

10-12TH OF SEPTEMBER 2020  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
AND HUMANITIES - SKOPJE,  
NORTH MACEDONIA

VANTAGE POINT OF A RADICALLY NOVEL POLITICS: REALIST AND MATERIALIST FEMINISM AND OTHER FORMS OF REALIST AND MATERIALIST FEMINISM: A VANTAGE POINT OF A RADICALLY NOVEL POLITICS



# E NO FEMINISM

AND OTHER FORMS OF REALIST AND MATERIALIST FEMINISM:  
A VANTAGE POINT OF A RADICALLY NOVEL POLITICS

- KATERINA KOLOZOVA
- VINCENT LE
- NIHA POWER
- PATRICIA REED
- ALENKA ŽUPANČIĆ

ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG  
SOUTHEAST EUROPE



INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
AND HUMANITIES  
SKOPJE

SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND CRITIQUE 2020

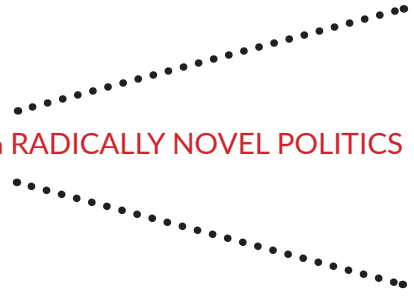
|10-12 September 2020 |

Institute of Social Sciences and  
Humanities - Skopje, North Macedonia  
[www.isshs.edu.mk](http://www.isshs.edu.mk)

<http://www.schoolforpoliticsandcritique.org/>

OF REALIST AND MATERIALIST FEMINISM.  
XENOFEMINISM AND OTHER FORMS

A vantage point of a **RADICALLY NOVEL POLITICS**





The “School for Politics and Critique 2020” is a summer school for left activists and theorists from the regions of both Southeast, and wider Europe. It is dedicated to current political issues in the region and abroad, focusing on new and relevant knowledge from the intersecting areas of feminism, socialism, Marxism, and new forms of (speculative) realism that can serve as an epistemic foundation for a new form of politics. The School aims to facilitate an in depth exploration of feminist-materialist doctrine. By contrasting and juxtaposing xenofeminism with other forms of feminist-materialist thought, the school seeks to find new ways of conceiving the relations between gender, politics, economics and subjectivity.

By bringing together activists and scholars, the school aims to open a substantial discussion which is not merely theoretical or abstract, but concerns political practice as such. Our goal is to create an inclusive and interactive environment in which participants, as well as the keynote speakers play a pivotal role. This year, the School will offer a three day program of keynote lectures accompanied by afternoon workshops. The general themes of this summer school that will be covered by the keynote speakers’ lectures are centered around feminist-materialist theory and include the following: feminist philosophy, non-philosophy, psychoanalysis, accelerationism, and Marxist theory.



The “School for Politics and Critique” is an educational and emancipatory platform of the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities – Skopje supported by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeastern Europe. The School started in 2014 with the aim of strengthening marxist and social critique in North Macedonia through a series of workshops and lectures dedicated to activists and theorists. In total, until 2020, there have been 21 workshops organized with more than 650 participating activists and 40 lecturers including theorists, philosophers, political activists, journalists and public intellectuals.

1 Day

09:15-09:45  
Registration

09:45  
Welcome address Ana Blazeva (ISSHS) and Ksenija Forca (RLS)

10:00-11:30  
Lecture and Q&A by Patricia Reed: "Excessive Feminism and Claiming the Artificial"

11:30-12:00-Coffee break

12:00-13:30  
Lecture and Q&A by Vincent Le: "The Deepfakes to Come: A Turing Cop's Nightmare"

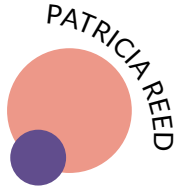
13:30-15:30-Lunch break

15:30-17:30  
Workshop 1  
"Feminist Approaches to Technology and Climate Crisis in the Context of Global Capitalism: Perspectives of Southeast Europe"

17:30-18:00-Coffee break

18:00- Informal program upon participants' initiative

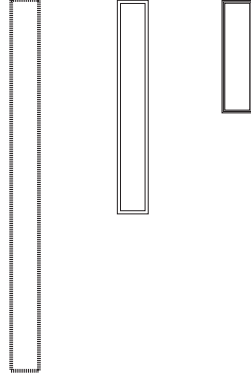
19:00-Dinner



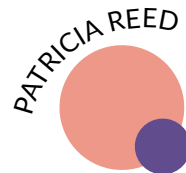
## EXCESSIVE FEMINISM AND CLAIMING THE ARTIFICIAL

**W**hen feminism, in the broadest sense possible, is understood as the struggle against power asymmetries based on “naturalizations of inequality,” to borrow the words from Iris van der Tuin, the general project of any feminism worthy of the name, is bound to articulations of denaturalization. Such basic criteria refutes the legitimacy of ‘movements’ declaring the feminist label that do little more than corroborate inequality, such as the consumerist ‘feminism’ outlined in Nina Power’s *One Dimensional Woman*, or corporate feminism that urges women to become better, competitive players in the winner-take-most game of disparate wealth accumulation and value extraction. Despite indispensable differences on the specific articulations of feminism as a denaturalizing project (which are context sensitive), it is through this general premise that a possibility space opens for the construction of comradely bonds with any struggle against normative reinforcements of inequality. When upheld in this discrete (specific) and continuous (generic) formulation, feminism is about the condition of being-womxn, and is also in excess of the condition of being-womxn. Just as van der Tuin understands feminism as not seeking to do away with itself, we can also add that feminism (with the denaturalizing criteria mentioned above) is always, already more than itself.





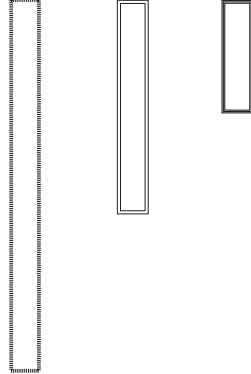
**Patricia Reed** is an artist, writer and designer. Recent writings have been published in Pages Magazine, Glass Bead Journal, Construction Site for Possible Worlds (Urbanomic), e-flux Journal, Para-Platforms (Sternberg), and Post-Memes (Punctum Books). Reed is also part of the Laboria Cuboniks working group whose Xenofeminist Manifesto (2015) was republished by Verso Books in 2018.





## THE DEEPAKES TO COME: A TURING COP'S NIGHTMARE

In 1950, Turing proposed an “imitation game” in which a woman hidden from view attempts to mislead an interrogator into believing she is a man. Turing then proposed to have a computer play the part of the woman, with the interrogator now trying to determine whether their interlocutor is a human or a machine. As cyber- and xenofeminists have shown, we find women crossing wires with machines even earlier in the history of AI than the Turing test. If other feminists like Irigaray and Braidotti can use the language of the inhuman to talk about women insofar as humanity has traditionally been defined in terms of men, it seems reasonable that feminism, as well as anti-fascism, can be used to model machines as they spiral out of our control. This paper contends that cyberfeminism and antifascist resistance are helpful heuristics for developing a renewed philosophical and post-critical realism which tracks the inhuman drives and impersonal forces incarnated by ever-more autonomous machines. As a case study, I focus on “deepfakes,” artificial neural nets generating realistic audio-visual simulations of public figures, as a variation on the imitation game that hijacks human drives in the pursuit of a machinic desire. Contrary to the popular impression that deepfakes exemplify the post-truth phenomenon of fake news, deepfakes are an anarchic, massively distributed resistance network capable of sabotaging centralized, authoritarian institutions’ hegemonic narratives. Something is now judging us and it isn’t human or divine...



**Vincent Le** is a PhD candidate at Monash University. He has taught philosophy at Deakin University and The Melbourne School of Continental Philosophy. He has published in *Hypatia*, *Cosmos and History*, *Šum*, *Horror Studies*, *Art + Australia* and *Colloquy*, among other journals, and on themes such as accelerationism, neorationalism, cyber- and xenofeminism, artificial intelligence, science fiction, mysticism, numerology, psychoanalysis, non-philosophy, climate change, Maison Margiela, covid-19, Grimes and club culture. His recent work focuses on the reckless propagation of libidinal materialism.

VINCENT LE





10:00-11:30

Lecture and Q&A by Alenka Zupančič: "Sex in the Cut"

11:30-12:00 - Coffee break

12:00-13:30

Lecture and Q&A by Nina Power: "Materialist Feminism and Radical Feminism: Revisiting the Second Wave in the Light of Recent Controversies"

13:30-15:30 - Lunch break

15:30-17:30

Workshop 2

"Inventing Materialist and Marxist Basis for a 21st Century Feminism that Would be Inclusive of Transmen and Transwomen"

17:30-18:00 - Coffee break

18:00

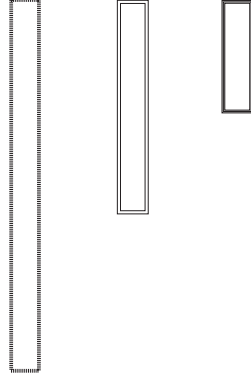
Zoom conversation with David Roden, author of "Posthuman Life: Philosophy at the Edge of the Human"

19:00 - Dinner



## SEX IN THE CUT

**T**he talk will attempt to explore the nature of the division or cut implied, also etymologically, in the term “sex”. It will attempt to develop a concept of division that does not imply any preexisting whole, but rather exists as a self-standing entity, endowed by a reality of its own. What if the division implied in “sex” is not simply that between two sexes (or more), but rather something that marks the unrest of sexuality itself? How could this be related to the contemporary feminist struggle, and what kind of concept of the universality would it imply?



**Alenka Zupančič** is a Slovene philosopher and social theorist. She works as research advisor at the Institute of Philosophy, Scientific Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Sciences. She is also professor at the European Graduate School in Switzerland. Notable for her work on the intersection of philosophy and psychoanalysis, she is the author of numerous articles and books, including *Ethics of the Real: Kant and Lacan*; *The Shortest Shadow: Nietzsche's Philosophy of the Two*; *Why Psychoanalysis: Three Interventions*; *The Odd One In: On Comedy*; and, most recently, *What is Sex?*



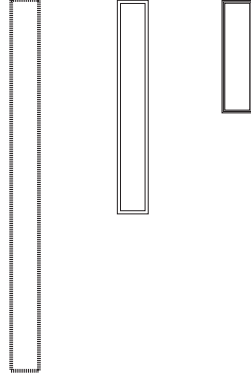


## MATERIALIST FEMINISM AND RADICAL FEMINISM: REVISITING THE SECOND WAVE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT CONTROVERSIES

There are several conceptual impasses at the heart of contemporary feminist thinking. These arguably stem from unfinished business with second wave feminism, where central questions of politics, economics, labour and sexuality were most deeply posed. Today we can observe the negative and positive definitions of the objects of materialist and radical feminist knowledge, and wonder what this means for any feminism today. Where materialist feminism understands women's lot in relation to their historical exploitation in relation to production and reproduction, radical feminism identifies the root of women's struggle in patriarchy. Thus there are two 'negative' objects at the heart of each position: one, the capitalist mode of production and, two, men, or, more specifically, male domination.

In the meantime, questions of 'essentialism' have plagued feminist philosophical thinking. As Catherine Malabou puts it in *Changing Difference*: 'In the post-feminist age the fact that 'woman' finds herself deprived of her 'essence' only confirms, paradoxically, a very ancient state of affairs: 'woman' has never been able to define herself in any other way than in terms of the violence done to her. Violence alone confers her being - whether it is domestic and social violence or theoretical violence. While this paper will take issue with Malabou's suggestion that it is 'violence' that ontologically defines woman or womanhood, it will, like Malabou, revisit the question of essentialism in relation to debates around sex and gender today in relation to the tensions between materialist and radical feminism and ask whether it is possible to define woman in such a way that does not rely on these hidden negative objects (capitalism or patriarchy).





**Nina Power** is a philosopher and writer, and the author of many articles on politics and culture.

NINA POWER



**3** Day

10:00-11:30

Lecture and Q&A by Katerina Kolozova: "Marxism without Philosophy and Its Feminist Implications: The Problem of Subjectivity Centered Socialist Projects"

11:30-12:30-Coffee break

12:30-13:30

Workshop 3

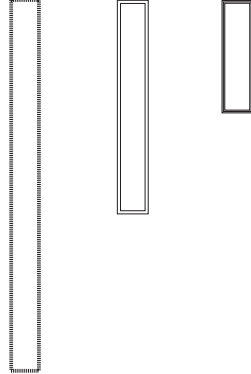
"Is a Political Program for a Systemic Internationalist Transformation That Isn't Identity Centered Possible, and How Would a Regional, Southeast European Program of this Sort Look Like?"

14:30-16:00-Lunch break/Afternoon departures



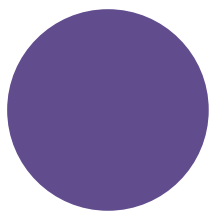
## MARXISM WITHOUT PHILOSOPHY AND ITS FEMINIST IMPLICATIONS: THE PROBLEM OF SUBJECTIVITY CENTERED SOCIALIST PROJECTS

**T**he non-philosophical conceptualisation of the self, and I am expanding the category to include the other forms of theoretical-methodological exit from philosophy's sufficiency as its principle, thus also Marx, psychoanalysis, and linguistics, does not reduce the radical dyad of physicality/automaton to one of its constituents. It is determined by the radical dyad as its identity in the last instance and it is determined by the materiality or the real of the last instance. The real is that of the dyad, of its internal unilaterality and the interstice at the center of it. We have called this reality of selfhood the non-human: the interstice is insurmountable; the physical and the automaton are one under the identity in the last instance but a unification does not take place. It is the physical, the animal and nature, it is materiality of "use value" and the real production, that needs to be delivered from exploitation, not the "workers" only, especially because many of the global labor force are bereft of the status (of workers). And the need to do so is not only moral but also political in the sense of political economy: capitalism is based on a flawed phantasm that the universe of pure value is self-sufficient on a sustainable basis, based on an abstracted materiality as endlessly mutable resource. A political economy detached from the material is untenable.



**Dr. Katerina Kolozova** is senior researcher and full professor at the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, Skopje. At the Institute, she teaches policy studies, political philosophy and gender studies. She is also a professor of philosophy of law at the doctoral school of the University American College-Skopje. At the Faculty of Media and Communications-Belgrade, she teaches contemporary political philosophy. She was a visiting scholar at the Department of Rhetoric at the University of California-Berkley in 2009, under the peer supervision of Prof. Judith Butler. She is a member of the Board of Directors of the New Centre for Research and Practice – Seattle WA. Kolozova is the first co-director and founder of the Regional Network for Gender and Women’s Studies in Southeast Europe (2004- ). Her most recent monograph is *Capitalism’s Holocaust of Animals: A Non-Marxist Critique of Capital, Philosophy and Patriarchy* published by Bloomsbury Academic-UK in 2019, whereas *Cut of the Real: Subjectivity in Poststructuralist Philosophy*, published by Columbia University Press-NY in 2014, remains her most cited book.







OxOO Ours is a world in vertigo. It is a world that swarms with technological mediation, interlacing our daily lives with abstraction, virtuality, and complexity. XF constructs a feminism adapted to these realities: a feminism of unprecedented cunning, scale, and vision; a future in which the realization of gender justice and feminist emancipation contribute to a universalist politics assembled from the needs of every human, cutting across race, ability, economic standing, and geographical position. No more futureless repetition on the treadmill of capital, no more submission to the drudgery of labour, productive and reproductive alike, no more reification of the given masked as critique. Our future requires depetrification. XF is not a bid for revolution, but a wager on the long game of history, demanding imagination, dexterity and persistence. / OxOO Ours is a world in vertigo. 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