

The New World: Imperialism, Fascism, and Class Struggle

Historical Materialism Paris

Call for Papers

1st-3 July 2027

With the intensification of armed conflicts—from Venezuela to Iran, via Palestine and Ukraine—and the rise of neo-fascist movements—in France, Brazil, India, and the United States alike—the new world bears a striking resemblance to the old. The first Historical Materialism Paris conference, attended by more than 1,200 people in 2025, placed the dynamics of catastrophe and the means to avert it at the centre of its debates. Now, more than ever, it is necessary to **strengthen the Marxist analysis of imperialist logics and the rise of fascist and authoritarian currents, and of what they reveal about the long-term trends of capitalism and the transformations of class antagonism**. This will be the central focus of Historical Materialism Paris 2027, which will also feature a variety of presentations on various other aspects of Marxist analysis (see Themes).

How can we analyse this radicalisation of tensions? How is it linked to a transformation of class relations? What are its effects on the material conditions of existence and the forms of struggle emerging against the life-endangering laws of profit? In other words, how can we link the analysis of the rise of the far right and imperialist tensions to contemporary dynamics of class struggle? How are the intensification of inter-imperialist competition and rivalries, the increase in military budgets, and the resurgence of militarist logics reshaping labour regimes and processes of capital accumulation?

To address these questions, it is imperative to **rethink the intertwining of class struggle and imperialism**, contrary to the many geopolitical explanations that attribute the outbreak of conflicts either to a supposedly irrepressible thirst for power on the part of states or to the momentary whims of political leaders. These frameworks—which are individualistic and ahistorical—obscure the dynamics at work in the current global context and undermine resistance.

The intensification of wars and conflicts thus reflects capital's growing difficulties in resolving its contradictions (supply of oil and rare earth metals, competition over control of artificial intelligence, the falling rate of profit, and the need to increase exploitation). It reveals the predatory nature of the capitalist mode of production, which depletes resources, accelerates climate change, and causes ecological disasters.

The effects of these contradictions are felt in countries dominated by imperialist powers, which are the primary victims of wars and population displacements. But they also have a reciprocal effect on living and working conditions in the aggressor countries: by fuelling xenophobia and racism, by intensifying labour exploitation and attacks on reproductive labour, by justifying austerity policies in the name of militarisation, and by restricting civil

liberties and cultural and media spaces. In short, the intensification of imperialist logic and authoritarian—even fascist—tendencies go hand in hand. This simultaneity calls for a deeper analysis of the triad of class, imperialism, and fascism.

Historical Materialism Paris is a **space for encounter and debate at the intersection of academic and activist circles**. Analysing these dynamics thus invites us to continue and update the debates on the strategic direction of social struggles. In this context of rising tensions and dangers on an international scale, where do the mobilisations against exploitation and various forms of oppression stand? What has become of the recent cycles and realignments of anti-racist, feminist, and environmental mobilisations? And what about the popular uprisings in Iran, Turkey, Ireland, Nepal, Madagascar, Morocco, or, indeed, in the United States against ICE? How can these experiences shed light on strategic debates and inform current forms of struggle against war, as well as organisation and resistance against the rise of the far right and authoritarian or fascist regimes?

We invite speakers—academics or activists—to submit proposals for panels (maximum 1,500 words) or individual presentations (maximum 300 words), in French or English, focusing, in particular, on the general theme of this call for papers or the following streams (please indicate which stream your proposal falls under), before November 2, 2026.

A paper consists of a proposal for an individual presentation. A panel comprises three to four proposals for individual presentations that address the same topic or share common characteristics justifying their inclusion in the same session during the conference.

The conference will take place from 1 to 3 July 2027, at a university in the Paris region. **More detailed information on the venue and the procedures for submitting abstracts and panel proposals will be provided in September 2026.**

To contact us: parishistoricalmaterialism@gmail.com. Any presentation proposals sent by email will not be considered.

Organising Committee : Marion Beauvalet, Carlotta Benvegnù, Elsa Boulet, Sebastian Budgen, Benjamin Bürbaumer, Juan Sebastian Carbonell, Alexis Cukier, Yohann Douet, Davide Gallo Lassere, Fanny Gallot, Marina Garrisi, Paul Guilibert, Thierry Labica, Ernest Moret, Ugo Palheta, Anton Perdoncin, Quentin Ravelli, Marlène Rosano-Grange, Gabriel Rosenman, Maud Simonet, Karel Yon

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Streams

List of streams (See below for details)

- Racism and Racialisation
- Changes in Capitalism
- Migration, Borders, Spaces
- Feminisms, Gender, and Sexualities
- State and Law
- Ableism
- Marxist Theory
- The Labour Movement, Social Struggles, and Organisations
- Fascism and Antifascism
- Ecology Track
- Culture and Media
- Work, Exploitation, and Social Reproduction
- Education, Higher Education, and Research
- Utopias and Alternatives
- Marxism and the Global South

Racism and Racialization

For several years now, the analysis of racism has been shaped by a series of important discussions: on the one hand, the call to take into account the intersecting and combined forms of class, gender, and race relations; on the other hand, the historical and sociological debates surrounding the links between capitalism and racism in their respective formations and functions.

The long history of these debates within Marxist thought is attested to by the pioneering studies of Marxist intellectuals on the relationship between capitalism and slavery, the underdevelopment of the African continent, the Haitian anticolonial and anti-slavery revolution, the formation of whiteness, and the analysis of racial capitalism in South Africa by Black Marxist activists and intellectuals.

The rise of analyses employing the category of “race” is also linked to various forms of mobilisation that have had an impact on labour unions and workers’ political organisations by raising the issue of accounting for the racial dimensions of exploitation and domination, as well as to collectives mobilised around these issues. One question remains: how can the concepts of race, racism, and/or racialisation be concretely applied within the framework of a Marxist analysis of relations of domination and exploitation?

To address this question, this research track welcomes contributions on the following themes (among others):

- The concept of racial capitalism, its merits and limitations;
- The relationships between racism, the formation of social classes, and the historical dynamics of capitalism;
- The relationships between racialisation, the exploitation of labour, and all forms of domination;

- Anti-racist struggles and their potential connections to other types of social and political workers' struggles;
- Racism as a policy or tool of bourgeois governments.

Changes in Capitalism

This research area invites us to examine the contemporary transformations of capitalism without losing sight of its structural continuities.

Reconfigurations of capital and its forms of domination

An initial series of contributions may focus on the changing forms that capital itself takes. The current configuration has given rise to a series of concepts that warrant discussion.

- How are debates about the exhaustion of capitalism's "long wave" and about new regimes of accumulation being reframed by the trend toward slowing productivity gains—or by the questioning of the very relevance of this concept in service economies reliant on feminised, racialised, and underpaid labour?
- What are the possible entry points for discussing the reconfigurations of the relationship between productive capital, financial capital, and digital capital (techno-feudalism, second financialisation, state capitalism, political capitalism, surveillance capitalism, etc.)?
- Is a capitalism based on renewable energy viable? Or do resource constraints, dependence on critical materials, and the logic of unequal (ecological) exchange condemn any project of "green capitalism" to reproduce, in a new form, the exploitation of labour—particularly of non-male and non-white bodies—an exploitation that takes the form of superexploitation in the Global South, but also affects an increasingly significant portion of workers in the centers of capitalist accumulation?

Political Economy and Ideological Reconfigurations

One cannot analyse the transformations of capitalism without examining their political and ideological correlates.

- What are the relationships between neoliberalism, libertarianism, and authoritarian liberalism?
- How do material phenomena such as increasing militarisation, recurring inflation, commodification dynamics, and mounting pressure on sectors like culture and education shape the ideological reconfiguration of capitalism?
- How do global phenomena such as the opening of new frontiers for value extraction—outer space, the oceans, and the resources of the Far North, among others—neocolonialism, digitalisation, and the international monetary hierarchy shape political debate at the national level and relations between countries?

Migration, Borders, Spaces

This research area aims to examine the spatial dynamics of capitalism (through the lens of migration). The cross-border movements of millions of migrants are both the result of global imbalances generated by imperialist domination and the development of capitalism on a global scale, and a necessity for entire sectors of capitalist economies at the local, national, or

regional levels. The production of space, the circulation of goods and labour, processes of urbanisation, and the upheavals caused by wars are thus at the heart of economic and political tensions, in a period of intensifying imperialist conflicts.

The challenge is twofold. On the one hand, it involves re-examining the role of immigration in capitalist societies—both past and present—from the perspective of both countries of origin and destination, in the North as well as in the South. On the other hand, the aim is to bring together historical-geographical materialism and the materialist analysis of migration in order to study past and present forms of control over spaces and movements, in relation to the struggles that challenge them. How can we collectively address the security-driven management of migration—which claims thousands of lives each year—and the capitalist exploitation of the labour of those who, despite everything, cross borders, the way in which these issues fuel the rise of the far right, and the emancipatory potential of popular struggles that—like the anti-ICE mobilisations in Minneapolis, U.S.—challenge the repression of migrants by generating new forms of solidarity and reclaiming public space?

To address these questions, this track welcomes contributions on the following themes (among others):

- The transformation of centre-periphery relations: urban-rural dynamics, contemporary forms of imperialism, North-South and South-South migration;
- Migration, borders, and security policies;
- Migration and imperialist wars;
- Capitalism, ecological crises, and population displacement;
- Migration, labour, and class restructuring;
- Migration and labour needs: regulatory frameworks, sectors, and qualifications of migrant workers;
- Migration and the class struggle: the immigrant cause, mobilisations of immigrant workers, xenophobia, racism, and nationalism;
- Practices of international solidarity, welcoming migrants;
- Renewal or intensification of forms of accumulation and appropriation of space: financialisation, privatisation of space, commodification of commons.

Feminisms, Gender, and Sexualities

Against the backdrop of a global crisis of the capitalist system—which also includes a crisis of social reproduction—the situation in France and internationally is marked by polarisation from a feminist perspective.

On the one hand, the international feminist movements—particularly those against sexist and sexual violence—that began in the previous decade continue, as do the gains they have achieved. On the other hand, we are witnessing a significant escalation of attacks against women and gender minorities, occurring amid a rise in reactionary and authoritarian ideologies.

Various political and cultural movements (*“trad wives,”* masculinist influencers and thinkers, etc.) promote the subjugation of women and the repression of LGBTQ people in the name of a fantasised return to “tradition” or “nature.” The feminist cause is exploited to legitimise the oppression of trans people or racial minorities. Women’s autonomy is threatened by the resurgence of pro-natalist policies that combine the promotion of motherhood with restrictions on reproductive rights (access to abortion and contraception).

In response, resistance movements are organising and alliances are forming to combat this reactionary resurgence. The new wave of feminism, which began in the 2010s, is not going away: as such, it is one of the central strategic forces in the fight against the far right.

The “Feminisms, Gender, and Sexualities” track welcomes proposals addressing the following themes:

- An analysis of the current state of the international feminist movement;
- The crisis of social reproduction;
- Conservative mobilisations and the resistance opposing them;
- The instrumentalisation of the feminist or LGBTQ cause for reactionary or neoliberal ends, and the counterattacks mounted by the feminist movement;
- Militarisation and anti-war mobilisations;
- Violence against women and gender minorities, particularly in contexts of war;
- Attacks on reproductive rights, the resurgence of natalism, and the struggles for reproductive justice;
- The effects of economic crises on women and gender minorities;
- Strategic issues in the current situation from a feminist perspective.

These themes are indicative. We encourage empirical papers focusing on historical or contemporary case studies, mobilisations, artistic productions, and more. Firsthand accounts from an activist perspective are just as welcome as scholarly proposals.

Ableism

Disability is an eminently political issue, one that relates to the organisation of society and the hierarchies among individuals: the pressure to conform to wage-labour relations in order to be “productive” and “autonomous” individuals, the marginalisation of individuals deemed unproductive, and the differentiation of rights and material conditions of existence based on disability status or health condition. Disability is both a product of capitalism—through its normative demands that classify bodies and minds—and, in many cases, a result of capitalism: workplace accidents, occupational diseases, etc.

Furthermore, disability is political to the extent that progressive or reactionary movements appropriate it. On the side of emancipatory demands, examples include deaf culture and the resurgence of anti-ableist movements in France. On the far right, “Aspie supremacism”—championed by figures such as Elon Musk—seeks to reverse the stigma attached to autistic people by claiming that a small fraction of them constitute a particularly high-performing elite within the framework of neoliberal capitalism.

The “Ableism” track welcomes proposals addressing the following themes:

- Theories of disability and the empowerment of people with disabilities;
- Reactionary movements surrounding issues related to disability or health status;
- Mobilisations by people with disabilities;
- The intersection of social class, exploitation, and disability.

These themes are indicative. We encourage empirical papers focusing on historical or contemporary case studies, social movements, artistic productions, and more. Firsthand accounts from an activist perspective are just as welcome as scholarly proposals.

State and Law

From massive government interventions following the 2008 crisis to the ongoing rearmament of all major geopolitical powers, and including the management of the pandemic, critical research on the state and the law—particularly that of a Marxist inspiration—has seen a resurgence of interest, for reasons that are both theoretical and practical. In this research area, we propose to explore these topics in greater depth, focusing specifically on the following three issues:

- **State, Exploitation, Domination:** One of the central questions underpinning Marxist approaches to the state is that of its relationship to capitalist exploitation. To what extent is the state an instrument in the hands of capitalists, or does it fulfil capitalist functions for structural reasons? What distinguishes capitalist states from, for example, ancient and feudal states? What role and function does law play in the capitalist mode of production? How should we conceptualise the relative autonomy of the state and the law? Such issues—which can be traced back to Marx and Engels themselves and have given rise to famous controversies (between Miliband and Poulantzas, for example)—must be re-examined in light of the historical transformations of contemporary capitalism. These various approaches can, moreover, be enriched by also taking into account the relationship between the state and other systems of domination, primarily patriarchy and systemic racism.
- **The Transformation of the State:** The role and actions of the state must be understood historically, and its transformations must be viewed within the context of social and economic changes. This involves, in particular, analysing, on the one hand, the establishment and development of the welfare state during the 20th century, and, on the other hand, its challenge by neoliberalism. Does authoritarian neoliberalism represent a new type of state? Do contemporary economic and ecological crises call for a “return of the state,” with greater investment and a certain degree of planning? How should we think about the current challenges to the rule of law? What transformations of the state corresponded to historical forms of fascism, and what do the processes of “fascisation” discernible in various regions of the world imply for the state (strengthening, co-optation, dislocation, etc.)? To what extent is the role of international law and international organisations changing in relation to the transformations of contemporary capitalism and geopolitical power dynamics?
- **What should be done about the state?** While the states Marx and Engels faced were undeniably enemies, the establishment of the institutions and mechanisms that constitute the welfare state—and the attacks on it by neoliberalism—make strategic debates more complex. How can we defend the welfare state against neoliberal attacks without abandoning an anti-capitalist critique of the state? How can we promote grassroots struggles without abandoning the state arena, which today seems difficult to bypass? What lessons can be drawn from the two waves of so-called progressive governments in Latin America? In short: what strategy should we adopt toward the state and within the state?

Marxist Theory

Post-Marxist currents, which tend to reduce Marxism to a tradition from which one could simply extract a few arbitrary elements while disregarding the rest, compel us to examine its specific characteristics.

On the one hand, Marxism constitutes a *general theoretical framework* for analysing human reality in all its dimensions—a project for a *comprehensive human science* that integrates the study of all social spheres (economy, politics, culture, and ideology, etc.) and even natural spheres (socio-ecological metabolisms). But how can we understand such an integration, and do we not risk reducing social reality to just one of its dimensions (reductionism, economism)?

On the other hand, Marxism constitutes a *critique of the established social reality* aimed at overthrowing it, and is in this sense inseparable from *political struggle*. How can we understand *the unity of theory and practice* that is supposed to characterise it? Does this not risk undermining its intellectual rigour? And what modifications to the theoretical framework must be accepted in order to keep pace with historical changes (the problem of historicism)?

This track will bring together presentations examining the specific characteristics of Marxism in relation to other critical social theories, as well as how it may or may not be articulated with them. In particular, the focus will be on revisiting the history of philosophical debates within Marxism, as well as with other authors and schools of thought (Kantianism, Hegelianism, existentialism, structuralism and poststructuralism, feminisms, queer theories, postcolonial and decolonial theories, political ecology, and theories of the living, etc.).

The Labour Movement, Social Struggles, and Organisations

While Marxism identifies class struggles as the driving force of human history, the struggles characterising the current period more specifically reflect a context of imperialist tensions and fascist tendencies. The popular uprising against the Iranian regime, for example, quickly ran up against U.S.-Israeli imperialist intervention. As for the exemplary mobilisation of the people of Minneapolis against ICE, it starkly illuminates the racist and repressive radicalisation of U.S. power.

In this context, it is not only a matter of resisting, step by step, the assaults of authoritarian and war-mongering capitalism, but also of charting strategic paths to reverse the balance of power. The cycle of struggles that France has undergone in recent years precisely illustrates the diversity of forms of mobilisation and the possible dynamics for rebuilding a social movement: from the Yellow Vests revolt in 2018, to the united campaign of the Left following the dissolution of the National Assembly of 2024, including the cross-sectoral strike over pension reforms and the uprisings against police brutality in 2023.

The diversity of social struggles has long been subsumed under the category of the labour movement, at the risk of overshadowing the plurality of forms of resistance to capitalism. Yet many social movements and popular uprisings now maintain a distant relationship with the organisations supposed to represent the working class.

Does the traditional Marxist notion of the “labour movement” still mean something today? To what extent are its institutionalised forms within parties and unions being disrupted by the current wave of class struggle? Is this transformation part of a new spirit of activism adapted to the restructuring of societies under neoliberal influence? To what extent does it alter the nature of the struggle and, as a result, foster the emergence of new actors, new frameworks for action, a new language of activism, and new demands?

More broadly, how can the transformations brought about by social movements be sustained? What programmatic expressions, what institutional manifestations, and what levels of intervention are required?

Apart from traditional organisations, many struggles are testing an autonomous hypothesis that aims, if not to do away with organisation altogether, then at least to rethink it in new terms. Can we move beyond the dichotomy between horizontal and vertical structures in social struggles? What strategic issues are at stake in these questions of organisation?

To varying degrees, repression and political violence are once again emerging as a primary concern for actors in social struggles. How are these issues of protection and self-defence addressed within organisations and across different sectors of the social movement?

This track thus aims to foster a dialogue among presentations on the labour movement, social struggles, and forms of organisation, drawing on both activist experiences and academic research in sociology, history, or political science, for example.

Fascism and Antifascism

Over the past decade, a series of phenomena has helped bring the issues of fascism and antifascism back to the forefront of discussions within the Left and Marxism: from the emergence of new far-right movements (Trump, Milei, etc.) to the radicalisation of the Right (neoliberal and neoconservative), from the authoritarian hardening of capitalist states to the surge in terrorist acts committed by supremacist militants, from the electoral advances and victories of the Far Right to the genocidal war waged by the Israeli colonial state against Gaza.

While the Marxist debate on fascism seemed to have stagnated, frozen in ritualistic dichotomies and categories largely inherited from the interwar period, numerous studies have enabled a reappropriation, enrichment, and renewal of the questions raised, as well as of the conceptual tools and theoretical and strategic hypotheses. In this research track, we therefore propose to explore the following questions (though this list is not exhaustive):

- How can we characterise contemporary far-right movements? Is the category of fascism (or neo-fascism, or even “late fascism”) relevant for analysing them—and, if so, based on what understanding of fascism? Or should we resort to other categories (radical Right, right-wing populism, post-fascism, Bonapartism, “disaster nationalism,” etc.)?
- What are the social bases of these far-right movements? In particular, what relationships do these forces maintain with capital and its various factions? How do these forces manage to take root in society? What are the drivers of these political forces’ electoral, ideological, cultural, and activist growth?
- To what extent can the ongoing transformations of capitalist states be understood as dynamics of fascisation, paving the way for new states of exception, or should we view them merely as the continuation of the processes of de-democratisation associated with neoliberal capitalism?
- When far-right parties are in power, what changes do they drive, particularly in terms of forms of state intervention, class relations, democratic rights, environmental policies, and the rights of women and minorities? Under what conditions can popular and antifascist resistance push them back or even force them into defeat?

- What specific roles do imperialism and racism—particularly in the form of Islamophobia in the Western world—play in the processes of authoritarian hardening and the rise of the far right?
- How does the Far Right appropriate environmental issues—ranging from the unconditional defence of fossil-fuel capitalism (“carbo-fascism”) to calls for building an identity-based ecology (“eco-fascism”)—and what role can environmental movements play in anti-fascism today?
- What shifts can be identified in the Far Right’s gender and sexual policies, from historical fascism to the various contemporary currents of the Far Right?
- How can we conceive of an anti-fascism adapted to the current era? What role can it (or should it) play in rebuilding the politics of emancipation today, and what should be its main areas of focus?

Imperialism

From Iran to Greenland, via Venezuela and Palestine, the United States’ actions have often been interpreted as the result of irrational decisions, foreign influences (Russian, Israeli, etc.), or even Donald Trump’s madness. The originality of Marxist theories and their relevance today lie in viewing imperialism as “the political expression of capital accumulation” rather than a remnant of archaic forms of violence. This approach therefore aims to understand both the radicalisation of geopolitical tensions and the structural dimensions of unequal development.

Although U.S. hegemony is now in decline, the United States retains many attributes that place it far ahead of its potential competitors: whether in terms of military spending, capital exports, control of the sole integrated military command, the number of military bases abroad, attempts at territorial conquest, and so on. This unprecedented situation calls for both an extension of theories of imperialism and a renewed concrete examination of them. This research track aims to bring together these theoretical reflections and analytical studies, while linking them to the strategic questions facing anti-imperialist struggles today.

- How should we conceptualise imperialism today? Which approaches should we prioritize: theories of the Empire or the transnational state? Those of American super-imperialism? Or those that interpret current conflicts as the resurgence of inter-imperialist rivalries?
- What are the driving forces and transformations of French imperialism?
- How, through their interventions abroad, do imperialist states transform their own societies (militarism, productive infrastructure—particularly energy infrastructure—racism, authoritarianism, femonationalism, class relations, etc.)?
- How are developments in the arms industry transforming Marxist theories of surplus-value absorption? What does global rearmament signify? What are its consequences?
- What anti-imperialist strategies should be implemented or strengthened in the current context? How should we conceive of internationalist solidarity in the face of the genocide in Gaza?

Ecology Track

The imperialist war in Iran has highlighted the energy constraints weighing on capital accumulation. The blockade of the Strait of Hormuz and Iranian ports, along with strikes on oil and gas infrastructure, demonstrate—if proof were needed—the central role of the fossil fuel economy in the quest for global hegemony. The ensuing crisis in fertilisers and nitrogen-

based fertilisers shows that fossil-fuel imperialism imposes material constraints on all capitalist sectors. Global imperialist radicalisation is rooted in a trend toward the increasing demand for resources necessary for the development of the productive forces. The hoarding of natural resources is a central issue in rivalries among world powers. These rivalries are accompanied by a deepening of unequal ecological exchanges and a reconfiguration of environmental struggles against militarism and extractivism.

It is in this context that, following a significant period of ecological reinterpretation of the canonical corpus, new research programmes in Marxist political ecology are emerging. These focus, among other things, on post-growth economic models and ecological planning; on the socio-metabolic effects of extractivist policies; on the role of the proletariat and workers in the ecological bifurcation; and on the compatibility between biodiversity conservation policies and anti-capitalist struggles. This research track aims to bring together concrete studies, theoretical reflections, and strategic approaches inspired by Marxist visions of political ecology, thereby helping to elucidate the significance of internal controversies and their role in a revolutionary strategy for ecology.

1. How can we analyse the ongoing processes of rearmament and remilitarisation from an ecological perspective? How can we oppose “war ecology” and develop new struggles that are both ecological and anti-imperialist?
2. How can we analyse the dynamics of unequal ecological exchange? To what extent does this prompt us to rethink the militarisation of territories and environmental militarism?
3. To what extent is the concept of “environmental racism” useful for developing a critique of these processes, at different scales, in both the Global North and the Global South?
4. What is the most appropriate category for conceptualising the relationship between the Far Right and ecological crises: ecofascism, carbo-fascism, climate denialism, green nationalism, petro-masculinism, reactionary accelerationism...?
5. Can we say that those in power have now abandoned the ecological transition? Was such a transition ever even initiated? How can we address the ideological framework that shapes climate governance today?
6. How should we conceptualise the uses and roles of technologies in the causes of and responses to environmental and climate crises? Do they serve as a lever for transformation or as an obstacle? To what extent do they fall under technosolutionism or eco-modernism, or are they indispensable to ecosocialism?
7. How can we conceptualise a strategy for an agroecological shift? From this perspective, how can we characterise, in terms of class composition, labour in the agricultural sector and recent movements among farmers and smallholders?
8. How can we link environmental struggles to labour conflicts and political issues? What prospects does eco-syndicalism open up in the face of the transformations of contemporary capitalism? How can we analyse the emergence of new environmental mobilisations (civil disobedience, territorial struggles, the climate movement, alliances with workers) and their relationships with labour unions and political parties?
9. How should we conceptualise today the relationships between ecological planning, degrowth, deglobalisation, and the socialisation of the means of production? What strategic debates are shaping ecosocialist perspectives regarding democratic planning, the reduction of

production and consumption, and forms of economic coordination that offer alternatives to markets?

10. Within eco-Marxism—and more specifically, within the ecological interpretation of Marx—what are the theoretical and political fault lines that have characterised recent debates?

Culture and Media

Culture is a matter of class struggle. This is all the truer for a culture embedded within media empires that concentrate considerable power over the press, broadcast news media, film, and publishing.

The all-out offensive currently being waged by the Bolloré Group in France is reminiscent of the precedent set by the media empire built by Rupert Murdoch beginning in the 1980s. At the same time, through their foundations, certain luxury industry giants (Bernard Arnault, François Pinault, etc.) have taken control of the contemporary art sector. The same is true of asset managers. It is not enough to focus on the reactionary ideologies espoused by certain major owners; we must also examine what capitalist concentration does to art, culture, and information, while ceasing to view public authorities as a counterweight or a recourse: on the contrary, having neither the will nor the means to act, they accompany—or even encourage—the process of commodification and monopolisation that governs both the production of “content” and its distribution to the public.

It is from this materialist perspective that we propose to examine the cultural and media world—not with a defeatist outlook, but also to sketch out the contours of structures and forms emancipated from capitalism and the state. While radical aesthetic innovations deserve close observation and analysis—both as contemporary manifestations of the reversal of constraints and as a historical exploration of past practices—it is also important to turn our attention to new developments, such as streaming, certain new independent media, and content creators.

- How has media concentration transformed the conditions of cultural production and its reception?
- How does capital produce a new culture, subsuming the concepts of art and culture that emerged in the 19th century and merging them with information, fashion, and advertising?
- What role has the state, at various levels, played in these processes?
- How has this transformed the conditions of workers in these sectors? What fronts of struggle are emerging?
- What has become of the avant-gardes and oppositional cultures?
- How is it possible to imagine a break with this culture of capital? What might a popular culture, emancipated from industry, look like?
- What materialist interpretations of the situation are possible, particularly from a feminist, anti-racist, and/or decolonial perspective?
- What *gaze*—and thus what representations—shapes these works, and what gaps can be identified based on the situated and embodied positions of the authors?

Work, Exploitation, and Social Reproduction

Work is a prominent issue in public debate, and this is true on several levels in different ways. Whether through a reactionary framework (the value of work—more specifically, what is considered to produce value and what kind of value) or through policies that erode social rights (RSA, full employment). Or through an “economy of the promise,” which is now taking hold in many sectors: from internships to volunteer work, whether in the for-profit or nonprofit sectors. The governance of labour operates through increasingly tight control (over the unemployed, for example), a control that benefits from the development of management tools. These various forms of labour mobilisation are intersected by issues of class, race, and gender. Furthermore, they are part of processes of disciplining the workforce, regulating the labour market, and the international division of labour.

Among the main factors currently transforming the capital-labour relationship is artificial intelligence (AI). AI is reshaping work organisations and chains of command through algorithmic management. Beyond the discourse on technological unemployment, it is bringing new populations into the workforce—primarily in the Global South—through micro-work. More broadly, digital technology and issues of technological sovereignty are among the key challenges facing the world of work today, stemming from the question of data ownership and management within companies. Furthermore, without exaggerating its novelty, AI raises central questions about the production and capture of value within companies, the transformation of occupations and qualifications, and the place of intellectual labour under capitalism.

Finally, across the board, the concept of exploitation is gradually regaining its place in critical economic analyses, notably by enabling us to consider the relationship between productive labour and reproductive labour as a defining element of capitalism. Viewed from this angle, theoretical and political discussions on the concept of exploitation then open up further debates on the boundaries of the working class and their androcentrism. Under attack in its most socialised form, reproductive labour nevertheless finds itself once again at the forefront of political and activist discourse today: it is either invoked and valorised within an individualising/individualised femonationalist framework (“*trad wives*,” “demographic rearmament”), or mobilised by feminist groups to raise its visibility and incorporate it into a strategy for social transformation.

This theme therefore aims to bring together contributions (whether academic or not) that engage with these debates and examine contemporary forms of labour and exploitation in relation to the transformations of capitalism, drawing in particular on concepts related to:

- Social reproduction;
- Control, organisation, and division of the production process;
- Technological change in the workplace, AI, and digital technology;
- The integration into the labour market of populations and exploitation.

Education, Higher Education, and Research

To the extent that inequalities and power dynamics are reproduced within them, schools and universities are today central battlegrounds for social and political struggles. The logic of competition and privatisation is undermining the public education system, while inequalities are widening between schools, between regions, and among student populations.

This trend is also fuelled by the devaluation of predominantly female-dominated professions, such as those of AESHs and ATSEMs, whose recent protests have highlighted the precarious working conditions, low wages, and lack of institutional recognition for roles that are nonetheless essential to educational inclusion and the daily care of students. The material challenges facing education are also evident in the condition of school buildings, which are often dilapidated and ill-suited to contemporary environmental challenges (particularly increasingly frequent heatwaves), even as schools should serve as prime venues for raising awareness and experimenting with the ecological transition.

These issues prompt a broader examination of the social functions of the school as an institution. For several decades, numerous studies have shown that schools do more than simply impart knowledge: they also contribute to the reproduction of social relations based on class, gender, and race. Alternative teaching methods, democratic experiments, and reflections on student participation are all attempts to make schools spaces of emancipation rather than of social reproduction and institutional domination.

In this context, debates surrounding secularism have taken on increasing importance. Since the early 2000s, secularism has undergone a marked transformation from the 1905 law, increasingly becoming a principle of prohibition, exclusion, and stigmatisation targeting Muslim students in particular—notably through identity-based panics surrounding clothing. Controversies surrounding Education for Emotional, Relational, and Sexual Well-being (EVARS) also illustrate resistance to a school system that aims to combat discrimination, promote gender equality, and recognise the diversity of life paths and identities.

Finally, these debates are part of a broader offensive by the conservative Right and the Far Right against schools and universities, and against all academic freedom, which they accuse of spreading values deemed too egalitarian, feminist, anti-racist, or environmentalist (“wokeness”), or even of being complicit in “Islamist entryism” (“Islamist-leftism”). This reactionary offensive is linked to the drive toward commodification within the xenophobic “Welcome to France” plan, which imposes a massive increase in tuition fees for international students. This increase is set to become widespread due to the generalised underfunding of universities, which stands in stark contrast to massive subsidies for for-profit private institutions. Working conditions are deteriorating and precariousness is on the rise, and every effort is being made to subordinate research to the interests of industry and the technology sectors—particularly AI—at the expense of any democratic or ecological perspective.

However, despite a severely weakened student movement, this neoliberal and fascist-leaning agenda is not advancing as quickly as expected in France, suggesting that there is still capacity for resistance. Educational issues appear inseparable from a project of social transformation aimed at making schools and universities places for the democratisation of knowledge, real equality, and individual and collective emancipation.

Utopias and Alternatives

The “Utopias and Alternatives” section welcomes contributions focusing on utopias linked to struggles for emancipation and on alternatives to the capitalist, patriarchal, productivist, and imperialist organisation of production and social reproduction. This includes, in particular, describing and analysing past and present political experiences and forms of economic organisation related to socialisation—workers’ councils and social councils, cooperatives, self-management, worker- or resident-led restructuring, planning, “ZADs” or “liberated

spaces,” communalism, local currencies, social security... – and to examine the strategies for breaking with the status quo that could bring them about.

Traditionally, one might think that a non-capitalist organisation of production and social reproduction requires both state planning for the ecological transition and democratic modes of coordination that displace or replace the market from its central role in validating the social utility of labour. But a number of strategic debates—revitalised to address the strategic challenges of the moment, particularly environmental and anti-fascist ones—have arisen regarding the relationship between these two dimensions:

- How can self-management and planning be concretely reconciled?
- Must we choose between the model of expanding the network of socio-economic alternatives (“from below”) and that of the democratic reappropriation of political decisions (“from above”)?
- What might ecosocialist institutions (or those described by another term drawn from Marxism and struggles for emancipation) look like, from the local to the international level?
- How can we conceptualise the technical modalities for implementing ecological planning (alternatives to dominant accounting standards and traditional indicators of wealth)?

Another set of questions concerns the very idea of utopia.

- In what sense can Marxism conceive of, produce, and promote utopias without falling back into the pitfalls of abstracting social relations and irenicism—criticised in his time by Marx regarding utopian socialism?
- Are Ernest Bloch’s category of “concrete utopia” or Erik Olin Wright’s “real utopia” useful for thinking about the revolutionary potential of concrete experiences and the creation of imaginaries that break with the established order?
- Should we accept the necessarily utopian dimension of the global social emancipation sought by Marxist theories, at a time when, on the contrary, wars, destruction, and catastrophes are accelerating?

Finally, we can analyse the issue of the capitalist co-optation and instrumentalisation of utopian alternatives and aspirations.

- Which recent transformations in public policy stem from movements that have internalised anti-capitalist critiques?
- How do these transformations—which adopt certain phrases from alternative thought—contribute to reproducing capitalism rather than transcending it? One example is the co-optation of the idea of community-based management of the commons by David Cameron’s British government, aimed at reducing government spending on public services, as Silvia Federici and Georges Caffentzis have shown. Or consider the various French policies with ecological and/or democratic aims (the establishment of a “General Secretariat for Ecological Planning,” the Citizens’ Convention on Climate Change), whose powers are tailored and limited so as not to challenge the foundations of ecocidal capitalism.

Marxism and the Global South

While classical Marxism of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th focused on the theory of imperialism to analyse the relationships between countries of the “North” (the capitalist “centre”) and the “South” (the “periphery”), decolonisation, self-centred development initiatives, and neocolonialism have given rise to an extremely rich body of theoretical work.

In addition to informing the strategic thinking behind national liberation struggles and concrete experiences of governance in countries of the South, these theories have also been applied in countries of the centre to analyse contemporary forms of dependency in the era of globalisation, including in spaces such as the European Union.

At a time when U.S. hegemony is in latent decline amid China’s rise, it seems necessary to draw upon these theoretical tools—while updating them—in order to analyse the contemporary situation and better identify the room for manoeuvre that it opens up or closes off. This reflection involves, in particular, revisiting the question of the state and national sovereignty as conceived from the perspective of the Global South, as well as class relations and the specific forms of struggle in the Global South.

We welcome all contributions addressing the victories of the 1970s, the reasons for the defeat, comparisons with the current period, theoretical revisions of Marxist frameworks of unequal development, as well as the strategic and tactical perspectives put forward by political and labour organisations.

Proposals may focus, in particular, on the following themes:

- What are the specific characteristics of the interplay between class relations, social struggles, political power, and dependency in the Global South?
- What political strategies can break the cycle of underdevelopment?
- How has China, a country of the Global South, defied the predictions derived from theories of unequal exchange?
- China and the BRICS: What is the nature of their counter-power vis-à-vis the United States? Do they represent a form of dependence on the United States, an inter-imperialist logic, a counter-hegemonic dynamic, or an anti-imperialist orientation?
- What are the effects of 7 October on the regional and global order?
- Is it possible for a country in the North to “disconnect” from globalisation?
- What kind of cooperation with countries in the Global South could be envisaged if a radical left-wing candidate comes to power?