems more timely now than ever: to counteract the political estrangement of society, a new class politics is needed, one based on an efficient anti-racism. Equally significant is Wallerstein's prognosis that only by moving toward an international class consciousness can we overcome the escalation of national identity and racism. The participants in the three sessions *Racisms Today?, The Nation-Form: Histories and Presence*, and *Rethinking Class and Class Politics Today* discuss with the audience the current conjunctures of racism with regard to class relations and nationalisms today, developing strategies for a new, critical anti-racism.

Moderated by David Theo Goldberg and Vanessa Eileen Thompson

Sat, March 17, 10 am

CONVERSATIONS

Six Perspectives for a “Practice of Theory”

A series of conversations probe the topicality of the questions raised in Balibar and Wallerstein’s *Race, Nation, Class*. They derive from a compilation of analyses of and reflections on the worldwide reverberations the authors initiated with their dialogic volume of essays thirty years ago. The talks take up these threads to discuss the fundamental enmeshment of racism, nationalism, and class relations against the backdrop of current global developments. How have the book’s theories been adapted, expanded, and criticized? How have they shifted within different local contexts around the world? What resonance do these theories have, say, in Russia, the region of former Yugoslavia, in South Korea, South Africa, the United States, or in India? The participants moreover look at what a “practice of theory” can signify today: How can the intersection of theory and practice be made productive again as an act of sociopolitical negotiation? The emergence of new geopolitics, the diagnosis of a post-apartheid condition as a globalized phenomenon, and the religionizing of politics in different localities are just three crucial issues to be further discussed.

Sat, March 17, 2 pm

FILM

Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on

A filmed interview with Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein in conversation with Manuela Bojadžijev

Before *Race, nation, classe. Les identités ambiguës* was published in France in 1988, Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein met for three seminars at the Maison des sciences de l'homme in Paris, where they and other colleagues discussed the challenges that racism posed to Marxism and leftist politics as well as to the theoretical analysis of social transformations. For the film directed by the researchers and filmmakers Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani, Balibar and Wallerstein returned to the institution. In a conversation with cultural studies scholar Manuela Bojadžijev, they look back at the context surrounding the genesis of their book. Along with its dialogical character, its methodological particularity is the global perspective of its analysis, which positions the three historical constructions "race," "class," and "nation" alongside one another, exposing their contradictions and interactions and pushing them to their limits. Balibar and Wallerstein discuss this approach with Bojadžijev and update the text's central theses: What political challenges are being posed today? What further gradations, theoretical developments, and methodological demands would Balibar and Wallerstein suggest in the mirror of the present?

Directed by Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani, ca. 40 min, EN, 2018

CHARLES HELLER and LORENZO PEZZANI have been working together since 2011. They co-founded the Watch the Med online mapping platform and have been working on Forensic Oceanography, a project that critically investigates the militarized border regime and the politics of migration in the Mediterranean Sea. Their collaborative work has been used as evidence in courts of law, published across different media and academic outlets, and exhibited widely. Heller and Pezzani's recent works include the video *Liquid Traces* (2014), the report and video *Death by Rescue* (2016), and the report *Blaming the Rescuers* (2017). Charles Heller is a researcher and filmmaker whose work has a long-standing focus on the politics of migration. In 2015, he completed a PhD in Research Architecture at Goldsmiths, University of London, where he continues to be affiliated as a research fellow. He is currently based in Geneva, conducting postdoctoral research supported by the Swiss National Fund. Lorenzo Pezzani is an architect and researcher. In 2015, he completed a PhD in Research Architecture at Goldsmiths, University of London, where he currently is a lecturer and leads the MA studio of Forensic Architecture. His work deals with the spatial politics and visual cultures of migration, with a particular focus on the geography of the ocean.

Thu, Fri, Sat from 2 pm

READER

Balibar/Wallerstein's *Race, Nation, Class*: Rereading a Dialogue for Our Times

Since its first publication in French in 1988, *Race, nation, classe. Les identités ambiguës* has been translated into nine languages, sparking an intriguing variety of discussions. How have Balibar and Wallerstein's theses since been expanded, adapted, and criticized? How can the questions raised in the book be connected with their manifold reverberations, which continue today? How have they shifted in diverse local contexts? Published alongside the symposium, the contributions in this publication reflect the book's reception and the relevance of its topics in both past and present. Authors from diverse local contexts—from Argentina to South Africa, from Palestine to India and Japan—investigate its impact in relation to local political and social developments. Additionally, workshops that took place between November 2017 and January 2018 in Ankara, Belgrade, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Kolkata, and Cape Town, discussed the current conjuncture of racisms, class relations, and nationalisms. Together, the essays and findings of the workshops provide a basis for the "practice of theory" that *Race, Nation, Class* advocates, and which is urgently needed in the current global predicament.

With contributions by Norman Ajari, Rana Anani, Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, Samata Biswas, Manuela Bojadžijev, Tanıl Bora, Petar Bojanić, Maria Chehonadskih, Karl Dahlquist, William Ellis, Andrea Fagioli, Marjan Ivković and Djurdja Trajković, Matan Kaminer, Dimitris Kousouris, Alex Taek-Gwang Lee, Nasser Mufti, Chikako Nakayama, Maurilio Pirone, Philippe Rekacewicz, Ranabir Samaddar, John Solomos, Mark Terkessidis

Edited by Manuela Bojadžijev & Katrin Klingan
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"Is there an option to go beyond racism?"

Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein in conversation with Manuela Bojadžijev

Bojadžijev: There are three things I would like us to discuss. First, what were the reasons for organizing the seminar series and the idea of *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*? The second revolves around the conceptual ideas underpinning the book, which is based on an integral analysis of the three core historical constructions "race," "nation," and "class". And the third point is the reception of the book until today regarding its political impact and the achievements that have come out of it.

So, what motivated the seminar series you organized together in Paris in the 1980s? To what extent were the seminars planned regarding their chronology and methodology, and how did you decide to use these three core categories as the main points of focus? In which way did the discussions from the seminars enter the book and how did the co-authored dialogical format emerge?

Wallerstein: We met in 1981 at a conference that was organized in New Delhi. We became friends, and over lunch one day we decided to do this kind of seminar. Initially we had planned to do one year only; it was on the topics of racism and ethnicity, and that one was a big success—people came and were interested. So, we did a second year and then a third year, and basically, the idea was to have extended discussions which were led each time by a paper prepared by someone in advance. That worked very well; it was precisely the beginning, the moment when people were raising questions about what had seemed traditional ideas about "class," "race," and so forth, and it was the right moment to do this. But, having done it, the original idea, I suppose, was to publish a book as a result of each year's seminar, but the papers were of unequal quality, and then you can't always get people to submit them on time. So, it occurred to us to forget about the others' papers and to write about our own papers, since both of us had written papers for the seminars. The book, therefore, brings together the discussion between Étienne and me of the intellectual problem that is posed by the relationship "race" has to "nation" has to "class." So, I think that's how it came about.

Balibar: I think it's important to add that we had not planned, or not fully planned the sequence, of the themes in advance.

Bojadžijev: How would you describe the political conjuncture at that time which made thinking through these historical constructions necessary?

Balibar: We began with "race," which, in a sense, remained the hidden and the most visible issue. That was immediately after the new fascist French political party emerged that grew even more prominent later. That the Front National had won its first critical local elections was very striking to most of us, a very worrying phenomenon; more was to come. So, of course, they already had the same political themes as now. The question of Islam was not yet central, but the issue of migration, so-called invasions from the formerly colonized people, what is now called—and I find this disgusting—reverse colonization.

It was already very racist at the time. The migrants in France were a very persistent theme. So, I said to Immanuel, what bothers me is racism because it's politically

worrying and meaningful, but also because I feel somehow theoretically disarmed or unable to address this question efficiently. I suspected that he had more precise ideas because, of course, the issue of migration—it wasn't being called the post-colony yet—had a central function in Immanuel's understanding of the world-system. But I was trained, not in an entirely traditional brand of Marxism, but still, on this kind of issue, we had nothing to say. I asked Immanuel, what was it that he found interesting, or what did he feel that he would like to work on at this moment. And I remember you said, Immanuel, "ethnicity." So, we found that in a sense we had the same interests at the same time, and so were able to approach these questions from different academic backgrounds and in different intellectual trajectories and that was fortuitous.

This is how the idea of the first seminar was set up. The seminar went very, very well. It was crowded. The discussions were very interesting. At the time, you must realize that, in France, to the best of my knowledge, there was no place where this question could be discussed from an interdisciplinary standpoint, bringing together historians, anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, and so on.

Immanuel's problematic is a perfect framework into which to bring this. So, at the end of the year, we asked each other: what are we doing now? I said I was very willing to continue, but that we could not keep to the same subject. Immanuel, whom I suspect had some plans in mind, said we should proceed with "nation;" then in the third year we continued with "class." But in my memory, there was no plan at that time of writing a book called *Race, Nation and Class*; it was an idea that came to us only in retrospect. But, again, these themes or issues were not all of equal interest to our colleagues. "Race" was a big success; "nation" did not go too badly. The least successful seminar of all was the one on "class", believe it or not. It's very different today I think, but the questions of capitalism, as a social system and the class divisions and antagonisms—there were discussions about inequalities and exclusion and therefore, inevitably, "class," but far less intense than today. It was less well attended, but at the end of all that, we had material.

What prompted us to do the book as we did it was the fact that we also used the seminar as a kind of indirect instrument for a conversation among us. I enormously benefited from that, because I learned to discuss and understand capitalism in a completely different manner through my reading and by listening to Immanuel. But others came from very different backgrounds. A friend of mine, who unfortunately died some time ago, was a French feminist philosopher, Françoise Duroux. She contributed a very interesting and provocative paper on a question hotly debated at the time among French feminists namely, "Should we apply the category class to gender?" which also has political consequences. And later, I'm guilty here; I used her ideas in the paper I wrote, but her paper had not been published, and she resented that very strongly. She said to me, "You see, once again, a woman talks at the seminar, she brings in interesting ideas and the guy who leads the seminar, a man, of course, picks up what he finds useful and he's the one who makes it public." And she was right. She was absolutely right.

Wallerstein: Yes, but there's one more thing to say about class: you have to remember that there was a period right after the Second World War, from 1945 on, when everyone was a Marxist, I mean more or less, and especially in France.

Balibar: Everyone on the left.

Wallerstein: Everyone on the left, yes. And then there was a relatively sudden shift whereby people seemed to steer away, saying "Oh no, that's old stuff," and they removed the concept of "class" from the discussion. So, putting out this book was an attempt to restore the discussion of "class," which had as I say in fact disappeared, especially in France, but not only in France, Italy, even Germany.

Schedule

Thursday, March 15 – Saturday, March 17

THURSDAY, MARCH 15

2 pm Foyer
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on

3 pm Auditorium
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS
Session 1: Racisms Today?
EN → 🎧 DE

5 pm, 7 pm Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on

7.30 pm Auditorium
LECTURE, DISCUSSION, RESPONSE
Race, Nation and Class: Rethinking their Articulation
EN, ES → 🎧 DE, EN

FRIDAY, MARCH 16

10 am Auditorium
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS
Session 2: The Nation-Form: Histories and Presence
EN → 🎧 DE

2 pm Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on

3 pm Auditorium
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS
Session 3: Rethinking Class and Class Politics Today
EN, ES, IT → 🎧 DE, EN

5 pm, 7 pm Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on

7.30 pm Auditorium
LECTURE, DISCUSSION, RESPONSE
The Global Left between Race and Religion — Competing or Converging Categories?
EN → 🎧 DE

SATURDAY, MARCH 17

10 am Auditorium
DISCUSSIONS
Session 4: Current Conjunctures of Racism
EN, ES → 🎧 DE, EN

2 pm, 3 pm, 4 pm, 5 pm, 6 pm, 7 pm
Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on

2 pm Foyer
CONVERSATION
Data Discrimination, Dystopia, and the Future of Citizenship
EN → 🎧 DE

3 pm Auditorium
CONVERSATION
Where Is the Nation-Form? Social Communities between Religion, Populism, and Resistance
EN → 🎧 DE

3.30 pm Foyer
CONVERSATION
Where Is Racism? Global Apartheid, the Proliferation of Racisms, and New Anti-Racisms
EN → 🎧 DE

4.30 pm Auditorium
CONVERSATION
Where Are Class Relations? On Contradictions and Compromise
EN, ES → 🎧 DE, EN

5 pm Foyer
CONVERSATION
On Social Reproduction: Gender and Sexual Politics
EN → 🎧 DE

6 pm Auditoirum
CONVERSATION
Where Are the New Geopolitics? Social Antagonisms and Shifts in the Nation-State System
EN, FR → 🎧 DE, EN

3 pm Auditorium
WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
Katrin Klingan
Manuela Bojadžijev

INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS
Racisms Today?
Zimitri Erasmus, Maya Indira Ganesh, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Serhat Karakayali, Shahram Khosravi

Program in collaboration with
David Theo Goldberg and Françoise Vergès

To come to a critical understanding of the current formations of racisms, this session takes up some basic observations and hypotheses from the book and joins them with current thoughts that critical race studies scholar **David Theo Goldberg** and political theorist **Françoise Vergès** have developed as follows.

There is no racism without theory. Racism is not simply a set of prejudicial outbursts; rather, it always offers reference to accounts—theories—of events, relations, and structures and purports to account for them in widely understandable terms. When racisms take hold broadly of a society or a significant segment of a society, they operate as populisms. They mobilize and rationalize factional power, both economic and political, at the expense of the less powerful, or those to become the excluded.

Racisms amount to a will to know, accompanied by misrecognition. The will to know works to define the discarded and rejected to render racist violence tolerable to those perpetrating it. As charges of racism have proliferated, so too have their denials, and histories of racism have been downplayed, if not completely erased from open acknowledgement. Racism is now expressed without recourse to race. This "neoracism" articulates itself in terms of differentialisms, and culture is taken to function like nature—a naturalizing of racist conduct. At the same time, there is a recent re-turn of explicitly racist articulation. Politicians are priming the populist pump, fueling racisms vocally and unapologetically. This renewed reach for racisms represents a will to power in self-denial of impotence.

Against this backdrop, **David Theo Goldberg** and **Françoise Vergès**, together with sociologist **Zimitri Erasmus**, feminist data researcher **Maya Indira Ganesh**, sociologist **Serhat Karakayali**, geographer and militant scholar **Ruth Wilson Gilmore**, and anthropologist **Shahram Khosravi**, critically examine the application of Balibar and Wallerstein's analysis to contemporary articulations of and resistances to race and racisms across various sites.

PART 1
Thinking through Racisms
After a brief historical overview of the shift in racial formations, structures, and expressions that has been taking place since the late 1970s, the discussants elaborate on how Balibar and Wallerstein's analysis has impacted their own thinking on racial commitments today. Two rounds of inputs and discussions analyze current formations of racisms, touching upon questions such as: How are the politics of immigration a significant driving element in and of contemporary racisms? How has the history of transnational feminisms of color impacted national feminisms, which have remained largely segregated along racial and class lines? What impacts do digital technology and social media have on contemporary racial articulations? What sorts of anti-racist activism are most effective in facing down contemporary racisms?

PART 2
Speaking to Racial Conditions Today
In the second part of the session, a curated set of still and multimedia images both demonstrating and critical of contemporary racist expression across a range of national contexts will be displayed. Participants will engage in an analysis of these materials, speaking to racial conditions today and discussing these materials with the audience.

ZIMITRI ERASMUS is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Her scholarly work critiques the continued use of apartheid race categories, racialized biomedicine, and recreational genetics, engaging with theories of creolization and anti-racism as decolonizing praxis. Her book *Race Otherwise* (2017) conceptualizes the boundaries between racial identities as thresholds that are to be crossed through politically charged acts of imagination and love. Erasmus is the editor of the seminal volume *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (2001). In 2010, she was a Harvard-UCT Mandela Mellon Fellow.

MAYA INDIRA GANESH works at the intersection of new media, digital technologies, gender, visual advocacy, and human rights as a researcher, writer, and information activist. She spent the past eight years with the Tactical Technology Collective in Bangalore and Berlin, where she was Director of Applied Research. As a doctoral candidate at Leuphana University of Lüneburg, she is investigating machine learning, ethics, and accountability. Her research includes work with engineers and scientists in academia, private corporations, and standards organizations. She contributes to the technology theory blog *Cyborgology*. Ganesh has presented at activism, art, and academic events such as re:publica, transmediale, and Chaos Communication Congress and at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, among others.

RUTH WILSON GILMORE is Professor of Geography and Director of the Center for Place, Culture and Politics at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She writes about racial capitalism, organized violence, organized abandonment, changing state structure, criminalization, labor, and social movements. A second edition of the prize-winning *Golden Gulag* (2007) will appear later in 2018. Recent works include "Beyond Bratton" in *Policing the Planet* (2016) and "Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence" in *Futures of Black Radicalism* (2017). Gilmore has lectured in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America. She is a co-founder of many grassroots organizations including California Prison Moratorium Project and Critical Resistance.

DAVID THEO GOLDBERG is Director of the Humanities Research Institute and Executive Director of the Digital Media and Learning Research Hub at the University of California, Irvine. He holds faculty appointments as Professor of Comparative Literature, Anthropology, Criminology, Law, and Society at UC Irvine. His work focuses on political theory, race and racism, ethics, critical theory, and digital humanities. Among his publications are *The Threat of Race* (2009) and *Between Humanities and the Digital* (ed. with Patrik Svensson, 2015). In his latest book, *Are We All Postracial Yet?* (2015), Goldberg argues that the apparent advent of a "postracial" age indicates a new logic of raciality. Goldberg is a member of HKW's Program Advisory Board.

SERHAT KARAKAYALI works as a sociologist at the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research (BIM) at the Humboldt University of Berlin. He conducts research on topics such as volunteering for refugees and cosmopolitan concepts of solidarity. As part of his research, he develops scientifically grounded concepts for dealing with migration and diversity. His dissertation, *Gespenster der Migration: zur Genealogie illegaler Migration in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Ghosts of migration: On the genealogy of illegal migration in the Federal Republic of Germany), was published in 2008. Karakayali has published numerous articles and reports, most recently "The Volatility of the Discourse on Refugees in Germany" (with Bastian Vollmer, 2017) and "Feeling the Scope of Solidarity: The Role of Emotions for Volunteers Supporting Refugees in Germany" (2017).

SHAHRAM KHOSRAVI is an anthropologist with research focuses on mobility, border studies, migration, precarity, and waithood. He is currently Professor of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University. He is editor of *After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives* (2018) and author of *Precarious Lives: Waiting and Hope in Iran* (2017), *The "Illegal" Traveller: An Auto-ethnography of Borders* (2010), and *Young and Defiant in Tehran* (2008). He has also contributed to diverse magazines and journals, such as Exiled Ink! and Collective Exile. Khosravi recently participated in talks and conferences at HAU Hebbel am Ufer, Berlin (2017), HKW (2017), and CAMP / Center for Art on Migration Politics, Copenhagen (2016), among others.

FRANÇOISE VERGÈS holds the Chair of Global South(s) at the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris. Her work is concerned with slavery, colonialism, postcolonialism, and the French republican coloniality of power, identifying South-South exchanges taking place at different levels. Vergès collaborates with artists and filmmakers and acted as a project advisor for Documenta11 (2002) and the Triennale de Paris (2012). Her latest publications include the chapter "The Capitalocene: Is the Anthropocene Racial?" in *Futures of Black Radicalism* (2017) and the book *Le ventre des femmes. Capitalisme, racialisation, féminisme* (The black woman's womb: Capitalism, race, feminism, 2017), analyzing the racial politics of reproduction from slavery to today and the failures of French feminism to grasp that central dimension.

5 pm, 7 pm Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on
D: Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani

7.30 pm Auditorium
WELCOME
Bernd Scherer

LECTURE
Race, Nation and Class:
Rethinking their Articulation
Étienne Balibar

Reflecting on his and Wallerstein's book in the hindsight of the last thirty years, Étienne Balibar proposes a *single* general problematic in which the three categories (race, nation, and class) posed in the original work become strictly interdependent. This will grant a certain methodological primacy to the question of "race" and its metamorphoses as well as a more exacting inclusion of the concepts of gender and religion given their role in social formations which was, to some extent, not explicit in the former work. The profound changes that have taken place in the configuration of the capitalist world-system and its constitutive "social formations" make a revision of the understanding of the classical categories necessary. In trying to map the current landscape in this manner, Balibar's intention is not to "close" a circle that was opened thirty years ago but rather to demonstrate how open the issues remain, and how much they call for a confrontation of different, if not antithetic points of view.

RESPONSE
Verónica Gago and
Kaushik Sunder Rajan

DISCUSSION WITH Q&A
moderated by Manuela Bojadžijev

ÉTIENNE BALIBAR is Professor Emeritus of Moral and Political Philosophy at Université Paris Nanterre and a visiting professor at Columbia University, New York. He is a leading Marxist intellectual and has lectured and published widely in the areas of epistemology, Marxist philosophy, and moral and political philosophy in general. Among his most notable publications are *Reading Capital* (with Louis Althusser et al., 1965, Eng. 1970), *Race, Nation, Class* (with Immanuel Wallerstein, 1988, Eng. 1991), *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (2001, Eng. 2004), and *Citizen Subject: Foundations for Philosophical Anthropology* (2017). Most recently he was awarded the Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought (2017).

MANUELA BOJADŽIJEV is Professor for Globalized Cultures at the Leuphana University of Lüneburg and Commissioner for International Cooperations at the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research (BIM), Humboldt University of Berlin. Previously, she was a lecturer at the Freie Universität Berlin; City University and Goldsmiths, University of London; and Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. In addition to her dissertation, *Die windige Internationale. Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration* (The Windy Internationale: Racism and Struggles of Migration, 2008), she has published numerous articles on racism and migration research, the history of European migration, and postcolonial studies.

VERÓNICA GAGO is Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires and a professor at the Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales (IDAES), Universidad Nacional de San Martín. She was part of Colectivo Situaciones, a militant collective actively engaging with social and political movements in Argentina, which deeply influences her work. Gago has published numerous articles on issues of capital, social movements, and popular economies. Her book *Neoliberalism from Below: Popular Pragmatics and Baroque Economies* (2017) examines how Latin American neoliberalism is propelled not only by corporate and state institutions but also by popular and migrant economies that assume neoliberalism as a battlefield.

KAUSHIK SUNDER RAJAN is Professor of Anthropology and Co-director of the Chicago Center for Contemporary Theory at the University of Chicago. His work engages social theories of capitalism, science, technology studies, and postcolonial studies, holding a special interest in the global political economy of biomedicine, with a comparative focus on the United States and India. He has lectured and published widely in the United States and beyond. In his first major study, *Biocapital: The Constitution of Postgenomic Life* (2006), he examines genomics and post-genomic drug development marketplaces in the US and India. His most recent book, *Pharmocracy: Value, Politics, and Knowledge in Global Biomedicine* (2017), elucidates the political economy of global pharmaceuticals as seen from contemporary India.

10 am Auditorium
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS
The Nation-Form:
Histories and Presence
Brenna Bhandar, Baidik Bhattacharya, Mark Graham, Kalindi Vora

Program in collaboration with Manuela Bojadžijev, Katrin Klingan, and Kaushik Sunder Rajan

In what ways is the idea of the nation-form and its establishment interlinked with colonialism? What is the function of the nation-state in the face of the globalization of labor and finance markets? How does global outsourcing of reproductive labor also contest patriarchal ideals of the nuclear family?

This session brings together a variety of short presentations that focus on the structure, history, and current rearticulations of the nation-state through political, technological, economic, social, and cultural transformations.

The presentations are interlinked by intense dialogues that continuously reframe and address the nation as a system of social exclusion and inclusion.

On Nation-Forms and Nation-Forming
Kaushik Sunder Rajan in dialog with Brenna Bhandar

The nation-state constitutes itself through procedures of authority and affiliation to form and contain social order and to maintain its foundational distinction between the inside and the outside.

This conversation between anthropologist **Kaushik Sunder Rajan** and legal scholar **Brenna Bhandar** looks at the functionality and dysfunctionality of this formation within global capitalism.

The dialogue will be set in motion by an introductory statement by **Kaushik Sunder Rajan**, who will draw on his research on national and transnational marketplaces in general, and the global political economy of biomedicine in particular, to analyze the way in which the nation determines or fails to determine the formation and distribution of commodities, bodies, and knowledge.

KAUSHIK SUNDER RAJAN is Professor of Anthropology and Co-director of the Chicago Center for Contemporary Theory at the University of Chicago. His work engages social theories of capitalism, science, technology studies, and postcolonial studies, holding a special interest in the global political economy of biomedicine, with a comparative focus on the United States and India. He has lectured and published widely in the United States and beyond. In his first major study, *Biocapital: The Constitution of Postgenomic Life* (2006), he examines genomics and post-genomic drug development marketplaces in the US and India. His most recent book, *Pharmocracy: Value, Politics, and Knowledge in Global Biomedicine* (2017), elucidates the political economy of global pharmaceuticals as seen from contemporary India.

Property, Sovereignty, and Colonialism
Brenna Bhandar in dialog with
Baidik Bhattacharya

In conversation, **Brenna Bhandar** and literary scholar **Baidik Bhattacharya** discuss the notion of property and the way it permeates both colonial structures and the construction of nations.

To set up the conversation, **Brenna Bhandar** will first explore the relationship between modern property law and racial subjectivity and examine how this juridical formation lies at the core of the nation-state form in settler colonies. How is the subjectivity of the "proper" citizen constituted both, through relations of private property ownership premised on the appropriation of indigenous lands, and through a racialized and gendered concept of the human? Political resistance requires new political imaginaries that will work to estrange the legal form of property from its current form.

BRENNA BHANDAR is Senior Lecturer in Law at SOAS, University of London. Her forthcoming book, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land and Racial Regimes of Ownership* (May 2018), explores the relationship between racial formations and modern property law in settler colonial contexts. In particular, she examines the articulations of race and ownership that emerge through the appropriation of indigenous lands in Canada, Australia, and Palestine. With Jonathan Goldberg-Hiller, she co-edited the volume *Plastic Materialities: Legality, Politics and Metamorphosis in the Work of Catherine Malabou* (2015).

Narrating the Nation
Baidik Bhattacharya in dialog with
Mark Graham

The history of the nation-form seems to be a fateful linear narrative. But how exactly did this narrative come about? **Baidik Bhattacharya** and internet geographer **Mark Graham** talk about the systems of knowledge production involved in the construction of the nation and of its unparalleled capacity to calm class conflicts.

Baidik Bhattacharya will begin by examining the suggestion that all modern nations are created through colonialism. His research on colonial archives in South Asia shows that it was through modern disciplines, like comparative literature and literary history (which came out of the encounter between Europe and its colonies), that the idea of the nation was first articulated coherently during the nineteenth century, and that this part of the intellectual history of the concept of the nation cannot be understood without the colonial context.

BAIDIK BHATTACHARYA is Assistant Professor of English Literature at the University of Delhi. His current research encompasses the future of postcolonial writing in the age of globalization and a critical evaluation of the current debates on "world literature." He is the co-editor of *The Postcolonial Gramsci* (2011). His most recent publications are *Postcolonial Writing in the Era of World Literature: Texts, Territories, Globalizations* (forthcoming 2018), "Reading Rancière: Literature at the Limit of World Literature" (2017), and "On Comparatism in the Colony: Archives, Methods, and the Project of Weltliteratur" (2016).

MARK GRAHAM is Professor of Internet Geography at the Oxford Internet Institute and a faculty fellow at the Alan Turing Institute, London. Graham leads a range of research projects spanning topics between digital labor, the gig economy, and internet geographies. He has published articles in major geography, communications, and urban studies journals, and his work has been covered by the Economist, BBC, CNN, Washington Post, Guardian, and many other international newspapers and magazines. Recently, he published *Towards a Fairer Gig Economy*, a collection of articles examining the social and economic problems associated with the gig economy (with Joe Shaw, 2017). A full collection of his work can be found at www.markgraham.space.

Digitization and Reproduction
Mark Graham in dialog with Kalindi Vora

The household, as a particular form of kinship and genealogy, has always been a key institutional structure of the nation-form and capitalist economies.

Mark Graham and critical race and gender studies scholar **Kalindi Vora** discuss how the transformation of these structures, through digitization and the globalization of the labor market, is also transforming the nation-form itself.

The conversation will be preceded by **Mark Graham's** presentation on the emergence of a "planetary labor market," exploring the ways in which this global-scale competition impacts the lives of workers. This new world of work offers jobs and opportunities to many, but also comes with significant concerns. What responses could be found for a global world of work?

To conclude, **Kalindi Vora** will address the outsourcing of reproductive labor and other forms of affective investment. As bodies, labor, work, and even genetic material move across borders, how do we understand the "reproduction" of the nation? Gestational surrogacy and artificial reproduction technologies can lead to new social forms that will have far-reaching effects on kinship structures, even as the notion of "family" shifts to conserve outdated models of patriarchy and the nuclear family. Vora examines these effects as well as the new coalitional possibilities that arise from them.

KALINDI VORA is Associate Professor for Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies and Director of the Feminist Research Institute (FRI) at University of California, Davis. Her research is situated in feminist science and technology studies, postcolonial and transnational South Asian and diaspora studies, critical race studies, and cultural studies of gendered labor and globalization. In her most recent book, *Life Support: Biocapital and the New History of Outsourced Labor* (2015), Vora uses a combination of ethnographic, literary, and cultural studies methods to examine the ongoing legacies of colonial biopolitics in contemporary transnational Indian labor markets. With Neda Atanasoski, she is the co-author of the forthcoming book *Surrogate Humanity: Race, Technoliberalism and the Engineering of Contested Futures.*

DISCUSSION
moderated by Manuela Bojadžijev and Kaushik Sunder Rajan

MANUELA BOJADŽIJEV is Professor for Globalized Cultures at the Leuphana University of Lüneburg and Commissioner for International Cooperations at the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research (BIM), Humboldt University of Berlin. Previously, she was a lecturer at the Freie Universität Berlin; City University and Goldsmiths, University of London; and Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. In addition to her dissertation, *Die windige Internationale. Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration* (The Windy Internationale: Racism and Struggles of Migration, 2008), she has published numerous articles on racism and migration research, the history of European migration, and postcolonial studies.

KATRIN KLINGAN is a literary scholar, curator, and producer of art and cultural projects. From 2003 to 2010 she was the artistic director of *relations*, an international art and cultural programme initiated by the German Federal Cultural Foundation, where she curated and produced projects in the fields of the visual arts, theatre, documentary film, television, contemporary history, architecture, and radio. Katrin Klingan was previously programming dramaturge at Wiener Festwochen. As head of the Department of Literature and Humanities at Haus der Kulturen der Welt since 2011, she was curator for the *Anthropocene Project* (2013–14) and the current four-year-program *100 Years of Now*. Her recent projects at HKW include *Now is the Time of Monsters* (2017) and *1948 Unbound. Unleashing the technical present* (2017).

2 pm Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on
D: Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani

3 pm Auditorium
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS
Rethinking Class and Class Politics Today
Kelly Gillespie, Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, Wang Hui, Antonio Negri

Program in collaboration with Verónica Gago and Sandro Mezzadra

In the preface to *Race, Nation, Class*, Étienne Balibar writes, "The division of the working class is not a secondary or residual phenomenon, but a structural (although this does not mean invariant) characteristic of present-day capitalist societies, which determines all the perspectives for revolutionary transformation and even for the daily organization of the movement for social change." The lines of division that crisscross the working class today take often violent and radical forms. There is a renewed need to ask when, and under which conditions, class politics is effective. Current social movements raise crucial questions around class matters through political vocabularies that correspond to specific experiences of exploitation and domination and go beyond the limits of existing forms of political organization and mediation. These struggles are exemplary for a rethinking of class in its relation with "difference" today.
In a series of discussions, social scientist **Verónica Gago** and political theorist **Sandro Mezzadra** look at a set of three questions together with anthropologist **Kelly Gillespie**, sociologist and activist **Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar**, historian and literary scholar **Wang Hui**, and political philosopher **Antonio Negri**, thinking class from the angle of its relation with race, gender, and nation.

PART 1
The Situated Experience
Starting from their own specific and situated experiences, the participants will ask whether and how class has been an operative category in their political and theoretical practices. Which other vocabularies and concepts need to be taken into account when attempting to reframe the notion of class and contesting established forms of class politics?

PART 2
"Difference" and Class Unity
For a long time, the notion of difference was considered to simply contradict class unity, positing homogeneity as a defining feature of class. Can it be contended that social movements and struggles of recent decades productively displaced the supposed opposition between "difference" and "unity"? How is it possible to struggle against the use of difference as a tool of division and fragmentation without taking as a point of departure an already constituted and homogenous subject?

PART 3
Unity and Revolutionary Politics
Taking the proliferation and multiplication of struggles predicated upon the contestation of specific forms of exploitation and domination as a crucial point of reference, how can the idea of unity be reimagined? Can notions such as solidarity, transversality, and intersectionality productively open up debate? Class politics is a revolutionary politics; is it possible, or even necessary, to rethink the very notion of revolution from within the movements and struggles?

DISCUSSION
moderated by Verónica Gago and Sandro Mezzadra

VERÓNICA GAGO is Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires and a professor at the Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales (IDAES), Universidad Nacional de San Martín. She was part of Colectivo Situaciones, a militant collective actively engaging with social and political movements in Argentina, which deeply influences her work. Gago has published numerous articles on issues of capital, social movements, and popular economies. Her book *Neoliberalism from Below: Popular Pragmatics and Baroque Economies* (2017) examines how Latin American neoliberalism is propelled not only by corporate and state institutions but also by popular and migrant economies that assume neoliberalism as a battlefield.

KELLY GILLESPIE is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town. She was a founder and convener of the Johannesburg Workshop Theory and Criticism, a project on theory from the South, based at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, Johannesburg. Her work focuses on areas such as criminal justice, political and legal anthropology, South African history, race, and sexuality. Among her most recent publications is "Anthropology before the Commission: Ethnography as Public Testimony" in *If Truth Be Told* (2017). Her book *Idle Acts: Criminality and the Dialectics of Punishment in Post-Apartheid*, on criminal justice as the unreconciled remains of apartheid, is forthcoming.

RAQUEL GUTIÉRREZ AGUILAR is Professor of Sociology at Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. She has a background in philosophy, mathematics, and activism. Her research and activism engages with the experience of indigenous and peasant struggles in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s, reframing them in terms of a "popular-communitarian" horizon in more recent social and political changes, including perspectives from Latin American feminism. Among her publications are *¡A desordenar! Por una historia abierta de la lucha social* (Call to Disorder: For an Open Narrative of the Social Struggle, 1995), *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia* (2014), and *Horizontes comunitario-populares* (Popular-Communitarian Horizons, 2017).

WANG HUI is Professor of Literature and History at Tsinghua University and Director of Tsinghua Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences, Beijing, and has been a visiting professor at Harvard University and University of California, Los Angeles and Berkeley. Considered as one of China's foremost critical intellectuals, his work focuses on contemporary Chinese literature and intellectual history. In 1997, Hui published the groundbreaking article "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity," analyzing the neoliberal restructuring of China and its official propagandists. He is author of *The End of Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity* (2010), *China from Empire to Nation-State* (2014), and most recently *China's Twentieth Century: Revolution, Retreat and the Road to Equality* (2016).

SANDRO MEZZADRA is a political theorist whose work focuses on the relations between globalization, migration, and citizenship, as well as on autonomist Marxism and postcolonial theory and criticism. He teaches political theory at the University of Bologna, is Adjunct Fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University, and is a visiting professor at the New School for Social Research, New York. His books include *The Right to Escape: Migration, Citizenship, Globalization* (2001, Eng. 2004) and *In the Marxian Workshops: The Subject and Its Production* (2014, Eng. forthcoming 2018). With Brett Neilson, he is the author of *Border as Method, or the Multiplication of Labor* (2013) and *Operations of Capital* (2015).

ANTONIO NEGRI is an activist, sociologist, philosopher, and one of the central figures of Italian autonomist Marxism. He taught at the University of Padua and the University of Paris VIII. Influenced by his long-standing participation and engagement in political struggles, his work is devoted to studies of political philosophy and the analysis of capitalism and globalization. Among his many publications are *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State* (1999) and *Pipeline: Letters from Prison* (2015). With Michael Hardt, he co-authored the path-breaking book *Empire* (2000), followed by *Multitude* (2004), *Commonwealth* (2009), and most recently *Assembly* (2017)—a series that reshaped ways of understanding resistance and revolution in an age of globalization.

7 pm Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on
D: Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani

7.30 pm Auditorium
WELCOME
Manuela Bojadžijev

LECTURE
The Global Left between Race and Religion —Competing or Converging Categories?
Nilüfer Göle

The debates around migration and Islam become decisive in erasing the differences between left and right, challenging pluralistic democracies of European countries. The visibility of Islam in public life, and the emergence of cultural controversies around the headscarf, prayer in public, mosque construction, halal eating, and visual representations of Islam, challenges responses from the European left and multicultural, and secular goups. The place of religion in society is widely rejected and remains a blind spot in critical leftist thinking while the category of race and racism, associated with human rights discourses, is applied to encompass all kinds of discrimination in modern societies. How to entangle the categories of religion and race, islamization, and racialization? Are they competing or converging categories? What is the heuristic contribution of race and religion to critical thinking and inclusive politics? How does the global left enmesh race and religion?

RESPONSE
Ranabir Samaddar

DISCUSSION WITH Q&A
moderated by Sandro Mezzadra

NILÜFER GÖLE is Professor of Sociology at École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris. Her work centers on Islamic visibility in European public spaces and the debates it engenders on religious and cultural difference. Göle's sociological approach aims to open up a new reading of modernity from a non-Western perspective and a broader critique of Eurocentrism in the definitions of secular modernity. Among her latest publications are *The Daily Lives of Muslims: Islam and Public Confrontation in Contemporary Europe* (2017) and the essay "Le global et la gauche: des convergences sont-elles possibles? " (The global and the left: Are common grounds possible?) in *La gauche globale. Hier, aujourd'hui, demain* (2017), edited by Immanuel Wallerstein.

SANDRO MEZZADRA is a political theorist whose work focuses on the relations between globalization, migration, and citizenship, as well as on autonomist Marxism and postcolonial theory and criticism. He teaches political theory at the University of Bologna, is Adjunct Fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University, and is a visiting professor at the New School for Social Research, New York. His books include *The Right to Escape: Migration, Citizenship, Globalization* (2001, Eng. 2004) and *In the Marxian Workshops: The Subject and Its Production* (2014, Eng. forthcoming 2018). With Brett Neilson, he is the author of *Border as Method, or the Multiplication of Labor* (2013) and *Operations of Capital* (2015).

RANABIR SAMADDAR holds the Distinguished Chair in Migration and Forced Migration Studies at the Calcutta Research Group and was recently O'Brien Fellow in Residence at the Centre for Human Rights and Legal Pluralism at McGill University, Montreal. As a critical theorist, his extensive work on rights, justice, and peace culminated in the book *The Politics of Dialogue* (2004). Samaddar's work has challenged predominant accounts of the origins of nationalism and influenced a turn in critical postcolonial thinking with writings such as *The Nation Form: Essays on Indian Nationalism* (2012). In *A Post-colonial Enquiry into Europe's Debt and Migration Crisis* (2016), he states that Europe's present crisis suggests a postcolonial bind, or even a postcolonial destiny of Europe.

10 am Auditorium
DISCUSSIONS
Current Conjunctures of Racism
moderated by Vanessa Eileen Thompson and David Theo Goldberg

This final session aims to bring together and to confront the debates and focal points of the previous three sessions by focusing on the conjunctural analysis of race, class, and nation in current times of uncertainty and unsettlement. How are racisms produced and reproduced in global capitalism? What are current conjunctures of racisms in view of the changes of the nation-state system, on the one hand, and what would a re-reading of newly emerging fascisms look like through the lens of *Race, Nation, Class*, on the other? How do we retheorize the relation between existing uncertainties between race, class, and nation? How do they draw on gender as constitutive for racial capitalism, racial (neo)liberalism, and "post-racisms"? What are the race / class / nation(alist) dimensions of today's most urgent concerns, such as migration, and religion or the authoritarian state?

Departing from a discussion on the current conjunctures of racism, to class relations, and nationalisms, the session then moves toward counterstrategies and modes of resistance in these times of global unsettlement. By engaging with current conjunctures, we will discuss articulations of current possibilities.

PART 1
Uncertainties and Unsettlements: Migration, Religion, Free Speech
Baidik Bhattacharya, Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, Shahram Khosravi, Sandro Mezzadra

PART 2
Dangerous Conjunctures and Re-productive Relations
Zimitri Erasmus, Verónica Gago, Maya Indira Ganesh, Kelly Gillespie, Kaushik Sunder Rajan

PART 3
Fascisms' Re-turns in Digital Times: Re-reading *Race, Nation, Class*
Brenna Bhandar, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Nishant Shah, Françoise Vergès

BRENNA BHANDAR is Senior Lecturer in Law at SOAS, University of London. Her forthcoming book, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land and Racial Regimes of Ownership* (May 2018), explores the relationship between racial formations and modern property law in settler colonial contexts. In particular, she examines the articulations of race and ownership that emerge through the appropriation of indigenous lands in Canada, Australia, and Palestine. With Jonathan Goldberg-Hiller, she co-edited the volume *Plastic Materialities: Legality, Politics and Metamorphosis in the Work of Catherine Malabou* (2015).

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ZIMITRI ERASMUS is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Her scholarly work critiques the continued use of apartheid race categories, racialized biomedicine, recreational genetics, engaging with theories of creolization and anti-racism as decolonizing praxis. Her book *Race Otherwise* (2017) conceptualizes the boundaries between racial identities as thresholds that are to be crossed through politically charged acts of imagination and love. Erasmus is the editor of the seminal volume *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (2001). In 2010, she was a Harvard-UCT Mandela Mellon Fellow.

VERÓNICA GAGO is Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires and a professor at the Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales (IDAES), Universidad Nacional de San Martín. She was part of Colectivo Situaciones, a militant collective actively engaging with social and political movements in Argentina, which deeply influences her work. Gago has published numerous articles on issues of capital, social movements, and popular economies. Her book *Neoliberalism from Below: Popular Pragmatics and Baroque Economies* (2017) examines how Latin American neoliberalism is propelled not only by corporate and state institutions but also by popular and migrant economies that assume neoliberalism as a battlefield.

MAYA INDIRA GANESH works at the intersection of new media, digital technologies, gender, visual advocacy, and human rights as a researcher, writer, and information activist. She spent the past eight years with the Tactical Technology Collective in Bangalore and Berlin, where she was Director of Applied Research. As a doctoral candidate at Leuphana University of Lüneburg, she is investigating machine learning, ethics, and accountability. Her research includes work with engineers and scientists in academia, private corporations, and standards organizations. She contributes to the technology theory blog *Cyborgology*. Ganesh has presented at activism, art, and academic events such as re:publica, transmediale, and Chaos Communication Congress and at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, among others.

KELLY GILLESPIE is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town. She was a founder and convener of the Johannesburg Workshop Theory and Criticism, a project on theory from the South, based at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, Johannesburg. Her work focuses on areas such as criminal justice, political and legal anthropology, South African history, race, and sexuality. Among her most recent publications is "Anthropology before the Commission: Ethnography as Public Testimony" in *If Truth Be Told* (2017). Her book *Idle Acts: Criminality and the Dialectics of Punishment in Post-Apartheid*, on criminal justice as the unreconciled remains of apartheid, is forthcoming.

RUTH WILSON GILMORE is Professor of Geography and Director of the Center for Place, Culture and Politics at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She writes about racial capitalism, organized violence, organized abandonment, changing state structure, criminalization, labor, and social movements. A second edition of the prize-winning *Golden Gulag* (2007) will appear later in 2018. Recent works include "Beyond Bratton" in *Policing the Planet* (2016) and "Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence" in *Futures of Black Radicalism* (2017). Gilmore has lectured in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America. She is a co-founder of many grassroots organizations including California Prison Moratorium Project and Critical Resistance.

DAVID THEO GOLDBERG is Director of the Humanities Research Institute and Executive Director of the Digital Media and Learning Research Hub at the University of California, Irvine. He holds faculty appointments as a professor of comparative Literature, Anthropology, Criminology, Law, and Society at UC Irvine. His work focuses on political theory, race and racism, ethics, critical theory, and digital humanities. Among his publications are *The Threat of Race* (2009) and *Between Humanities and the Digital* (ed. with Patrik Svensson, 2015). In his latest book, *Are We All Postracial Yet?* (2015), Goldberg argues that the apparent advent of a "postracial" age indicates a new logic of raciality. Goldberg is a member of HKW's Program Advisory Board.

RAQUEL GUTIÉRREZ AGUILAR is Professor of Sociology at Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. She has a background in philosophy, mathematics, and activism. Her research and activism engages with the experience of indigenous and peasant struggles in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s, reframing them in terms of a "popular-communitarian" horizon in more recent social and political changes, including perspectives from Latin American feminism. Among her publications are *¡A desordenar! Por una historia abierta de la lucha social* (Call to Disorder: For an Open Narrative of the Social Struggle, 1995), *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia* (2014), and *Horizontes comunitario-populares* (Popular-Communitarian Horizons, 2017).

SHAHRAM KHOSRAVI is an anthropologist with research focuses on mobility, border studies, migration, precarity, and waithood. He is currently Professor of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University. He is editor of *After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives* (2018) and author of *Precarious Lives: Waiting and Hope in Iran* (2017), *The "Illegal" Traveller: An Auto-ethnography of Borders* (2010), and *Young and Defiant in Tehran* (2008). He has also contributed to diverse magazines and journals, such as Exiled Ink! and Collective Exile. Khosravi recently participated in talks and conferences at HAU Hebbel am Ufer, Berlin (2017), HKW (2017), and CAMP / Center for Art on Migration Politics, Copenhagen (2016), among others.

SANDRO MEZZADRA is a political theorist whose work focuses on the relations between globalization, migration, and citizenship, as well as on autonomist Marxism and postcolonial theory and criticism. He teaches political theory at the University of Bologna, is Adjunct Fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University, and is a visiting professor at the New School for Social Research, New York. His books include *The Right to Escape: Migration, Citizenship, Globalization* (2001, Eng. 2004) and *In the Marxian Workshops: The Subject and Its Production* (2014, Eng. forthcoming 2018). With Brett Neilson, he is the author of *Border as Method, or the Multiplication of Labor* (2013) and *Operations of Capital* (2015).

NISHANT SHAH is Professor of Culture and Aesthetics of Digital Media at Leuphana University of Lüneburg and Dean of Research at ArtEZ University of the Arts, the Netherlands. His work lies at the intersections of technology, affect, identity, and in social and political movements configuring ways in which we learn to become human in the midst of technologies. Shah lectures widely and has published *Whose Change Is It, Anyway?: Towards a Future of Digital Technologies and Citizen Action* in *Emerging Information Societies* (2013), "Queer Mobiles and Mobile Queers: Intersections, Vectors, and Movements in India" (2016), and "The State of the Internets: Notes for a New Historiography of Technosociality" (2017).

KAUSHIK SUNDER RAJAN is Professor of Anthropology and Co-director of the Chicago Center for Contemporary Theory at the University of Chicago. His work engages social theories of capitalism, science, technology studies, and postcolonial studies, holding a special interest in the global political economy of biomedicine, with a comparative focus on the United States and India. He has lectured and published widely in the United States and beyond. In his first major study, *Biocapital: The Constitution of Postgenomic Life* (2006), he examines genomics and post-genomic drug development marketplaces in the US and India. His most recent book, *Pharmocracy: Value, Politics, and Knowledge in Global Biomedicine* (2017), elucidates the political economy of global pharmaceuticals as seen from contemporary India.

VANESSA EILEEN THOMPSON is a research associate at the Institute of Sociology at Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. She was previously a fellow at the Department of Black Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her research and teaching are focused on critical racism studies, post- and decolonial feminist theories and methodologies, Black studies, gender and queer studies, critical security studies, and transformative justice. Thompson is also engaged in these fields as an activist. She most recently published the article "Nationalismen der Anerkennung – Gedenken, Differenz und die Idee einer 'europäischen Kultur der Erinnerung'" (Nationalisms of recognition: Commemoration, difference and the idea of a "European culture of remembrance," with V. Zablotsky, 2017).

FRANÇOISE VERGÈS holds the Chair of Global South(s) at the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris. Her work is concerned with slavery, colonialism, postcolonialism, and the French republican coloniality of power, identifying South-South exchanges taking place at different levels. Vergès collaborates with artists and filmmakers and acted as a project advisor for Documenta11 (2002) and the La Triennale 2012 in Paris. Her latest publications include the chapter "The Capitalocene: Is the Anthropocene Racial?" in *Futures of Black Radicalism* (2017) and the book *Le ventre des femmes. Capitalisme, racialisation, féminisme* (The black woman's womb: Capitalism, race, feminism, 2017), analyzing the racial politics of reproduction from slavery to today and the failures of French feminism to grasp that central dimension.

2 pm, 3 pm, 4 pm, 5 pm, 6 pm, 7 pm
Vortragssaal
FILM
Intersecting Optics: A Dialogue on *Race, Nation, Class* 30 years on
D: Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani

2 pm Foyer
CONVERSATION
Data Discrimination, Dystopia, and the Future of Citizenship
Maya Indira Ganesh, Nishant Shah

The technical transformation of the body and the possibilities generated by digital communication and networking are often linked to the hope for a world in which racism has become obsolete. This hope is undone by the observation that racial discrimination is also registered in technological apparatuses. Digitization offers not only emancipatory opportunities but also fundamentally new methods of discrimination. Digital technologies increasingly regulate social interaction, raising new questions about citizenship. Will racism be made invisible in the digital age? What do racist configurations in technical apparatuses mean for a critique of contemporary racism?

MAYA INDIRA GANESH works at the intersection of new media, digital technologies, gender, visual advocacy, and human rights as a researcher, writer, and information activist. She spent the past eight years with the Tactical Technology Collective in Bangalore and Berlin, where she was Director of Applied Research. As a doctoral candidate at Leuphana University of Lüneburg, she is investigating machine learning, ethics, and accountability. Her research includes work with engineers and scientists in academia, private corporations, and standards organizations. She contributes to the technology theory blog *Cyborgology*. Ganesh has presented at activism, art, and academic events such as re:publica, transmediale, and Chaos Communication Congress and at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, among others.

NISHANT SHAH is Professor of Culture and Aesthetics of Digital Media at Leuphana University of Lüneburg and Dean of Research at ArtEZ University of the Arts, the Netherlands. His work lies at the intersections of technology, affect, identity, and in social and political movements configuring ways in which we learn to become human in the midst of technologies. Shah lectures widely and has published *Whose Change Is It, Anyway?: Towards a Future of Digital Technologies and Citizen Action* in *Emerging Information Societies* (2013), "Queer Mobiles and Mobile Queers: Intersections, Vectors, and Movements in India" (2016), and "The State of the Internets: Notes for a New Historiography of Technosociality" (2017).

3 pm Auditorium
CONVERSATION
Where Is the Nation-Form? Social Communities between Religion, Populism, and Resistance
Petar Bojanić, Nilüfer Göle, Ranabir Samaddar

At present we are experiencing a reform of nationalism. Populist rhetoric conjures up communities defined by the inclusions and exclusions of the nation-form and an essentializing concept of culture. The central role of religion as an identity-forming feature is particularly striking. Does the current success of populism follow the mechanisms of nationalism and racism analyzed by Balibar and Wallerstein, or are we witnessing an entirely new phenomenon? Is the resurgence of religion in populist discourse an indicator of the resurrection or rather of the crisis of the nation-form?

PETAR BOJANIĆ is Director of the Institute for Philosophy and Theory at the University of Belgrade and Director of the Center for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy, Belgrade. He is also Director of the Center for Advanced Studies – South East Europe at the University of Rijeka. His expertise is located in the areas of political philosophy, social ontology, and Jewish political thought. This involves research on institutional agency as a fellow at the Käte Hamburger Center for Advanced Study in the Humanities "Law as Culture." Selected publications include *World Governance* (ed. with Babić Jovan, 2013), *Semantics of Statebuilding: Language, Meanings and Sovereignty* (ed. with Vojin Rakić et al., 2013), and *Violence and Messianism* (2017).

NILÜFER GÖLE is Professor of Sociology at École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris. Her work centers on Islamic visibility in European public spaces and the debates it engenders on religious and cultural difference. Göle's sociological approach aims to open up a new reading of modernity from a non-Western perspective and a broader critique of Eurocentrism in the definitions of secular modernity. Among her latest publications are *The Daily Lives of Muslims: Islam and Public Confrontation in Contemporary Europe* (2017) and the essay "Le global et la gauche: des convergences sont-elles possibles?" (The global and the left: Are common grounds possible?) in *La gauche globale. Hier, aujourd'hui, demain* (2017), edited by Immanuel Wallerstein.

RANABIR SAMADDAR holds the Distinguished Chair in Migration and Forced Migration Studies at the Calcutta Research Group and was recently O'Brien Fellow in Residence at the Centre for Human Rights and Legal Pluralism at McGill University, Montreal. As a critical theorist, his extensive work on rights, justice, and peace culminated in the book *The Politics of Dialogue* (2004). Samaddar's work has challenged predominant accounts of the origins of nationalism and influenced a turn in critical postcolonial thinking with writings such as *The Nation Form: Essays on Indian Nationalism* (2012). In *A Post-colonial Enquiry into Europe's Debt and Migration Crisis* (2016), he states that Europe's present crisis suggests a postcolonial bind, or even a postcolonial destiny of Europe.

3.30 pm Foyer
CONVERSATION
Where Is Racism? Global Apartheid, the Proliferation of Racisms, and New Antiracisms
Norman Ajari, Kelly Gillespie, John Solomos

Spatial segregation was a hallmark of racism during apartheid in South Africa. As a historical form, apartheid was fought and overcome, yet racist structures continue to manifest themselves spatially in countries throughout the world. In recent years, government responses to urban unrest in France, the US, and elsewhere have exposed how much state racism resorts to colonial ideologies and practices in terms of spatial organization. How do state segregation policies interact with postcolonial structures, and how can anti-racist critics expose this interaction?

NORMAN AJARI is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Toulouse - Jean Jaurès, where he also obtained his PhD in 2014. Ajari's interests include political and social philosophy, race, postcolonial studies as well as African and French contemporary philosophy. His book *De la dignité. Essai sur la vie humaine et sa negation* (On dignity. Essay on human life and its negation) is forthcoming. Some of his articles and book chapters include *De la montée en humanité: violence et responsabilité chez Achille Mbembe* (On the rise in humanity: violence and reponsibility in Achille Mbembe's work, 2013) and *Frantz Fanon: Poétique de l'actualité et critique de la culture* (Frantz Fanon: Poetics of topicality and critical theory of culture, 2016). Ajari is a board member of the Fondation Frantz Fanon.

KELLY GILLESPIE is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town. She was a founder and convener of the Johannesburg Workshop Theory and Criticism, a project on theory from the South, based at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, Johannesburg. Her work focuses on areas such as criminal justice, political and legal anthropology, South African history, race, and sexuality. Among her most recent publications is "Anthropology before the Commission: Ethnography as Public Testimony" in *If Truth Be Told* (2017). Her book *Idle Acts: Criminality and the Dialectics of Punishment in Post-Apartheid*, on criminal justice as the unreconciled remains of apartheid, is forthcoming.

JOHN SOLOMOS is Professor of Sociology and Head of the Sociology Department at the University of Warwick, Coventry. He has researched and written widely on the history and contemporary forms of race and ethnic relations in Britain, the politics of race, equal opportunity policies, political mobilization, multiculturalism, and social policy. With Martin Bulmer, he has acted as Editor of the international journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies* since 1995. Among his publications are *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (with Hazel V. Carby et al., 1982), *Race and Racism in Britain* (2003), and *Race, Multiculture and Social Policy* (with Alice Bloch and Sarah Neal, 2013).

4.30 pm Auditorium
CONVERSATION
Where Are Class Relations?
On Contradiction and Compromise
Karl Dahlquist, Verónica Gago,
Alex Taek-Gwang Lee

Class compromise defuses class contradictions, and thus attenuates social antagonisms. Does the termination of class compromise and the crisis of the welfare state inevitably entail a renaissance of racist exclusion patterns? And what about societies where class compromise has never been as important as in Europe? A critical theory of racism must take into account forms of social conflict in light of the specific stratification of each particular society and analyze the articulation of present class conflicts within new racisms.

KARL DAHLQUIST is a visiting postdoctoral fellow at the Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society at Linköping University and is completing a dissertation on Leo Strauss's thoughts on Thomas Hobbes and liberalism in the Department of Political Sciences at York University, Toronto. He has also written on Sigmund Freud, Egon Schiele, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Aby Warburg. His latest published article is "The Young Macpherson on the Transition into Socialism and the Rise of Fascism" (2018).

VERÓNICA GAGO is Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires and a professor at the Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales (IDAES), Universidad Nacional de San Martín. She was part of Colectivo Situaciones, a militant collective actively engaging with social and political movements in Argentina, which deeply influences her work. Gago has published numerous articles on issues of capital, social movements, and popular economies. Her book *Neoliberalism from Below: Popular Pragmatics and Baroque Economies* (2017) examines how Latin American neoliberalism is propelled not only by corporate and state institutions but also by popular and migrant economies that assume neoliberalism as a battlefield.

ALEX TAEK-GWANG LEE is Professor of British and American Cultural Studies at Kyung Hee University, Seoul. He has written extensively on French and German philosophy and its non-Western reception, Korean cinema, popular culture, art, and politics. He has lectured and published widely in South Korea and beyond. In a quest to discuss today's continued importance of communist principles with contributions from intellectuals across the world and particularly Asia, he co-edited the book *The Idea of Communism 3* with Slavoj Žižek (2016). His book *The Rise and Decline of Radicalism in the Post-war World Order* is forthcoming.

5 pm Foyer
CONVERSATION
On Social Reproduction:
Gender and Sexual Politics
Chris Tedjasukmana, Kalindi Vora

According to Balibar and Wallerstein, racist and sexist structures are functionally similar: both employ varying market conditions that call for adapted employment practices and ideologies that legitimize ethnic and other exclusions. Currently, reproductive work is outsourced in the form of surrogate motherhood and care chains of paid and unpaid health and social work. The destabilization of traditional household and family structures has impacted gender and class relations. How do racist and sexist exclusion and inclusion mechanisms articulate under these circumstances? How can anti-racism and anti-sexism be thought together, and where can these struggles converge?

CHRIS TEDJASUKMANA is a member of the activist publishing collective Kitchen Politics: Queerfeminist Interventions, which publishes books on issues such as reproductive labor, biotechnology, and queer communities of care. He is Assistant Professor of Film Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin and the principal investigator of the research project on Video Activism Between Social Media and Social Movements (funded by the Volkswagen Foundation). He is the co-editor of the German media studies journal *Montage AV* and is currently writing his habilitation on video activism in networked publics.

KALINDI VORA is Associate Professor for Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies and Director of the Feminist Research Institute (FRI) at University of California, Davis. Her research is situated in feminist science and technology studies, postcolonial and transnational South Asian and diaspora studies, critical race studies, and cultural studies of gendered labor and globalization. In her most recent book, *Life Support: Biocapital and the New History of Outsourced Labor* (2015), Vora uses a combination of ethnographic, literary, and cultural studies methods to examine the ongoing legacies of colonial biopolitics in contemporary transnational Indian labor markets. With Neda Atanasoski, she is the co-author of the forthcoming book *Surrogate Humanity: Race, Technoliberalism and the Engineering of Contested Futures.*

6 pm Auditorium
CONVERSATION
Where Are the New Geopolitics? Social Antagonisms and Shifts in the Nation-State System
Maria Chehonadskih, Wang Hui, Nasser Mufti, Antonio Negri

Today, the relationship between the nation-state and geopolitical strategy poses new questions. To what extent do societal developments and antagonisms, especially with regard to newly emerging nationalisms and racisms, embroil geopolitical situations, and how can this interaction be interpreted? Is it possible to recast the manner in which contemporary racism is enacted on a global scale through a joint analysis of geopolitics and racist state policies? Do the current global shifts in the nation-state system also offer a practical critique of racist structures?

MARIA CHEHONADSKIH is a philosopher and critic. She received her PhD in philosophy from the Centre for Research in Modern European Philosophy, Kingston University London. Her research and work concentrates on Soviet epistemologies across Marxist philosophy, literature, and art, as well as on post-Soviet politics. She has published numerous texts in journals and magazines such as Radical Philosophy, South Atlantic Quarterly, Moscow Art Magazine, and Alfabeta2. In 2014, she co-curated together with Ilya Budraitskis the exhibition *Shadow of a Doubt* at the Garage Museum of Contemporary Art, Moscow, which was dedicated to the topic of conspiracy.

WANG HUI is Professor of Literature and History at Tsinghua University and Director of Tsinghua Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences, Beijing, and has been a visiting professor at Harvard University and University of California, Los Angeles and Berkeley. Considered as one of China's foremost critical intellectuals, his work focuses on contemporary Chinese literature and intellectual history. In 1997, Hui published the groundbreaking article "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity," analyzing the neoliberal restructuring of China and its official propagandists. He is author of *The End of Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity* (2010), *China from Empire to Nation-State* (2014), and most recently *China's Twentieth Century: Revolution, Retreat and the Road to Equality* (2016).

NASSER MUFTI is Assistant Professor in the Department of English, University of Illinois in Chicago. His research focuses on nineteenth-century British postcolonial literature as well as critical and political theory. He has a special interest in literary approaches to the study of nationalism. Mufti recently published the book *Civilizing War: Imperial Politics and the Poetics of National Rupture* (2017), in which he argues that narratives of civil war animated nineteenth-century British imperialism and decolonization in the twentieth century. Articles by Mufti include "Walking in Bleak House" (2016) and "Bio-politics and Greater Britain" (2016).

ANTONIO NEGRI is an activist, sociologist, philosopher, and one of the central figures of Italian autonomist Marxism. He taught at the University of Padua and the University of Paris VIII. Influenced by his long-standing participation and engagement in political struggles, his work is devoted to studies of political philosophy and the analysis of capitalism and globalization. Among his many publications are *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State* (1999) and *Pipeline: Letters from Prison* (2015). With Michael Hardt, he co-authored the path-breaking book *Empire* (2000), followed by *Multitude* (2004), *Commonwealth* (2009), and most recently *Assembly* (2017)—a series that reshaped ways of understanding resistance and revolution in an age of globalization.

Bojadžijev: In some ways, this book is less simplistic than a lot of the discussions we hear today. Introducing these difficult categories, which were ignored largely throughout the 1980s from an interdisciplinary as well as integrated perspective, on an international, almost global scale, was akin to providing oxygen to Marxism, to renew it. The investigation into each of the main categories carves out their contradictory and unstable condition, their limitations and dependencies—this is still an absolutely appropriate approach even today (which at the same time makes rereading the book so rewarding and calls for its re-editing for our times). Can you elaborate on this conception of your integrated approach?

Wallerstein: Well, in a sense, we were trying to re-open the discussion of all three categories from agreed-upon analyses which we came to think of as somewhat simplistic. These areas were open for an attempt to re-utilize them for more useful theoretical and political discussion. All we wanted to do was to get people to discuss "race" *and* "nation" *and* "class" and to talk about how the three of them fit together. That discussion is still going on today; in fact, it's going on more strongly than when we published the book.

The big message of the book is that "race" and "nation" and "class" are categories that should not be analysed separately, that's the first thing, and they are three different pairs of glasses looking at the same phenomenon. If your analysis is from the angle of one or the other, it misses the point. So, the whole issue is, what is the relationship of "race" to "nation" to "class," and the answer is, it's a kind of 80 percent overlap. If you self-identify or analytically identify others and use racist terminology—I shouldn't call it racist terminology—class terminology—you get the same picture, but not quite. It makes a good deal of difference to your theoretical and to your political analysis, which pair of glasses you want to use. And my answer is that at different times I want to use a different pair of glasses. So, if I say the working class, which is an old Marxist category, supposedly proletariat, it turns out that the people who are proletarians by traditional definition, are not the whites from the dominant class, but the blacks or people of colour who are suppressed, etc. And so what's missing when one deals with them separately is not to see that 80 percent of the people who are proletarians are in fact an under-group according to "class," or "race," or "nation." And so, number one is that they're all the same but not quite, and two, one has to decide how one opens the door. And the way in which one decides to open the door has enormous consequences for how you think about the issue and how you act upon it—and this is not something that can be settled permanently. So, what is today a useful "class" category or a useful "nation" category, may not work tomorrow, as it is constantly changing.

Bojadžijev: But at the same time, the categories are not "equal." They are all ambiguous, as the subtitle says. But aren't they problematized in different ways and to different ends?

Balibar: The overlapping of the categories and the necessity of overcoming a rigid and mechanistic understanding of either "race," "class," or "nation" and studying their interaction—this is more or less what people today would call intersectional theory, in the broad sense of the term. But that leads me to something else: When we discussed the title or rather the subtitle of the book—bearing in mind it was published in French first, the English edition came out very soon after that, but the first edition is the French—Immanuel had proposed, correct me if I'm wrong, the subtitle which was *Ambivalent Identities*—and I said that I didn't like the word "ambivalent" so much, it wasn't exactly what I had in mind, and I proposed *Ambiguous Identity*.

I think, in fact, the two adjectives are not unrelated. If you insist that identities are ambivalent, you think of class identity, national identity, race identity, what you

essentially suggest to the reader is that the effects can go in very different directions. Nationalism, of course, is the nation. Nationalism is not a stigma. Nationalism is the organic ideology of whichever political and social movement or institution creates or defends a nation. So clearly, you look at anti-imperialist liberation struggles, which for both of us were essential elements in our intellectual and political consciousness. Immanuel had been directly involved in Africa and other places in what would become the third-world emancipation struggles, and I had been awakened to political consciousness, because I was a student at the time of the war of independence of Algeria. So here is an example of nationalism that is not only progressive but without which you have no liberation, no emancipation. It's from a left point of view a necessary and a positive factor. But, at the other end, you have what in English is called jingoism, you have all sorts of xenophobic forms of nationalism in imperial nations like France or the US, and others—these are the most visible aspects which go in the absolutely opposite direction. So, can you say the same about "race" to some extent? Can you say the same about "class?" Perhaps. Immanuel gave the example of certain forms of class consciousness in the centre, which include, in fact, racist and sexist dimensions. So, on the one side, none of these identities is rooted in the objective structures of capitalism, the world-system, imperialism and Euro-centrism, and on the other side, they are identities that are created subjectively. All of them are ambivalent from the broad historical point of view, something that traditional Marxism has had enormous difficulties understanding.

But "ambiguous" is also, in my view at least—and we agreed on that in the end—a necessary category because of intersectionality. If you look at concrete collective identities, and if you take into account movements, forces that become active in politics and society, they're never purely class identities or national identities, or race or ethnicity. Of course, that was one of our elements, the cultural dimension of so-called new racial discourses. You never have something that is pure; you always have something that is ambiguous. If you look at things from that point of view—and I use the term intersectional deliberately—there are several things that are dramatically missing, at least missing in the title. And the blatant, the most visible is gender.

That's another equally decisive identity—one whose objective foundations are perhaps even older than capitalism and patriarchy—and, of course, possesses decisive, subjective dimensions and consequences. If you look at the book, the only one of us who takes it into account is Immanuel, not me. I say something, which remains important in my mind, about the fact that racist schemes or genealogical schemes in modern bourgeois nations are closely linked to the function that the bourgeois state and the bourgeois society grants to the family as a social structure. Through those references, I implicitly include gender or sexual differences, but that's very indirect. Immanuel, however, explicitly says in the book that there are two great anthropological structures, which function to produce hierarchies and stratifications among the workforce or the labour force in the capitalist world-system, and these are "race" and "gender." He draws a very powerful parallel or analogy between the two.

> Bojadžijev: Yes, the introduction of the term household structure is very helpful in this respect. Something that gets lost in debates about intersectional matters is particularly the combination of the household structure and the reproduction of the family within the genealogical scheme regarding inheritance and property. I think these aspects are more present in the book than one would expect from the title.

Balibar: We are not using the same conceptual framework. But yes, the fact remains that we didn't dare place it as one of our key objects, and that would have perhaps put us in a somewhat more uneasy situation

because we would have had to include different feminists in the discussion. Some of them came, of course, and I want to mention one woman by her name—Colette Guillaumin—whose work on the racist ideology I heavily relied upon, it's absolutely crucial that Guillaumin was—she died not very long ago—a very powerful feminist. Her understanding of the kinds of naturalization, of social differences, or essentialization of gender, and race identities or characters, were part of one single intellectual, theoretical project, which was very important, at least for me. We had contradictory points of view on "nation," "class," and even on "race," but those could have been handled. Contradictory points of view on gender and sexuality for us, I'm afraid, we'd never be able to handle.

> Bojadžijev: It's good that you're saying that. I would like to focus on a term you have already implicitly mentioned by referring to Althusser—"overdetermination." It seems you have in some ways already elaborated overdetermination by looking into these three historical categories.

Balibar: I think that Immanuel practices overdetermination, but doesn't have significant use for overdetermination [laughs].

Wallerstein: He's a philosopher.

Balibar: It's not philosophy, Immanuel, that's just theory.

Wallerstein: It's a matter of training. As opposed to reality, we are all formed in certain ways. And if you go through a programme called philosophy, you read certain things which you would not read if you go through another programme.

Balibar: It's true, but our understanding around Althusser or understanding of philosophy always lacked a lot of empirical foundation or basis that we would've needed, although we read as much as we could. So, it was very much oriented towards the social sciences at the same time. But it's true that I inherited from Althusser these abstract categories of overdetermination and also sometimes underdetermination, which he'd produced essentially to say something about political conjunctures, revolutionary conjunctions. When revolutions succeed or fail, it's not just because the laws of capitalism determine inevitable consequences; it's because some heterogeneous social and ideological factors are crystallizing in what he would describe as a moment of crisis. To Immanuel's work I was introduced as he was among a group of social scientists with a Marxist background. He was borrowing from Braudel and others and introduced the idea that capitalism is not just a mode of production with its internal tendencies, but that it's a global world-system where colonization is central and where you have antagonisms and differences between different types of economies and societies, although in the same system. So, after reading the first volume of Immanuel's great history of the capitalist world-system I came to the hypothesis that this was the framework in which abstract categories such as overdetermination, could be applied in a productive and meaningful manner.

> Bojadžijev: Since we've talked about the integral analysis a little bit, can you say something more about the discrete definitions or determinations of those terms? You somehow suggested that in the 1980s, when you had this discussion, there was a crisis of these terminologies. Terms like "race" and "racism" were changing. Considering the situation historically against today—has the idea of racism changed, and if so, how?

Wallerstein: Well, we have rhetoric confusion. Just today I read in the New York Times or on the web, somewhere, that our dear US president Trump—trying to defend himself against various things—said, "I am not a racist." So, he seems to think that to call someone a racist is an insult, and he

denies that he is one. It's a kind of deference to anti-racism theoretically. So, noticing people are doing that, it seems to me that on the one hand, you could say that's very good because he has to say, "I'm not a racist," and he wouldn't have felt that way fifty years ago. On the other hand, we know that's nonsense, he is obviously of the most virulent and the most shameless variety, but he has to defer. So, from a long-term point of view, anti-racism has achieved something if it forces people like Trump to deny that they are racist.

So, regarding the very use of the term "race" or the very use of the term "nation"—everybody, well, mainly Trump—has made "nation" their main category: "Make America Great Again." He went to the United Nations, gave a speech and said, "I'm for making America great again, I'm for defending our nation, and I'm sure the rest of you are too, all of you out there, you're all doing the same thing." And in a sense, he's right. Everybody is, at the moment for a whole series of good reasons, very protectionist and even those who are anti-protectionist in rhetoric. A good example is Canada—the country now has an official rhetoric of anti-protectionism, but it's also bringing a case to the appropriate body, the World Trade Organization, complaining that the US is stopping the entry of Canadian lumber. So, Canada wants to defend its right to make or to restrain the intrusion of others into its economic sphere.

Balibar: Turning to your point, I think with "race," here, the symmetry has to be somehow broken, at least from my point of view. "Race" on one side, "nation" and "class" on the other side, are different problems, maybe. I say that, and immediately it comes to my mind that you could object to that, "race" is a very plastic and fluid category. If you look at things from a historical point of view in which you need to include, of course, institutions, representations, semantics, pseudo-scientific discourses, and so on, you realize that "race" is not a category whose meaning can be fixed. Of course, from Immanuel's point of view this has to do with the fact that the capitalist world-system, as it was built on colonization and later, post-colonization, includes very strong hierarchies and categorizations of populations based on their ethnic origin, which includes all sorts of visible and invisible characters.

But that doesn't mean that the category "race" always means the same. I continued to work on this issue, and I collaborated with others. So, at some point, I became aware of the fact that we all use "race" in official discourse—and it remains the case in most of the anti-racist discourse. And that was relatively recently officialized in the wake of the Second World War when the United Nations was created, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was written, and when UNESCO famously published two successive declarations. It's a strange history, because the declarations of "race" and "racism" were elaborated under the aegis of UNESCO, therefore the United Nations, by a group of social scientists and biologists. So, they published the first in 1950 and, immediately after that, they published a second one in 1951, which did not officially cancel the first, but in fact introduced very, very decisive qualifications. Why was that? Because the first had been written essentially by anthropologists (Lévi-Strauss famously was one of them), but others as well, Mexicans and Americans; and the second one was a reaction of the biologists who declared that "race" is not a biological category, it's a biological myth. But that is not true, there are biological differences that matter, even if they are not to be described in the silly way in which Social Darwinians put it; I mean the categorization, when you are in the US, and you apply for a job, sometimes you have to fill out a form. It's officially for equality and anti-discriminatory policy, but you have to cross boxes: Caucasian, African American, or Hispanic. What are these? What they wanted to include were three forms of discrimination. But all of them are grounded in pseudo-biological categories, in anti-Semitism leading to the Shoah, the extermination of the Jews and other groups by the Nazis, in the colour

bar in the US, the racial difference of blacks or negroes, as they were called at the time which, essentially, was a legacy of slavery, and all sorts of colonial racial hierarchies and discriminations in French or British colonies.

So that's a moment of apparent stabilization of the category, and if you go back to earlier periods when these stratifications emerged in the Spanish colonies and so on, even the word "race" doesn't mean the same; it's applied, for example, to the aristocratic races. And if you continue to the present you see the progressive emergence of something that some scholars, and I more or less contributed to that, would call a "racism without races," which means that discriminations are no longer based exactly on the same criteria, but the discriminations are there. I think in the global world we now inhabit, where many social structures are transformed, "race" is not going to disappear just because such a mixture of populations is coexisting. It will perhaps become intensified, especially to create antagonisms between different types of workforces.

So, as for "nation" and "class," I was not shocked, but embarrassed by the fact that Immanuel, when his friends and colleagues would describe what they called anti-systemic movements, would include socialism and nationalism, therefore class-based and nation-based movements in the same category, more or less. And then immediately after that, he insisted that in different parts of the world the articulation is not the same, so socialism seems to be more important as an anti-systemic movement in the North and nationalism more important, although not unique, in the South. And to me, that was very disturbing, because I didn't want to put "class" and "nation" in the same category as social structures, and now I'm increasingly becoming ultra-Wallersteinian, or post-Wallersteinian, which is a break with Althusser and classical Marxism.

Wallerstein: Classical Marxism had enormous trouble with the concept of nation.

Balibar: Exactly, so they always wanted to see the "nation" as a superstructure and "class" as a more basic structure. And Immanuel is right; both terms have an institutional dimension, and they are stretches of the capitalist world-system, which are antithetic in a sense, never smoothly converging, but both just as important as the other.

> Bojadžijev: And would you say this is the case today?

Balibar: That's where we might quarrel. In the most recent form of our collaboration, Immanuel describes what he sees as the general crisis of the capitalist world-system today, and its consequences for all political strategies. I did not believe that capitalism was in a general crisis; I thought it was a moment of mutation. Immanuel might respond that this is a verbal distinction. But one of the implications from my point of view is not that "nation" and "class" are going to disappear, but that they are progressively having a different function in this system.

> Bojadžijev: As historian and sociologist at the same time you invested a dialogical book on the question of racism. In Germany the term "race"—and this is something that has a conceptual impact—is not used, because of the particular history; it is taboo. The German translation of the book is the only one that has *Rasse, Klasse, Nation* in the chronology and not *Race, Nation, Class*. At that time, even in the 1980s, people thought of the combination "race," "nation" and *then* "class" as problematic, that to put "class" in the middle would disrupt "race".

Wallerstein: The very concept of "race" is linked inevitably with the reality of a hierarchy. If you have a hierarchy—some people over here are considered more privileged, ought to have more privileges, more money, more of everything—then you want to know why and you've got to come up with some explanation of what justifies the hierarchy. And the minute you do that, you're

a racist. You just use different terminology to do that, but that's why it doesn't disappear. As long as you're in a hierarchical system, you've got to be in a racist system. Racism is simply the justification for the legitimacy of some people having a better standard of living than other people in multiple ways, regarding housing, schooling, income, and everything—their social respect. Some people are doing better than other people and what justifies that, and you come up with some justification, they have the right to do this because ... it's inevitable, and you're now into racist terminology.

> Bojadžijev: Yes, I agree. However, this dislocates the problematic to another one. Here, the racist explanation of hierarchies is reified and then displaced to a different problem—the problem of capitalist exploitation, of property. What is very intriguing in your book is the treatment and the productivity of that racist terminology as one that doesn't rely on, or refer back to, a racist knowledge production that explains why we think racism exists.

Balibar: That is very complicated.

> Bojadžijev: Or to put it in other terms, your approach to racism, as a "generalized antisemitism," renewed and radicalized the insights of critical theory that started from the assumption, as Adorno put it, that "antisemitism is the gossip about the Jews." Therefore, we will not be able to explain anti-Semitism by the presence of the Jew, but rather how "the Jew" is invented and reproduced by anti-Semitism's taxonomies. And these taxonomies not only rely on a set of racialized entities but rather on how they are overdetermined by other historical constructions such as gender relations, the historical forms of the "nation," as well as by the accumulation of capital and the quality of class struggle. Each becomes the translating medium of the other, to arrive at a rigorous understanding of "racisms without races." Thus, racism assumes a distinct form in its own *contemporary time* marked by many contingencies—nationalism, modes, practices, and discourses of anti-racism, the modes of exploitation, etc.—*across the globe*.
>
> Two questions arise from such a distinct form of racism. First, if there is/shall be a unity of terms, how are we to understand the dynamics of the variety of different forms or formations of racisms, historically contingent, variable, situated? And second, if we take overdetermination as the procedural or methodological basis of understanding racism, we may become stuck in an unending cycle of mutual determinations and reciprocal constitutions without any exit in sight. Faced with such a situation, we may have to return to our arsenal of old concepts and ask: "'determination' or 'contradiction'?" Or, is it a matter of determining the principal contradiction? Or to put it provocatively, is "class" the external and determining factor of racism and nationalism? Or, is it the historical contingency, since we cannot but have those historical concepts of "race," "nation," and "class," as well gender relations, as the guiding categories in reality?

Balibar: That's what I wanted to address. Returning to what Immanuel said; and I'm not suggesting that Immanuel ignores anti-Semitism, but it just applies more or less directly to two of the classical forms of racism included in the UNESCO declaration. Those are colonial discrimination of "subjected races" and, of course, apartheid, the colour bar, the legacy of slavery in the US, but it simply doesn't apply to the case of anti-Semitism. In the case of anti-Semitism, you don't have this, at least not explicitly; you almost have the opposite. It's not the case that Jews are to be kept in an inferior racial position; it's the case that they are seen as internal enemies, as people who are better than the others in becoming capitalist professionals, and so on. So, they are seen, psychologically speaking, more as a threat at the same level.

Wallerstein: It's no different from Trump's appeal: that's the situation of people who in reality are an underclass and who are resentful of this, and decide to denominate those who are oppressing them by some category, such as "intellectuals." So, you've got the use of the concept of "race" there as a method of the under-group deciding to push their way up a hierarchy by invoking this. Now, that seems to me that we're talking about anti-Semitism classically. Who were being anti-Semites? You have the idea of Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice*, these clever people who are suppressing you, many will turn against them, and that becomes antisemitism.

Balibar: Yes, I agree. But it's more about—one could put in place all sorts of brackets and quotation marks—suppressing or even eliminating an enemy or competitor. I think many dichotomies or distinctions are proposed in order to classify and organize different forms of racism. When that becomes too complicated, then you tend to forget some of the general forces or tendencies that Immanuel is underlining. On the other hand, there are some that cannot be eliminated, they form part of the reason in our understanding or description of the function of racism, for the political function of racism, in today's world; Immanuel would insist more directly on the economic function and, therefore, on the articulation of "class."

And I would insist more on the articulation with "nation." And therefore, the link between racism, xenophobia, and a certain understanding of the national identity as a homogenous category has to do with the fact that you need to take into account the cultural factor in the definition of "race." Even if you don't make Nazi Germany the paradigm according to which everything has to be understood, which was the tendency, understandably, in post-war discourses (of Adorno, Horkheimer, and others) you have to take into account that certain forms of racism lead to extermination or elimination more generally. And other forms lead to keeping the structures and forms of exploitation and hierarchies as stable and as immutable as possible. So, of course, there's a lot of overlap between all of that. That's what Arendt taught us. If you look at what colonization was in Africa in the nineteenth or twentieth century in Congo and similar places, you don't only have exploitation, but also extermination or an extremist dimension. There is, of course, a grey zone, but there are different poles. I'm not sure we can completely explain anti-Semitism or describe it with the same categories.

Today Islamophobia is growing in our country, in Europe, and now also in the US. But perhaps it was always there, it was just not a central issue, whereas now because of 9/11 and other things, ideological needs of Trump and his likes, this is becoming the case. But in Europe, it's been central for two or three decades now because of, of course, the growing population of migrants from Turkey, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and so on, plus other cultural factors; Islamophobia is a central issue for anti-racism. And it's very difficult here in France; it is a terrible country for that, also because of our form of state secularism, plus the absolute denial and refusal to critically reflect on our colonization in the past in North Africa: these have all led to a virulent Islamophobia, which is proud of itself, and which denies its racist characteristics.

> Bojadžijev: Which are the strands of research or the missing aspects of the analysis present in *RNC* that you have continued to pursue, or tried to rework? How would you rewrite the book today? Would you include other core categories?

Balibar: Yes, something that is not in the book is religion. I think that neither of us at the time, or at least explicitly, considered that it was important.

Wallerstein: The new Archbishop of Paris, Monsieur Au Petit, confirmed in an interview published in Le Monde that the new taboo word is *religion*. To speak of God is not considered something one should do; and when he recently spoke to an audience made up mostly of Muslims they applauded

him, telling him because "at least you speak about God."

Balibar: Yes, yes, yes. Now, what are the taboo words?

Wallerstein: I find it interesting that Pope Francis in his discourse—I don't say he doesn't speak of God—but he speaks of refugees and migrants, so this is a different brand of Catholicism.

> Bojadžijev: Not very successful in Eastern Europe, I would say.

Balibar: No, not very successful, but all the more remarkable, because one of his predecessors came from there, which induced a turn in the political function of the church.

> Bojadžijev: Well, there's one relevant question about religion.

Balibar: I don't know if anyone wants to speak about religion.

> Bojadžijev: The rise of a new right and also authoritarian regimes across the globe pairs up with very different right-wing religious movements. If you think of India, Russia, Turkey, even of the US, or smaller states like Poland, Croatia, Serbia, it seems there's an unholy liaison or alliance between right-wing forces that are racist, right-wing nationalist movements, and also an authoritarian form of domination with a nationalist rhetoric. How do you understand the current situation in light of this development of retreating to nationalism, retreating to a religiosity with a very strong right-wing rhetoric? How is this going to unfold?

Balibar: Just a remark on that point: there is something that bothers me, and I have no answer to that. When we insist, when we observe that religion is now more visible, and perhaps even objectively playing a greater role in political changes and conflicts, this is not purely limited to Europe. India is a terrible case. And after all, in the Eastern European region, it also played a crucial role not so long ago, and it remains so. It's murderous.

> Bojadžijev: And institutionalized.

Balibar: So, enlightened people like us, historians, philosophers, would perhaps like to see this as a kind of regression. So instead of entering a new world in which there would be all sorts of conflicts based on economic interests, education, political ideologies, once again, we are buried and dramatically caught in religious hatreds, which seems to be something of the past. But, apparently, this is not something of the past, but rather of a past that has a bright future. Why is that? In the logic of what I said before—and it's the logic of our book, too, I believe—maybe it is that the categories are flexible and transform themselves, we might be tempted to say, and I have this temptation sometimes to say that in fact, this is a new brand of nationalism. It's a new class if you like; it's a new discourse which hides, in fact, nationalist rhetoric. So often, this religious discourse is used in a nationalistic way, to create, to exclude, to purify the collective body, to exclude foreigners, who are becoming scapegoats and targets as religious enemies; Christians in Pakistan, Muslims in Europe, and so on.

So, that's the logic of nationalism. But sometimes I also become more critical of my intellectual training and, of course, perhaps I'm under the influence of some post-colonial or post-modernist discourses we have today. Some time ago a French journalist, Jean Birnbaum, published a book, which was relatively successful, in which he said that the Left doesn't want to know and to hear about religion—it is a taboo for them. They do not realize how powerful a factor religion was in history and that is, in fact, to put it briefly, because historical materialism and economic determinism are blinding them, etc. So, I would not adopt that language squarely, but I am not sure that religion today is not just a cover name for nationalism. That is a big, big question to me.

Bojadžijev: But in some ways, you could argue that your book contributes to secularism or a secularization—to a secularization of an understanding of racism and nationalism, even, of class relations.

Balibar: Next seminar.

Bojadžijev: Okay, good. One last question. Do you think there is an option to go beyond racism?

Wallerstein: I think the capitalist system is in structural crisis and it will come out of it either as a new hierarchical system which will be ultra-racist or—which is one thing that's never existed historically ever—a relatively egalitarian system. So, yes, it's possible, it's possible that we will go beyond racism, but it's unpredictable. Ask me that question in forty years from now, okay; by then we will either have it or not, because we will be in this bifurcation which I see us in. It will be something much worse or much better. And I think, unless you want a long discourse now, I had better stop there. But I think that the answer to your question: Will we ever go beyond racism, is "Maybe."

Balibar: I sometimes make fun of Immanuel's prediction that the future will be either worse or better, which I said is not very different from a tautology. But in fact, I like his idea of bifurcation very much, except I tend to believe that bifurcation is not in the future, but the bifurcation is now.

Wallerstein: That's right, we've been in it for a while.

Balibar: Immanuel has a list of political issues, which he presents as immediate or middle-term political objectives that are crucial for the Left and would also make it possible for something like the global left to crystallize and become an active factor, and, therefore, have the historical tendency of a world to go either one way or the other. It's a simplification, but it's a dilemma. And anti-racism or the critique of every form of racism, including anti-refugees, anti-migrant, xenophobia, that's all included. Now the last thing I want to say is, the future is not predictable, the future is not inevitable. If we believe in the kind of post-capitalism that, worst case, is a more unequal and oppressive system, which could succeed the forms of historical capitalism where we will have racial discrimination and hatred and violence as a central feature, then, this becomes all the more urgent.

For Immanuel, that's Lévi-Strauss more or less, human diversity is always a problem for humans. Human diversity means we are not all the same, and these diversities are not fixed, they are ethnic, they are linguistic, they are perhaps religious in the broad sense, there are differences of sexuality, and that will never disappear. It is a problem. How do we handle diversity? You cannot resolve the problem by just invoking universal principles of equality and liberty. It is not inevitable that human diversity will become instrumentalized to build hierarchies and form racist oppression; but, from my point of view—and I don't say that the classical idea of communism would ignore that—there was a huge underestimation of the fact that this will remain a problem. Maybe the question is whether diversity is bound to remain somehow conflictual.

Wallerstein: Yes, and also that it is not inevitable. It remains forever in the future, that we categorize people in one of ten different ways, give the category names, say, you belong to that group, or you belong to that group, and then what is the relationship with the group, one is higher, one is lower, and you've got racism.

Balibar: Absolutely, but the point in our study and others as well, is that you cannot just overcome these categorizations, which go along with hierarchies, discrimination, oppression, by changing the psychology of people. There are objective conditions.

Bojadžijev: You seem to suggest that diversity precedes conflict, but maybe it's the other way around?

Wallerstein: Diversity is simply the recent rhetoric, recognizing the reality of racist categories within the economic system. We come along and say, "No, diversity is a good thing." And that means we have to do something to improve the situation of group "X" vis-à-vis the larger society, by assisting them in various ways. But that's a rhetoric of reformism, improving your situation by doing "X," which doesn't eliminate racism.

> Bojadžijev: Thank you very much for taking the time to speak to me; it has been a pleasure.

Balibar: Thank you. I guess we've never had such a long and detailed conversation about our common enterprise. It's terrible to see how much time has passed, but it's good to see that it leaves traces, friendships, problems, and contact with people like you.

Wallerstein: Thank you for organizing the meeting.

Dangerous Conjunctures
Resituating Balibar/Wallerstein's "Race, Nation, Class" is organized by the Department of Literature and Humanities.

Curated by Manuela Bojadžijev and Katrin Klingan in collaboration with David Theo Goldberg and Françoise Vergès (*Racisms Today?*), Kaushik Sunder Rajan (*The Nation-Form: Histories and Presence*), Verónica Gago and Sandro Mezzadra (*Rethinking Class and Class Politics Today*)

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Dangerous Conjunctures
Resituating Balibar/Wallerstein's *Race, Nation, Class*

Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein was published in French in 1988 and would soon become a standard reference work in scholarship on racism. According to their shared diagnosis, racism posed one of the greatest challenges to emancipatory and solidary visions for the future.

Precisely because racism and nationalism continue to reappear—almost as a kind of historical *Wiedergänger* or revenant—despite massive critique and struggles against them, we require an explanation as to why they maintain their reproducibility and have not yet been abolished, and what condition they find themselves in today. Thirty years after the book's initial publication, we invite many international guests and the audience as a whole to systematically analyze the interrelation of the historical constructions of "Race," "Nation," and "Class," as well as gender, prominently conceptualised in the book against the backdrop of discussions of current developments. Theses on racism from a global perspective have re-emerged in discussions by prominent authors for several years now, such as David Theo Goldberg, who diagnoses the current "post-racial situation" as an updating and shifting of racializing categories, coining the term "anthropo-racial." Also of note are the further elaborations of some of Balibar's ideas in which he speaks of a proliferation of racist categories—and with it a simultaneous intensive and extensive expansion of racism. These arguments are to be discussed here in the context of reconceptualized, temporary spaces of knowledge production organized along transdisciplinary and transnational lines.

The heart of the symposium is thus quite purposefully the question as to what a "praxis of theory" could mean today, not only as reflection in the style of academic practice, but as an act of sociopolitical negotiation at a time in which "dangerous conjunctures" come to the fore in the form of populist and authoritarian politics.

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