A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PROTEST

A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PROTEST:

ETHICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC SENSIBILITIES

OF CONTEMPORARY ANTI-CAPITALISM

By

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Abstract

        This work explores the importance anti-capitalist protest in the
contemporary international system. In doing so, I address some of the
practical, philosophical and ethical considerations of academic
depictions of protest through examples in Toronto, Canada and Seoul,
South Korea. Drawing on fieldwork at protest sites in both places, I
focus on forms of contemporary anti-capitalism through a political
economy of 'Capital' and the inherent contestation of contemporary
political decision making. I outline how it is important to develop
subjective accounts of political protest that utilize ethical and
psychoanalytic insights to come to terms with the tension between
conformity and resistance. Contrasting what I call 'militant
masculinties' of protest with 'alternative masculinities' of anti-
capitalism, I problematize some of the commonly held assumptions about
the distinction between activism and academic efforts. Instead, I
demonstrate how the methodological insights of an 'ethnographic
sensibility' can benefit International Relations scholarship by
discussing the possibilities and limits of political participation in
the contemporary capitalist system. This research seeks to contribute
to debates about political subjectivity and political activism through
an examination of the efforts to challenge economic decision making
power that rests in the hand of a few supposed experts. This thesis is
an effort to democratize the way we think about participation in the
site of protest, in order to encourage popular and academic engagement
with the local and global struggles taking place across the world.

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Introduction: Why protest?

        This research aims to explore the complicated processes of
political and personal representation under the contemporary capitalist
system. Every day we are inundated with a multitude of representational
practices, from the leaders who speak on our behalf, to the identities
we adopt as family members, the opinions we adopt as professionals, as
well as the cultures we support as participants and consumers. These
representational practices form a complex interlocking system of
meaning that increasingly defines us in ways that we may not
consciously choose while simultaneously shaping how we see ourselves.
Historically the importance of capitalism in the formation of self was
conceptualized as alienation, or the ways in which systemic forces act
upon our identities and divorce our actions, thoughts and beliefs from
our daily practices. However, in today's globalized liberal-capitalist
world, the concept of alienation has lost its purchase, as the
viability of the capitalist system has become a kind of default for all
political and economic interaction. In addition, the idea of being
divorced from one's self is no longer seen as a problem to be overcome,
but as a condition of the complexity of the shifting and fluid
identities of a multicultural world. Resistance to capitalism under
these conditions is an increasingly difficult process, as the actions
we undertake in one avenue of our lives - such as purchasing fair trade
coffee - may be simultaneously undermined by our actions elsewhere -
such as voting for a government that enacts free trade agreements
against the interests of sustainable coffee production.

This research explores how the global processes of representation under
contemporary capitalism can be disrupted and challenged at the site of
protest, in a space that confounds the contradictions of self in the
demands of the crowd. The protest site is an important place of
disruptive excess, with political consequences that are often lost in
the academic depictions of these struggles. This research begins by
examining how protest is reconfigured in academic work in such a way
that the powerful incommensurability of the demands of the assembled is
subsumed in the interests of the academic fields which depict them. In
International Relations in particular, and Political Science more
generally, the overwhelming centralizing force of the sovereign power
of the nation state has largely peripheralized any academic interest in
the radical potential of the protest site. This fixation on the
monopoly of violence of the nation state has meant that there is little
room to explore the limits of sovereignty in places where this monopoly
is a target of political contestation. Efforts that attempt to address
these shortcomings, such as the work on Global Social Movements in
International Relations, draw on the insights and strength of the 'new
social movements' literature in Sociology, which has a greater

experience and history in dealing with the theorization of struggle and protest. Here the problem of the monopoly of violence is reversed. The new social movements' literature develops a series of excellent accounts of the breadth of struggle underway in the world, but it emphasizes the importance of the nation state as the arbiter and ultimate target of such efforts. Consequently the monopoly of violence of the nation state again becomes an assumed foundation for the study of new social movements, appropriating protest as a simple process of social mobilization, rather than an as important confrontational and oppositional space.

My approach to this impasse is to emphasize an international approach to the protest site, one that challenges the conception of the nation state as the origins such efforts, instead exploring the specific sites of their emergence. In this politics of protest, I argue that under the contemporary liberal-democratic capitalist system, rarely does the nation state exhaust the complex array of connections that exist within and between states. Therefore, I argue that 'inter-national' protest should be understood as both within and beyond the sovereign state. The international has a privileged importance in the representation of protest sites in my research because of the connection it provides between specific moments of struggle under the complicated practices of state sovereignty. The nation state continues to dominate academic representations of protest because of the coherence it provides to our understandings of social order. Even the popular characterization of anti-globalization movement as both 'local' and 'global' was a common attempt to bypass the boundaries of the nation state while establishing a new coherence (globalization) between disparate sites. And yet this vision of a global world where protest takes place often impedes accounts of protest, because it creates a new social imaginary of a totality, a completed terrain upon which politics takes place. The adoption of 'inter-national' here is meant to be suggestive of links between different social orders within, between and beyond the nation state – it also represents an attempt to dislodge the idea of coherence provided by powerful image of the state as equivalent to territory.

As anthropologist Michael Taussig has argued, cartography, represented by the map, is the preeminent emblem of statehood, which enacts a 'crude magic' in its ability to eliminate all of the complex knowledges about the lived spaces of the state and replace it with a scientific imaginary of control (Taussig 2004, 198). Intimately tied to the ability to assert sovereign power and thereby access the powerful rhetorical claim of statehood, the detached and abstract perception of 'global' protest eliminates the ability to develop accounts from within the specific site, as it begins from an assertion of apolitical

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perception. Instead of a cartography of protest (of which we have many) I argue (following Taussig) that we need a complex 'chorography' of protest to escape the imaginary of the nation state. Such an effort treats small isolated units with emphasis and detail, rather than reducing them to a whole (ibid., 207). This is not to eliminate the discussion of scales, or the importance of globalization, but to include accounts that retain the openness and specificity that the contested site of protest represents. The uneven and unpredictable terrain of protest requires a recognition of the inequality, hierarchy and injustice that spurs these actions and sustains the participant's involvement. The motivations of participants are formulated in ways that are rarely captured in accounts of protest. Understanding these motivation requires an acceptance of the importance of non-systemic accounts of protest.

In my experience, the connections and motivations that drive protest are often as unpredictable as they are compelling. As one of the participants in my research explained to me on a late night hike through the hills of outer Seoul, developing an account of anti-imperialism in Korea should be integrally linked to hiking through the mountains. He explained that the rebels who were fighting the American forces at the end of the war escaped to the hills and continued to resist the American reorganization of Korean society after the armistice was imposed. We had entered the hills at night, during a lull in a dinner party as my hosts wanted to show me local efforts to recover small pieces of farmland taking place in the area. Our dinner was prepared with vegetables that were part of this project, as urbanites were rediscovering their rural roots and a lost connection to the land. In our trek up the hill we stopped at a non-descript Buddhist temple, perched but hidden near the top of the range. Under the soft glow of candles perched in the windows, I was told that in my efforts to develop an account of anti-capitalist protest in Seoul, I needed to understand the way that both the nation-state and the ongoing armistice was symbolic of an ongoing failure for Koreans, an impediment to unification and an inescapable division their sense of self. While surrounded by hills and peaks of the city, I was presented with an alternative vision of the tension between capitalist and anti-capitalist forces, embodied in the idea of a higher ground, as if our efforts to climb the mountains symbolized the ongoing importance of strategic terrain. Coming to terms with the complex relationship of self, nation, nostalgia and unity requires an effort to recover the contestation inherent in the hierarchical imaginaries of the nation state and the importance of retaining openness to the overlapping visions of our place the world.

Is it possible to capture the hope, this imaginary of alternative worlds, and the openness to political alternatives in our descriptions of the protest site? There is a naiveté of protest - one that disciplinary thinking and academic representations tend to exclude and dismiss - that comes from the belief that another world is possible, and that somehow 'realistic' descriptions of the world cannot include the beliefs and assertions of its participants. While ethnographic or sociological approaches can provide the means to explain these beliefs in a more sympathetic context, the adoption of psychoanalysis in my research provides insight into the ways in which belief is also about the connections between the performance of our subjectivity and the ethics of our actions. The relationship between my continuing day-to-day support of the capitalist system and my efforts to develop an account of contemporary anti-capitalism also represent a struggle to come to terms with what I believe; the faith that determines and is reinforced through our actions. As I will explore throughout my work, the tension between my efforts to support the emergent possibilities of the protest site and the academic desire to represent those sites speaks to the ongoing tension between the academy and activism.

Consequently, representing the hope and inherent possibilities of the protest site poses a complex set of problems for political research. As a consequence of the 1999 Seattle protests of the World Trade Organization, there was a flurry of interest in protest and activism which I will discuss in greater detail below. Such efforts have raised a litany of issues that I hope to explore throughout this work, such as how we treat claims to representational 'accuracy' and questions arising from the issues of authority of voice. While many approaches have been attentive to the distinct and varied participants of these contemporary protests (i.e. unions and greens in Seattle; see Kaldor 2000), there has not been enough debate about what constitutes an 'adequate' or 'authentic' representation of the protest site. In particular, how do the representations of protest in academic work reshape and influence the rhetorical power of the protestor's claims? Indeed, rhetoric is often discredited from academic accounts of protest precisely because it is seen as 'too' political, excessively subjective and lacking the supposed distance from politics that is necessary to fulfill academic standards. While the primary method for conducting research at the protest site is some form of sampling, questionnaire or participatory research, what is an adequate amount of time to get an accurate sample? Or perhaps more succinctly, is there ever a sufficient representation of the protest site that does not fall prey to the methodological assumptions and the pre-existing political claims of the researcher? The unavoidability of methodological and ethical problems forces us to recognize the explicit limitations of such efforts instead of carrying on as if they do not exist.

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The use of ethnography in International Relations is fraught with challenges. Indeed, as Vrasti has recently argued, the 'ethnographic turn' in International Relations has insulated itself from the political contestation and ethical controversies surrounding ethnography in Anthropology (Vrasti 2008). My adoption of 'ethnographic sensibilities' is an effort to come to terms with the methodological inexperience of International Relations in dealing with the subjective aspects of politics. Such interdisciplinary work tears ethnography from its theoretical, historical and disciplinary context and attempts to apply it within the boundaries of International Relations, inevitably creating a product that is neither traditional ethnography nor traditional International Relations scholarship. This process of translation is itself a complex terrain, which raises issues of untranslatability both across disciplinary boundaries and at the protest site itself. Translation and its limits becomes an ongoing theme throughout all aspects of my research, from language, to depictions of protest, to the limits of my interdisciplinary and methodological practices. Indeed, the very notion of international relations (as a series of practices) implies a great attention to transmission of language, culture and politics across disparate places. As Walter Benjamin proposed, the task of translation poses questions that international relations has largely avoided:

> The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original. This is a feature of translation which basically differentiates it from the poet's work, because the effort of the latter is never directed solely at the language as such, at its totality, but solely and immediately at specific linguistic contextual aspects (Benjamin 1968, 76).

The idea of International Relations as 'echoes' of practices of international politics resonates strongly with the problems and limitations of academic depictions of the protest site. This 'echoing' is perhaps best illustrated in the truism that ethnography (as well as 'international' research) actually takes place in the offices, at the laptops and behind the desks of academia (i.e. writing is physically separated from research). The echo of protest is what this work hopes to achieve, and uses International Relations' power of re-presentation to encourage further engagement with the sites of protest. To call such work an echo does not diminish its importance, as this 'mimetic faculty' can be more powerful than the original itself (Benjamin 1978; Taussig 1993). The authority of the academic voice confers legitimacy, even as it crowds out the contested claims emanating from the protest site. This stems from what Sloterdijk has called the 'will to power' of enlightenment thought, and the ways in which the abstractions of

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'knowledge' utilize 'understanding' in order to control, much like the cartography of the state (Sloterdijk 1987, xxvii). The ability to depict is a powerful representative practice, one which the sovereign state uses to create and sustain an imaginary of coherence (an uncontested voice) for its members. Anthropology has a more extensive history of dealing with the problems and consequences of academic research for dissenting and alternative knowledges and practices, though if one were to engage more directly on this point, it is unlikely that Political Science is less affected by such problems (undoubtedly it is significantly magnified) but is perhaps, as discipline, less introspective. In other words, Political Science begins with the problems of leading, controlling and directing the state, so issues of right are often framed in terms of power. This is both a benefit and a curse, as Political Science is more comfortable making political decisions and intervening in issues (which Anthropologists are less inclined to do), but also gives rise to the streams of thought like Realism, where power and state interest completely sublimate and disavow personal and ethical responsibility (such as Morgenthau 1978). If the contestation that defines 'the political' stems from representative claims of sovereign power, Political Science is largely implicated in the development of the professional voice that speaks for power.

The use of ethnographic sensibilities in my research is a way of forcing political analysis onto a site that is both literally and figuratively pushed to the periphery in disciplinary depictions of the contemporary international arena. The emphasis on capitalism as a primary limitation of the possibility of an anti-capitalist position today requires the inclusion of an ever increasing array of international actors. If the subset of International Relations, International (cum Global) Political Economy (IPE) increasingly sees itself as challenging the disciplinary boundaries of both Political Science and International Relations (see Palan 2000; Nitzan 1998; Ling 2000), the consequence is a movement towards an engagement with the messy and complicated places of political practice. Indeed by following this trend IPE is as a subdiscipline slowly unraveling the understandings of the international system, starting from the state, implicating the economy and increasingly pulling in all other political actors. Here it is perhaps telling that Susan Strange, who had a principle role in defining the boundaries of IPE, recognized that the inclusion of corporate and non-state actors into the analysis of the international system also means that it would be increasingly difficult to keep other non-state actors out of these analyses (Strange 2002, 286). In this spirit I have chosen authors and theorists throughout this dissertation who are controversial and often spend time on the margins of their respective disciplines. To turn the marginal into

mainstream and the radical into acceptable is to question the disciplinary practices that sustain claims of expertise and authority and to use this authority to resist the disciplinary power over knowledge. From Taussig and Stewart in Anthropology, to Žižek and Levinas in Philosophy, to Lacanian insights throughout I take the impetus of IPE to upset disciplinary boundaries as a primary impetus of 'political' scholarship. What gives this dissertation focus is the sustained emphasis on contemporary international capitalism and the limitless expansion throughout all disciplinary fields of contemporary capitalist ideology. The totality of capitalist ideology (in an example often used by Žižek) was perhaps best described by Fredric Jameson when he argued that it has now become easier to imagine the end of the world (in the form of pandemic, natural disaster, nuclear annihilation, etc) than it is to imagine the end of capitalism (Jameson 1994, xii). If, as Žižek posits, Capital has become the 'Real' of our age, it is the foundation upon which all academic and activist alternatives must formulate their challenges (Daly 2004).

The notion of this alienation as a division produced within ourselves under the contemporary capitalist system raises a series of questions about freedom, volition and ethics in the larger framework of political possibility. This notion of a divided self, or the ways in which we internalize the world around is to question the persistence of rationality and volition in International Relations and understandings of politics more generally. The admittedly interdisciplinary foundations of International Relations (drawing on Economics, Philosophy of Science, Physics, Political Theory) and subfields like International Political Economy have relied too heavily on assumptions of subjectivity that emerge from other disciplines. The increasingly political discussions of subjectivity taking place outside of International Relations and Political Science raise questions that have yet to be addressed within the field. Therefore, I explore how the notion of self and otherness helps explain how it is possible for us to act ethically within a world that both defines our sense of self and limits the realm of possible actions. In both the work of Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Lacan, the relationship between self and other is understood as an inherently ethical relationship between our subjective practices and systemic demands. I explore their notions of ethics through my experience of two protest sites in Toronto, in order to explain the ways in which protest is important as an ethical act. A Levinasian ethics purports to place an inextinguishable ethical obligation on each of us as people born into a social world, a demand which is often ignored in academic distance from politics created by International Relations. In the context of protest, Levinas' notions of proximity and justice force us to recognize the obligations placed upon us by a rejection of injustice, and the importance of fidelity within

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my research to the sites of protest in which I was a participant. If
Levinasian ethics helps to explain the obligations of ethics in
subjective terms, it is Lacan who provides insight into the ways in
which we internalize those external demands. Lacanian ethics uses
psychoanalysis to explore how social obligation is accompanied by an
inescapable desire to subvert those imperatives, and the ways in which
the transgression that makes the protest site a powerful compulsion
that can actually sustain social order. Lacanian ethics places
important limits on the political potential of protest while
simultaneously redoubling the need to come to terms with our subjective
responsibility. In my research, traversing the anti-capitalist fantasy
of a reformulation of the entire capitalist system is fraught with the
tension that we both persistently obey (consume through capitalist
production) while we are encouraged to resist conformity (to think of
ways to 'revolutionize' social order while remaining capitalist).
Lacanian ethics represents a way to come to terms with this
internalization of social order and the way in which subjective action
is the place where real resistance must begin.

The emphasis on the subjective importance of protest and ethics
places a heavy obligation on the practices and methods I adopt
throughout this research. A common issue I explore throughout the
dissertation is the inherent incommensurability of the protest site and
the problems this presents for subsequent claims of political or
academic authority over these events. My emphasis on the subjective
importance of anti-capitalist practice is caught between the
articulated and immediate demands of the protest site and the ensuing
representations of those moments. In an effort to move away from the
objectifying and normalizing depictions of protest that are common in
research on protest, I argue that an allegorical retelling (or an
inescapably subjective account) of these struggles is necessary. The
rhetorical power of protest stems from the intersection of subjective
action and political purpose in such a way that there is an important
and inescapable loss in any formal depiction of those events.
Increasingly, strategies to cope with this problem are more and more
the focus of activists themselves, as they attempt to bring their
messages and issues to a wider sympathetic audience. In my experience
the theoretical and practical sophistication of these efforts raise
serious questions about the distinction between the categories of
activist and academic, a taxonomy that seems to reinforce
preconceptions of protest rather than explain the work emerging from
sites of protest.

The complicated interaction between my activist and academic
efforts at the protest sites of my research highlighted the need to
retrieve these accounts from the margins of International Relations.

Emerging from under an authoritarian regime actively supported by the standing troops of the world's superpower, Korean protests and social movements are renowned for their vibrancy, breadth and political scope. This perception at protests in Toronto helped me establish a series of contacts and links between my efforts in both places, drawing on the experience of protest members who were knowledgeable about both places. The emergence of these international connections between protest sites raised questions such as: what role can international students play in local political protests? Or, what does a challenge to global capitalism look like in a specific and local context? What are the possibilities for personal radical change that emerge from political struggles? The tactical, political and subjective issues stemming from these questions foreground the political and personal challenges of the protest site. If disciplinary International Relations asserts an authority over international issues and events, it has only begun to explore the complex interconnections between situated forms of international relations. The political questions that arise from interactions with sites of international politics require a sustained discussion about the methodological and practical assumptions of International Relations scholarship. Subsequently, the later chapters of my dissertation explore the ways in which my understanding of gender impacted my decisions and actions that in turn influenced the direction of my research. The powerful mass of bodies defiantly opposing a policy and enacting their outrage against the injustice of their cause is an inescapable but incomplete strategy of protest. I focus on the direct oppositional strategies of dissent (what I characterize as militant masculinities) employed in the anti-capitalist positions I sought out, and the personal and political consequences of focusing on contemporary capitalism as the target of my research.

The militant masculinities of anti-capitalist protest are not exhaustive of the range of resistances to capitalism underway today. There is a risk in only addressing protest in terms of militancy that would occlude the many efforts underway in alternative spaces where personal challenges to capitalist encroachment occur every day. Thus, there is a need to explore the strategies of resistance that would be lost if I focused exclusively on militant anti-capitalist efforts. Recognizing the limits of my ability to speak for these efforts, I instead adopt what I characterize as a form of alternative masculinity, which is my way of coming to terms with the ethical obligation outlined by Levinas, without attempting to appropriate those efforts in ways that would undermine their purpose. Crossing a range of academic, activist and political divides, these examples from Toronto and Seoul push us to think about the ways in which we support or refuse the ethical demands of local struggles. The accounts of protest I put forward throughout my research represent an attempt to recognize that

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incommensurability is an important and inescapable aspect of resistance and change, and one that needs to become part of our repertoire of political representation if we are to come to terms with the limits inherent in our actions. At the same time however, it is this very incommensurability that persists as a crack in the edifice of contemporary capitalism – a space in which can grow hopes, dreams and desires for a better future.

Viewing the Dissertation

Chapter one explores the ways in which protest has been rendered in theories of social movements, where protest is treated as one of many methods of effecting social change within the broader political framework of the nation state. By placing protest within the context of social movements such approaches sublimate the incommensurable, oppositional and radical potential of the protest site. Existing literature treats protest as an intermediate step in the process of politicization. Such efforts focus on the political ramification of protest on social and political order rather than the subjective importance of protest as a resistant practice under capitalism. To begin to understand why protest is important – in and of itself - we need to explore the subjective and particular claims of those engaged in protest in order to counter the inclusionary and representative claims of post-hoc rationalization. Indeed, in the process of converting protest into a claim on social resources, much of the existing literature reduces the incommensurability of the protest site to a product of calculating, rational, choosing individuals; mirroring the political subjectivity employed under contemporary capitalism. In order to challenge the rationality of political action, and the ways in which capitalist liberal democracy has shaped the limits of the possible, but also the limits of our selves, I utilize Lacanian psychoanalysis. Normalcy, sociality and the sovereign state become the bounding limits of political participation that occlude the hope, belief, desire and intimacy of the protest site which are integral and inescapable elements of political possibility.

Thus, the role of belief is a central theme of Chapter 2, because in order to begin to understand resistance to contemporary capitalism, we need to understand the ways in which capitalism is integrally wedded to ourselves. Beginning with a discussion of Jonathan Nitzan's concept of 'differential accumulation', I outline how his thesis places 'Capital' at the centre of an analysis of the contemporary capitalist world order. Such an approach foregrounds the lack of discussion about the 'thing' at the centre of our entire economic edifice. Moreover, when we begin to examine more closely the debates taking place in economics; it becomes clear that faith, belief and hope are integral

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parts of 'Capital' itself. Nitzan's concept of differential accumulation argues that control over future profitability by the capitalist is integral to the 'quantity' of capital today that exists. This expression of the central role in belief (that capitalism will continue to function today as it does tomorrow) places the struggle for social control (the ability to manipulate the future) at the heart of the most abstract, financial processes under capitalism. Indeed, this insight has often been seen at the margins and in the inter-national interactions between capitalist and non-capitalist social orders. In this regard the work of anthropologist Michael Taussig on the transformation of existing social relations into capitalist ones is particularly instructive as it exposes the ways in which the 'universality' of capitalism is based on a culturally established set of beliefs stemming from the pervasive logic of western enlightenment thought. The 'objectivity' of these social relations grants tremendous power to those who can claim to unmask its secrets, (such as economists, policymakers and financiers) while dismissing the faith and contestation inherent in those relations.

Exploring the 'subjective' as an intersection of capitalism, belief and political participation requires a sustained engagement with the issues and problems of the representation of the 'self'. As a powerful tool of authority, all representational practices make claims to speak on behalf of others, a practice integral to the challenges proposed from the protest site. Questioning representational authority is a primary impetus of protest and stems from the incommensurable demands of the crowd, itself an image of political organization that exceeds the representational practices of our 'selves'. Subsequently, the role of our practices under capitalism are of central importance, in that they implicate ourselves in our own domination. Chapter 3 explores how the protest site holds out the possibility of challenging the forms of domination enacted by our choices; including the suspension of 'self' at the protest site, and the ways in which an emergent unrepresentable authority springs from impossible demands (such as 'end capitalism now!').

Consequently, Chapter 4 deals with the representational struggles of my academic effort, and the methodological questions that emerge from the accounts of protest I have assembled from my field research. Of primary concern are the ways in which my academic efforts appropriate the political purposes of others' efforts in order to produce authoritative knowledge for academic dissemination. Traditionally in International Political Economy, the efforts to develop politically engaged scholarship have been adopted by Gramscian scholars, reinforced by the idea of the 'organic intellectual'. However, Gramsci's efforts to engage both politically and

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intellectually also called for an examination of the link between ongoing social struggles as an effort to develop counterhegemonic theories and strategies. In the academy this emphasis has too often been assumed, and tended to produce a bifurcation of roles, whereby the academy produces theories and the activists engage in practices of resistance. At the same time, the engaged political practices of intellectuals are not reflected in their writings. This complicated relationship between activism and academia highlights the needs for a reevaluation of the methods of production of academic texts.

Chapter 5 explores sites of anti-capitalist protest in Toronto, Seoul and Jeju-do, which attempts to articulate the specific and contingent claims of those sites against a backdrop of capitalism as a universal, uncontested 'necessity' of politics today. Beginning with a protest against US military expansion and Free Trade Agreements, I explore the important participation taking place to oppose the expansion and deepening of capitalist social relations in our day-to-day lives. Following paths from emerge from the protest site I explore the rejection of the FTA by farmers in Jeju-do and the efforts of a Toronto anti-capitalist group to mobilize local resistance. Following the ways in which our daily participation sustains contemporary capitalism, I emphasize the accessibility of the protest site and reinforce the importance of protest as a political act rather than a political choice. The militancy and valorization of the protest site serves an important purpose in foregrounding the backdrop of individuated political decisions of capitalism itself. Incommensurable demands and the organizational force of protest stand in direct contrast to efforts to personalize politics as 'free choice', and capitalist practices that reinforce the idea of politics as rational, self-interested utilitarian actions.

Pushing the importance of subjectivity even further, Chapter 6 explores a supplemental framework for the militant protest of Chapter 5. Closer to a Levinasian understanding of ethical commitments, this chapter explore the alternative masculinities of the protest site and the intimacies of resistance to capitalism in ways that would be otherwise occluded by militant efforts. In my field research I found a number of links between the militant masculinities of open and direct protest and the local, personal efforts of resistance and struggle that would be misrepresented by simple binaries of masculine and feminine. These 'alternative masculinities' supplement and support the militant efforts of protest and form in the consequent changes and impacts of militant masculinities. From the efforts to decommodify social relations at a zero-profit market, to efforts to support and sustain workers in the garment districts of Seoul, these struggles speak to the closeness of resistance to capitalism in our day-to-day lives.

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Moreover, in the struggles of migrant workers in Toronto and the 'commune-ist' spaces of a Seoul research institute, these important efforts against capitalist domination play out in the intimate and subjective spaces of our lives. The inescapable responsibility of Levinasian ethics speaks to the ways in which all practices under capitalism can be mobilized in ways to resist the expansion into our lives, and also support the efforts of others in our academics and politics.

The dissertation concludes by demonstrating the need for a greater understanding of the forms of anti-capitalism currently underway in the international system. The depth and breadth of political protest is too often absent from depictions of international politics, and thus fails to account for the changing forms of political participation under contemporary capitalism. Moreover, existing accounts of political participation are wedded to notions of choice and volition that do not address the subjective importance of hegemony and capitalism in our daily lives. By drawing on the insights of ethnographic sensibilities, International Relations can begin to make important connections between subjective understandings of politics and the ethical complexities of international research. My research found an abundance of connections between disparate international sites which raise important questions about the place of the international politics, the role of the state in our lives and the obligations of academic scholarship to the subjects of our research. I argue that International Relations needs to address the sites and expressions of international politics in order to counter the abstraction inherent in the academic representations of the contemporary capitalist system.

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Chapter One: The Politics of Protest

This chapter introduces the central question of my research, namely: how is it possible to maintain an anti-capitalist position under the contemporary capitalist system? I aim to address how this question intersects with important issues of sovereignty, ideology, ethics, methodology and subjectivity stemming from the protest site, and the hitherto neglect of the site of protest in studies of social movements and international political economy. I begin by outlining the existing efforts to deal with protest in International Relations through Global Social Movements and sociological literature. Through an examination and critique of this existing literature I develop an argument which emphasizes the political incommensurability of the protest site. Rather than attempt to develop a coherent and reproducible academic account of contemporary anti-capitalism, I argue for the political importance of depicting subjective anti-capitalist experiences and capturing the complicated ways in which we are implicated in the processes of our own domination. Calling attention to subjectivity at the protest site allows me to explore the relationship between ideology, capitalism and social performance through Lacanian ethics, which establishes the basis for my field research in later chapters. Protest is important because it disrupts the coherence of the sovereign voice of the nation state, while exposing and politicizing the origins of social order. Finally, my emphasis on contemporary anti-capitalist protest promotes resistance to the political foreclosures of contemporary liberal democracy, and emphasizes the radically inclusive space of the protest site.

Protest and Social Movements Literature

The social-scientific separation between the economic, political, social and cultural has led to state-centric conclusions in dominant sociological accounts of protest and social movements. This is reflected in the continued emphasis on directing the analysis of social movements towards existing government institutions and structures. In part this is due to the demarcation of political action in overtly liberal democratic terms in Sociological literature. The management of 'the mob' as aberration, the rise of Jacobin terror during the French revolution, as well as the success of the Russian revolution ensured that political protest was largely (and accurately) seen as political agitation for radical or revolutionary goals. It was not until the mass social movement mobilization of the 1960's that popular political protest became seen as a form of legitimate political participation. Thus political protest and social movements are increasingly seen as one option in a range of the "repertoire of collective action" available to political actors (Della Porta 1999, 150). Such

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characterizations in social movement research tend to break down the distinction between conventional and unconventional forms of political participation by emphasizing the commensurability between normalizing and radical approaches. The subsequent decline of interest in existing political cleavages has produced a growing focus on a broad array of interest groups (or imagined communities) which reinforce state-centric analysis and thinking. This is a product of a repeated fiction that informs how a state is constituted:

> Having the monopoly of legitimate violence in a certain area, the state fixed its borders and the 'natural' limit of that complex of much wider social relationships which conventionally are defined as society. Social relationships were, in the first place, relationships internal to a particular state…Relevant collective actors were, at that time, those social groups able to influence the formation of national policy (ibid., 33).

This abstract, bloodless, historically void, normative story about the influence of social actors on the political process helps to situate their 'proper' role in relation to governance and decision making. The fiction of a social body pre-existing the state eliminates the contestation and struggle that is inherent to any political ordering. As Rancière argues:

> For sociology is precisely not a chronicle of social diversity. On the contrary, it is the vision of a homogeneous social body, opposing its internal vital principle [that of political contestation] to the abstraction of the law. Republicanism and sociology, are in this sense, two names for the same project: to restore beyond the democratic rupture a political order that is homogenous to the mode of life of a society (Rancière 2006, 64).

In this respect, the decision to emphasize protest, rather than activism or social movements represents an effort to *place* politics in contemporary global capitalism. This provides a way to eschew the emphasis on the nation state as arbiter of political action as well as confronting the abstracting and disconnected analyses of 'anti-globalization' protest (for a more detailed description of such efforts see Köhler and Wissen 2003). In part this is because there is a significant body of literature in International Relations that focuses on activism and social movements that assesses and integrates these groups into a cartography of contemporary global order and dissent (see O'Brien 2000; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Bello 2002). As is common in International Relations, drawing on research in different fields is a way of coming to terms with the absence of a clearly defined object of study for International Relations. Thus Sociological research forms the

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foundation for understanding social movements that span international borders. As Khagram, Riker and Sikkink argue:

> *Transnational Social Movements* are sets of actors with common purposes and solidarities linked across country boundaries that have the capacity to generate coordinated and sustained social mobilization in more than one country to publically influence social change... often through the use of protest or disruptive action. This definition of transnational social movements fits with definitions of domestic social movements that stress mobilization and/or disruption as a defining characteristic of movements (Khagram 2002, 8).

The transnational social movement literature draws upon the insights and research in Sociology to develop an account of global resistance and protest. In doing so these works implicitly and explicitly adopt the categories and assumptions of Sociology, such as foundational debates over the constitution of the 'social', which often result in political assessments that reproduce a sovereign vision social order. Subsequently, social movements' literature that deals directly with protest tends to reduce the examination of subjective motivations to larger protest cycles (Keck and Sikkink 1998), political opportunity (Meyer 2004) or 'resource mobilization' in efforts to contextualize protest within frameworks of social intelligibility. Nick Scott's recent efforts to analyze Canadian protesters would place my own participation in protest as a product of factors such as 'Biographical Availability' (my age, marital and employment status), 'Strategic Resources' (my education, political and social involvement) and 'Structural Availability' (my role in existing organizations) (Scott 2008). Such efforts tend to employ social rationality to produce knowledge about agents of political life in a social context, rather than exploring the political assumptions, motivations and subjective experiences of such engagement. Indeed in Scott's work, political and personal motivations fall under the subsidiary categories of 'Values, Gender and Ethnicity' (ibid., 43). Efforts which draw on social movements literature in International Relations have used the external disciplinary authority of Sociology to argue for the inclusion of non-state actors in analyses of international system. Indeed, my ability to conduct this research relies on the space created in International Relations for a discussion of social movements and global protest. However, the decision to draw upon Sociological literature (rather than the insights of anthropology) is due in part to the way in which Sociological approaches reinforce mainstream assumptions about the nation state, political volition and social order that do not reflect ongoing debates in International Relations.

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The Social and Protest

The concept of the 'social' too often functions as a backdrop for the discussions of social movements and protest. The 'social' helps to bound and center the discussion of contestation that belies state-centric, positivist and social-scientific thinking to the range of possible forms of political participation. This is first apparent in the definition of social movements itself. Authors such as Rudolf Heberle define social movements as a result of:

> Dissatisfaction with the social order arises when individuals no longer consider the values and norms on which the order was based to be the best or only possible values and norms. The agreement on social values and norms is the essence of social solidarity or of the sense of community (Heberle 1995, 55).

Such definitions rely on a theoretical fiction of a primary community where order, values and norms are uncontested. Here the belief in the "the underlying structure of rationality" serves as the Weberian basis for constructing the notion of the social (Daly 2004, 2). This process also helps to demarcate the separation of one field of rationality from others. The bounding of the 'social' creates other fields such as the 'economic', the 'cultural' and the 'political' creating through these narratives an 'object' of social study. In this regard International Relations has always been contaminated by disciplinary overreach, in the effort to explain the dynamics of the world as a whole. As I will discuss in late chapters, as International Relations increasingly covers the expansive realm of global politics beyond the interactions of leaders and diplomats of nation states, it is increasingly confronted with the complex problem of where the 'international' lies. Such attempts seek theories of everything in order to come to terms with the failure to explain enough.

The problem with using these bounded forms of rationality lies in the 'object' of study itself. As neither organizations nor political parties, social movements are difficult to identify as a bounded group. Eschle explains this problem as one where

> Some theorists include mobilization on the basis of identity, others emphasise shared interest; some emphasize irrationality, others rationality; some emphasise formal organization, others horizontal networks; some institutionally oriented lobbying, others extra-institutional activism; this is to say they can, and do, co-exist within the same movement (Eschle 2005a, 20).

Attempting to cover such a broad array of participants, topics and issues is inherently difficult within a conventional academic

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framework. As Eschle argues, such efforts necessitate some form of intervention by scholars themselves, to assess, legitimize and create the links between the movements and their depictions of them. While International Relations approaches have tried to emphasize the 'movement' aspects this research - authors such as Jackie Smith argue that we need "less on organizations and actors and more on processes and interaction"- the emphasis on social progress inevitably dominates such depictions (Smith 2008, 108-109). Indeed, as Smith continues:

> For instance, while most people agree that social movement organizations engage in contentious collective action, we know from *studies of social movement organization* that very few spend very much of their time actually engaged in protest. Most *social change groups* spend far more time doing public education, attending meeting and building their organizations than they do on the streets. Many movement actors engage in conventional political actions such as voter registration or lobbying in addition to other non-conventional or "transgressive" activities (McAdam et al. 2001) (Smith 2008, 109) [emphasis added and citation retained].

The emphasis on social change speaks to the extent to which the assumptions of Sociological research into social movements impacts the analysis of these movements in International Relations. To a large extent, protest efforts to challenge the very concept of the 'social' have been subsumed under the category of 'social change'. In part this stems from assumptions within influential works such as *Dynamics of Contention*, as cited by Smith. Along similar lines, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly's work seeks an understanding of social movements that relates those actions directly to the state, subsuming the political apparatus to their understanding of the social. In what they describe as 'primary simplifications' they have famously composed a spherical chart (see appendix 1) which is a vision of social movements that places government at the center, surrounded by 'polity' and 'outside of polity', defined by the "limits of the Government's jurisdiction" (McAdam 2001, 11). In this arrangement, efforts to directly challenge or oppose the existing social order are framed in a state-centric and goal oriented terms, directed towards the state under the bounding of the 'social'. Indeed, part of the impetus of research on social movements has been the desire to reincorporate these groups within academic depictions of the polity. As many histories of social movement research attest, the field of study went through decades of debates about the rational, structural, phenomenological and cultural foundations of social movements and their academic representations. Politically, and as a consequence of the previous point, by framing social movements as part of the 'social', such approaches cannot

methodologically distinguish between movements (a neo-nazi movement and an inner-city march for single mothers is treated as a similar *object* of study) and is a depoliticization through method. This is an epistemological consequence of studying the 'social' as a distinct object, because it necessitates a social-scientific, subject-object dichotomy in order to assess 'society' in general. While various forms of positivism range throughout the sociological texts examined here, the separation between the 'social' the 'political' and the 'cultural' largely holds throughout.

I assert that there is an incommensurability of the protest site which requires a more complex analysis than the recognition that dissent exists in social order; more profoundly, the protest site can also be a claim against the concept of the social itself. By imagining a coherent social body, political action is subsumed to the logic of social rationality and diverse social mobility. In the New Social Movements literature, the shift away from class-centric analyses of social movements towards the changing role and function of the nation state, reasserts its primacy and coherence for political action. One such example is Della Porta's claim that,

> The growth of the role of the state has multiplied the number of social actors whose existence and opportunities seem to be linked at least partially to political decision-making mechanisms. At the same time, the processes which we have just described have undermined the capacity of consolidated political actors to mediate effectively amongst the various interests. Changes in the criteria for defining actors and for determining the stakes to play for, have promoted the multiplication of collective identities and mobilized interests, and, therefore also their segmentation (Della Porta 1999, 37).

Thus, social movements become one of many 'interest groups' or 'stake-holders' that are supposed to that treat governance as a form of 'interest' clearing-house. The substance of political messages are stripped of content and treated with equivalent weight as each group is assumed to direct its efforts towards changes in governance. Interestingly enough, within this framework the entire system is also treated as interchangeable (similar to a common premise in International Relations that sovereign states are equal under international anarchy) with only a normative emphasis on the importance of liberal-democracy as the assumed form of government system. This is coupled with a common neglect of capitalism as a common structure between states, functioning instead as the background for the state-level analysis.

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The convergence of liberal democracy and capitalism is seen in the persistent emphasis of the 'middle class' as the justification for the depoliticization of analyses of protest. Indeed, the shift from exploring the irrationality of protest to the idea of resource mobilization in social movements was intimately tied to the growing emphasis on the idea of a middle class (Van Aelst 2001, 461). This was linked to the movement away from the politicization of the industrial worker to emergent social movement actors of the 1960's and 1970's. The emergence of the middle class resulted in the subsumption of the idea of class conflict under the rubric of social diversity and post-materialistic values (ibid., 462). New social movements were "the movements that developed after 1968 concerned with new issues like peace, women, human rights, the environment, and new forms of protest" (Kaldor 2003, 588). The New Social Movements literature treats class struggle in this context as an oversimplification of the issues addressed by these new social movements. Thus, in the analyses of these movements, researchers often attempted to reconcile Marxist approaches with the idea of a middle class (see for example Wright, 1997; Giddens, 1982). The danger in adopting the perspective of the state or social order is the elimination of the antagonistic way that protest (in the impossible demand) can represent the potential of radical social change. As Žižek has argued, "the middle' class grounds its identity in the exclusion of both extremes which, when they are directly counterposed, give us 'class antagonism' at its purest...the middle class is, in its very 'real' existence, the *embodied* lie, the denial of antagonism" (Žižek cited in Dean 2006, 57). To continue to emphasize class antagonism is to maintain capitalism as a target of political action, rather than its backdrop. To the extent that protest is framed by assumptions of the nation state as the primary arbiter of political action, it remains subsumed as social activism rather than political activity.

Liberal Democracy and Social Movements

It is in the discussion of democracy that the fictional origin of the nation state exposes the normative implications of the sociological approaches to new social movements. The adamant use of democracy as the political horizon of social order replicates the fiction of a unitary 'demos' behind 'the political' and assumes that democratization is a process of moving towards the end-point of existing forms of governance. Classification of protest often takes place through the assumption that liberal democracy is 'democratic' and that liberal democratic social order is the basis of social movements and political dissent (see Brooks 2001, 573; Crossley 2002, 671; Van Aelst, 2001, 466; Green and Griffith, 2002). Little attention is paid to the extent to which liberal democratic governance is *actually* 'democratic',

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instead dissent is reformulated as the actions of interest-seeking 'stake holders' (McAdam 2001, 266). Consequently, such approaches primarily compare social movements between nation states and examine their demands in terms of better resource allocation (Crossley 2002, 669). Such approaches to dissent, protest and social movements assert that "contending claims produce new grids of relationships that work through protected consultation among claimants and counterclaimants for public goods" (McAdam 2001, 268), and transform the 'political' into a process of resource management and public good distribution. Consequently, opposition by the excluded of liberal democracy are dismissed because the terms liberal democracy, democracy and democratization are used interchangeably within this literature. Moreover, the path of democratization is commonly grossly oversimplified as a choice between a strong and weak state (ibid., 270). This oversimplification of the process of democratic transition and the extensive literature on democratization that exists in Comparative Politics (see Barber 2000) this poses serious problems for the use of liberal-democracy as the backdrop for assessing political protest and social movements. Not all opposition to liberal democracy is authoritarian, nor are all social movements state-centric.

As a result of the assumption of liberal democracy as the backdrop of social movements, when issues about narrative, selection and rationality are raised, they are placed in a framework of deference, marginalized to be dealt with at a later time, or abandoned altogether. A definitive reference in social movements research is McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly's 'relationalist' approach which attempts to move away from existing "general models of revolution, democratization, or social movements" (McAdam 2001, 36). Their emphasis on developing models of 'causality' quickly draws them into larger epistemological and methodological questions. Despite a desire to "establish illuminating partial parallels and use them to identify recurring casual processes" (ibid., 34) they recognize that "contingency dogs our analytic path" and concede that "the contingent outcomes of the interaction of different mechanisms of contention remain a major item on the agenda of our program" (ibid., 311). Contingency is externalized as beyond the scope of current research objectives, while at the same time the authors assert the totalizing foundations of the analysis. Take for instance, their description of how the treaty of Westphalia (a ubiquitous narrative in International Relations discussions of sovereignty) is used to talk about 'the political' in general:

> The process occurs in every polity, whether international, national or local in scale. Every polity implicitly establishes a roster of those political actors that have rights to exist, to act, to make claims, and/or to draw routinely on government-

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controlled resources; it maps members and challengers (ibid., 146).

This description gives little recognition to the limitations of their assumptions and the plethora of debates about the very complex ideas to which they are ascribing *every* polity. The 'relationalist' or adaptive approach used throughout their empirical research rests on assumptions that conflict with the contingency they defer to later research. The problem rests in the impossibility of the polity ever expelling antagonism from its field of purview, and the contingency that is an inescapable component of that analysis.

The failure to accommodate the contingency of protest within the analysis of social movements has resulted in efforts to address these shortcomings through alternative theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches. Waterman's edited anthology on the World Social Forum represents an effort to include a multiplicity of 'overlapping' voices and perspectives to attempt to capture the forms of struggle and resistance taking place under the banner of the World Social Forum (Waterman 2007, xxii). These efforts seek to engage more directly with the perspective of participants through discussions of form, strategy and questions of struggle (ibid., xxiii). This bears a closer resemblance to some of the work in Anthropology that deals with protest and struggle (ethnography from the protest site) such as Alex Khasnabish's work on the Zapatistas, or Jeff Juris' ethnographies from the Genoa, Prague and similar protests and counter-summits (Khasnabish 2007, 2008; Juris 2007, 2008). Such efforts are of undoubtedly critical importance to understanding academic depictions of protest, and do much to develop an underrepresented aspect of contemporary global politics. And yet even Khasnabish's efforts which run parallel to my own attempts to understand and reflect personal and subjective experiences of protest largely leave disciplinary boundaries (and social rationalities) undisturbed. Moreover, if International Relations is a discipline in search of an 'object' of study, co-opting external disciplinary authorities only delays the necessary discussions of the role of protest in disciplinary International Relations.

Subsequently, it is the Gramscian efforts to integrate social movements into a global political economy framework that has tried to reflect on protest and struggle within International Relations. As a founding member of the field of critical International Political Economy, Robert Cox has centrally formulated the importance of social movements through an emphasis on the role of civil society. The Gramscian approach advocated by Cox recognized from the outset the limitations of structural-functionalist Sociology in dealing with transformative politics. Cox's advocacy of a historical materialist

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approach to political economy promotes an emphasis on the role of labour and social forces though these forces remain largely theoretical and broadly defined. Subsequently, Cox's championing of the concept of hegemony placed class struggle rather than the disciplinary objects of the 'political', 'economic', 'social' or the 'cultural' at the heart of his project. In his recent work this has entailed an emphasis on the responses to globalization from civil society and the importance of consciousness-raising by the excluded groups (Cox 2002, 104). While this entails recognition of the movements and groups on the ground, his interest in developing the theoretical importance of civil society compartmentalizes these issues within the broader swaths of 'civilizational' logic. His embrace of the 'global resistance movement' casts anti-globalization protest as largely a product of globalization's tendency to alienate citizens from political processes (ibid., 136). In a similar vein Stephen Gill's cursory characterization of the anti-WTO protesters in Seattle as the 'post-modern prince' also represents an effort to connect with the broader movements in civil society. He characterizes their efforts as "new potentials and forms of global political agency" and links them to the Gramscian concepts of 'transformismo' and the idea of a collective will (Gill 2003, 218). In these Gramscian efforts the importance of protest and social movements is integrated into a broader theoretical framework, but displaces the experiences of protest and the participation in political processes beyond the scope of their research. As I will discuss in Chapter Four, this is a product of the Gramscian conception that activism should take place through 'organic intellectual' work, and a consequence of what Robert O'Brien has challenged as a lack of emphasis on labour and human agency in critical International Political Economy in general (O'Brien 2000).

The expansive social rationalities that are used to try to capture the complexity of social movements ultimately expose the pervasiveness of disciplinary thinking within the field. While some of problems have been addressed within the Sociology (see for example Crossley 2002 for his discussion of Bourdieu and the 'social field') perhaps the most ambitious effort to expand the realm of the 'social' was undertaken by Alain Touraine. He argues that:

> This is the essential point: it is surely impossible to disassociate the concept of social movement, thus defined, from the representation of social life as, simultaneously, a set of cultural representations through which society produces itself and all the aspects and consequences of a central social conflict. Thus, the notion of social movement as used here, designates a general representation of social life rather than a particular type of phenomenon. (Touraine 1995, 372)

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Touraine's work importantly spells out the logic of envelopment employed in the social movements' research. As the social movement becomes an object of study, it supplants 'the social' as the lattice of knowledge previously held by society. Rather than see moments of social movements as radically incommensurable with 'society', Touraine's approach shifts the understanding of the social to incorporate these movements with the very concept of life itself (ibid., 374). However, even with such a broad and inspired definition of the social, it only exposes how deeply ingrained the desire for foundations are within such social-scientific approaches.

If new social movements' literature spans a transition of understanding protest in terms of rationality and irrationality, this project seeks to understand protest in terms of its subjective and ethical character. In other words, if we are to develop an understanding of protest that does not reduce it to a goal seeking movement or a state-centric effort, we need a better understanding of the subjective experience of protest. In this regard existing approaches are ill equipped to represent the protest site, because they approach it from either from their own social teleology or reduce it to irrational specificity, when what we need is a subjective account of the politics of the protest site. I argue that psychoanalysis provides us with a way to begin to uncover the ways in which the subjective is an important part of international politics, and confronts the depoliticized framing of the sovereign nation state. My research aims to foreground the importance of distinction between violence and non-violence as challenges to the sovereign voice of the nation state while developing a better understanding of the performative nature of subjectivity and the ways in which ideology is enacted in our practices.

Sovereignty and the Supplement

The declaration of normalcy and the defense of the state stems directly from the sovereign's ability to declare a distinction between violence and non-violence. As Schmitt has argued: "For a legal order to make sense, a normal situation must exist, and he is sovereign who definitely decides whether this normal situation actually exists" (Schmitt 1985, 13). This decision becomes the marker of sovereignty and relies on a contingent decision outside of the field of sovereignty itself. As Agamben explains: "the primary exclusion is that of the sovereign itself; the power to make and suspend the law…lies outside sovereignty (Agamben 1998, 15). From the internal logic of sovereignty such decisions are sites of exception, but they are also the supplement which allows sovereignty to appear as a logic per se, as an ordering and a socio-spatial cartography. Thus while sovereignty appears as a

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consistent logic, it requires ongoing acts to manifest this consistency. By reasserting the importance of the act, we can recover the contestation immanent to the declaration of the state of exception (see Bousfield 2005).

This is why sovereignty itself appears false for those opposed to state power, and by the same token the neutrality of law rests on a contingent political declaration. As Foucault examined in his analysis of the Diggers:

> The people have in a sense never ceased to denounce property as pillage, laws as executions and governments as domination. The proof is that they have never stopped rebelling…rebellion is nothing but the obverse of the permanent war. Laws, power and government are the obverse of war (Foucault 2004, 108).

From this perspective, violence is embedded in law, and is exposed when violence becomes necessary to reinforce the neutrality of law or the authority of the state. This was symbolic in the Quebec City protests of 2001 where the protection of the leaders of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) was inscribed in the erection of fences around their meeting place. The police sustained the fences using tear gas and water cannons, and protestors attempted to cross it, destroy it and disable it. The violence on both sides was focused not on some specific goal (as the fence repeatedly fell), and yet the fence itself symbolized the authority of the state, with each side wresting over its arbitrary neutral marker. This is how Benjamin described the monopoly of violence:

> The law's interest in a monopoly of violence vis-à-vis individuals is not explained by the intention of serving legal ends, but, rather, by that of preserving law itself; that violence, when not in the hands of law, threatens it not by the ends that it may pursue but by its mere existence outside the law (Benjamin 1978, 281).

Protest can represent a challenge to the very legitimacy of sovereignty to decide on normalcy and exception and violence and non-violence. The ambiguity of violence at the protest site is manifested in the debates over tactics issues and goals (see Sullivan 2005 for a discussion of this in the context of anti-globalization movements). The symbolic destruction of property that is common at the more militant sites of struggle (of which Korean protests stand at the forefront) explicitly links the anti-sociality of protest with a challenge to the legitimacy of the sovereign decision (by politicizing the monopoly of violence). Tactical decisions to include and exclude violent strategies reflect

the extent to which protestors are willing to confront the declaratory power of the state. Indeed, the tacit state acceptance of violent actions (in that such actions are not immediately eliminated) symbolizes the temporary withdrawal of sovereign power and the suspension of social norms in those moments. In the absence of a new emergent sovereignty, the crushing weight of sociality reemerges to reassert the legitimacy of such actions, divisively separating opinion on the usefulness of such tactics. This choice between violence and non-violence exposes the depth of our subjective identification with sovereign power, and the ways in which we are invested in the normalcy of our beliefs. Exaggerated and devastatingly critical responses to violent protest abound in both academic and popular literature, illustrating the extent to which law, order, property and sense of self are intimately interconnected at the protest site.

The importance of subjectivity to the practice of sovereignty is reflected in the way we sustain and support our belief in the central importance of the nation state through our actions. Performance is critical to the veneer of order. As Nyers has argued:

> While state sovereignty has been typically understood as either a legal principal or an achieved state of being, 'it' must also be understood as a practice: historical, performative, constantly in motion...For state sovereignty to gain 'presence', therefore, a whole a host of complex practices and willful performances need to come into play (Nyers 2006, 26).

Sovereignty maintains its semblance of order through the actions of subjects. This performative tension implicates our practices in the cartography of the nation state, but also makes it susceptible to contingent and particular actions. Žižek argues that the belief in the full constitution of sovereignty, or that it can be sustained without our ongoing practices,

> ...puts too much trust in the positive order of Being, overlooking the fact that the order of being is never simply given, but is itself grounded in some preceding Act. There is no Order of Being as a positive ontologically consistent Whole: the false semblance of such an Order relies on the self-obliteration of the act (Žižek 1999a, 238).

Just as the rational coherence of 'the social' and 'the political' necessarily occludes our participation in the process of our domination, so too does sovereignty exclude the ways in which we sustain its hold over our selves. The acts which supplement the semblance of order are also those acts which expose the contingent character of sovereignty. Yet, there is a danger inherent in an

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emphasis on the act, namely that it equates performativity with political choice. To externalize the performances of sovereignty misses the way that 'subjection' or the "processes of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject" is never external to subjectivity (Butler 1997, 2). To equate performativity with political choice, replicates the assumption of volition and rationality of the social order.

Objectivity and Distortion

The failure of the rational and irrational accounts of protest to adequately capture the role of subjectivity stems from a particular understanding of the subject. By limiting political action to either structure or agency, efforts to develop accounts of protest inevitably oversimplify or decontextualize the protest site. As the import of Lacanian psychoanalysis makes its way into political theory we can begin to develop an account of subjectivity that includes the 'polymorphously perverse' character of the subject (Freud 1953, 209). Within this framework there can be no objective, neutral or impartial way to assess the world around us. As a result of emerging into an existing world where meaning is given to us, we are incapable of viewing the world without predefined meaning. Thus, it is their fantasies, their desires enacted through that meaning which gives each subject their distinct status within the existing symbolic world, as these desires distort this meaning through their unique configuration. In Žižek's words:

> The fundamental point of psychoanalysis is that desire is not something given in advance, but something that has to be constructed – and it precisely the role of fantasy to give the coordinates of the subject's desire, to specify its object, to locate the position the subject assumes in it. It is only through fantasy that the subject is constituted as desiring: through fantasy, we learn how to desire (Žižek 1991, 6).

Within a Lacanian framework there is no way to see the world objectively. If protest emerges from the antagonism inherent in the declaration of sovereignty, we can only see one side of the antagonism at a time. The fantasy that is necessary for the emergence of subjectivity also impedes our ability to see the world in a disinterested way. The emergence of subjectivity through desire is a process of distortion unique to each subject, as this primary fixation compels the emergence of the subject in the external world. Thus, while we all experience the same symbolic world, our perception of that world is always distorted by our subjectivity. Moreover, this desire is the source of the libidinal energies of the psychic powers that drive

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subjects towards their ends, even if those ends are unclear or undefined. Recently Gammon and Palan have argued that we need to begin to develop a better understanding of the way that libidinal investments drive the contemporary capitalist system, and develop accounts of the role of belief in our explanations of International Relations (Gammon and Palan, 2006).

The most immediate impact of Lacanian psychoanalysis on the study of protest and new social movements is the recognition of the psychic investments employed in 'objective' assessments of these events. Psychoanalysis is not necessarily opposed to science and objectivity; rather it challenges the primacy of the object as the focus of analysis, and questions the absence of desire within the scientific purview. Lacan claimed that scientific research would remain limited so long as it was unable to account for desire. His hope was that: "if we can couple psycho-analysis to the train of modern science, despite the essential effect of the analyst's desire, we have a right to ask the question of the desire that lies behind modern science" (Lacan 1998, 160). Sloterdijik argues a similar point when he argues that:

> Enlightenment, which strives for the reification and objectification (Versachlichung) of knowledge, reduces the world of the physiognomic to silence. The price of objectivity is the loss of closeness. Scientists lose the capacity to behave as neighbors of the world; they think in concepts of distance, not of friendship; they seek overviews, not neighborly involvement. Over the centuries, modern science excluded everything that was incompatible with the a priori of objectifying distance and intellectual domination over the object: intuition, empathy, *espirit de finesse*, aesthetics, erotics. Out of all this, however, a strong current has remained effective in genuine philosophy for ages; in it, to the present day, flows the warm current of a convivial intellectuality and a libidinous closeness to the world that compensates for the objectifying drive toward the domination of things (Sloterdijk 1987, 140).

Critique assumes a proximity of relation to that which it engages (ibid., xxxii). The myth of a proper academic distance from the object of study assumes a narrative of divorced rational logic and assessment. To explain the importance of the protest site, I must enter into an uncomfortable space between my academic and political commitments. There is a certain sensuousness, closeness and excessive enjoyment that is produced from getting too close to the object of study, in such a way that it loses its objective status. My subjectivity becomes implicated in my research results, forcing my involvement and obligation in situations that I would otherwise omit or overlook. The

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ethics that emerge throughout my work are consequent of the experiences
of protest and the connections to the people of the protest sites that
I met in the field. Just as the protest site is unpredictable, the
connections and purposes of my research were not determined in advance.
Such efforts acknowledge the awkward ways in which we develop
connections and the links between political purpose and political
consequence.

Consequently, the myth of neutrality does little to explain the
subjective dynamics of the protest site. In other words, what Lacan
called the 'University Discourse' presents information as pure fact, as
if fallible subjects were not involved in its production (Dean 2006,
83). The perversity that underpins these claims is threefold; first,
the structures of knowledge are sustained by political practices and
forms of hegemony; second, every individual expert is a terse
relationship between their expertise and subjective fallibility; and
third the researchers themselves are sustained by the authority
conferred through their disavowal of subjectivity. Coming to terms with
the role of belief in any assessment of the protest site means
recognizing that the academic relationship to knowledge is not unlike
the position of the protester. Thus the common disciplining of the
protestor in academic analysis takes place through the rejection of
specific hysterical demands (i.e. Bush is Hitler); the reformulation of
the role of protest in relation to the nation-state (through the focus
on moderates); and the emphasis on commensurability (downplaying of
violent and radical fringes). Following Lacan, Žižek argues that this
neutrality is sustained by its perverse and excessive reminder - in
International Relations this is perhaps typified by Realism, whereby
morally sensible and ethical people can justify the brutal actions of
the nation state in terms of 'national interest'. The disavowal of
responsibility and identification with the logic of the nation-state
provides the minimal justification required to perform these actions,
in what George has called the 'Egoism-Anarchy thematic' (George 1995).
However, to believe that one can easily escape the ideological edifice
would be to succumb to a similar identification, and to hover above
subjectivity. Instead, Lacan argues that it is precisely the
ideological character of subjectivity that necessitates an ethics, a
responsibility to the world in which we are irrevocably placed.

The challenge then becomes multi-faceted, as depictions of
protest can serve to reinforce and reinscribe the existing order as
easily as it confronts it. The antagonism of the protest site needs to
be represented in ways that retain its openness by resisting its
foreclosure within larger social movements or tendencies. While the
tension between academic and political ends continues to distort and
twist the purposes of this research, there is a need to make a

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connection between contemporary ideology and contemporary forms of resistance. If capitalism functions as the backdrop to contemporary political action, there is a need to explore the forms of capitalism and its resistance in the international system. The practices of belief that sustain contemporary capitalism are integral to the analysis of the forms undertaken to resist and challenge those beliefs. By emphasizing the importance of subjectivity and the contingency and antagonism at the core of the contemporary sovereign state system, we can begin to recover the importance of an anti-capitalist position today.

The problems of studying protest

Studying protest in the contemporary global political economy is easily complicated by the many layers of representation, both at the protest site itself and in academic accounts of these struggles. Inevitably, disciplinary boundaries refocus protest towards the nation state, in order to defend its inclusion among 'important' political groups and to incorporate the (permissible) claims made by the protestors themselves. Often, governments will use protest to demonstrate the validity of their political processes over the raucousness of the assembled crowd, delegitimizing extreme positions while attempting to entice more 'reasonable' stances by opposing figures. Even the protestors themselves emerge for a variety of different and rarely coherent reasons. Representational problems abound as protestors assemble in solidarity with a cause, defiance to a policy, in outrage to an injustice and innumerable other reasons, and even the speeches made at the protest site can be applauded, cheered, jeered or met with uncomfortable silence. The constitution of the protest changes as rapidly as the causes, as the militancy of certain participants can produce a series of protests in a short period, while others 'burn-out', shift to more accommodating forms of participation or disappear altogether. Any claim (academic or otherwise) to speak on behalf of the assembled will inevitably resonate more or less strongly given the right circumstances, but in almost all cases a systemic representation of a protest site will confound a simple or straightforward explanation.

As a result of the problems of studying protest, the issue of incommensurability is necessarily foregrounded in this type of research. Without attempting to resolve which are legitimate representative claims of the protestors (and consequently which are illegitimate), I adopt the perspective that the protest site is a space of radical incommensurability, mediated by a range of actors, performances, agencies, institutions , norms and demands that make it an *inherently* contested space. As such, efforts to demarcate lines of

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continuity, social rationality, lineage and origin to any protest site
are necessarily political and open to challenge and contestation. The
organization of the protest site into the disciplinary boundaries of
academia and the study of Political Science will inevitably reproduce
many of the implicit claims of sovereignty of the nation-state. The
inescapable character of the Lacanian 'University discourse' apparent
in the way in which knowledge is organized through the apparent
objectivity of language. Simple assertions to the contrary are not
enough to eliminate the way thinking about protest is structured by the
coherence of the nation state. Instead, by introducing an international
analysis to the protest site, we can begin to unearth the ways in which
these limitations inform the analyses of protest and recover the
incommensurability that makes the protest site an irreducibly contested
space. This project follows the position of Rancière in arguing that
'the people' is deployed as the imagined foundation for western
political institutions, especially under democracies of Greek lineage,
which continues to support the exclusion of those who cannot
participate (traditionally this was the poor, women, slaves, etc..).
Indeed, the members of society that have 'no part', provide the
founding moment for Rancière (or the initiating exclusion) of the
community itself. As he argues:

> Politics does not exist because men, through the privilege of
> speech place their interests in common. Politics exists because
> those who have no right to be counted as speaking beings make
> themselves of some account, setting up a community by the fact of
> placing in common a wrong that is nothing more than this very
> confrontation (Rancière 1999, 27).

This demand for recognition is inherently incomplete and fraught with
problems, but integral to highlighting the extent to which contestation
is tied into the very concept of sovereignty and the state. When
protestors demand the impossible (i.e. End Imperialism Now!), they
perform the inherent limitation of the state to act on their behalf.
This challenge, that Agamben (following Schmitt and Benjamin) calls a
challenge to the ability to 'decide', questions the sovereigns'
declaration of the state of exception, as well as its ability to retain
legitimate authority. In other words, the understanding of the state
as having the monopoly on violence (which is common in Sociological
accounts of protest) rests not on the monopoly (as this is a tactical
and situated matter), but instead flows from the sovereign's ability to
declare a distinction between violence and non-violence. This decision
produces the incommensurability between what Rancière calls 'the
political' and 'the police', because to the extent that the state
relies on hierarchical control over an imagined common order (which it
literally polices), it is opposed to the demand of the excluded (the

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political claim of the voiceless). In these terms, protest challenges
the imaginary order of statehood, by contesting the distinction between
legitimate and illegitimate violence, and the claims of legitimate
representation made by the sovereign state. As a result the
confrontation of the protestors (as mob scene) and the police is the
ongoing performance of the origins of sovereignty, which reopens the
alternative imaginaries of order and disorder. Rather than see the
nation state as the foundation of political action, incommensurability
and confrontation are integral to recognizing how protest is integral
to the vision of sovereignty itself.

Emphasizing the importance of incommensurability is not to
romanticize the protest site, or elevate the status of the protestor
beyond reproach or critique. My use of ethnographic sensibilities and
psychoanalysis in this project is an attempt to move beyond the
conception of political action as rational, which is founded on an
assumed volition of agency; my approach is to develop a better account
of the role of subjective practices in political participation. This is
based on the conception of the protest site as an uncontrollably
inclusive space, one where political participation can take on routes
and forms that are completely unexpected and unpredictable. Rather than
focus on the deliberate and purposeful aspects of protest, this
research exposes how the unpredictability and undecidability (of both
sovereign power and personal choice) of practices at the protest site
can suspend the hegemonic social codes and norms that determine our
sense of 'self'. This suspension of 'self' exposes a crack in the
edifice of social order and political predictability (politics as a
realm of 'the possible'), and is enacted through the subjective
participation at the site of protest. In this way, the protestor or
activist is not defined by their choice to participate, but rather by
their inclusion in the site of protest itself.

This is important in methodological, political and practical
terms. First, as almost all participants would attest, there is a
political goal of making protests bigger, more vocal and more
representative (whether their actions actually further this goal is
secondary). Second, if accuracy of representation is highly problematic
at the protest site, there can be no distinction between who the
researcher speaks to and asks to include in their research. While
access to the leaders of a protest might be useful in developing an
account of the internal hierarchy that led to the creation of the
protest, it would still not explain the composition of the protest
site, or the outcomes of the actions undertaken there. Finally, as I
will discuss shortly, the protest site is a site of translation between
a range of different purposes; the academic and political aspects of my
participation; the general desire for solidarity and the needs of

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practical organization; and of course the translation between protests in Toronto and Seoul.

This raises a series of questions that both animate this research and my inclusion in these forms of political participation more generally, beginning with: what constitutes participation in a protest? Can one protest in spite of themselves? How does the protest site distort political agency? How does the protest site remake the subjectivity of the protestor? What does the protest site represent in political, ethical and international terms? These questions challenge us to develop a better understanding of the distinction between activist and academic, and employ a range of methodological, political and ethical issues that are the focus of my work.

Why Subjects Matter

The efforts to introduce subjectivity into the narrative of political research can produce a range of complex issues that intentionally disfigure conventional accounts of protest. In an effort to maintain the fluidity of the protest site in my work it is necessary to recognize that political choices are choices like any other, prone to error, mistake, misinterpretation and confusion. Moving away from the idea of the political as a coherent and commensurable space, I am attempting to retain the subjective element of protest that emphasizes the importance of rhetoric, randomness and unpredictability of the connections that can emerge at the protest site. As the body of Žižek's work exemplifies, a direct engagement with the practices and analytics of subjectivity produces efforts that can be repetitive, rhetorical, prone to error, tending towards impossibility of both of claims and goals. Jodi Dean has argued this is important because:

> The strength of a given conceptualization thus becomes manifest through repeated applications and expressions. A remarkable aspect of this repetition is the way it proceeds through error. That is, Žižek's applications demonstrate how getting the right answer, getting to truth, is a process of trial and error, or more precisely, a process of discerning what was missing from our previous way of thinking. If a problem is important enough to think through, then this thinking through will necessarily involve mistakes and omissions (Dean 2006, xii).

Pushing subjectivity into a text makes clear the limits of a given approach while also keeping open the possibility of failure and falsehood. Coming to terms with the subjective elements of my research means that I have to work through the limitations of my academic practices and the loss of many contingent experiences of protest which

are unique and cannot be reproduced here. Indeed, the power of the
'mimetic faculty' of representation is precisely why ethics is a
central concern of my work, as the subjective engagements and
connections of my experience at the protest site implicate me in the
consequences and outcomes of following those paths. Thinking through
ethics at the site of protest raises important issues about self-
representation and the ways in our 'selves' are both constructed and
performed, and the implications of this for our understanding of the
importance of the protest site. Moreover, it is coming to terms with
the inherent alienation of subjective experience that makes the
insights of psychoanalysis indispensible to these efforts.

Accounts of protest that omit subjectivity cannot provide a frame
from which to develop political action in subjective terms. For Lacan,
it is the specificity of the subject's relation to their desire that
provides their world with meaning and normalizes their place in the
symbolic world around them (Lacan 2002). Consequently, a Lacanian
notion of Truth stems from a fidelity to the cause of the subject's
desire, even if that is a fiction, a lie at the center of their self-
perception. This openness to the subjective character of Truth is the
basis of Lacanian ethics, a way to come to terms with our sense of self
in a social world. Asserting the sociality of subjectivity is not to
assume that the social world is somehow less fractured, less divisively
marked by incommensurability and dissent than any other, but that the
contingency of subjectivity is in constant tension with the demands of
sociality. Levinas described this tension as an ethical demand to
irreducible Otherness, in the ways that a subject emerges into a world
that always precedes them, and thus cannot escape the obligation that
accompanies our emergence (Levinas 1999). For Lacan coming to terms
with the Otherness that is part of our selves is the basis of an
ethical life, a perpetual struggle of subjective engagement with the
world. Subjectivity is an important locus of political action because
it is the site of translation of our social and ideological baggage
into the ethical decisions that define our practices. To abstract
ourselves out of our academic practices is to concede that our
practices do not matter, and that the hegemonic construction of our
selves does not impact our choices and decisions. Indeed, this is the
ongoing failure of constructivist efforts in International Relations
that assume that construction only takes place 'out there'. Asserting
the constructed nature of subjectivity, tells us very little about the
specificity of that construction or how this construction ends up
appearing so immutable. As Taussig explains:

> No matter how sophisticated we may be as to the constructed and
> arbitrary character of our practices, including our practices of
> representation, our practice of practices is one of forgetting

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such mischief each time we open our mouths to ask for something
or to make a statement. Try to imagine what would happen if we
didn't in daily practice thus conspire to actively forget what
Saussure called "the arbitrariness of the sign"? Or try the
opposite experiment. Try to imagine living in a world whose signs
were indeed "natural" (Taussig1993. xviii).

Asserting social construction in the abstract is a relatively simple
declaration of the complicated connections between the world and our
sense of self. Coming to terms with the way that the social
construction of self makes us seem like coherent beings who organize
our lives around the abstractions like the state, god, capital and
sovereignty is much more complicated. From this perspective, ideology
is more than an external norm or idea divorced from the material world,
it represents a falsity of choice, volition imparted to us by arbitrary
constructions that we continually assert in our day-to-day practice. If
we judge the viability of anti-capitalism by the aggregation of our
daily practices, such efforts are not simply impossible, they are
(following Jameson) quite literally unthinkable. A purpose of this
project is to develop a collection of links between sites and practices
not overdetermined by this apparent totality of capitalism. Instead my
efforts here are an assemblage of the moments and efforts to define
subjectivity by the opposition and resistance to contemporary
capitalism, by developing an international political economy of
contemporary anti-capitalism. The practices that sustain our
ideological belief are most easily challenged by alternative practices
that disrupt the appearance of normalcy, in this sense, protest is
important because it allows us to protest our selves.

Why Critique isn't Critical

The social scientific representations of the site of protest
remain largely wedded to the implicit philosophical and theoretical
assumptions of rationality and enlightenment critique. This
rationality extends from the belief in the importance of the rational
political actor which provides coherence to the social bodies of the
nation state, the anarchical state system and the normalizing practices
of social order. As Sloterdijk has argued, the pervasiveness of
rational social critique has sublimated so many revolutionary and
emancipatory arguments that political consciousness today imbues a
cynicism that impedes our ability to address the ideological
coordinates of contemporary globalized capitalism (Sloterdijk 1987,
15). Critique becomes the primary way of interpreting all difference,
as the search for new truth unmasks and dissects any event that
produces an uncomfortable relationship for its participants. The
politics that emerge from this mode of thinking is one that mercilessly

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dissects any challenge to the liberal belief in the equality of all speaking positions. Specifically, in the analysis of the rising protest and anti-globalization movements following the 1999 Seattle protests, a range of critics have emerged who assert a counter-counterculture. Perhaps the most popular idea is that protest itself is a new global commodity, as dissent is increasingly promoted and sold by major corporations furthering the idea that culture cannot be 'jammed' (Weiland 1997; Heath 2004). The transgressive potential of critiquing dissent serves to reinforce rather than disrupt relations of power. Indeed, such assessments cannot help but reinforce the separation of action and belief, when the critic asserts the ability to perceive beyond the ideological constraints of the naïve participant. This is what Bewes has characterized as postmodern cynicism, which is characterized by the ability to ruthlessly and impartially critique every political assertion, while continuing to act in ways that reinforce existing relations of power (Bewes 2000).

Indeed, Žižek takes this notion even further and argues that the ability to stand outside our actions in the political world is the 'false consciousness' of contemporary ideology. In this situation, even if everyone agrees that systems of governance are corrupt; that exploitation is inherent in our power relations; that apathy in pervasive and self-interest is corrosive; we continue to act exactly as before (Žižek 1999, 26). The 'falseness' of our consciousness is apparent in the way in which our beliefs are disconnected from our actions, and how we continue to support the very things we oppose. When actions become divorced from their actors, truth takes the form of a lie, as our critical questioning of contemporary hegemony only reinforces the individualization of practices (I am critical, it is everyone else that is being duped) and this reinforces the depoliticization of our action (I will act as individual, thus challenging the hegemonic order). In the academy this 'enlightened false consciousness' on the one hand uses rationality to unendingly search for new truths as it simultaneously and perpetually falsifies the old ones (Sloterdijk 1987, 5). Consequently, asserting rationality and volition as the basis for our understanding of protest only further sediments the divorce of belief and action, reducing the political potential of the protest site to a static object of study. In such academic accounts, the intersubjective experience of political action at the protest site is invariably translated into an 'interobjective' analysis of rational interests (ibid., 15). This is exactly what Lacan argued was the outcome of such 'University Discourses', that the assertion of the 'neutral' knowledge serves to erase intersubjective experiences of protest, in effect to 'normalize' them reducing the incommensurable demands of the protest site to forms of 'understanding' (Žižek 2003; Dean 2006, 83). The framing of protest as an object of

study already introduces a falseness into those depictions, as the authority to speak is granted by a neutral rather than the political voice. However, a central concern of my research is the way in which the protest site is an unpredictable conflation of belief and action that perpetually resists the academic efforts to achieve a neutral assessment of the protest site. This engaged subjective truth of protest is opposed the enlightenment notion of truth through exposition, and the desire to expose some secret hidden kernel of the protest site which will make all cases of protest equivalent and comparable. Unmasking truths to expose the hidden kernel behind them is perhaps the dominant concern of western revolutionary strategy, and this inevitably delays political action for a time when that action is more appropriate.[1] The practices of politics emerge in the moments of their performance, and in this is why the performativity of the site of protest holds an important place in contemporary anti-capitalist efforts.

The efforts to develop rational accounts of the protest site also occlude subjectivity as they reinforce the idea of a rational social order upon which academic analysis can take place. This 'sedimentation' of rationality into the analysis of protest has "tended to eradicate the very dimension of the political" (Daly 2004, 2). The dominant cartography of this social ordering is the production of academic fields, whereby each discipline has a specific conceptual overlay for their area of study. This inescapable mapping of social rationality represents a self-referential system (what Lacan would call a Master discourse) which grounds our perception of the world. The problem here is not that social rationality exists – it is inescapable – rather that it necessarily excludes its contingency in its formation, as the hegemonic diffusion of social rationality comes at the expense of the recognition of the political contestation (ibid., 3). This is what Žižek has called the Parallax Gap, the idea that the social field of rationality is always distorted by the subjectivity of the viewer, and that this produces a necessarily incomplete (and often overlooked) subjective component of all assertions of social truth (Žižek, 2006). Subjectivity represents an irreducible gap in the assertions of

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[1] This is perhaps *the* recurring theme of revolutionary politics, exemplified in the works of Luxemburg, Trotsky and Lenin. It follows from the assertion that there is never a correct time for a revolutionary movement, that these kind of politics are quite literally 'impossible' – or the idea revolution can never be predicted in advance. More recently this has been a debate of extensive focus taken up by Badiou when he argues for the primacy of the 'event' and in Žižek's efforts to develop a new Lenninist politics (see Badiou 2001, Žižek 1999).

positive social order, and reflects the unpredictable and therefore unsystematizable consequence of unpredictability and randomness (Daly 2004, 3). The political needs to be reintroduced to the analysis of protest in a way that recognizes the contested and contingent nature of the descriptions it puts forward.

The exclusion of the contingent from the academic depiction of social fields is mirrored in the political commitments of normalcy and social intelligibility within the nation states. The inescapable elements of contingency and struggle eliminates the possibility of an impartial analysis of any social-scientific field. As Daly argues:

> The political is essentially indeterminate and may in principle extended to all fields of the social. Second the effects of the political cannot be predicted in advance (there is no *telos* or *aufhebung* that govern its movement). The effects of the political and the resolutions thereof, will depend entirely on the historical struggle of concrete actors (ibid., 4).

This produces a proposition of what constitutes the 'political' that parallels Rancière's assertion about the importance of the excluded and they way in which they represent the possibilities of hope and chance (unpredictability) within the policing apparatus of the ruling order. The nation state is both a recurrent but inherently contested form of political order that cannot be equated with the entirety of what constitutes political practice. Protest represents a moment of politicization whereby an articulated demand functions in the place of the inescapable incommensurability. In Žižekian terms this is when something becomes

> ...properly political, introduc[ing] the gap in the positive order of Being: a situation becomes 'politicized' when a particular demand starts to stand in for the impossible Universal. Thus we have various forms of opposition…between a positive ontological order…and a gap of impossibility which prevents this final order and/or disturbs its balance (Žižek 1999a, 233).

This disturbance is politicized so long as it disrupts the normalcy and assumed coherence of social order. To the extent that a specific demand cannot be accommodated within this order it challenges the coherence and totality invested in the 'social' or 'political' fields. Protest symbolizes the radical potential for the reconfiguration of social rationality only to the extent that the specific demands cannot be incorporated or co-opted by the existing configuration of hegemony and social order. While the field of social rationality is constantly being stabilizing by new meanings, it is the way that contingent claims can

function as universal symbols that resist the co-option of their radical potential. As Anna Tsing argues:

> This brings to light a deep irony: Universalism is implicated in both imperial schemes to control the world and libratory mobilizations for justice and empowerment. Universalism inspires expansion - for both the powerful and the powerless. Indeed, when those excluded from universal rights protest their exclusion, this protest itself has a twofold effect: It extends the reach of the forms of power they protest, even as it gives voice to their anger and hope (Tsing 2005, 9).

While we have many accounts of the impact of protest on the existing structures of power and order, this project focuses on the site of protest as a symbol of exclusionary resistance to existing power relations. In this sense the impossibility of the protestor's demands holds the potential for disruption as long as it is not systematically reintegrated into the existing hegemonic order. To side with this 'impossible universal' is to begin to promote spaces and to discuss existing visions of alternative order, in ways not bound by the disciplinary ordering of the nation state.

Chapter 2: Capital as Belief: Towards a Political Economy of Protest

> *So, when a critical Marxist encounters a bourgeois subject*
> *immersed in commodity fetishism, the Marxist's reproach to him is*
> *not 'A commodity may seem to you a magical object endowed with*
> *special powers, but really it is just a reified expression of*
> *relations between people'; the Marxist's actual reproach is,*
> *rather, 'You may think that the commodity appears to you as a*
> *simple embodiment of social relations… but this is not how things*
> *really seem to you — in your social reality, by means of your*
> *participation in social exchange, you bear witness to the uncanny*
> *fact that a commodity really appears to you as a magical object*
> *endowed with special powers…(Žižek 2001b, 83-84).*

This chapter explores the relationship between capitalism, belief and
the ways in which ideology reinforces our contemporary capitalist
practices. Subsequently, the central question of this research is: how
is it possible to maintain an anti-capitalist position in a world
dominated and supported by the processes of capitalism? This is an
effort to establish a key element of this problem: the lack of a
coherent definition of capital itself. The pervasiveness of capitalist
social relations should not forestall our examination of the core
assumption of the system: that capital exists. I draw on the insights
of Jonathan Nitzan's interrogation of this problem in International
Political Economy, and I emphasize the importance of recognizing the
ways in which capitalism is dependent on the practices and beliefs
which grant capital value even if we do not have a clear understanding
of what it is. If we accept the neoclassical assertion that capital is
an input in the production process or the Marxist notion that capital
is the social exploitation of labour power, this does little to explain
the dynamics of capitalism in the contemporary system, and cannot
overcome central problem of explaining the value of capital. These two
problems - known as the 'transformation problem' in Marxist political
economy and the 'Cambridge capital controversy' in economics, stems
from the input-oriented explanations of production which cannot be
reconciled with the changing 'value' of capital in the system of
capitalist relations. Nitzan's response - following Thorstein Veblen -
is that the value of capital needs to be explained as an outcome of
social struggle between powerful 'absentee owners' (financial and
corporate magnates) where the expectation of future profitability
determines the value (and therefore quantity) of capital today.
Contemporary capitalism is the systematization of social struggle into
arrangements that are most beneficial for accumulation. This analysis
produces two central arguments of my research; the first being that the
system continues to function quite well despite the fact that the thing
at its center remains a relative mystery (or at least a controversy).

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An anti-capitalist critique of our participation in the contemporary
capitalist system must begin from the recognition that the system
remains as opaque to experts and leaders as it does to the rest of us.
The policy responses to the current economic crisis exemplify this
point. Second, and following from the first, if we treat capital as
anything but a condensation of social struggle, we forfeit the ability
to challenge capitalism directly, relegating its status to a backdrop
of political resistance. The latter consequence was actually explained
in Marx's concept of 'primitive accumulation', an international element
of his work that is too often overlooked in International Political
Economy. The former places the question of belief in capitalism as a
central concern of my research, and the way in which we sustain this
belief and therefore the system itself in our daily lives. The protest
site and anti-capitalism emerge as a subjective way to resist the
practices we reinforce and sustain in our daily practices.

Defining Capital: Debates

As de Goede has argued, one of the central questions of
International Political Economy (IPE) today is: what is capital? Her
response to this question echoes those who have been wrestling to bring
critical analyses to bear on the complex array of institutions,
practices, norms and materials that compose our global political
economy. Indeed, de Goede's work has been at the forefront of efforts
to integrate a range of different discursive tactics to deal with the
issues of capital and capitalism through poststructuralist and critical
thought (see de Goede 2005, 2006). Part of this effort is to develop a
complex understanding of the historical practices that have constituted
the contemporary understandings of financial capital and capitalist
practices, and to politicize the seemingly scientific and professional
efforts to manage the economy. However, such efforts also situate the
abstracted and totalizing agency granted to this thing called 'capital'
at the centre of a system that is fixated on studying its expansion,
replication and power. Additionally then, such efforts seek to
concretize the often abstract and tightly theorized spaces of
professional and critical writings on capitalism, that can tend to
reify "capital as a unitary sovereign and (all-) powerful agent (or
system) [that] does little to clarify the precise ways in which value
and entitlements are created and distributed in modern capitalist
practice" (de Goede 2003, 82). Situating capital in a discursive
context is important in countering the tendency towards overly abstract
and structured perspectives on capital in institutional and structural
analyses (such as Gunder Frank 1998, Wallerstein 2004, and other world
systems perspectives). Indeed, de Goede's efforts to develop the

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discursive and textual elements of capital, draws IPE closer to the longstanding postmodern engagement between economics and literature.[2]

The central importance of the issue of capital has not been overlooked by efforts to come to terms with the central organizing principle of the contemporary global political economy. Historical Materialists have established their success in International Relations by asserting the central importance of capitalism in the organization and direction of global politics. Consequently, de Goede's efforts to resituate IPE on the question of capital have been recently rebuffed by Bieler and Morton (2008), as a reduction of capital to a discursive practice, one that does not provide account of capital that considers the power relations and societal practices that shape it. They assert capital has to be understood through the historical materialist philosophy of internal relations, or:

> that the character of capital is considered a social relation in such a way that the internal ties between the means of production, and those who own them, as well as those who work them, as well as the realization of value within historically specific condition, are all understood as relations internal to each other (Bieler and Morton 2008, 116).

More simply, they relate the historically situated character of capital to the processes that allow for its emergence, to the labour that sustains it and the mechanisms of control that support capital. The philosophy of internal relations places a central importance on the broad forms of social and political hegemony that flow from the current means of production. From this framework poststructural efforts that seek (such as de Goede's) to reexamine capital evacuate the social agency and relational power of social struggle through a fixation on the 'how?' of power rather than the 'who?' of power (ibid., 112). Historical materialist efforts thus emphasize the changing configuration of social forces, historical institutions and specific and local struggles in an effort to challenge and critique forms of exploitation and domination in the international political economy. The

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[2] From the 1983 publication of Deirdre McCloskey's *The Rhetoric of Economics*, this interaction has spawned a range of literature about the role of discursive practices in the management, direction and theories of contemporary capitalism. Routledge's *Economics as Social Theory* series deals extensively with such efforts and Osteen's edited collection *The New Economic Criticism* in particular touches on themes and issues (i.e. representational power of money, libidinal economies, Marxist economics) only recently explicitly adopted in the debates of IPE.

question that follows from this explanation of internal relations stems from the insights of chapter one and the question of the IPE more generally: how does the internationalization of capital challenge the supposed unity of states and social forces? Is there an implied coherence, a rational logical interpretation underway in the historical materialist definition of capital that forecloses our ability to recognize the translation of social forces across different social orders? In other words, does the conception of politics as the 'art of the possible' foreclose a range of political actions that are inherently antagonistic to incorporation into the realm of the 'possible'? Of particular emphasis for my efforts is the ethics that emerge from the historical materialist exposition of the partisan, hegemonic and dominant agents of the structures of capitalism. There is a problem with the lack of contingency (or excessive historicization) of the Gramscian theory of capital, one that relies heavily on Marx's insights on the nature of the commodity form, and alienation more generally, and wrestles with the 'transformation problem' and the role of labour and the processes of production in the determination of the 'value' of capital.

Inescapable to an IPE discussion of capital, is Marx's seminal thesis on the very subject. While I will continually return to his insights throughout this chapter, Marx's interest in the 'magic and necromancy' of the social relations that allow for the emergence of commodity fetishism are of particular importance here. The processes of 'primitive accumulation' perhaps best represents Marx's underdeveloped efforts to deal with the translation of capital from one social context to another, and the implications of this process for global political economic interactions. And while Marx's insights into the commodity form are of particular relevance to an inter-national understanding of capital, in Marxism the definition of capital as "determination of the magnitude of value by labour time" has presented a persistent and recurring problem. The Marxist definition of capital as the difference between exchange and use value (or the amount of embedded labour in a commodity) does not explain link between labour and prices (also known as the transformation problem). Indeed, as I will explore below, Nitzan argues that this is a problem that mirrors the question of capital in neoclassical economics, namely, that an input theory of capital cannot provide a basis for determining the specificity of capital (its value or price under capitalism). Marx's recognition of the social character of capital's value (in the difference between use value and exchange value) necessitates an approach which recognizes social contingency of capital itself, one that politicizes the antagonistic kernel at the core of the capitalist system. As I will argue below, the central concern of classical political economy remains the key political issue of an effort to challenge contemporary capitalism today: 'what is

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capital?' remains a pressing and cognizant concern of anti-capitalist efforts.

Nitzan's articulation of differential accumulation is a way we can begin to reconcile the varied efforts to define capital within a context that examines both the 'who' and the 'how' of contemporary capitalist practice. The theory of differential accumulation builds on the work of heterodox political economy in developing an account of capital that focuses on the unequal power and institutional influence accorded privileged actors in the capitalist system. As I will address throughout this chapter, the overriding emphasis in IPE is the exposition of the unequal and hegemonic role of dominant actors in the international system. From Cox's influential work on the International Labour Organization to Gill's focus on the Trilateral Commission, Sklair and van der Pijl's articulation of a Transnational Capitalist Class and Gowan's examination of the US treasury, critical IPE has emphasized the importance of politicizing and exposing the dominant relations of capitalist production and ongoing forms of social struggle (Cox 1996; Gill 1990; Sklair 2001; van der Pijl 1998; Gowan 1999). Moreover, as I will explore later, such efforts use strategies of exposition that tend to reinforce the classical traditions of political economy, even as they seek to challenge them. In this vein, Nitzan's approach to the question of capital focuses on the importance of the separation of ownership and business from the processes of production, through the rise of the modern corporation and the titans of business that dominate these processes (Nitzan 1998, 175). Drawing on Veblen's institutional insights, Nitzan's work seeks to explain how the value of capital is determined in a system of incorporated businesses where production and ownership are increasingly separated. Echoing Veblen, Nitzan's work adopts the perspective of a modern corporate capitalist, and seeks to explain the processes of the capitalist system from the perspective of these 'absentee owners'. Extrapolating and abstracting the position of the successful capitalist is not necessarily a new concept - Ayn Rand famously fictionalized the revolutionary impetus of an ideal capitalist society in her 'Objectivist' work, and Robert Albritton has written extensively on what an unrestrained capitalist society would look like if all societal exchanges were commodified (see Rand 1957; Albritton 1991). However, where Nitzan's approach differs is the central emphasis on the differential accumulation of absentee owners in the era of the corporation, and the implications of this development for our understanding of capital's value.

Differential Accumulation

The importance of developing accounts of anti-capitalist practices in the current global political economy stem directly from

the recognition of the socially contested character of capitalism today. Drawing on the insight of Jonathan Nitzan's work in developing a concept of differential accumulation, we can begin to recover the ways in which both belief and social struggle are integral to the very concept of capital in the contemporary capitalist system. Unlike neoclassical and Marxist definitions of capital which seek to define capital and accumulation in terms of their material inputs in the production process, Nitzan proposes an account of capitalism from the dominant and competing perspectives of financial investors. He argues that the ultimate goal of the 'absentee owner' is not simple profit maximization, but rather profits that 'beat the average', a relative form of accumulation that recognizes the role of social and political control in the processes of production (ibid., 174). This distinction marks a separation between the interests of business and the interests of production more generally. As Nitzan explains:

> According to Veblen, business differs from industry in both methods and goals. Business enterprise means investment for profit. It proceeds through purchase and sale towards the ulterior end of accumulated pecuniary wealth. While industry is carried by the 'instinct of workmanship', business is a matter of ownership and power; whereas the former requires integration, cooperation and planning throughout society, the latter spells conflict and antagonism among owners, and a cleavage running between businessmen and the underlying population of working consumers (ibid., 176).

The divorce of direct control over productive capacity and the goods produced for consumption from the profit motives of investment separates the accumulation of capital from the interests of productive labour and capital investment. The concept of differential accumulation proposed by Nitzan makes the accumulation of profit (or the claim on future earnings) indifferent to any specific regime of production or configuration of labour practices. In other words, by divorcing business and ownership from production, absentee owners are only interested in claims on future profitability and the most effective means to generate them. The distribution of production in general and the production of goods and services is only important as a means of relative profitability, no longer as an end in itself.

This understanding of 'differential accumulation' is different than Marx's theory of value that treats labour as an undervalued input, or the neo-classical definition that sees capital as both heterogeneous products and the financial values determined by the market. Under the Marxist labour theory of value, profit is derived from the difference between exchange and use value, and in the neoclassical system market

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forces dictate both the value and quantity of capital (i.e. we know our 'quantity' of iron as a 'capital good', because it has a value on the market, not because it has a 'quantity' we can compare to corn). The differential accumulation theory of value argues that the ability to control societal production though absentee ownership manipulates the market in such a way that capital actually represents a social claim over future income, one that can change the 'quantity' of capital today. In other words Microsoft can profit through traditional production processes such as investing in new resources and technology (Greenfield investment), but they can also profit by purchasing a competitor (amalgamation), reduce expenditure through internal cost cutting, or by 'sabotaging' production while controlling prices (triggering stagflation) - all actions increase their profitability relative to their market competitors and still increase their claim over future profits.[3] As Nitzan explains,

> Mainstream as well as Marxian economics view profit and accumulation as related though distinct concepts. Profit is seen as a potential source of accumulation, but accumulation is said to take place only if the profit is 'invested' in newly produced plant and equipment, and in more roundabout production processes. We reject this interpretation. As a crystallization of power, accumulation has little to do with so-called 'real investment' per se…. capitalization is a forward looking process. What is being accumulated are claims on the future flow of profit (ibid, 204).

From this perspective, capital is a systemic representation of the relative ability to control future profitability. For the absentee owner, differential accumulation, or the ability to beat the market average, is more important than strict profitability, and this is reflected in the constant need to beat analyst expectations on the stock market, rather than produce a stable and normal level of profit. Differential accumulation demonstrates how the control of social production impacts the value, and thus the very 'object' of capital itself; the projected future accumulation of a business is incorporated in the present capitalization through financial market forces (share price). In other words, the quantity of capital, the 'object' at the core of the capitalist system, is a malleable process of social

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[3] In the institutional approach adopted by Nitzan, the ability to trigger stagflation is a result of the massive size of corporate actors. In these situations they have the ability to maintain prices even if it results in crippling economic demand (much like the ability of oil companies to maintain high profits when the price of oil is high, even if this results in a downturn in economic growth overall).

control, one that renders production subject to projected future profitability.

This understanding of capital both as a 'good' and a value is known as the conversion thesis in economics and remains an unresolved dispute in that field as a result of the 'Cambridge Controversy' initiated by Piero Sraffra (between Cambridge, England and Cambridge, Massachusetts). This debate demonstrated that the quantity of capital was dependent on the rate of profit, producing a tautological argument over the over the ability to 'count' capital as a material input like labour and land. As Steven Keen has explained:

> ..the concept of capital as a homogeneous substance is an illusion, and that [which] is capital intensive depends on the rate of profit. If the rate of profit is low, then the labour embodied in an ancient wine barrel is of little consequence, and the process of aging wine might appear to be labour-intensive. But if the rate of profit is high, then compounding this high rate of profit makes the ancient wine barrel of great value - and the process could be described as capital intensive. Rather than the rate of profit being dependent on the quantity of capital, the quantity of capital (in terms of its value measured by embodied labour value) depends on the rate of profit (Keen 2001, 146-147).

As a consequence, the rate of profit is not simply dependent on factors of production but reflects the relative power to control production, and the ability to accumulate faster than other sectors in society. The greater the level of differential accumulation, the greater breadth and depth of accumulation is both possible and *required* in order to continue to 'beat the average'. In the cases examined by Nitzan, differential accumulation provides the impetus for larger and larger mergers and acquisitions (multinational production and distribution) producing greater horizontal and vertical integration across multiple markets and sectors. Thus unlike production-based understandings of contemporary capitalism - ones that attempt to explain market forces as the consequence of struggles over the means of production - Nitzan's approach demonstrates the way in which capital, a primary input in the production process, is itself a reflection of social struggle between partisan actors.

Moreover, as Nitzan explains, the outcome of the 'Cambridge Controversy' was that capital - the thing at the center of the entire economic edifice - was taken to be either a theoretical issue to be resolved at a later date or simply a 'matter of faith'; we need to assume that capital exists as a quantity because capitalism continues

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to function as if it does (Nitzan 1998, 204). Consequently, the concept of differential accumulation effectively politicizes the most abstract financial processes of contemporary arbitrage and renders them as a social struggle for control over production in order to control the future flow of profit. Speculative finance represents an effort to obtain relative control over production that relies on which ever tactic provides the most effective form of differential accumulation: innovation, cost cutting, market manipulation or sabotage. The ability to control productive capacity allows absentee owners to profit simply by controlling the overall market for their goods through the acquisition of rivals, or scaling back production in general. This produces a range of political consequences for our understanding of capital, and capitalism more generally.

Firstly, differential accumulation demonstrates that while the principles of market forces tend to appear as abstract and universal, in practice capitalism is partisan effort to establish those principles as the foundation for further accumulation. The ability to capitalize and control the future profitability of different sectors of the economy establishes a basis for future accumulation and thus increases the relative success and profitability of those groups. As Nitzan describes it:

> In this sense, the value of capital represents a distributional claim. This claim is manifested partly through ownership, but more broadly through the whole spectrum of social power. Moreover, power is not only a means of accumulation, but also its most fundamental end. For the absentee owner, the purpose is not to 'maximize' profits but to 'beat the average'. The ultimate goal of business is not hedonic pleasure, but differential gain (ibid., 173).

Relative profit is contingent on the actions and efforts of specific actors in a system of capitalist accumulation. The institutional arrangements of the absentee owner, in the form of the incorporated business, represent a systemic condensation of conflict for control over social power and societal wealth. Indeed, like much of the efforts of critical IPE before it, the theory of differential accumulation is dedicated to exposing the way that control over social production is closely linked to the organization, management, control and manipulation of the global system through extra-capitalistic practices (not simply profit motives stemming from production). In the postwar era this has been the impetus of critical IPE to examine and expose the ways in which the capitalist system is 'managed', in such a way that it produces unequal political, economic, social and cultural benefit for some at the expense of others. The insight of differential

accumulation is that the abstraction of these forces as neutral or market-driven necessarily occludes the partisan and contingent basis for those efforts. Differential accumulation is important in exposing the ways in which the core principles of market actors (the drive for greater profit relative to the average rate of return, embedded in the legal foundation of the modern incorporated business) belies structural partisan goals, designed to benefit one group at the expense of others. This also exposes the danger of reducing the decisions of actors to abstract processes of market mechanisms, or 'economizing' the processes of accumulation by presenting these mechanisms divorced from their specific context and actors (i.e. that all capitalists are interested in profit maximization), effectively depoliticizing the ongoing struggles between them (as capitalists today are interested in *differential* accumulation). Thus while capital as a 'thing'/value may function as an absent core at the centre of the capitalist system, by depoliticizing the processes of accumulation, and treating capital simply as a 'thing', rather than a condensation of social struggle, we sacrifice the ability to challenge the system directly. In other words, if we begin to treat capital as something other than a struggle for social control, we adopt capital as a backdrop and the foundation of political action. I will return to the implications of this point momentarily.

Second, the inability of input-based economics to explain - on its own terms - the core principle of market-driven capitalist economies demonstrates the extent to which belief is a central part of systems of exchange. As a consequence of the concept of differential accumulation, capital is not a simple thing to be accounted, it is a both an assertion and a condensation of social control. As Nitzan argues:

> 'Capital' is best viewed as a shell, an abstract form in need of contents. The shell is a readily observable monetary magnitude, and is largely beyond dispute; its contents, on the other hand, are not at all apparent, and must hence be reasoned theoretically (ibid., 171).

The central concern of the Cambridge controversy in economics about the tautological quantification of capital in terms of capital (iron and corn) creates fundamental problems for the core tenets of the market system, including supply and demand, and thus equilibrium, which is the central organizing principle of a market-based system. As Nitzan explains, the inability to define what capital is without resorting to tautology, exposed a problem at the core of capitalism: "With the 'quantity of capital' undefined, there is no production function, no supply function and no equilibrium. And with these gone, economics

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fails its two celebrated tasks of explaining prices and quantities"
(ibid.). The extent of this problem was so potentially devastating,
that it challenged the explanatory and predictive abilities of
economics in general. Without the ability to explain prices, combined
with the loss of equilibrium, the powerful stories of supply and demand
were rendered moot. The truth of this discovery was not that the system
was based on a lie, rather it was that the system continued to function
quite well with this gaping hole at the center of its edifice.
Explaining why people participate in a system without a core could only
be described as an issue of faith. Thus:

> The neo-classicists conceded there was a problem, offering to
> treat Clark's quantitative definition of capital not literally,
> but as a 'parable' (Samuelson, 1962). Some, like Ferguson (1969),
> even went so far as admitting that neo-classical theory was a
> 'matter of faith'… While the shell called 'capital' may or may
> not consist of individual physical inputs, its existence and
> pivotal social significance are hardly in doubt (ibid.).

The parable of equilibrium, supply and demand, and the system of market
exchange rests on a foundation of faith which is far removed from daily
business reports, the stock market and global financial speculation.
And yet, we hear political necessity of this system reiterated daily as
the only viable political-economic system for policymakers today. The
expansive edifice of economic laws, rules, suppositions and assertions
of contemporary economics rests on their ability to explain the truth
that is already known: capitalism functions. This closely guarded truth
at the core of the entire capitalist system fulfils what Žižek would
characterize as a central function of ideology:

> The structurally necessary illusion which drives people to
> believe that truth can be found in laws describes precisely the
> mechanism of transference: transference is this supposition of
> the Law. In other words, 'transference' names the vicious circle
> of belief: the reasons why we should believe are persuasive only
> to those who already believe (Žižek 1989, 38).

Neoclassical economics is ideological not only because it provides a
thematic interlocking system of meaning, laws, rules and order, but
rather because it derives its authority from the *effective belief* of
the success of the capitalist system. An anti-capitalist critique of
the global totality of interlocking lives that composes capitalism
today must also recognize the ways in which capital itself reflects our
complicit participation in the organizing principles of a system that
remains opaque to those who lead it. As I will return to momentarily,
strategies of exposition that seek to expose efforts to control or

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order the system on the part of the elite, dominant and hegemonic classes risk elevating those agents beyond the simple obfuscating reality that encompasses all participants of the capitalist system.

The politics that emerge from Nitzan's approach to capital remain firmly entrenched in an understanding of capital as a quantification of power, rather than exploring the important role of our participation the constitution of capital. The capitalist's ability to dictate social production in order to place claims on the future flow of profit reinforces a political assumptions that can explain social change only from the perspective of the absentee owner. Indeed, as Nitzan has argued:

> Capital represents a distributional claim…The reason that workers stand to 'lose' is qualitatively different from what capitalists seek to 'gain': the former are giving up goods and services, the latter win control over social production itself. In other words, it is only for the capitalist that distribution means power, therefore our focus, at least as a first approximation, is not on society in general, but on those who dominate it (Nitzan 1997, 196).

This institutional perspective follows in the path of expository critical IPE, and seeks to show the way in which the dominant few dictate the terms of social order and production. Drawing on Mumford's idea of a mega-machine, Nitzan advocates an understanding of social change from the perspective of a dominant ruler imagining huge institutional machines that coordinate their social order and power (ibid.). While such a perspective has the benefit of being able to explain the ways in which capital functions as a repository of social control, it also effectively eliminates the role of social resistance and contestation within these processes. Thus, Nitzan's institutional effort ends up reiterating an emphasis on the efforts to control distribution and production and eliminates both the role of belief and the social contestation embodied in the concept of capital. Nitzan's approach makes power "vendible" (i.e. it can be bought and sold and we can track its movements - ibid., 202) in order to develop a definition of capital that produces a predictive and expository economic theory. This emphasis on 'dominant capital' or the leaders that emerge as a result of 'beating the average' cannot tell us anything about the larger processes of social contestation and the ways in which capital requires belief in order to function. Consequently, while an understanding of capital emerges from the examination of the processes of differential accumulation, it cannot say as much about the valuation that privileges one capitalist over another.

Finally, and as a consequence of the insights of differential accumulation, is the element which directly addresses the social character of a definition of capital: commodity fetishism. It is at the intersection of the abstract character of capital (its 'shell' as Nitzan describes it) and the subjective participation in the institutional processes of belief where we can begin to directly address the social contestation inherent to capital. Nitzan's theory of differential accumulation replicates a coherent vision of power (as 'power over' social reproduction) that assumes a coherence of social value, even as it recognizes the contested nature of social control. This effectively produces a fully constituted understanding of value under capitalism, even as those values are being contested and incorporated in the processes of differential accumulation (i.e. the differential accumulation of corn production for ethanol is linked to the social values adopted from Al Gore's 'An Inconvenient Truth') (Guggenheim 2006). In part this stems from the lack of inter-nationalization of Nitzan's conception of differential accumulation and the lack of theorization of the problems of the 'social' values implicit in the commodity form. The implied coherence of 'sociality' imagines a viewpoint to assess social value outside and apart from the constant contestation and struggle within society. By focusing on capital (and the central belief in the effective power of capital) as a socially contested value, we can begin to understand the processes of resistance to the partisan efforts of accumulation and the struggles underway within capitalism.

Internationalizing 'capital'

An understanding of capital based on partisan social control over accumulation rests on the effective social belief that capital 'exists'. The social coherence of the capitalist system speaks to the extent to which capital and its 'material' counterpart - the commodity form - helps render coherence and intelligibility (values) to our systems of exchange and consumption. Given the insights of differential accumulation, perhaps today more than ever, any form of contemporary anti-capitalism has to wrestle with the problem of commodity fetishism as a system of coherence and value, imparted through the market processes of exchange. This supposition mirrors Polanyi's understanding of the 'commodity fiction': the idea that abstract concepts like land, labour and money come to be the defining symbols of capitalism even as they have nothing to do with 'actual' commodities. In Polanyi's words:

> Labor is only another name for human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that actively be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized; land is only

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> another name for nature, which is not produced by man; actual
> money, finally is merely a token of purchasing power which, as a
> rule is not produced at all, but comes into being through the
> mechanism of banking or state finance. None of them is produced
> for sale. The commodity description of labor land and money is
> entirely fictitious (Polanyi 1957, 72).

As Polanyi understood it, these fictions become the central principles
around which capitalist society is ordered, and they also become the
dominant organizing forces that exist to the (assumed) exclusion of all
others. If the core of capitalist social organization is based in these
collective fictions, as we saw above in the Cambridge Controversy, the
issue of belief becomes central to its functioning. It is here that the
work of anthropologist Michael Taussig makes a crucial distinction for
the analysis of capital and commodity fetishism. Rather than frame
belief in terms of 'false consciousness' or the 'fictitiousness' of the
assertions made, Taussig refocuses the emphasis onto the social
importance (or value) of those beliefs. Thus the question becomes: how
it is that the commodity form comes to be perceived as substantial and
real (Taussig 1980, 4)? Of particular importance is the way that the
commodity form translates its social construction into 'phantom
objectivity' such that society actively 'forgets' its arbitrary social
construction (ibid.). Therefore, not only does capital contain a deeply
'mystical' quality, it begins to manifest a form of agency over its
creators. This has a two-fold effect:

> On the one hand, these abstractions are cherished as real objects
> akin to inert things, whereas on the other, they are thought of
> as animate entities with a life-force of their own akin to
> spirits or gods. Since these things have lost their original
> connection to social life, they appear, paradoxically, as both
> inert and animate entities (ibid., 5).

Desire, belief and reverence become integral parts of the commodity
form for their creators, as the abstraction and alienation of social
construction are reenacted through market processes and through the
exchange economy. Indeed, the insight of differential accumulation is
that while input-oriented economics try to explain the production of
value through the objective categories of the market, (through supply,
demand, equilibrium or labour exploitation), in practice these efforts
rely on the effective coherence of capital and the commodity form. The
more convincing the myth of impartial market forces becomes, the more
our actions effectively reinforce such a system. Asserting the primacy
of market forces is effective because it transforms differential
accumulation into the basic economic issues that we all face in our
day-to-day lives. As a consequence, Žižek argues that this:

…ideology lies not in getting caught up in ideological
spectrality, forgetting about its foundations in real people and
their relations, but precisely in overlooking this Real of
spectrality, and pretending to address directly 'real people with
their real worries.' Visitors to the London Stock Exchange are
given a free leaflet which explains to them that the stock market
is not about some mysterious fluctuations, but about real people
and their products – *this* is ideology at its purest (Žižek 2001b,
16).

The expansion of market principles tends to obfuscate the ways in which
social organization has little or nothing to do with 'market' forces,
and yet convinces us of the benefit of believing in those market
principles. Belief implicates our actions in the replication and
reproduction of the systems of partisan control, where the ability to
present an abstract and uncontested view of the processes of
differential accumulation masks the social costs of the manipulation of
distribution for private gain. There are no market forces in general,
only specific and particular instances of exchange. To continue the
critique above, Nitzan's politicization of the social machine
effectively abdicates responsibility for subjective political action
through the assertion of the neutral view of capital in general, the
very supposition he set out to discredit. Similarly, the pervasive
logic of a self-interested rational-maximizing individual under
capitalism creates an allegory about the role of the market in our
lives, an interpretive frame that becomes so pervasive it is eventually
forgotten. The more we participate in capitalist markets and fulfill
our specific, needs, wants and desires, the more we believe that we are
self-interested asocial economic calculators (in general terms this is
what Gill has characterized as 'market civilization') (Gill, 2003). As
Taussig has argued, this process of internalization of a specific and
partisan social order (capitalism) should be more accurately understood
as a strange transformation of social relations, because under
capitalism:

> …social relationships are dismembered and appear to dissolve into
> relationships between mere things – the products of labor
> exchanged on the market – so that the sociology of exploitation
> masquerades as a natural relationship between systemic artifacts.
> Definite social relationships are reduced to the magical matrix
> of things. An ether of naturalness – fate and physicality –
> conceals and enshrouds human social organization…instead of man
> being the aim of production, production has become the aim of man
> and wealth the aim of production (Taussig 1980, 32).

To attempt to define capitalism in an abstract or neutral way, as if we could stand above our social context, is precisely what Žižek characterizes as contemporary capitalist ideology. As was discussed in chapter one the seductive distancing of reification convinces us of our ability to stand above our social context and apolitically assess the status of a situation (see also Bewes 1997, Sloterdijk, 1987). The issue of determining what capital 'is', is thus caught between the subjective experience of capitalism (the necessary decisions by which we constitute ourselves) and our belief in principles which seem to govern the system and appear to be objective. To the extent to which capitalism appears to us as a set of abstract rules and objective laws, we have effectively adopted the position of the (non-existent) ideal capitalist, one who sees past the social constraints, resistance and limits in order to come to terms with the ever-increasing deepening hold of the capitalist system. When this occurs, Capital has become an issue of faith - a belief beyond reason, a choice made without logic - by default - enacted in our day-to-day lives as something we effectively believe because we are so deeply embedded in the practices and logics of the capitalist system. Thus we can understand from the position of a subject of society (my subjective position) that the effective coherence provided by the absent figures of both 'the state' and 'capital' and even 'god' comes from the accompanying rules, institutions, codes and conducts by which we effectively show our faith. Imparted by law, order, tradition and sovereign control, these absent symbols effectively define their quasi-material status through our implicit and explicit recognition of their importance. The important question becomes not whether God, Capital or the State exist, it is rather, how do we act in ways which affirm our belief in their existence? In Lacanian terms, this distinction is the difference between the reality of our practices and the 'Real' core of capital, or that:

> 'reality' is the social reality of the actual people involved in
> interaction, and in the productive process; while the Real is the
> inexorable 'abstract' spectral logic of Capital which determines
> what goes on in social reality. This gap is palpable in the way
> the modern economic situation of a country is considered to be
> good and stable by international financial experts, even when the
> great majority of its people have a lower standard of living than
> they did before — reality doesn't matter, what matters is the
> situation of Capital (Žižek 2001b, 15-16).

The depoliticization of belief thus comes not only from the assertion of market principles, but from the active supposition that there is no viable resistance and no viable alternatives to the central tenets of contemporary capitalism. Moreover, these absent symbols mutually

reinforce one another as the logics of order, rule, law and normalcy
disseminate from the visage of a sovereign power at the center of the
nation state, one beyond the specific and contingent actions of any
specific actors or groups. These social functions were what Lacan
characterized as the 'Four discourses', or certain structuring
principles by which subjects are both brought into and replicate the
universality of sovereign power, the objectivity of university
knowledge, as well as they ways in which we question those logics and
develop ethical and political decisions within them (Lacan 2006) .
Moreover, the longer a person adopts these codes and norms, the more
they help to effectively structure their subjective thoughts and
experiences – in other words, these practices help to reinforce faith.
The sovereign vision of capital thus always relies on an implicit
recognition that the subjective interests of its participants are
aligned with the supposed system of social order (subjective decisions
in some way align with the interests of capitalism).

Importantly, part of the goal of Taussig's work is to aid in
developing an understanding of the transition from peasant forms of
production – where gods, fertility spirits, the devil and evil are
commonplace – to the abstract wage labour system ruled by laws,
dictated by profit motives and changing international markets. Indeed,
the extra-economic character of this so-called 'primitive accumulation'
(i.e. primitive accumulation is the violent processes by which existing
social values are transformed into capitalist ones – the do not simply
appear during capitalist expansion) should make us wary of treating the
processes of commodification and accumulation as if they are not
embedded within cultural and social practices which in turn rely on
other forms of exploitation and rule (De Angelis, 1999). Taussig argues
that commodity fetishism itself rests on the bizarre cultural belief
that an inert medium of exchange can become a self-breeding quantity
and a thing with lifelike powers (Taussig 1980, 128). In granting the
power of capital to bear interest (what Marx formulated as M-C-M'), we
accepted a belief that forces us to labour (to sustain its growth) and
simultaneously organizes us around this limitless goal (ibid.). The
object that was supposed to facilitate transactions becomes the
powerful and ultimate goal of those very transactions. Consequently, we
experience these strange occurrences as commonplace:

> We who have been accustomed to the laws of capitalist economies
> for several centuries have grown to accept complacently the
> manifestations of these laws as utterly natural and commonplace.
> The early prophets and analysts of capitalism, such as Benjamin
> Franklin, already regarded the operations of the economy as
> completely natural; hence; they could casually refer to interest
> as an inherent property of capital itself (ibid.).

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The lived day-to-day practices of contemporary capitalism become embedded in cultural and social modes of perception that reside close to the level of the unconscious. Different cultural formations should therefore be understood as different forms of reification and perception. This was de Goede's critique of the apparent tendency in heterodox political critical IPE to imply that the social capabilities of capital as a 'thing' can be separated from the contingent processes of its emergence (i.e. that capital itself has agency). It is precisely the contingency of every claim that makes it important to distinguish between commodity forms of fetishism and indigenous forms of fetishism that arise to inform our perception of the agency, power and sorcery of the fetishized object. In developed capitalist economies it is 'natural' for money to reproduce, but in the indigenous communities of Taussig's 1980 ethnography, the sway of capital and capitalism stems from its unnatural and supernatural powers (ibid., 129). We should be wary of dismissing the supernatural import of sorcery or the devil as 'mere' beliefs used to supplement ignorance, but rather see them as alternative forms of fetishization and reification. The social organization of different communities involves a deeply ingrained and material set of practices that are historically conditioned to seem 'natural', 'obvious' and uncontested. Thus as we saw above, belief is an integral part of the analysis of accumulation. Contemporary anti-capitalism can be understood as a rejection of the objectification and atomization that takes place under capitalism, and is necessarily coupled to the forms of resistance that emerge from different social and cultural contexts. Exploring forms of anti-capitalist resistance will be the focus of later chapters, but it is important to note how Taussig's examination of primitive accumulation explores the mapping of social values on top of one another, rather than an understanding of how one belief (capitalism) emerges to the exclusion of others.

However, to recognize the importance of belief is not to treat forms of fetishization as identical or to assume that precapitalist and capitalist forms of fetishization do not have importance differences, but instead to recognize that both fetishism and belief form an integral part of social life. Markets and systems of local exchange are part of many forms of non-commodified social systems. However, in most cases the systems of abstraction and market exchanges remain in service to the network of people from which they emerge, rather than submitting the network members to the interests of the goods that are produced (ibid., 37). The 'primitive' element of primitive accumulation obtains one of its important connotations here, as the conflict between competing forms of social organization come to be seen as challenges between 'civilizational' logic and the force required to 'naturalize' beliefs. The basic form of accumulation that the 'primitive' implies in its common verbiage can begin to be understood as a complex social and

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cultural phenomenon with an associated host of resistances and claims about civilizational social order. In this sense there is nothing 'primitive' about these processes of accumulation and the conversion to the belief in capital is a complex and constantly ongoing struggle.

The transition from a non-capitalist to a capitalist society continues to require a massive expenditure of sovereign power, rights and force that renders the accumulation process a politically contested and varied series of accomplishments. The efforts to embed the seemingly abstract practices of the capitalist system within the lives of less or alternatively fetishized subjects which should be understood as a much a process of (religious) conversion as much as economic progress (indeed, this is a central preoccupation of Taussig's work). From this perspective, the abstract, foreign and rational principles can begin to be understood as embedded with a set of cultural, national and historical practices that challenge the 'universality' of the commodity-form. Most immediately then is the way that our practices themselves are transformed into commodities. As Taussig explains:

> For our system of industrial production to operate, people's productive capacities and nature's resources have to be organized into markets and rationalized in accord with cost accounting: the unity of production and human life is broken into smaller and smaller quantifiable subcomponents. Labor, an activity of life itself, thus becomes something set apart form life and abstracted into labor-time, which can be bought and sold on the labor market. The commodity appears to be substantial and real (ibid., 4).

While the perspective of differential accumulation allowed us to understand the symbolic importance of capital as a struggle for social control, it is the transformation of society into abstract and individuated units where the extent of this control becomes most readily apparent. Global Political Economy has an important place for engaging the translation of different social contexts into one another, as the inter-national element of political-economic interaction is typified by the processes of accumulation. Thus, while differential accumulation provides a basis from which to begin to understand the socially contested character of capital from the perspective of the capitalist, it is primitive accumulation that introduces the space for alternative conceptions of social value to emerge. This will be the focus of Chapter 6. As the site of contact between alternative social orders and disorders, primitive accumulation thus represents a key site of international political struggle. The importance to contemporary anti-capitalism stems from the ways in which it challenges the embedded

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practices of accumulation by implicating them in a host of social inculculations.

Efforts to resist capitalist universalization of the commodity form can draw upon the insights of the ongoing international political struggles of primitive accumulation. There is no reason to think that the level of exploitation and the efforts to deepen and further commodification will stop even in advanced capitalist countries. As Marx argued:

> Direct force is still of course still used, but only in exceptional cases. In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the "natural laws of production," i.e., it is possible to rely on his dependence on capital, which springs from the conditions of production themselves, and is guaranteed in perpetuity by them. It is otherwise during the historic genesis of capitalist production. The rising bourgeoisie needs the power of the state, and uses it to 'regulate' wages, i.e. to force them into the limits suitable for making a profit, to lengthen the working day, and to keep the worker himself at his normal level of dependence. This is an essential aspect of so-called primitive accumulation (Marx 1977, 899-900.)

The experience in common between developed capitalist workers and communities facing forms of primitive accumulation is the use of political force to ensure the expansion and deepening of capitalist commodification. While developed capitalist countries have less use for explicit direct force, the massive historical undertaking involved in convincing this populace of the value of abstract market forces and universal property laws (see Federici 2000) means that sites of direct primitive accumulation have a host of social practices to draw upon to resist commodification and capitalism.

Global Political Economy and Unmasking

It is at the margins of capitalism that the processes of capitalist expansion are exposed as highly historical, relative and subjective experiences. The commodity form is exposed as a culturally relative distinction between 'objectivity' and subjectivity that itself is embedded in a set of social relations that confer belief, understanding and faith. Moreover, the ability to interpret these systems of relations imbues certain people with expositional power:

> Artfully mediating the self-validating categories of their epoch, the political economists gave voice and force to a symbolic system in the guise of an economic analysis. The meaning of value, symbolized by money, presupposed a commoditized world and

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this presupposition persists today as the natural way of viewing social life. Conditioned by history and society, the human eye assumes its perceptions to be real (Taussig 1999. 10).

The classical exposition of political economy thus transformed social practices into abstract logics in an effort to expose the workings of the system. In doing so, they effectively established the principles by which the system could be explained and expanded, while gaining the social status of exposing truths; these people have access to secret knowledge as well as the power of exposition and the authority of interpretation. The social relations of capital were both occluded and reinforced, as the powerful process of unmasking - exposing the inner logics of the system - reiterated an understanding of the system divorced from its social underpinnings. The social character of capital was transformed into what Taussig calls a 'public secret', a contradiction that is publicly known but cannot be spoken (ibid., 50). In other words, the relative scarcity of knowledge about the 'Cambridge Controversy' in economics effectively masks what is an obvious truth about capitalism: that it is simply an abstracted system of relations between people, not a quantity, input or a complex core of economic principles waiting to be unearthed. But for economists to concede that the capitalist system is based on an issue of faith - the belief that capital exists - would effectively undermine their expository and explanatory power. This is also the danger in adopting political strategies that rest on the basis of exposition, as exposing the corruption at the highest levels of the existing order may do nothing to change that order. Indeed, the expository power of the critic is highly dependent on the same form of formal exposition. The unmasking of false beliefs, ideological facades and hidden truths becomes a powerful rhetorical strategy for the truth-telling of IPE as well. Taussig calls this the defacement of secrets, this form of unmasking that provides great gratification:

> It rests on the notion of the world of appearance is a surface, a tensed surface, concealing a hidden and deeper world providing a treasure trove, so to speak, for a certain kind of storyteller who skillfully exploits the play of facades and the repression holding the facades in place (ibid., 93).

Critical IPE seeks the truths hidden in plain sight, to expose the forms and processes that undermine our 'true' relationship with the world. Thus, there is a tendency in critical IPE to treat unmasking as a political end, supported by the ethics of 'organic intellectuals' (see Gill 1993, Overbeek 1993, and the subsequent discussion in chapter 4) that would seek to unmask the corruption of the dominant, as if the unmasking itself would suddenly rewrite the field of political action.

A strategy of anti-capitalism resists this impetus through the refusal
to propose coherent and complete alternatives, and relishes the
resistance inherent to engaged political struggle, and the refusal to
present political alternatives, carefully packaged for mass
consumption. In other words, strategies of exposition that defer direct
engagement with political struggles also risk political impotence if
social conditions change the terms of that engagement. As a result,
Taussig highlights the pleasure and danger of this process, as if
unmasking was actually possible:

> Yet ultimately this cheapens both truth and repression because it
> assumes and reinforces the sense that if only we can get through
> the façade, the truth is there for the asking - as if truth was
> some thing, some entity or presence, that could exist outside our
> presentation of it in other facades…The secret is unmasked so as
> to conserve it (Taussig 1999, 93).

The political danger is the myth of an outside, as if political action
was self-evident from the uncovering of processes that were previously
unknown to us. The strength of the rhetorical strategy of exposition is
bound in enlightenment notions of revelation and discovery and the
subsequent power granted to those who publicly expose. Taussig's
emphasis on the public secret is to show how the claim to exposure
provides authority to the exposer, and that the act of exposition is
the only real mystery. In other words, the claim to possess access to
the secret order, to have access to the world beyond the rest of us is
important in the way it reinforces our need for the exposer, rather
than the exposition itself.

As Taussig explains secrets are powerful not because they expose,
but rather because the ability to unmask becomes the real emphasis.
Thus the obsession with the secret cabal, the core of the systemic
order is not unique to Capital or Capitalism, rather it is a structure
of social order itself, one that reinforces social control by tricking
everyone into believing it. Thus, the ideological component of
capitalism is not that every one acts as if they treat capital as an
object embodied with special powers, rather that our action in
furtherance of capitalism is *in effect* giving capital magic powers (as
in the Žižek quote on the first page of this chapter). Exposing this
hidden truth is not a form of political action, rather it represents an
effort to capture the power of capital's hidden truth - that we
believe, live, effect and love the capitalist system - in spite of
ourselves. The central importance of capital to a strategy of anti-
capitalism is not to demonstrate how economists have a secret and
powerful understanding about the contradictions of the system, it is to
demonstrate that such knowledge is not necessary to an understanding of

the social consequences of political and policy decision making. This
is to challenge the claims of people like Robert Keohane who argue
that:

> Behind the protestors' annoyingly naïve characterizations of the
> WTO, IMF and World Bank, and their frequent failure to understand
> even elementary economics, lies a deep concern with democratic
> procedures. When asked, students involved in these protests may
> concede ignorance on how the World Bank is organized or whether
> it has changed policies to help the poor. Pressed on their
> economics, and on issues of fact, they may come back to their
> normative base: global institutions are "undemocratic" (Keohane,
> 2002, 225).

Here the assertion of knowledge of capital is used to discredit and
infantilize the claims of those who oppose power. Capital is presented
as an objective and apolitical thing upon which sound politics rests,
and the processes of decision making are employed through policies of
objectivity and fact. Yet, if we recognize that both capital and
capitalism are contingent sites of social struggle, this objectivity is
challenged as only another partisan voice. The exposition of secrets is
thus important to make a political claim against non-expert voices, to
not only justify their exclusion, but also because it normalizes and
disseminates partisan claims of 'objectivity'.

If capitalism is a form of social order based in specific
historical, cultural and local practices, the process of translation to
a capitalist society necessitates a contingent and specific site for
this struggle. By developing an understanding of capital based on the
cultural relativity of these assertions, we can begin to see how
alternative social orders overlap, complicate and undermine each other.
By treating capital as contested social relation, rather than an input
into the production process, we can begin to recover the constant and
ongoing resistances to capitalist expansion. Consequently, an important
contribution of our academic practices is to recover those alternative
social efforts underway and highlight the ongoing resistances to
capitalism. In order to counter the expansion of market logics it is
thus important to recover the contingent sites of resistance to capital
expansion as well as the alternative social practices and efforts
underway to counter the efforts of the capitalist system. As I will
discuss below, my research into contemporary anti-capitalism took me in
divergent and often conflicting directions, ones that could not easily
be predicted in advance.

Capital as Real

The central role of belief in contesting contemporary capitalism directly intersects with the issues of psychoanalysis and efforts in critical IPE to move beyond volitional and rational understandings of agency in the current system. By taking Žižek's claim that capital functions as the backdrop of contemporary politics, and combining it with the ways we reinforce the practices of capitalism in our day-to-day lives, anti-capitalism today necessarily involves a critique of the ways in which we are implicated in the processes of our domination. This project privileges the site of protest because of its resistance to representative claims and the possibility it holds for political action that is anti-capitalist in ways that are against our own capitalist interests. The idea of a volition-based political action is increasingly compromised by the societal injunction under capitalism to 'enjoy!' (through consumption) and through the non-rational (libidinal) economies of desire. These two trajectories compliment what both Žižek and Palan have emphasized as the 'Real' of contemporary capitalism, whereby capital functions both as limit of political possibility, and mobilizes the unyielding demand to fulfill our desires. In other words, we are caught between the choices we make that are not our own (typified in capitalist anti-capitalism - i.e. adbusters) and the impossible fulfillment of desires (endless consumption in search of an insatiable enjoyment). Capital is 'Real' in this sense, because it stands for limit of the political horizon today (there is no existing alternative to capitalism) as well as our opaqueness as to the reasons and consequences of our political choices and actions.

If differential accumulation explores why capital represents a condensation of social contestation in the claim on future accumulation, key to this argument for contemporary anti-capitalism is the idea that there is no claim under capitalism that is not a partisan one. While this echoes the Marxist idea of class struggle or the Gramscian conception of 'the war of position', Žižek takes this insight to the level of subjectivity, or the idea that the 'Real' of capital is an inescapable part of social life itself. Thus, when Žižek calls capitalism the Real of our age, he means it in a very specific and politically relevant sense, as 'the Real' is:

> The gap which prevents our access to it, the "rock" of antagonism which distorts our view of the perceived object through a partial perspective. And , again, the "truth" is not the "real" state of things, that is, the "direct" view of the object without perspectival distortion, but the very Real of the antagonism which causes perspectival distortion. The site of truth is not the way "things really are in themselves", beyond their perspectival distortions, but the vey gap, passage which separates one perspective from another, the gap (in this case:

social antagonism) which makes the two perspective radically incommensurable (Žižek 2006a, 61).

The 'Real' of capital has no positive content, no specific or particular agenda, and no policy or terms that are necessary for any outcome. The 'Real' of capital is the antagonism that necessarily politicizes every situation that directly addresses the problem of capital, as it is the distorting perspective that emerges from capital's role as the condensation of social struggle. The 'Real' of capital is the impossibility of viewing capitalism from a neutral middle ground. This is perhaps best exemplified by the failed efforts of the politics of the 'Third Way' in the post-Cold War era, representing the idea that we could move beyond the issues of capitalism versus communism, in order to deal with the 'reality' of issues facing people today. The social antagonism represented by capital cannot be simply bypassed through a claim to the objectivity of economics, or the abstract importance of market forces in general. From the perspective of the protestor outside the meeting of global leaders dictating the terms of political and economic policies, the truth of the situation is entirely situated and contingent, producing incommensurable perspectives on the same event. In these situations, the 'Real' of capital is an inescapable interpretive frame brought about by a contingent position of protest, one that challenges the claim to objectivity of those assembled inside. Anti-capitalism is thus a perspective born of opposition, one that necessarily targets the central antagonism of the capitalist system, capital itself, and uses the oppositional strategies to resist and undermine the partisan efforts to impose 'objective' decisions.

Real as Core of the subject

However, the 'Real' also represents the necessary and inescapable alienation of the subject to the systems and sociality of their emergence. In other words, since all of our desires are necessarily expressed through social language, which shapes and limits our understanding of the world, our account of our subjective experiences is always beholden to a system that is not ours and in a context to which we have not chosen. The challenge of the 'Real' is a perpetual one, as how do we act in a world whereby our actions, thoughts, and choices are delimited in advance? The psychoanalytic importance of the 'Real' is the relationship of the subject to their desire, the contingent place in the symbolic and linguistic world that only they occupy, and how that occupation founds the basis of their 'self'. This insight is by no means new, but rather it is perhaps most commonly known in the description by Marx himself:

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> Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they
> please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances,
> but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted
> from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like
> a nightmare on the brains of the living (Marx 1963, 15).

Here, the often omitted section of this famous quote speaks to the
sensory weight of the import of this past, this 'nightmare' that is
reproduced in our day-to-day practices. The alienation of capitalism is
linked to the larger processes of the emergence of subjectivity and the
possibilities for political action on a terrain which effectively and
consistently determines political possibilities. Ideology then, is more
than a decision to choose one political option or another; it
represents the primary limitation of coming to term with our selves,
and is about the possibility for ethical action in the world. Following
the work of Palan (2001), the effort to come to terms with the role of
ideology in our political lives necessitates a better understanding of
the non-rational foundations of the political economy.

Capital as backdrop

Ideology is more than a political option or choice amongst many;
capitalist ideology today functions as the backdrop and foundation for
all political action. Thus, the ideology of capitalism is not the oft
purported aims of capitalist growth, the emphasis on profitability or
the need for universal markets and capitalist social relations, rather
it stems directly from the alienated practices of contemporary
capitalist subjectivity. Stemming from this understanding of the Real,
Žižek's conception of ideology is:

> …more than a discursive formation that covers up the fundamental
> incompleteness or impossibility of society. Rather, what is
> crucial to an ideological formation is the fantasy that supports
> it, that is, the point of excessive, irrational enjoyment that
> accounts for the hold of an ideological edifice on the subject
> (Dean 2006, 8).

The notion of ideology used throughout this project differs greatly
from the common perception of ideology as an abstract system of ideas
or a form of common sense. Following the Lacanian notion of split
subjectivity, the problem with common understandings of ideology stems
from the idea of a volition-based or unified subjectivity, one that
chooses a political position, or makes common day-to-day decisions
based on their experience. Drawing on the idea of the unconscious,
combined with an assertion of the importance of the analytic category
of the subject, Žižek rejects ideology as a form of false

consciousness, as if there was a consciousness that was beyond the impact of language and the ideas inherent to it. Rather, Žižek equates ideology with consciousness itself, in the form of the symbolic world of language, signs and meaning. Perhaps this is most readily seen in the common liberal adage 'One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter', where the ideological component is not the necessity of choosing one side or the other, the ideological component emerges when we think it is possible to see both sides, to stand above those that choose and to differ our immediate senses of decision-making. In other words, the supposed neutral ground of political analyses, where ideology can be assessed, *is* the place of contemporary ideology. The post-structuralist, deterritorialized, nomadic, hyper-critical distancing of advanced post-industrial democracy demonstrates its ideological component as specific political decisions are subject to an immediate, ironic and reflexive challenge. From government administrations to policy makers to protestors, political assertions are tirelessly dissected for implicit meanings, disparaging implications and inherent contradictions as explored in Chapter 1. Critique itself becomes ideological, as every truth-claim is undermined by another. This has two implications, first; cynical political action allows people to act against their own interests under the rubric of irony (i.e. Wal-Mart is terrible, but because I know that and I support the efforts of anti Wal-Mart protestors, my shopping at Wal-Mart doesn't matter). Second, the horizon of political possibility becomes increasingly determined by the most general, inoffensive and non-descript 'political' claims in the hopes of maximum political resonance. In this sense, anti-capitalism typifies the obvious and blatant hypocrisy of its position, that any anti-capitalist effort today is underwritten, supported and sustained by capitalist funding, practices and the system more generally. In this sense, anti-capitalism is quite literally impossible today.

Herein lies both the potential and the challenge of the Žižekian notion of ideology. If the hypercritical symbolic world of contemporary capitalism can no longer be a space of false consciousness - we recognize the constructed nature of our ideas, thoughts and feelings but we continue to act as if they are not arbitrary, constructed and malleable - how can anti-capitalism exist? Contemporary ideology stems from our actions, in spite of and as a result of our beliefs. Our practices are ideological because, regardless of how critical, postmodern, ironic and cynical we are as to the symbolic claims made around us, we continued to act as if they are not. The most politically apathetic, disinterested, fashionable people amongst us often purchase, participate and contribute to the same products, magazines and forums as the most dynamic and socially-conscious political activists. Importantly then, this helps to blur the distinction between activist

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and non-activist, exposing the radically inclusive claim of the protest
site which is inclusive because of our bodily location, rather than
intellectual decision. As I discuss in the next chapter, being swept up
in the excess of the mob, or caught in the disorderly movement of a
protest march, literally forces our bodies into politics that we might
not otherwise choose. Also as I will discuss below, the protest site
holds out the possibility that we can begin to imagine political action
in spite of one's self.

Given the movement away from volition-based understandings of
political agency proposed in concepts like a libidinal political
economy, there is a need to come to terms with the role of ideology in
our practices. Much like the neoclassical economist who understands the
importance of capital because the system continues to function, Žižek
uses his understanding of ideology to argue that belief stems from
action, typified in Pascal's example of prayer. Instead of seeing
prayer as a consequence of those who already believe, Žižek asserts
that religion imposes the need for prayer because even if you don't
believe, if you pray belief will follow (Žižek 1989, 40). Within this
framework action is not only dictated by ideology, but ideology -
through our practices - forms the basis of belief. The result is a form
of causality that runs counter to rational social-scientific thinking,
as a result of the intersection between the sociality of action and the
internalization of social norms. Because the act of prayer is a social
injunction, the fulfillment of its requirement makes it seem to
everyone else that you are a believer. Moreover, even if every single
person praying is a non-believer, the effective consequence is that
each member supposes the others truly believe, and continues to act
accordingly. Not only does action dictate belief, the temporal link
between action and belief convinces the subject of the permanence of
that belief. This has two immediate consequences for the analysis here;
first, that action rather than volition plays a central role in the
formation of the subject's beliefs, and second that ideology has an
inescapably performative character.

In this respect, the increasing acceptance of 'constructivism' in
International Relations speaks to how little the insights into the
arbitrary and constructed nature of our ideas and beliefs impact
ongoing political practices and prescriptions. More to the point, the
ability to discern the patterns of construction and the processes of
normalization explicitly excludes the researchers and academics from
the frame of analysis, as if the subjects of construction were 'out
there', implied in the concept of 'construction' itself, as an
impersonal and therefore abstract process beyond our participation.
Political actions which do not target capital and capitalism directly
risk becoming trapped in the discursive terrain of hypercritical

globalization, rendering capitalism as the backdrop to political action, the practices and terrain upon which the world takes place. As Žižek explains, the need to privilege a focus on capital over all other specific forms of transgression under capitalism, too often abandons a direct focus on capital for an emphasis on a particularized struggle. The result is that this "global dimension of capitalism is suspended in today's multicultural progressive politics: its 'anti-capitalism' is reduced to the level of how today's capitalism breeds sexist/racist oppression and so on…" rather than directly confronting the foundation of these struggles (Butler 2000, 96). Žižek argues that the fragmentation of political issues, through the hyper-critical distancing of cynical reason, effectively limits the possibility for a mobilized political anti-capitalism. However, this does not mean that there is some requirement or standard upon which 'legitimate' anti-capitalism should be assessed. Rather what constitutes an anti-capitalist effort can be as simple as those struggles which attempt to dislodge the idea of 'capital' as the backdrop of political practice. As he outlines, such an effort does not necessitate a guarantee of acceptable political action, rather it takes the form of a minimal condition, or that: "The politicization of the series of particular struggles which leaves the global process of Capital intact is clearly not sufficient" (Žižek 1999a, 222). Consequently then, the antagonism at the centre of capital represents an effort to directly confront the social consequences of a capitalist system and opens the possibility for alternative visions of social order. The emphasis on the 'Real', means that we must take capital as a primary target of political emphasis and exploration, otherwise we risk abandoning these questions to contemporary ideology (this is Bieler and Morton's critique of de Goede). Moreover, if we are to apply the importance of ideology and ideological construction directly to a reconceptualization of anti-capitalism, we need to understand the role of our belief in capital as well.

Moving away from the self-interested volition of liberal and economic conceptions of individuality requires a greater understanding of the non-rationalist underpinnings of the contemporary global political economy. The central importance of belief in the constitution of capital combined with the limitation of rational exposition and hyper-critical distancing of contemporary politics necessitates an understanding of political economy that supplements the rational maximizing individual with the libidinal desiring body of a sensuous being. As Palan and Amin argue:

> Exponents of 'libidinal political economy' take the view that political economy has to be an interdisciplinary effort which combines the traditional fields of the social sciences -

economics, sociology, political science - with anthropology,
psychoanalysis, literary criticism, linguistics, architecture and
history of art. Non-rationalist IPE, therefore, needs to
incorporate theories of the subject, subjectivity, aesthetics,
and desire into its frame (Amin 2001, 563).

Such efforts challenge the idea that the material processes of
contemporary capitalism can be delimited to a core foundation of
production and encapsulated in a rationalization of society that
assumes a coherence and causality of action where perhaps there may be
none. A libidinal political economy is more concerned with the
processes of capitalism that utilize and rest on a "schema of pulsional
forces, Eros and death drive" (Cameron and Palan, 2004, 98). These
understandings of capital come to terms with the role of desire in the
formation of the subject as well as the way in which the libidinal
excesses of bodily engagements demarcate a range of political economic
understandings. In this way we are 'invested' in the processes of our
domination. As Žižek argues:

> The easiest way to detect the effectivity of this postulate is to
> think of the way we behave towards the materiality of money: we
> know very well that money, like all other material objects,
> suffers the effects of use, that its material body changes
> through time, but in the social effectivity of the market we none
> the less *treat* coins as if they consist 'of an immutable
> substance, a substance over which time has no power, and stands
> in antithetic contrast to any matter found in nature…Here we have
> touched a problem unsolved by Marx, that the material character
> of money: not of the empirical, material stuff money is made of,
> but of the sublime material, of that other 'indestructible and
> immutable' body which persists beyond the corruption of the body
> physical…gives us a precise definition of the sublime object
> (Žižek 1989, 18).

The intersection of capital as 'Real' and the 'Real' of the emergence
of subjectivity stems from the desiring body of a non-rationalist
analysis, one that recognizes the ways in which capitalism is a
'nightmare' in both the lived and allegorical experiences of life. To
come to terms with the sensuousness of the commodity is to recognize
how our desires determine our selves, and the role of the non-rational
and unconscious in our political and economic lives.

Importantly then for the study of protest is an examination of
the desiring body which pushes us towards choices and actions that are
more complicated than decision-making or preferences. The performance
of politics at the protest site signals the importance of the body and

the immediacy of the experience. There is a certain performative risk
that stems from the personal immediacy of the event, and a politics
beyond volition. If, as Žižek argues, we are all effectively
capitalists in our practices, the protest site holds a privileged place
so long as it represents a direct challenge to the abstract efforts to
expand market practices. In other words, attendance at the protest site
risks the status of its participants as capitalist subjects; as the
norms, values, systems of meaning, control order and knowledge are
suspended in their incommensurable demand (an end to capitalism!). The
performativity of protest extends from the refusal to place the body
within the domain of power, and the threat of the assembled to form an
alternative basis for the sovereign decision and social control. Part
of the power of the site of protest is its ability to suspend the
injunctions of the present systems of order and control through the
'impossible' demand of a non-capitalist future. The power of the
protest site comes not from individual rational actors expressing their
desires in intelligible ways but rather from the potentiality of the
innumerable crowd and the resistance to a clear representational voice
of the assembled. The potential of the protest site mimics what Canetti
outlined as the powerful and seductive elements of the crowd - in those
moments where the subject is transformed into another form of social
being:

> Most of them do not know what has happened and, if questioned,
> have no answer; but they hurry to be there where most other
> people are. There is a determination in their movement which is
> quite different from the expression of ordinary curiosity. It
> seems as though the movement of some of them transmits itself to
> the others. But that is not all; they have a goal which is there
> before they can find words for it. The goal is the blackest spot
> where most people are gathered (Canetti 1978, 16).

The movement and actions of the crowd creates moments for suspension of
the expectations and interpellations of subjectivity. When a group of
protestors rush a police line, or the suffocating closeness of a wall
of people pushing towards an unclear goal takes over the body, the
recognizable moments of what could be understood as political choice
collapse under the weight of the corporeal. Part of the power of the
protest stems precisely from this acceptance of a form of abandoning
your subjectivity, accepting the way that a politics overtakes your
sense of self and momentarily pushes 'you' aside. Placing your body in
the path of an incoming police brigade, or linking yourself into a
human chain puts your body in the place of politics. In those moments
of suspension and possibility the revolutionary potential of protest
becomes intoxicatingly evident - in the moments afterwards, the
crushing implications of those actions through the reassertion of

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normalcy and 'reality' reappear. In particular, the direct confrontation of oppression of the state tends to reassemble resistance in its image, which obliterates difference in the replacement of one sovereign voice with another.

The protest site is a privileged location of anti-capitalist efforts because it is one of the few places where effective belief in capital is undermined through the radically inclusive practices of resistance. As a place that directly addresses the central role of effective belief in capitalism, as well as foregrounds the central importance of social struggle in the constitution of capital, a political economy of protest is the source of alternatives and resistance to capital. The bodily and sensuousness of the site of protest utilizes social injunctions (first and foremost - 'to enjoy!') against those very systems of control and pleasure. The protest site holds the possibility of radical change, both subjective and systemic in the partisan claim of truth that emerges through social struggle. Thus, dismissing anti-capitalism as naïve and ineffectual on the basis of an outside observer is an obvious and ideological effort to supplant the claims of the protest site with the partisan 'objectivity' of capitalism. Moreover, the inability to immediately bring about anti-capitalist change is not unknown to the participant of protest, and yet their recognition of the importance of struggle sustains their participation and hope, even in the face of impossible odds. In Žižek's terms, capital as 'Real' will always produce a range of resistances and oppositions to the 'objective' truth of a situation as all claims represent a specific and contingent site of articulation (the universality of any claim is always contaminated by the contingent articulation of the claim- See Daly 2004, 13) . As I will explore in chapter 4, the ethics of anti-capitalism risks our very status as capitalist subjects, and acknowledges that resistance emerges from both from within and without.

To the extent to which protest typifies the antagonism at the core of capitalism itself, it cannot be properly or completely represented in the existing forms of sociality, normalcy and politics. Efforts to develop a complete or hierarchical account of the forms of protest taking place across the world, or even to make definitive representational claims about any specific protest site encounters the limit of intelligibility, rationality and representation. The politics of the protest site is as Glyn Daly argues, under constant erasure:

> Every system is marked by an originary discursive violence, an arbitrary 'line in the sand', that seeks to establish a certain territorial coherence vis-à-vis radical undecidability. Through processes of routinization and sedimentation, systems typically

attempt to finesse their artificiality by concealing the political nature of their origins behind a particular idealism. In search of authenticity, the violence of a system tends to be disavowed through reference to an external and tautological principle - destiny, divinity, dynasty ('the way it is/always has been') - and, more especially, through the invocation of certain mysterious laws of history, nature, the market, God and so forth (Daly 2004, 13).

Thus, as we saw in chapter one, efforts to envelop the protest site with the reason of sociality, or the logic of volition, choice and decision making inevitably forecloses an important part of the antagonistic element of social contestation (from this perspective even the term 'social contestation' is an oxymoron). Moreover, the violence inherent to the site of protest in the efforts of erasure (through routine and sedimentation) is met with an equally irrational and liblidinal excess that resists such foreclosure, an indispensible and irreducible political negativity. The necessity of belief is sustained through the magic of exposition and the necessary 'objectivity' of capitalist claims, claims that persistently encounter the peripheral and unyielding refusal of imposed coherence.

There are two performances of contemporary anti-capitalism that become the primary focus of my research. The first is protest through traditional mobilization in the streets, as I explored in the Korean anti-FTA movements, Marxist efforts in Toronto, and migrant worker mobilization in both places. The second explores the forms of social and cultural resistance that exist alongside these protests and adopt both cultural and non-centralized forms of action that challenge the centrality of capitalist beliefs in our subjective practices. Both efforts assert non-commodified logics and practices in the space of capitalist society. The ethnographic work of the next chapters is not an effort to come to terms with the secrets of political protesters, to expose their inner workings and their hidden practices. Exposing the cultural core of what makes these groups work is no more productive than attempting to expose dominant capitalists and their hierarchies of power. Insight comes from the alternative practices constantly underway that undermine the claims to neutrality that are used to exclude the voices and actions of peripheral groups.

Chapter 3: Protesting the Other: Levinas, Lacan and Subjectivity

This chapter explores the intersection of ethics, International Relations and subjectivity that emerged from my experiences of protest throughout my research. As a central consideration of my efforts, I examine how personal political participation fits in the frame of the 'international' and the questions of ethics that emerge from the contingent sites of protest. Following from previous chapters, I continue to question the individuated and volition-based understanding of political participation that defines contemporary liberal subjectivity by supplanting the rationality pervasive in existing approaches with the notion of ethics proposed by Lacan and Levinas. The questions of this chapter concern the potential of the protest site to remake our personal and political worlds, stemming from the actions that exceed our choices. Drawing on two specific cases in Toronto, I relate this idea of protesting 'in spite of one's self' to the questions of Otherness in both Levinas and Lacan's ethics, and the importance of maintaining a fidelity to the commitments and purposes of the protest site. This requires attention to the inescapable personal choices that emerge from our subjective places in the world, an emphasis that was lost in David Campbell's efforts to introduce Levinasian ethics to International Relations (Campbell 1999). Consequently, while Levinas asserts the inescapability of personal ethical choices, it is Lacan that provides insight into the formation of the person that is faced with those choices. Lacanian psychoanalysis is utilized here to come to terms with the ways in which our choices are not our own, and how our sense of self is defined by the world around us. In International Relations this has been a primary concern of constructivist approaches, but they have depoliticized the ways in which choice, freedom and self are delimited by the world around us. Given the pervasiveness of hegemony in our day to day lives, a Lacanian ethics focused on the site of protest holds out the possibility of restructuring both self and Otherness in the political act, one that is inherently anti-social and opposed to the supposed normalcy of the sovereign nation state.[4]

Protesting the Other?

On the last Saturday of February 2006, I attended a hastily organized protest by the Toronto chapter of the Canada Haiti Action Committee. As

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[4] The decision to capitalize 'Other' throughout this work stems from Lacan's emphasis on the 'big Other' (name-the-father) as the symbolic center of linguistic meaning. While Levinas uses the 'other' in the non-capitalized form, the use of the capitalized Other throughout this chapter reinforces the link to subjectivity I am making below.

a way to add my support for the scorn of Canada's explicit involvement in Haitian politics over the last few years, I attended the protest arranged by this small group at a main intersection in Toronto's shopping district. After a few speeches by a Canadian activist who had just returned from observing recent elections in Haiti and a former member of the Haitian government who was in the middle of a cross-Canada tour, the group was led on an unscheduled march to the United States consulate on University Avenue. There, our group joined a Muslim Unity protest already underway. This protest was triggered by the bombing of the al-Askariya Mosque in Iraq and the belief that American intervention in Iraq was an effort to divide Muslims by turning Sunnis and Shiites against one another. Within several minutes of arriving the Toronto Haiti Action Committee was dispersed throughout the crowd, a result of the police cordon designed to prevent the protest from blocking traffic. This made it impossible for the Haiti Action Committee to proceed as a coherent group. As I listened to speeches about the North American involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq, an older man who was scurrying to round up some young children thrust a sign at me told me to "hold this." I did not see him again for the rest of the protest, but for its remainder I carried two placards, one stating "Canada out of Haiti Now!" and the other, "We will not be divided, Muslims United."

The issue of Muslim unity as the message of the rally I attended raises important issues about the role of tolerance in contemporary liberal democracy. In part, the message of the speakers and of the participants at the protest was a rejection of the efforts in Iraq to 'ethnicize' its two largest political groups, the Sunnis and Shiites. The attempts to promote liberal democracy in Iraq are not aimed at developing the 'Muslim Unity' that the protest was calling for; instead, these efforts seek to establish two 'political' groups who will mutually respect one another. This understanding of liberal democracy seeks a predictable and stable political system where distinct historical, religious and political groups understand and respect the others' equality and ensure that 'politics' is confined to representation in the political apparatus. In part this belief stems from the liberal belief in the respect for the Other - the idea that political discussion and debate can only take place with a form of recognition and a forum of representation that respects the Other's differences.[5] Importantly then is the idea that the Other forms the

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[5] The array of literature on respect and liberalism extends across disciplines, theorists and could be seen as constituting what Žižek has called the 'ideological coordinates' of contemporary capitalism (Žižek 2001b). Some examples of this work that has import in Political Science include: Kymlicka 1989, Honneth 1995, Narveson 2002.

basis for a type of justice that stems from the equality of each groups ability to politically participate - a participation that is used as the justification for defense, support and imposition of democratic practices in places where it is threatened. The Other becomes a way of understanding the foundation of respect upon which political participation should be based and the justification for support, separation and defense of 'ethnic' groups.

In the case of the protest above, we could apply a predictable range of political analyses that stem from the import of the 'Other' into Political Science and International Relations. The first is the common deployment of the Muslim world as an Other to the 'Western world', a characterization encouraged by the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.[6] If I adopted this framework, the protest I attended could be seen as a product of the ongoing civilizational clashes between opposing forms of social organization. The calls by members of the protest for 'Muslim unity' reflect their interest in a different form of social, cultural and political organization. Another common form of deployment of Otherness in political analyses is a post-structural-inspired approach, where Otherness is reflected in the performative categories I used to describe my participation. This would explain how I 'Othered' the Muslim unity protesters by creating a distance between them and myself through my primary identification with the Haiti Action Committee, and again in my re-telling of the events of the protest above (the handing of the sign). Finally, a third form of political analyses would be a cultural/identity based on an effort to the diversity of perspectives and opinions at the protest, how I was myself 'Othered' in relation to the group with which I marched, both because I am a white, Canadian male, and because of the likely perception that my participation was the result of non-religious student activism common to university students. Each of these political analyses could be adopted using contemporary political understandings of Otherness and participation, and each could provide a normative account of the impact of the protest. However, the ease in which each of these analyses can be performed within existing political frames does not explain why 'the Other' is anything but a contemporary justification for liberal political participation.[7] While often

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[6] In International Relations this is Huntington's (1996) famous 'Clash of Civilizations' thesis, more recently critically addressed and incorporated by authors such as Cox (2004).

[7] In this instance the civilizational, the political and the cultural analyses produce accounts of Otherness that do nothing to challenge our political understanding of the situation. In Žižekian terms they are thoroughly 'ideological' because they do nothing to disrupt the fantasy of the well-functioning political space upon which politics takes

appropriated for these purposes, Emmanuel Levinas' emphasis on
Otherness is instead an effort to develop an ethics that can be
deployed to help explain the inescapable personal ethics of Otherness
in a way that resists its deployment as a justification of liberal
political participation.

In Levinas' work the status of the Other is an issue of ethics
because it exposes the way we relate to *radical* difference, and the
limitation this places on our claims to understand and represent this
Otherness. The Other is the basis of an ethical relationship that
cannot be reduced to only those predictable political characterizations
I outlined above. For Levinas it is critical that we do not reduce
Otherness to a form of 'understanding' on our terms, reflecting the
idea that we are unable to comprehend the difference (what he
characterized as the alterity) of Otherness through knowledge
(Critchley 2002, 6,8). Levinasian ethics is a rejection of the
totalizing efforts of Western ontology to collapse radical Otherness
into another form of 'Being'. Levinas argues that an ethical
relationship stems from our face-to-face encounter with the Other, and
is an ethics that cannot be abandoned or avoided by political
justification or rationalization (Levinas 1987, 111). This is important
because it restricts the possibility of turning an Other into a means
to justify an ends, producing a politics that emerges when people are
considered expendable for the purposes of a philosophy or ideology. The
history of western political thought is rife with this obsession with
universality, and the ability to ground political claims that speak
across subjective differences.

Levinas in International Relations

In International Relations, David Campbell has prominently tried
to introduce Levinasian ethics into a disciplinary study of global
politics. In particular, Campbell adopts Levinas' insights and
challenges what he sees as Levinas' tendency to turn his ethics into
political positions based on the territorial logic of the inter-state
system. Instead, Campbell argues that through deconstruction Levinas
can provide the foundation for 'deterritorialized ethics' in
International Relations. In particular, Campbell emphasizes that the
ethical responsibility that emerges from the encounter with the Other,
is a responsibility that extends beyond the individual's ability to
fully recognize this responsibility (Campbell 1999, 33). This
'decentering of the subject' challenges the liberal reliance on the
individual as the center for ethics because the necessity of 'conscious

place. See also the discussion of Campbell below. (See Žižek 2006,
p.121, Žižek 1999, p.265, Žižek 2001, p.240-244).

recognition' for ethical action under liberalism would again produce
the problem that is the emphasis of Levinas' work - ethics would become
secondary and susceptible to political machinations (ibid., 34).
Levinas' emphasis on the radical alterity of Otherness is designed to
resist any effort to displace ethics as the principle responsibility of
all subjective actions. Thus, choice cannot be the standard of ethical
responsibility or else Otherness would constantly be reduced to
political calculation. As Campbell explains:

> …ethics can be understood as something not ancillary to the
> existence of a subject; instead, ethics can be appreciated
> for its indispensability to the very being of the subject.
> This argument leads us to the recognition that "we" are
> always ethically situated, so making judgments about
> conduct depends less on what sort of rules are invoked as
> regulations and more on how the interdependencies with
> others are appreciated" (ibid., 35).

Our responsibility to the Other impedes the notion of 'autonomous
freedom' and renders ethics an inescapable part of our lived day-to-day
experiences. Without this, duty, rules, morals and law can be used to
further of the destruction of Others. In this, his experiences of Nazi
Germany and the perception that Western philosophy is implicated in the
Holocaust are the inspiration for much of Levinas' work. From this
perspective there is an inescapable ethical responsibility that becomes
the central way that we should come to our politics, without which we
risk the possibility of repeating the horrors of the past.

The Problem of the Political

However, Campbell takes issue with the way that Levinas'
manifests his ethics in political form. In particular, Campbell, like
many others, criticizes Levinas for how his ethics of the face-to-face
relationship become distorted when more than one Other relates to the
subject.[8] This third party complicates the ethical relationship by
making an 'Other to the Other' adding an extra face to the 'face-to-
face' relationship forcing us to treat one as 'a Third'. Campbell
focuses on two issues that stem from the introduction of this 'Third'
that are particularly relevant to International Relations: the
emergence of justice and the importance of proximity.

Justice emerges for Levinas because the Third complicates the
ethical relationship; it politicizes ethics by introducing a range of

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[8] For a few of these criticisms see Žižek (2005), Badiou (2001, 2003),
Caygill (2002).

situations whereby ones responsibility to the Other needs to be decided (i.e. to which Other am I most responsible?). This decision requires justice, and in response to this need for justice, the need for society (a place where decisions are made) and the state (an enforcer of decisions) emerge (ibid., 38). The questions of justice require actions and decisions which impede and complicate the infinite ethical responsibility Levinas seeks to retain. Moreover, proximity becomes an important part of determining the status of the Others, as the closeness to Others implies levels of ethical responsibility. As Campbell explains, proximity is not a spatial, temporal or physical distance from the Other, but a kind of closeness of responsibility that can emerge from culture, from feeling, or from a claim made in a call for justice (Campbell 1999, 37). As someone participating in protests across a range of venues and issues, proximity can function as a powerful sense of responsibility. Just as I felt obligated to carry the sign at the protest site, so too does a call for justice reverberate through those who hear it. Proximity and justice are inescapable components of the site of protest, concepts that help explain the role that actions play in the formulation of belief and responsibility.

The subjective experiences of the day-to-day interactions between people is the origin of the call for justice (someone wrongs an Other). It is in these subjective calls for justice where Campbell finds Levinas' ethical responsibility compromised. Campbell focuses on a radio interview Levinas (an ardent Zionist) gave in 1982 where he passed judgment on a series of events, implying that in the ongoing conflict between Israelis, Lebanese, and Palestinians it was possible to decide that "there are people who are wrong" (Levinas as cited in Campbell 1999, 39; also Malloy 1999, 232). For Campbell this determination of 'wrong' exposes a territorial limit on Levinas' call for justice, whereby the sovereignty of the nation-state impedes the infinite character of the ethical responsibility to the Other. If, as Campbell does, we take Levinas' declaration to mean that sovereignty can be used as a marker of guilt (there are people who are wrong), then the supposedly infinite ethical responsibility of Otherness can be compromised by statehood. If the introduction of the 'Third' places limits on ethical responsibility, then we risk returning to a politics of using the Other as an end. At a bare minimum, Campbell argues, Levinas' approach needs the supplement of a theory that is more capable of retaining an openness towards Otherness in our contemporary territorial inter-state system (ibid., 41).

Campbell's response to the shortcomings of Levinasian ethics is to supplement his efforts with Derridian deconstruction. Campbell argues the lingering residue of territorial sovereignty requires the introduction of 'undecidability' to the center of the political

decision. This 'undecidability' represents an effort to make the moment of political decision unconstrained by the intrusion of sovereignty or of the political situation. As Campbell explains, it is through deconstruction that justice can be realized, by exposing every political situation to deconstructive critique and limiting the possibilities for reducing Otherness to political ends. Campbell argues that it is important to recognize how 'undecidability' becomes the condition of every decision that requires a calculation, thus we should focus on this contingent and specific context in examining each individual decision. In this way, Campbell avoids the dangers of establishing a utopian ethics, or even an ethics constrained by the existing political sensibilities, and instead proposes one that emerges from the ethics of deconstruction: the constant critique of efforts to establish a determinate, and therefore dangerous, politics. Campbell calls justice the "undeconstructable" consequence of the ongoing practices of deconstruction in each political situation, practices that gain an ethical stance from the specific, contingent and historical places from which they emerge (ibid., 50).

Thus to return to the protest I attended, deconstruction could show the importance of the convergence of the varied signs, iconography, histories of the practices of protest. It could explore the construction of Islam in the claims of Muslim unity, deconstruct the masculinities of the young Muslim who led the chants, address the marginalization of the Haiti group in deference to anti-American claims, or even challenge my alienated participation and efforts to extract academic research from political activities. Primarily though, deconstructive efforts would critique and challenge efforts to reduce the protest to a specific totalizing viewpoint or perspective.

Levinas and the International

Campbell's adoption of the practices of deconstruction leaves behind many of Levinas' insights by advocating a Derridian deconstruction as the impetus of justice. Campbell's point of departure from Levinas - the issue of lingering sovereignty - represents an omission of Levinas' extensive political writing on exactly this issue. Moreover, Levinas' Talmudic writings provide the foundation for a link between his work and the contingent and contested sites of protest that are the focus here. Therefore, while Campbell exposes the lingering sovereignty in Levinas' work in order promote a deconstructive ethics tied to a contingent political space, I argue that Levinas continually emphasizes his politics from just such a space. In particular, Levinas' analyses of Israel and his Talmudic writings speak to the way that sovereignty is not developed in terms of the traditional sovereign state but rather in political terms that demonstrate Levinas' thinking

beyond territorial sovereignty. By focusing on Levinas' *Cities of Refuge* we can begin to see how his ethics can inform alternative understandings of the importance of the international, and the radically different political meanings that emerge from that space. This work is of particular importance to the argument about Campbell being made here, because it is the work with which Derrida deals extensively in his discussions of law and justice (see Derrida 1992).

Levinas' efforts to think about the political in terms of ethical responsibility in contingent political moments produces a politics to which many of his advocates object - Zionism. In comparison, the deconstructive efforts of Campbell are constrained by the continual emphasis on 'undecidability' in such a way that politicization is constantly deferred. In other words, Levinas develops his ethical insights through practical analyses, whereas Campbell's deconstructive efforts are arrested in a pre-political ethics that abdicates political choices.

In Levinas' essay *Cities of Refuge*, he explores sections of the Talmud that assess the distinction between the heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem. His reading of the Talmudic passage: "I will not enter the heavenly Jerusalem until I can enter the earthly Jerusalem", leads him to explain that there are three alternative possibilities for the meaning of this passage (Levinas 1994, 37). The first is that it is possible that there is no spiritual plenitude for Israel without return to the earthly Jerusalem (the importance of the existence of the state of Israel). The second is that Jerusalem is an exceptional, unique city twinned with a heavenly one. His third explanation is that it is impossible for religious salvation without justice in the earthly city (ibid., 37-38). In his analysis, justice becomes intertwined with the interpretations and practices of a "real city, where men dwell, and where they are faced with concrete questions relating to relations with their neighbours, with other men" (ibid., 38). Justice becomes a concept that is determined within the practices of a community, and develops out of the lived experiences of community members. As is an ongoing assertion throughout my work, communities often form across between and within nation states, and it is an oversimplification to treat the nation-state as the arbiter of political action. Indeed, the power of the concept of international relations rests in the ability to disrupt the idea of the political space of the nation state as a coherent and cohesive political space, one that is shot through with connections, links and practices that are not defined in state terms.

Moreover, in *Cities of Refuge* we see how guilt and innocence are tied to inclusion in the community, both here and beyond, and Otherness is important in the concept of justice, and the ability to dictate the

future of the community. Levinas explores how the possibility of
justice emerged in the past through the ideas of cities of refuge, or
places where guilt and innocence were not clearly divided. The city of
refuge was necessary as a biblical institution for cases where
manslaughter had taken place with no intent on the part of the
manslayer (i.e. the axe head flew off an axe and killed someone), but
the family of the deceased had the right to carry out vengeance (ibid.,
39). Thus, the manslayer had the possibility of taking refuge in or
being exiled to these cities of refuge, where protection was provided
for such people. The status of the person in the city of refuge was
neither one of guilt nor innocence; as Levinas explains: "In the city
of refuge… there is the protection of the innocent which is also a
punishment for the objectively guilty party. Both at the same time."
(ibid.). The status of justice is complicated by the unintentional
deaths of people whose passing understandably results in a desire for
vengeance by their relatives. Justice was furthered by the ambiguous
status of these cities, places where protection was available to those
in need. It is in this compromised status of justice that Levinas finds
similarities with the contemporary society:

> In Western society - free and civilized, but without social
> equality and a rigorous social justice - is it absurd to
> wonder whether the advantages available to the rich in
> relation to the poor…whether these advantages, one thing
> leading to another, are not the cause, somewhere, of
> someone's agony? Are there not, somewhere in the world,
> wars and carnage that result from these advantages? (ibid.,
> 40).

Here, the question of justice takes on a dimension of an international
connection between Western privilege and its negative but unintended
consequences. Unlike Campbell's analysis, in Levinas work here the
introduction of the Third, while bringing claims of justice, also
introduces widespread and systematic guilt to the international system.
Campbell's objection to the claim that 'there are some people who are
wrong' should be seen in relation to the communities of interaction
rather than to the states which provide the laws for justice. Here, the
centering of justice focuses on the importance of the city, and Levinas
wonders whether or not liberal, Western states can ever restore the
balance of justice within this context (ibid.). Moreover, the ability
to argue for justice beyond the bounds of the nation state is precisely
what animates so much of the protest that constitutes my research, as
the local community actions often directly challenge the
representational legitimacy of the nation state on issues from anti-
capitalism to Muslim unity. The notion of justice that emerges from

Levinas' analysis is one that indicts the international system as one
of established power that may be inherently and irrevocably unjust.

Thus, Campbell's emphasis on the lingering sovereignty of
Levinas' work takes the issue of contingent Israeli politics and
abstracts it to the standard of all sovereign states. While Levinas
does spend considerable time discussing the abstract importance of the
state and its importance in determining justice, the discussion of
international politics in his work usually emerges through specific
example. The particular issues of Israeli international politics and
Zionist issues of faith emerge from personal decisions and subjective
opinions for Levinas. He explains that the quasi-transcendental status
of Jerusalem has a particular role in developing a refuge on this earth
for those of Jewish faith. The emphasis on the importance of Jerusalem
is the role it plays in the practices of Judaism. As he argues, the
Torah is more than a particular religious tradition; it holds out the
possibility of an active refuge for those who study it:

> The assiduous study of the Torah will find its reward…But
> it can also be understood as we have been trying to do: the
> Torah is an act in the full sense of the term, its study is
> not some state of consciousness. There is no passivity in
> it, and the person who unites with it in study cannot
> receive death. In the world of violence which is our own,
> intellectual life is a mode of being such that it never
> puts itself in phase with the causality of the world. The
> violence of death has no hold over it (ibid., 46).

Unlike Campbell's deferral to 'undecidability', for Levinas the
'decision' and the 'act' emerge in the specific subjective practices of
studying the Torah. Like the protest site, these practices represent a
combination of subjectivity and action that is greater than any post-
hoc representation or efforts to deconstruct the decision. A
relationship to Otherness emerges from the practices of subjectivity,
rather than the refusal of engagement that 'undecidability' represents.
Campbell takes Levinas' ethical demand and evacuates it of its
specificity, reducing ethics once again to theoretical abstraction.
Levinas' Zionism forces the issues of sovereignty into a specific and
particular personal reading of issues close to Levinas' faith, through
a reading that merges his Talmudic scholarship with his analysis of the
contemporary international system.

Therefore, the issue of subjectivity becomes central to deciding
the status of Levinas' political analysis. As Critchley has contended,
the ethical relation for Levinas occurs at the level of sensibility,
rather than consciousness, because for Levinas the subject is one
embodied of flesh and blood for whom "ethics is lived in the

sensibility of an embodied exposure to the other" (Critchley, 21).
Levinas understands responsibility as stemming directly from our
subjective experiences or the idea that "ethics is entirely my affair,
not the affair of some hypothetical, impersonal or
universal…imperatives" (ibid., 22). This 'sensuality' of ethics
produces an important place for the subject as a site of
responsibility, even if subjectivity itself is bound up in the
complicated practices of justice and proximity. While Otherness
represents an infinite ethical responsibility, this responsibility is
necessarily 'placed' in specific historical and material circumstances.
Without this, responsibility once again risks becoming an abstract
imperative. Thus, Campbell's adoption of decentered subjectivity
produces a marginalization of the subject that necessarily focuses on
the 'undecidability' of the political choice. This then evacuates
Levinas' ethical responsibility of its context, and provides a
political imperative that divorces Levinas' ethics from his politics,
or his philosophy from his Judaism. Levinas' Zionism is important in
this analysis because it is integral to the link between Levinas as a
subject and the content of his philosophy. As Critchley and Perpich
have argued, it does not make sense to separate Levinas' issues of
faith from his philosophy because this was in part the purpose of his
work (Critchley, 2002; Perpich, 2008). Levinas' efforts to develop
Greek and Hebrew traditions together was intimately tied to his
background and experiences. Thus, it is not appropriate to argue for a
hierarchy or privileging of one over the other (Perpich 2008, 23).
Zionism represents a personal politicization of his ethical and
religious experiences, even to the point of the recurring implication
in his work that all humans are Jews (ibid.).

This universalization of a particular religious tradition is
particularly important in the context of protest, in the attempt to
develop a universal claim from a specific historical and personal
instance. Indeed, many protests stem from a particular claim (outrage
at the bombing of a specific mosque) that has crystallized into a cause
that allows people convergence and articulate much greater inclusive
demands (such as 'end imperialism now!')(Žižek 1999a, 224). It is the
inclusiveness of the claim that provides the foundation for Levinas'
critique of the unintended consequences of the Western international
system, where justice may be inescapably limited by the structure of
the system itself. This is important because it provides a glimpse at
the importance of Levinas' subjectivity in his work as stemming from
his experiences of war, holocaust and survival. The experiences of
international relations are embodied throughout his efforts and his
work. Subjectivity is important because it bears the political
manifestations of ethical responsibility.

Levinas' notion of ethics is important to establish a link
between the inescapable ethical responsibility of Otherness and the
manifestation of this responsibility in our engaged political
practices. In a march from one protest site to another, the intent,
purposes and representations of my actions are complicated and
interwoven with those around me, imposing claims for justice that I
cannot ignore. Levinas' work can help to foreground the tension between
political action and ethical responsibility that is inherent in
subjective practices in ways that cannot be divorced from the spaces of
their emergence. Indeed as the chapters that follow will explore, a
primary concern of my research is the link between my participation at
the protest site and the politics of my representational practices.
International Relations as a discipline has limited experience dealing
with the complicated practices of subjectivity, and has only begun to
develop accounts of such efforts. Questions of subjectivity in
International Relations have largely been adopted by the constructivist
efforts which explore the relationship between subjectivity and the
world through the concept of intersubjectivity. However, these efforts
remain embedded within liberal notions of individualism, action and
volition and have yet to explore the complex questions that rise from
the interrogation of the subjective practices of political
participation.

Constructivism and Subjectivity

The concept of intersubjectivity has gained increasing purchase
in the field of International Relations with the rise of the
constructivism and efforts to address the role of non-traditional
structures and agents in the international arena. This has primarily
emerged in the agent-structure debate as constructivists attempt to
address the problem that in the accounts of International Relations
"mainstream theorists and their critics leave *people* out" (Onuf 1998,
x). The primary concern of constructivist approaches is to understand
the capacity of agents to act in a world of structures that define and
constrain those actions; or the idea that "people make society, and
society makes people" (Onuf 1998a, 59). This dyad of agent-structure is
studied in terms of intersubjectivity, or the idea that people and
their social structures are "inseparable, simultaneous and co-
constituted" (Onuf 1998, xi). Claiming to be neither a theory nor an
ontology, constructivists attempt to build an analytics of social
relations that includes the processes of making and remaking of agents
and structures. Heavily influenced by Habermasian communicative action
theory, constructivism attempts to incorporate critical anti-
essentialist theories with objective and scientific approaches to
International Relations (Kowert 1998, 104; Prügl 1998, 129). Some
constructivists such as Adler (1997) see their efforts as a middle

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ground between positivist and post-positivist approaches, while other influential proponents such as Wendt (1999) argue that while we can understand the world as constructed, constructivists need to maintain the subject-object distinction of a scientific approach and assert the existence of 'external' world (See Wendt 1999, 39,56-58,112).

Largely forgetting similar debates of the past, and through the assumption that adopting an 'analytics' makes such issues secondary or subjective, constructivism is reserved in its political prescriptions.[9] As Jørgensen argues, "constructivism is empty as far as assumptions, propositions or hypothesis about international relations are concerned" (Jørgensen 2001, 42). This is a consequence of the efforts of constructivists to abstract their analyses in order to provide a topographic overview of the actors and structures involved in a given situation. Because constructivism has not "disturbed the standard operating procedures of a 'normal science'" many of the practices and methods used in the past in International Relations have been carried into these new efforts (ibid., 51). Indeed, one of the most influential constructivist works has been Wendt's article "Anarchy is what states make of it", exploring the social construction of statehood, rather than the role of the state in the construction of its agents (Wendt 1992). Subjectivity in constructivism provides agency to a host of social actors, by equating specific characteristics possessed by people to structural forces and ideas. Retaining an emphasis of the state, and incorporating a range of corporate and international bodies, the inclusion of people and a discussion of their subjectivity is limited. When people are included, they usually represent a very specific form of subjectivity, or as Friedman and Starr explain:

> the unit of analysis implied by this conceptualization of agency is the individual international political elite…theorizing from the individual international political elite's point of view allows the analyst to pull together in a logically coherent fashion the various layers of agent structure (Friedman 1997, 18).

By adopting politics as the object of study, constructivist approaches largely reproduce a very specific conception of International Relations and a range of implicit and explicit assumptions. Consequently the study of politics collapses into the traditional disciplinary

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[9] Despite efforts to see constructivism as something new, the nomenclature has had a very similar history and debates in philosophy, art and mathematics, such as the constructivist approaches of the 1920's and the Sokal affair of the 1980's surrounding issues of construction and ontology.

distinctions between 'explaining' versus 'understanding', or as Kratochwil describes it, the bind between 'ought' and 'is' (Kratochwil 2001, 22).

The Levinasian and Lacanian approaches explored here represent an effort to break out of what Butler has called a paradox of theories of social construction: if everything is constructed, how do they appear so real? (Butler 1993). In other words, if everything is socially constructed we should see much more variety, ambiguity and difference in the practices of our construction. Moreover, in the post-modern world where the recognition of the construction 'nature' of the world is becoming more ubiquitous, what are the political consequences of construction? Theories of social construction have done little to change the practices and issues of disciplinary International Relations, and even less to challenge the perception of ourselves and our day-to-day practices. Ethics for constructivism is taken as a given – by simply asserting that people are free because they have volition of consciousness or reasoning capabilities – constructivism is able to extensively study those structures which limit freedom without addressing the political consequences (see Zehfuss 2002, 138; Cochran 1999, 138-139; Adler and Haas 1992, 367). In this sense, constructivist approaches are largely 'post-political'; they seek to broaden the definition of politics as they increasingly justify the political status quo. Like the traditional analyses of state-centric International Relations, politics for many constructivists is something to be studied rather than experienced, even if those studies are then used in the practices of governance. Thus the analytics of constructivism could be understood as thoroughly liberal, an ideological practice of ensuring that commensurability and communicative ideas form the basis of political understanding. The alterity of radical Otherness is missing in the constructivist understanding of intersubjectivity, resulting in a constant deferral of the discussion of subjectivity in the assertion of a free will or relying on the expertise of cognitive psychology (Kowert 1998, 106). In order to recover the politics from the concept of intersubjectivity, Lacan is important for understanding the role of Truth and subjective action in International Relations. If Levinas provides us with a justification for why ethics is important, Lacan provides us with an understanding of how ethics is important to subjective political action.

Lacan and the Other

Levinas' emphasis on the Other was designed to explore the ethics of our responsibility to the Other, Lacan is concerned with how this connection manifests itself in the formation of the subject. In other

words, what characterizes the intersubjective space for the subject? How do they come 'to be' in the world through their relationship with the Other? In many ways the questions that motivate Levinas' thought are developed - albeit in very different ways - by Lacan. More to the point, Hasarym has written a book on the oddity that is the 'missed encounter' between the two, because of the many overlapping themes in their work (Hasarym 1999). Like Levinas, intersubjectivity is the primary way that the relationship between the subject and the Other is characterized by Lacan. However, the determination of desire becomes the key for Lacan's understanding of Truth.

The intersubjectivity inherent to the relationship between the subject and the Other requires a markedly different form of engagement for Lacan's psychoanalysis. Where Levinas drew upon his personal experiences to reconcile Greek philosophy with Hebrew traditions, Lacan's work develops out of the constant intersubjective interaction between analyst and analysand. The psychoanalytic technique of constant interaction between analyst and analysand bears little resemblance to the social scientific method adopted in Political Science and International Relations. Lacan asserts the importance of the rationality of 'symbolic identification' - the emergence of the subject into the world of language - and does not eschew science, but rather develops an account of the 'external world' from the alienated position of the subject (Lacan 2000, 73). As Lacan explains, "only a subject can understand meaning; conversely, every meaning phenomenon implies a subject" (ibid., 83). This conception of science is in part the difference between psychoanalysis and psychology. Where psychology focuses on understanding the functions of the brain, psychoanalysis seeks to develop an understanding of the mind - or the content of the brain that defines subjectivity. Indeed, the emergence of psychoanalysis was in part due to the creation of Freud's 'talking cure' - the meaningful world has the ability to produce physiological consequences for the patient.

Lacan proposes that the subject is therefore split between two worlds: the first being the 'objective' world where meaning is defined for the subject and has unconscious sway over the subject's actions; and the second where meaning is shaped by desire that distorts the subject's experience of the world. While psychoanalysis developed, and continues to provide, treatment to patients with various forms of psychoanalytic issues, it also speaks to the wider issues of subjectivity and the impact of our action on the 'objective' world. Within this approach, we have an emphasis on the particular experiences of specific subjects that allows us to develop some formalization of these experiences into claims about the subject's relationship to desire. As Lacan argued, this reflects the need to "continually relate

anew theory to experience", and to develop a materialized understanding of the subject and desire (ibid., 108). Psychoanalysis recognizes the importance of the lived day-to-day practices and experiences of the constant unmaking and remaking of subjectivity. In this way, parables about cities of refuge, stories that emerge at sites of protest, allegories of anti-capitalism and other non-traditional experiences of international relations are an important way of thinking through the changing significance of subjectivity. As Lacan's work is increasingly assimilated into the social sciences, we can begin to see the relevance of the 'split subject' for developing complex understandings of the interplay between the Other and both emergent and constituted subjectivities.[10]

Psychoanalysis thus requires an engagement with subjectivity here that challenges the autonomous practices common in the social-scientific research of International Relations. Within the psychoanalytic framework, participation by the analyst is an important part of the process of analysis. Importantly, then, in the context of my participation in the Muslim Unity protest, my subjectivity as a researcher is bound by its indistinguishable character from that of the crowd. From the perspective of the police, or the many passengers of cars that drove past, or even from protestors who arrived late, my participation was indistinguishable from those around me. Subsequently, every decision to stay and participate in the chants of the crowd furthered this identification with the political subjectivity of those around me, and this was undoubtedly encouraged by the sign given to me by the elderly man. The transference of political subjectivity emerged from the structure of the protest event, and was perpetuated by my ongoing practices. In psychoanalysis, transference is defined by the speech that binds the subject-to-subject relationship and becomes the basis of psychoanalytic insight (ibid., 177). For Lacan, transference is a product of the constant misrecognition involved in any practice that relies solely on speech, and is an explicit rejection of efforts to develop an objective or ontological pre-defined understanding of the analytic relationship. Lacan's understanding of the analytic relationship resists a formalization of political ontology precisely because it emerges from a contingent space of subjective Truth. Even

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[10] In addition to Žižek's prolific production of work on Lacan since 1989, increasingly authors such as Zupančič, 2000, and Copjec, 1994, have been publishing volumes and edited collections on Lacan. Bruce Fink has been retranslating an extensive amount of Lacan's work into English (i.e. Lacan 2006). Many of the Lacanian inspired works in cultural studies have increasingly engaged with topics traditionally disciplinarily understood as the purview of Political Science. See for example McGowan, 2002 and Stavrakakis, 2007.

the impetus for the psychoanalytic session - the symptom- is a product of the constant reproduction of subjectivity through speech. This is the important distinction between a medical symptom and the psychoanalytic symptom; in psychoanalysis the symptom is a kind of displacement that results from the Truth of the subject's desire disrupting assimilation within their linguistic and symbolic world (ibid., 195). The purpose of the psychoanalytic process is not to explain or to cure the symptom, its purpose is to help the subject come to terms with the Truth of their desire through reshaping their conscious and unconscious relationship to this Truth.

Psychoanalysis is important for thinking about social scientific research because transference inevitably redefines and reshapes the very purpose of the research. Thus, my participation in a protest that was motivated by one international political purpose (Canada's involvement in Haiti) quickly placed me in a political subjectivity that was directed at a different political end (international Muslim unity). Moreover, this participation produced a range of personal consequences (its inclusion here) and redirected my research focus in unforeseen ways. This parallels Lacan's insight that the analyst and analysand traverse the intersubjective relationship bound by their equal desire to expose the Truth of the subject. Lacanian ethics emerges from this intersubjective space, and the commitment to the discoveries that emerge from the subject's relationship to Truth drives their ongoing interaction (ibid., 254). By no means does this mean that all analytic relationships end successfully, or even that they develop beyond the impasses of transference and move towards the Truth of the subject. Instead, it is the shared interest in an ethical relationship for both subjects (analyst and analysand) that motivates their participation in the analytic process.

Lacan and the political

Lacanian psychoanalysis is in part determined by ongoing societal practices, as the Truth of the subject is also part of the processes of social development and control. Indeed the Other in Lacanian psychoanalysis - in its form as an injunction (the superego) - represents the very bond through which 'social order' emerges. If the Other is somewhat externalized in the Levinasian face-to-face ethical relationship, in Lacan it is the internalization of the Other that makes it a powerful influence. The distinction between the externalized and internalized Other is perhaps best exposed in the differences between Levinas and Lacan surrounding the injunction against killing. Levinas sees the injunction against killing as the primary ethical injunction, the unbreakable law that forms the very basis of ethics because Otherness precedes subjectivity (Levinas 1969, 199). This is

not to argue that people are not murdered. Rather, it explains how the face-to-face relationship with the Other forms an ethical responsibility that cannot be broken by any specific instance of its transgression. For Levinas 'thou shall not kill' is an infinite debt to Otherness that cannot be vacated by any political or ontological claim. Levinasian ethics is powerful because it creates a claim for ethical responsibility that is infinite, that while it is inevitably ignored, dismissed and refused (Levinas' work was a consequence of the holocaust) but nonetheless remains integral to the very conception of subjectivity and self.

This can be contrasted with Žižek's claim that a Lacanian understanding of the Other's injunction appears as 'thou shall not, kill', where the Other manifests itself as the command of 'thou shall not' while at the same time encouraging the perverse pleasure of 'kill, kill' (Žižek 2003, 104). The internalized form of the Other (in the form of the Freudian superego) represents a primary social guilt, a command internalized by every subject which creates the law itself, and its related social institutions and practices. In other words social order is sustained in the rules and practices of laws, internalized as the guilt that prohibits anti-social behavior (ibid., 103). Thus the superego is a twofold internalization of the Other, as social injunction as well as the perverse pleasure the subject can receive from the violation of these injunctions. The Other for Lacan is never either internal or external to the subject, it is a relationship that develops from a subjective position. It is this distinction of the role of the Other that marks a divide between Levinasian and Lacanian approaches and that manifests different political insights.

From the Lacanian perspective the obscene supplement (the perverse pleasure of transgression) is significant for the political because its existence sustains the semblance of law, sociality and order. The Other is internalized in a complicated interplay between adhering to social injunctions and simultaneously receiving perverse pleasure in the skirting and violating of those injunctions. Social order is maintained by the transgressions and excesses that are inherent to sustaining order. The sovereign's ability to declare the state of exception in order to defend law is a central component of sovereignty. This is a necessarily *irrational* violence that stands as the structural foundation of the state's authority and introduces a deeply political and contested core to the center of the international system. [11] If the neutrality and rationality of sovereign power is exposed as simply that of another actor clamoring for domination and

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[11] Because rational violence can only be justified through established sovereignty, see the discussion in Chapter 1.

control of others, the state as arbiter of the political spectrum is undermined as perverse and pleasure seeking. When the politicization of this obscene supplement emerges, it undermines the neutrality of law (in places like the detention centres at Guantanamo Bay), exposing the limitless power of sovereignty in its ability to declare the 'state of exception': the time and place when law itself can be suspended. When this occurs the obscene supplement that underpins the neutrality of sovereignty is exposed, thus forcing a recognition of the core of incommensurability and contestation at the center of the system (Žižek 2006a, 337). As Žižek explains:

> sovereignty always…involves the logic of the universal and its constitutive exception: the universal and unconditional rule of Law can be sustained only by a sovereign power which reserves for itself the right to proclaim a state of exception, that is, to suspend the rule of law(s) on behalf of the Law itself - if we deprive the Law of the excess that sustains it, we lose the (rule of) Law itself (ibid., 373).

This distinction emerges because the irrational violence that stands at the center of sovereignty is a *necessarily* contested space, one where the fight over the ability to declare on the 'state of exception' - the right to be the sovereign - emerges. The practice of naming 'legitimate' violence marks the originary gap between those who declare legality and those who contest this claim. This is in part why there are so many debates over the tactics of protest especially on issues of violence and non-violence, because this represents a struggle to understand and remake the boundaries and practices of sovereignty.[12]

Protesting the Obscene

These distinctions of the violence of sovereignty were exposed in a series of events in Toronto, initiated when officials from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (accompanied by police) entered schools in the Dufferin and Bloor area and threatened children

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[12] In a particularly interesting and well publicized example of these declarations Protestor Jaggi Singh had an extensive legal battle in Canadian courts about his role in the use of a catapult that shot teddy bears over the fence erected for the 2001 Free Trade Association of the Americas meeting in Quebec city. The teddy bears were characterized as a dangerous weapon, and Singh spent 17 days in jail, even though he had no affiliation or relationship to the catapult or its use. The symbolic jailing of a so-called leader of the anti-globalization movement was a clear expression of the asserted monopoly of violence of the state (see "No hugs", 2001; "Quebec", 2003; Dougherty 2001; Klein 2001)

with their removal if their parents did not show up immediately for
deportation (Teotonio, 2006). This was accompanied by local rumors that
a CIC official also began spontaneous checks of people's immigration
status in various locations in the same neighborhood. While the CIC
later disavowed the officer's actions, the event outraged members of
the local community and led to a series of weekend protests (Delacourt,
2006). The protests became emblematic of the convergence between the
sovereign power of a modern nation-state and the politicization that
occurred in defense of a non-citizen, someone who has no political
'voice' in a liberal-democratic state. The protests took place over
several weekends in June, involved several hundred people from the
surrounding area. In an interesting convergence for this research, the
protest took place across from the local Wal-Mart - itself synonymous
for its provision of goods to low-income families, while frequently
utilizing non-status labour - the center point of the Dufferin mall.
The mall had become politicized because rumors were circulating that
CIC had brought a bus to the mall around the time of the children's
questioning, locked the doors and began demanding proof of immigration
status. Members of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) and No
One Is Illegal (NOII) explained to the crowd that there were reports of
people afraid to leave their homes to buy groceries for fear of
deportation. They also described the problems they were having gaining
access to the people who had been detained for deportation. Lawyers
from NOII were facing problems accessing the detained because CIC had a
series of procedures to follow, and because the people in question were
non-citizens and they did not have access to the same procedures and
rules as citizens. The understandably hysterical reactions of the
community illustrate the extent to which the convergence of the neutral
effacement of law was simultaneously deployed with the irrational
actions of individual officers. As Žižek has argued, protest often
functions as a form of hysteria, as the demands of protestors are
projected towards the empty space of the sovereign state or law (Žižek
1999a, 234). In this instance, the protest was triggered by precisely
those members of society that were excluded from citizenship: refugees
and undocumented workers.[13] In terms of international politics these
protests represented a primary dilemma of globalization and
sovereignty; if contemporary sovereign states draw their legitimacy
through their citizens, how does increasing global migration
politically render the non-citizen? What are the politics of the
contestation of sovereignty (and its granting of citizenship) and the
political efficacy of non-citizen action? In part then, we can see how
the obscene supplement (the necessary consequence) of the international
community is those non-citizens who stand outside territorial law. To

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[13] Protest around issues of migration are increasingly politicized both
in Canada and around the world. See chapter 4 for further discussion.

return to the language of Otherness, it is the relationship to radical
alterity in the contingent demand at the site of protest that exposes
the antagonism between sovereignty and its exception, providing the
space for a challenge to the existing political coordinates. In
Lacanian terms, the site of protest holds the potential for an emergent
subjectivity beyond sovereignty through participation in an ethical
act.

Protest and Ethics

The Lacanian essay *Kant with Sade* represents an explicit effort
to develop Lacanian ethics within the framework of the political act.
The problem with developing a political act alongside the recognition
of split subjectivity is that the superego injunction to enjoy (i.e.
thou shall not, kill) is part of our subjective motivation for our
political decisions. This is to recognize that intersubjectivity
inherently limits the freedom of thoughts and ideas that seem to be our
own. Lacan focuses on Sade as the logical extension of Kantian ethical
imperatives, in that Sade was the first to formalize the idea that it
'feels good to do no good', or that the subject can derive immense
pleasure from feeling guilty (Lacan 2006, 646). This means that if the
Kantian liberal foundation of what is normally considered 'ethics'
stems from its logical formalism –"that it is not valid in any case if
it is not valid in every case" – Sadian perversion could be seen as
ethical (ibid., 647). Thus, the use of an Other as means to sexual
gratification can be turned into an ethical duty because it has the
status of a universal ethic – it allows the specific instance to stand
as a universal standard. As Sade's murdering, anti-heroine Juliette
says "the foremost of the laws Nature decrees to me to enjoy myself, no
matter at whose expense" (de Sade 1968, 99). Here the fulfillment of a
fetishistic desire is the fulfillment of a duty that one actively
resists, but can be held as up for all others to follow. In other
words, the abstract character of Kantian ethics, like Campbell's, does
not address the social injunction of the superego (the recognition of
guilt) as an imperative of the Other (Žižek 1998a, 3). This stems from
the subject's contingent experience of the ethical act (the practices
of ethics), whereby the totality of the subject's history and life to
that point compromises the ability to act in a strictly 'universal' way
(Zupančič 2000, 56).

On the other hand, the coordinates of the existing social,
political and moral system (the superego injunction) cannot provide the
justification for the ethical act because this would also be
'perverse', an act justifiably excused by the recognition that the
subject was just following their duty (ibid., 58). This was Eichmann's
famous excuse during the Nuremberg trials, that he was only following

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legal and legitimate orders. Split subjectivity for Lacan is an impediment to political choice because either the subject is purely an instrument of the superego injection (I had no choice, I was just following orders) or one of subjective individualized action (I acted purely in self interest).

Lacan's answer to this impasse is to characterize ethics as a responsibility to desire that risks the very possibility of its gratification - it challenges the subjectivity of the subject (Žižek 1998a, 2). In this way, ethical duty is the importance of adhering to the Truth of desire even at the expense of the subjectivity that defines that desire. Otherwise, ethics will be either completely externally dictated or completely subjectively determined. This fidelity to desire presents the possibility for the Lacanian act, whereby subjectivity itself is transformed:

> The act differs from an 'action' in that it radically transforms its bearer (agent). After an act, I am 'not the same as before'. In the act the subject is annihilated and subsequently reborn (or not); the act involves an temporary eclipse of the subject. The act is always a 'crime', a 'transgression' - of the limits of the symbolic community to which I belong (Zupančič 2000, 83).

It is the anti-social character of the act that makes it important for the protests I participated in throughout my research. For Lacan, the radical Otherness of the Other is the very impetus for participation in protest, as it holds out a radical difference that is inherently unrealistic or impossible. Did anyone who participated at the No One is Illegal protest believe that their participation that day was going to change the coordinates of the entire international system? While the obvious answer is no, the mobilization for protest presents itself as an alternative for its participants, as a way of placing subjectivity in a relationship with Otherness that opens up a possibility for change. Moreover, it is an effort to engage in international relations from what would otherwise be considered a domestic political context. And as Levinas argues, if proximity is important for justice, the protest site assembles a collection of bodies at the site of protest to link their efforts into a demand for justice. Moreover, the potential of the protest site is directly related to the political possibilities that emerge there, with enough people it is possible for a new political sovereignty to emerge, redefining the coordinates of the possible. Thus, while Žižek often holds the example of Lenin as the model of individuated political action, perhaps it was the non-violent collapse of the U.S.S.R that best demonstrated the loss of sovereign power emerges from the masses of assembled people. However, in the

context of contemporary liberal democracies, the question becomes:
would the members of the protest be willing to accept substantial
sacrifices in their well being to accomplish their goals? Would
citizens be willing to give up their status to help the people without
it? Žižek has often railed against political efforts that demand change
but also expect everything to continue as before. The anti-social
character of the Lacanian ethical act holds the potential for radical
change, but does not provide a guarantee about the outcome. The idea of
sacrifice is important because it exposes the ways in which the demand
for change often comes with a high cost.

The ethics proposed by Lacan should also be placed within the
context of his work. Lacan argued that suicide was the only successful
act because through rebirth, the subject's relationship to their desire
is redefined (ibid., 11). There are several important clarifications to
this distinction. First, suicide should be understood as the sacrifice
of one's political subjectivity rather than as their physical death,
because psychoanalytically a rebirth is implied in the ethical act. In
practice, and as I will explore in the case of Chun Tae-Il in chapter 5
and 6, often the ethical act can come at the cost of the subject's
life. However, acts of suicide that reinforce the superego injunction -
that add to the consistency and strength of the social order - cannot
be ethical as they represent a form of duty (and will be posthumously
represented as such). This is important in the context of fascist, far-
right protest, and even of civil rights protests. To the extent that
they reinforce and support the monopoly of violence or the existing
political coordinates, they are limited in the possibility of
containing an ethical act. Sacrifice in defense of sovereign power is
perhaps the defining characteristic of sovereignty since the
combination of nation and state. Second, an ethical act prevents its
easy reinsertion into the existing political order, and in isolation
resists characterization for traditional political ends. Lacanian
ethics provides no utopian alternative for political action. Rather,
it holds out the possibility of adherence to the Truth of the subject's
desire with the possibility of the reformulation of the subject's world
in terms of their desire. Politically, Lacanian ethics places an
emphasis on the specificities of the day-to-day subjective practices of
subjectivity, encouraging a development of subjective Truth over a
utopian alternative. Thus, while a Lacanian ethics posits the
possibility for a radical alternative stemming from the ethical act,
the protests outlined above did not result in anything so dramatic.

A recurrent theme in this work is the relationship between Truth
and subjectivity that emerge at the site of protest. In this regard,
neuroses and hysteria can help explain the modes of contemporary
political protest. If Lacanian ethics stem from a fidelity to the

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subject's desire, the lies told by neurotic and hysterical subjects are symptomatic of this desire. Thus, while the statement of a neurotic subject may be factually accurate, for the subject they are lies; they mask the subject's true desire. In relation to a protest, this is perhaps best exemplified in the wish for bad things to happen (for a police officer to get hurt during a clash with protestors, an escalation of war to encourage protest turnout, or perhaps even the longstanding belief that America needed to experience the realities of terrorism), and the subsequent denial of that belief when it occurs. The neurotic subject denies their desire when confronted with its factual occurrence. Contrast this with the statement of a hysterical subject who tells the truth in the form of a lie, by expressing their desire but distorting its factual accuracy. This is perhaps most common in protest where rumors circulate about the seriousness of some act performed by the police (someone has been arrested or shot, or they are calling in a massive force). In other places, it is expressed in the motivational speeches, containing an expression of the truth of the subject (the comparison of George Bush to Hitler) that is factually incorrect. In both cases, the expression of desire is compromised by the status of the articulation, contorted by the displaced aims of the subject's desire. The actions of protest represent a form of subjective truth subverted by the existing political coordinates that demand for a particular form of participation while at the same time limiting, banning, curtailing and subverting other forms.

Psychoanalysis provides us with the ability to formalize the relationship between the subject and the Other in order to understand the political insights of decentered subjectivity and ethics. The split in the subject between the conscious and unconscious registers of Otherness provides an important critique of traditional political participation. Rather than declaring a politics as derived from rational self interest, the insights of psychoanalysis show us that the practices of politics are central in defining political subjectivity. The ethical responsibility of Lacanian ethics questions the need to contain the political within a bounded, demarcated space. Consequently, the analysis of protest - especially in my situation as outlined above - forces a range of political participations upon my subjectivity in unpredictable and unchosen ways. It is the remaking and unmaking of political subjectivities in the inherently unpredictable place of protest that holds a certain radical relationship to the alterity of Otherness, to a set of demands that cannot be fulfilled, and perhaps to demands that in their fulfillment would fundamentally alter the subjects who are making them. If Levinas understands justice as result of proximity, perhaps we can understand protest as a form of nexus, a convergence around a specific idiosyncratic issue that holds within it the possibility of political alternatives. If we begin to understand

the sway the Other has over the experiences of subjectivity, we begin
to see the limits and possibilities of political practices and, thus,
the Other can be the foundation of a radical political revisioning
rather than a justification for liberal political practices.

Chapter 4: Methods of Protest and Protesting Methods

…armies and churches were the most primitive in this special sense, and certainly more primitive than unorganized crowds, because the psychic structure of armies and churches was the most primitive psychic structure that psychoanalysis could discover…the most ancient image of order, where the disciplined force of an army confronts the disorderly force of the crowd….where primitiveness means a compulsion to violence, which makes it an object of terror, then we should be more frightened of the army than of the crowd which that army confronts (McClellan 1989, 332-333).

This chapter explores the relationship between activism and academia that arose from my fieldwork and investigates the methodological issues and challenges I encountered when representing the protest site. I argue that there is a need to explore the boundaries between activist and academic efforts in the international system through a discussion of methodology and the complicated issues of political praxis. I begin by exploring the Gramscian concept of the 'organic intellectual' and the need for a better understanding of the differences between 'traditional' and 'organic' academic efforts. One such proposal is to incorporate allegorical descriptions of protest that foreground the subjective and rhetorical elements of contemporary political practice. Next, I consider the transgressive power of the crowd and the radically equalizing potential of the protest site. Retaining the political immediacy and possibility for change that is the impetus of protest is methodologically difficult and requires an attentive multi-sited ethnography. Throughout this chapter I will discuss the issues I encountered and the responses I developed in the ethnographic approach adopted here. Moreover, in order to locate the moments of the 'international' in my field research, it is necessary to recognize that the supposed boundaries between academic and activist efforts can actually work to occlude forms of praxis underway in the international system. In particular, a range of participants in my research were activists engaged in academic activity, as they produced texts, journal articles, dissertations and published works. This created a tension between my need for activist accounts of international protest, and the collaborative opportunities provided by their writings. The protest site has a central importance as a place of politics but also a site of international connection and a conduit to academic production and representation. There is a certain erasure of the praxis of protest when it is captured by the academy, one that produces forms of nostalgia within the text, and as I discovered, at the sites of protest as well. Consequently, I introduce two issues that complicate the boundaries between academic and activist practice; the 'commune-ist' research centre Suyu+Trans for activists and academics in

Seoul, and the Marxist historical materialist 'propaganda' distributed at protest sites in Toronto. Each of these examples serves to foreground the methodological and ethical challenges facing my research, and allows me to explore my responses and decisions in representing my fieldwork. This chapter serves to extend the themes of the previous sections, while developing a framework for the chapters to follow.

The Organic Intellectual

Attempts to deal with anti-capitalism, academia and activism in the disciplinary efforts of contemporary International Relations and IPE have fallen largely to the Gramscian attempts to establish the importance of the organic intellectual. In the critical tradition of IPE, the Gramscian efforts of Robert Cox and Stephen Gill have established much of the framework for contextualizing and examining the importance of dissent and alternative social forces within the contemporary capitalist world order (Cox 1996, 138; Gill 1988). Indeed it was Cox's reading of Gramsci, and the broadly conceived revolutionary impetus of Gramsci's work which drove him to insert the concept of hegemony and social struggle into analyses of the international system. The concept of hegemony in particular exemplified the complexity of domination and resistance in Gramsci's thought:

> To the extent that the consensual aspect of power is in the forefront, hegemony prevails. Coercion is always latent but is only applied in marginal, deviant cases. Hegemony is enough to ensure conformity of behavior in most people most of the time (Cox 1996, 127).

Within this framework political action and political agency is tied to broader forms of domination, subordination and social struggle. This broad-based understanding of the processes of hegemony has reinforced what Bieler and Morton have characterized as a 'philosophy of internal relations' whereby the social relations within capitalism are determined by the totality of social relations from which they emerge (Bieler and Morton 2008, 116). In Cox's reading of Gramsci, the dominance of capitalist social relations in developed countries demands an approach to political action which proposes "building a counterhegemony within an established hegemony" through social democratic gains in the present on the march to long-term revolutionary aims (Cox 1996, 129). Important to the discussion here is the way in which this counterhegemonic strategy places a particular emphasis on the role of intellectual effort, pursuing Gramsci's emphasis on education as a process of hegemonic domination (and counterhegemonic struggle). Consequently, academic and pedagogical practices are subject to a similar critique. As Cox famously asserted,

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> Theory is always for someone and for some purpose. All theories
> have a perspective, Perspectives derive from a position in time
> and space, specifically social and political time and space…There
> is, accordingly, no such thing as theory in itself, divorced from
> a standpoint in time and space (ibid., 87).

Cox's critique of academic practice recognizes the ways in which
knowledge, education, ideas and lines of thought are susceptible to the
hegemonic forces from which they emerge. The academy – represented by
the contemporary university – is the site of emergence of academic
work, but does not have a domain over intellectual effort. As in
Gramsci's work, this produces an emphasis on the important role of the
'organic intellectual' or the idea that intellectuals – like everyone
else – emerge from specific social groups, and thus perform functions
in their own economic, social and political communities (Gramsci 1997,
5). There is a critical distinction between 'traditional' and 'organic'
intellectual work; as the former reinforces dominant social classes and
positions, asserting their independence and autonomy even as they
legitimate dominant social relations; whereas the latter challenge
existing hegemony, develop and work within and encourage
counterhegemonic social formations (Edkins 2006, 500). And while the
idea that 'theory is always for someone and for some purpose' is the
oft quoted and most repeated element of Cox's argument, it is the idea
of a placed (in time and space) engagement with theory that is the
critical insight of the concept of the 'organic intellectual' (Gill
2003, 18). This historical materialist approach to hegemony asserts a
totality of social relations (or a social ontology – See Bieler and
Morton 2008; Bakker 2003; Gill 2003) such that the articulation of
intellectual work must be understood from the sites of its emergence.
Cox's Gramscian approach established principles which speak to the
pedagogical and practical roles of the production of academic work in
political orders. Indeed, much like the introduction to Gramsci's
Prison Notebooks, these efforts are dedicated to discussing the role of
the intellectual within the broader field of social and hegemonic
forces.

The concept of the 'organic intellectual' within the Gramscian
efforts of IPE has been central to understanding the relationship of
academic practice to the sites of the emergence of new ideas and
thought. Consequently, the concept of the 'traditional intellectual'
helps to demarcate the difference between academic and theoretical
efforts with political efficacy and those of the "ivory tower" whose
ideas are assumed to be "autonomous" (Bieler and Morton 2008, 121). So,
while not all intellectuals are organic (as 'traditional' intellectuals
remain divorced from larger social movements and have pretenses to
'objective' science) Gramsci argued that the intellectual capabilities

of the working class could become typified in those 'organic intellectuals' who are "the thinking and organizing element of a particular fundamental social class" (Gramsci 1997, 1). Indeed, Gramsci maintained that intellectual labour could not be separated from social life, or that "one cannot speak of non-intellectuals because non-intellectuals do not exist" (ibid., 9). Gramsci emphasizes the ways in which everyday life involves a range of intellectual activity, and it is social classes and dominant groups that shape such efforts into hegemonic and counterhegemonic forces. In disciplinary terms, Gramscian efforts in IPE have produced a focus on developing critiques of the social context from which we emerge to develop counter-hegemonic and organic intellectual arguments. Indeed, as Edkins has argued this is one of the primary tasks of such academic practice, as "organic intellectuals serve to disrupt rather than reinforce the prevailing hegemony" (Edkins 2006, 500). Gramscian and organic intellectual efforts have tended to focus on the broad systemic employments of hegemony to explain the context and situate political practice within: world orders (Cox 2002); social reality (Gill 2003); Law (Cutler 2003); Finance (Harmes 2000); social reproduction (Bakker 2003); or following Foucault, 'Regimes of Truth' (both Edkins 2006 and Gill 2003).

The consequence of the emphasis on hegemony in Gramscian IPE has produced a tendency to neglect the slippage between 'traditional' and 'organic' academic efforts. The combination of coercive and consensual aspects of dominant hegemony necessitates some recognition of the ways in which the objectifying tendencies of the academy can be reproduced in the works of even the most critical authors. Indeed, while Gramsci emphasized the importance of organic intellectual effort, he also believed that it should be possible to develop and distinguish the extent to which an organic effort is integrated into social struggle. As he argued:

> It should be possible to measure the "organic quality" [organicita] of the various intellectual strata and their degree of connection with a fundamental social group, and to establish a gradation of their functions and of the superstructures from the bottom to the top (from the structural base upwards)(Gramsci 1997, 12).

While Gramscian efforts have lauded the importance of the organic intellectual, they have not followed Gramsci's emphasis on the differentiation of efforts within society and political mobilization. Within the social struggles of Italy (the context of Gramsci's work) such an effort may have appeared more plausible than an attempt to assess the degree of organic connection between global academic practice and global social struggle today. However, to abandon the

importance of the differentiation of the academic efforts of 'organic' intellectuals is also to risk the abstraction, social disconnection and isolation which are characteristic of 'traditional' academic efforts. Indeed, Gramsci's emphasis on praxis and developing political efforts within the context and place of their emergence necessitates an emphasis on the qualitative *difference* of academic practices. In other words, Gramsci's distinction between the organic and the traditional, combined with his emphasis on praxis and counterhegemony necessitates that organic intellectual effort be subject to some process of verification, rather than a simple assertion that such efforts are necessarily organic.

Next, and as a consequence of this understanding, organic intellectuals are just as prone as any other group to succumbing to the objectifying and historical processes of traditional intellectual practice (ibid., 9-11). Indeed, while there are a range of political reasons and justifications for developing counterhegemonic accounts of the global political economy, we must also be wary as such efforts are susceptible to distortion, reversal and disconnection from the impetus of their emergence. In other words, the process of politicization of academic arguments requires recognition of sites and strategies of those articulations, rather than a wholesale defense of Gramscian efforts on the grounds of counterhegemony. Indeed, this was a primary part of Cox's argument for a Gramscian approach to International Relations:

> Gramsci geared his thought consistently to the practical purpose of political action. In his prison writings, he always referred to Marxism as "the philosophy of praxis". Partly at least, one may surmise, it must have been to underline the practical revolutionary purpose of philosophy. Partly, too, it would have been to indicate his intention to a lively developing current of thought, given impetus by Marx but not forever circumscribed by Marx's work (Cox, 1996, 125).

The political efforts to challenge, undermine and disrupt prevailing hegemony take a myriad of forms and a range of political practices and mobilizations. If we can see Gramsci's thought as an impetus for the revolutionary potential of counterhegemonic efforts, we must also see the ways in which he believed that praxis must be explored, challenged and critically deployed. The concept of an organic intellectual should not be a static and depoliticized category which captures all efforts to resist, or it becomes a marker of static, dehistoricized abstraction (a 'traditional' intellectual concept). Gramsci's emphasis on the qualitative nature of the organic intellectual speaks to the ways in which the exploration of strategies (methodology) and the political

actions of the academic (ethics) should also be subject to politicization and contestation, in order to avoid an excessive traditionalization of thought.

Indeed, while this is common to any academic exercise, Gramsci's emphasis on education and intellectuals spoke to the importance of pedagogy and discipline in the reproduction of social relations. Critical and counterhegemonic efforts need to be cognizant of disconnection and error that stems from the praxis of the academy and the ways in which their own practices can be caught within the dominance of hegemonic (rather than counterhegemonic) social forces. A key question I will consider in this chapter is the necessity of exploring the academic efforts being produced outside the academy, in ways that resist the 'traditionalization' of thought inherent in the objectifying and abstracting processes of academic production. Moreover, as Gramsci argued, the increasing democratization of intellectual efforts by the populace as a whole (while a product of a normalizing and hegemonic process of production) should increase the likelihood that ever-increasing forms of organic intellectual effort will continue to emerge outside the academy. The ease of global communication, global coordination and the reduced costs of publication has made the sites of struggle ever-increasing locations of counterhegemonic discourse. A primary emphasis of this chapter is to come to terms with the idea that academic production does not need to emerge from the academy (publications can emerge from the protest site); that there are important limits to academic knowledge; and there are political and practical efforts underway which are occluded as a consequence the of methodological choices of IR and IPE.

The limits of 'protest': Academic representations of Activism

In my role as an academic studying activist 'efforts' there was an inescapable element of the subjective and partisan efforts in the processes of my research. From the selection of sites and the contact with participants, to the inescapable autobiographical element of my research, each encounter challenged my role as a source of 'knowledge' and 'authority'. In coming to terms with these limits, I was better able to understand the scope, and therefore the focus of my inquiry. First and foremost, the participants of my research were often current or former students ranging in levels from basic university through PhD candidates themselves. In several cases after some time interviewing and attending protests with them, I would be given articles, papers and even dissertations, both in efforts to assist my research and to clarify their own positions on the issues we discussed. Academic practice became an inescapable element of my efforts to explore the protest site and fermented collaborations that forced me to clarify the

scope of my research. In particular, I came to understand that the
academic efforts I was undertaking were not primarily about expanding
the breadth of knowledge about protestors, but rather coming to terms
with the limited, partial and incomplete story that could be presented
through my research. Indeed, the emphasis on the methodological
importance of an ethnographic approach of this thesis demands
recognition of the boundaries of what such research is able to
accomplish, because only then is it possible to represent the tension
inherent in researching sites of protest.

Allegory and Rhetoric in IR

     This is not to imply that my research is not 'valuable' or does
not contribute to the complexity of academic interpretations on the
import of protest. Rather it is to point to the limited emphasis on the
allegorical representations of struggle in IR, IPE and Political
Science more generally. Efforts that seek to 'clearly' demonstrate the
issues studied in analytic and objective ways marginalize an important
element of political contestation. The academic emphasis on
transparency of the 'activism' of the academy (in pedagogical,
representative, ethical, and policy terms) limits the ways in which
politics emerges from the muddled spaces of complicated lives and the
incomplete information of political actors with limited capabilities.
The inherent tension between political order and complex places of
political lives is often lost in accounts of protest and activism. In
other words, even critical IR authors who recognize and herald the
importance of 'performance' and 'narratives' of the problems of the
academic/activist distinction continue to assert a sense of abstract
transparency as to their own actions. For example, Walker and Shaw
argue:

> the resort to the category of activist itself works to affirm
> that the massive practices of state and states system expressed
> in the categories and strategies of this particular form of
> scholarly activity are somehow merely passive, even just a menu
> for free choice among consenting students. In common parlance,
> activists are rabble-rousers, those who are actually out there in
> the world seeking to agitate, educate and direct political
> change. They are often given semi-heroic status, and just as
> often dismissed as malcontents. Insofar as we separate the
> category of the activist from that of the academic, we run the
> risk of assuming that academia is, or should be, differentiated
> by this opposition as the world of passivity, of neutrality, of
> objectivity, whether to ensure that values be kept out of
> scientific knowledge or that the merely instrumental reasoning of

> scientific knowledge be kept out of serious political values and
> choices (Walker and Shaw 2006, 157-158).

Walker and Shaw's argument for the equivalence of the categories of
activist and academic is an effort to undermine the exclusions inherent
in each. They work to expose these categories as efforts to establish a
'neutral ground' (separate and distinguishable terms) as the basis of
action (ibid., 159). Similar to Cox's formulation, they challenge the
ways in which power dynamics 'discipline' thought and how pedagogy is
"as much a problem as a solution" for the study of politics (ibid.,
161). And yet, despite the emphasis on destabilizing these categories
and problematizing these assumptions, Walker and Shaw's own commitments
remain "a gesture towards a debate" postulating how "practices need to
be situated" in order for 'us' to be politically responsible academics
(ibid., 160,164). In this sense, their equivalence of the terms
(activist/academic) impedes and differs political action, separating
the abstract, theoretical world from the complex and messy experiences
of 'situated practices'. Calling for the use of allegory in academic
discourse allows us to challenge the abstraction and deferral of
political action inherent in academic efforts by situating my work as
both contingent and subjective. In other words, use of literary
allegory in IR challenges the claim that a:

> …nonallegorical description was possible – a position underlying
> both positivist literalism and realist synecdoche (the organic,
> functional, or typical relationship of parts to wholes) – was
> closely allied to the romantic search for unmediated meaning in
> the event. Positivism, realism and romanticism…all rejected the
> "false" artiface of rhetoric along with allegory's supposed
> abstractedness. Allegory violated the canons both of empirical
> science and of artistic spontaneity (Clifford 1994, 99).

My use of allegory throughout my descriptions of protest foregrounds
the *necessarily* subjective interventions that provide consistency and
meaning, and convey the inescapably subjective content of my academic
efforts.[14] Allegories of protest can help to situate the abstractions of
academic distinctions by placing them in specific, contingent
situations within a subjective narrative of my own. Thus, exposing the
equivalence in the distinctions between the concepts of 'activist' and
'academic' tells us nothing as to the ways in which Walker and Shaw's

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[14] So, while efforts in IR have spent considerable time exploring the
importance of deconstruction of concepts (such as Walker's famous
Inside/Outside or Campbell's In/Security), much less effort has been
spent exploring De Man's emphasis on the rhetorical character of
language and the political consequences of incommensurability and
allegory in the subversion of authorship (see de Man 1979, 1986, 1996).

pedagogical practices explore specific and contingent political acts.
Deconstructing concepts that are already inherently disintegrative and
necessarily contingent does not do enough to engage with the
implications of those insights. Instead, efforts that recognize the
importance of allegory seek to provide meaning within the inseparable
context of subjective political actors, implicating their imaginary and
subjective beliefs and understandings within their narratives.
Politically, the use of allegory can provide the space for the
discussion of the meaning of academic effort within the complicated
practices of politics, but can also reinforce the importance of the
values, beliefs, affect and hopes that supplement political practice.

In Lacanian terms, it is the supplement of subjectivity that
provides the very consistency and apparent 'objectivity' of the world –
such that meaning is always ascertained through the cognitive and
genetic differences that are unique to each person at a specific time
in a certain place. As Žižek argues, if we did not mediate the constant
torrent of information bombarding our senses through selective (and
therefore subjective) positions the very concept of 'self' would be
meaningless (Žižek 1997a, 81).[15] An allegorical reading of IR places the
subject – or in my research – me – within the field of purview, and is
founded on the assumption that my claims of knowledge are limited,
contingent and importantly political. Moreover, as I adopt ethnographic
sensibilities throughout my research, the allegorical descriptions of
protest require my rhetorical intervention, and must include my
political decisions to intervene in the spaces of political practice
where indeterminate outcomes abound. My study of a protest site in
either Seoul or Toronto relies on my participation and therefore
comingling with the event, and my research and practices are implicated
in the very people and things which I seek to explore. The inclusive
character of the protest site makes it impossible to participate
without being present, lending my body to the numbers in attendance.
Indeed, my research is designed to contaminate the boundary between
research and political participation in such a way that allegorical
descriptions are necessary to capture the politicization of my methods.

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[15] This is why Lacan characterized language as a form of death, because
through the process of entering into the world of language, we are
necessarily transformed and separated from the jouissance, the
excessive and primary demands and drives of pre-social beings. In other
words, if we had direct access to the world in which we lived,
consciousness would be meaningless, it would be completely at one with
the world around it. Knowledge and language are in this sense always
and necessarily imposed on the subject, without which we would appear
as monstrous or incomprehensible.

In one instance at a Toronto Haiti Action Committee protest outside the Brazilian embassy on Bloor street, I was assembled with 20 or so others condemning the killing of civilians by UN forces in Haiti. The Brazilian embassy was selected both because social activists were holding a simultaneous protest in Brazil, and Brazilian troops were members of the UN forces in question. The protest involved chants, leafleting and explanations about the international interventions in Haiti to passersby. During a conversation with one of the organizers I talked about my research and discussed the role of the IMF in privatization and economic policies of the country. After our short conversation he went back to leading chants and continued periodic speeches about Canada's complicity in intervention in Haiti, and also the persistent imperialist role of the IMF in the country.

The protest site is an inherently rhetorical place. Just as allegory is a representation of the subjective and intimate experiences of my research, rhetoric demonstrates the inescapably subjective component of the politics of protest. There is an infective power of the chants, songs and rumbling of the crowd before a confrontation that is often lost in the descriptive certainty of a political assessment. The importance of rhetoric and allegory in depictions of the protest site stem from the ways in which the subjective element (and the persuasive power) of the crowd produces a potentiality and hope inherent in to those places. Political analyses that aspire to eschew the subjective, contingent and emotive character of these entanglements lose an integral part of the politics of the protest site. Indeed, the origins of academic political thought stem from the dominance of Plato's written narrative over Socrates' oral dialogues. As a persistent issue in Western thought (and social anthropology in particular), the transmission and power of oral knowledge undergoes a precarious transformation in the processes of incorporation of the academy (see Beier 2005). Rhetoric speaks to the internalizing processes of external demands, the inclusion of the political site in the bodily practices of the participant. A chant is a process of internalizing and retransmitting a political affect. Freud's discovery of the 'talking cure' of psychoanalysis was the effort to systematize and explore this power.

As I was walking through the busy pub district of Hongdae, in Seoul with one of my primary participants, we passed a small booth set up in between the university students reveling in the busy roadways. The booth had a few people on stage and a small crowd assembled, cheering and drinking as they watched the performers sing Karaoke and speak about the issues of the NO-FTA (anti-US-Korean Free Trade Agreement) between songs. I asked Kim "Why do Korean forms of protest integrate so many songs, skits and chants into their protest?" He

replied that during the 1980's when student mobilization was taking place almost daily, there needed to be some incentive for the students to come and mobilize. Why would they come out if the protests were only serious and not fun?

The protest site has a particular importance in the transformation of rhetoric into bodily practice as a place where the interplay between action, subjectivity and rhetoric become indistinguishable. As Canetti explained about the crowd:

> In the crowd the individual feels that he is transcending the limits of his own person. He has a sense of relief, for the distances are removed which used to throw him back on himself and shut him in. With the lifting of these burdens of distance he feels free; his freedom is the crossing of these boundaries. He wants what is happening to him happen to others too; and he expects it to happen to them (Canetti 1962, 20).

The protest site can become the space that precedes a representative claim; one where the totality of the assembled comes to be what Canetti called an 'equality' in need of a direction (ibid.). Rancière characterized this mobilization as 'the people': "the undifferentiated mass of the those who have no qualification", who precede the political organization of 'the demos' (Rancière 1998, 8). In part the protest site is a rejection of representative claims, not only in its oppositional character, but in its radical equality. There remains an inherent need throughout my work to retain the anonymity and equality inherent in the place of the protest site. Indeed, even in situations where participants have consented to allow their identities be used in my research, I have often opted to retain a certain indistinguishable vagueness about their specific identities, to foreground my academic power in the academic reconstruction of those experiences, but also to retain the subjective intervention of the site of protest. There is a political strength from the anonymity of the crowd, a democratizing impulse that defies clear identification.

Moreover, there is a seductive power in the transgression of the protest site, the momentary suspension of social norms and the embodied challenge to an 'objective' reality. The importance of anonymity for the participants of my research also stems from the changing political context which can compromise the security and safety of their inclusion here. The transgressive spaces of protest enable actions and efforts unlikely to be permitted in our day-to-day lives. Indeed, when I began my research in Seoul NO-FTA rallies (against the Korean-US Free Trade Agreement) were permitted and frequent. By the end of my research, the bridges to the city had been closed, buses blocked access to parks and rallying spaces, and there was an imposed ban on challenges to the FTA

as violent, fiery riots broke out in rural cities. Žižek has argued
that fascism co-opted the militancy, populism and organization of the
working classes in such a way that we can no longer remember the way
that song, chants and demonstrations were a primary tool of the
disaffected and disgruntled mobs (Žižek 2006, 551). The rhetorical
power of the chants, songs, speeches and demands have the strength of
enunciation, a subjective performance, an inclusionary element that is
irreducible to a clear representative voice. This power of protest
stems from what Lacan characterized as the processes of 'enunciation',
the moments that challenge the objectifying processes of political
representation. The distinction between the subjects of 'enunciation'
and 'enunciated' is precisely the tension between the locations of
'self' within the worlds in which we participate. At the protest site
the subject of enunciation is the performative declaration and acts
(down with capitalism! - smash the starbucks!) that transcend and
precede a political subjectivity (as a legitimate member of society,
drinking coffee). The enunciated subject includes themselves within the
declaration (I protested in Jeju). The politics of the protest site is
immediately transformed from the space of declarative demand (the
people united will never be defeated!) into the normalizing processes
of objectification (I attended the protest) through the translation of
protest into description. This is why protest is necessarily and
importantly 'hysterical' in the psychoanalytic sense, it places an
impossible demand (end capitalism!) in front of subjects who
individually would fight such a demand (no one wants to give up their
possessions, lose their livelihoods, and enact forms of suffering upon
the world). Objectivity is the very impediment to the fulfillment of
protest demand, as protestor is a suspension of the social order which
grants the space of meaning and intelligibility. The representational
challenges of the protest site are thus importantly insurmountable, if
we are to retain the political possibility, the hope and the
unconscious expression of the assembled crowd. Rhetoric and allegory
have a central importance in the way I capture the oppositional power
of congregational excess. Chants and songs reassemble the history of
past struggles into the voices of the present, they blur the
distinction between political agent and political power by symbolizing
without distinguishing forms of social coherence and order.

Records and Documentation

     My research originates from sites and spaces of protest and
follows the trajectories that arise as a result. This helps to
emphasize the importance of the protest site as an accessible place
where transformation begins, but also the ways in which attentive
research can follow an idiosyncratic path towards substantive political
engagement. This helps to retain the equalizing and inclusive

possibilities that emerge from those sites, but is not an effort to
provide an exhaustive account of those places. While In both Toronto
and Seoul, I attended local political protests directed at a range of
issues and events including: anti-FTA protests, migrant labour
mobilizations, Ontario Coalition Against Poverty Rallies, anti-war
demonstrations, No One is Illegal Marches, Toronto Haiti Action
Committee Rallies, and other local protests, not all of which made it
into the final thesis. Occasionally one protest would merge with
another (see Chapter 3) and in many cases the issues raised were multi-
faceted and dealt with a host of overlapping political debates. My
research was primarily conducted in English, except for few situations
where basic conversations in Korean were necessary. I adopted written
consent forms when possible, and in situations where written consent
was inappropriate a verbal tape-recorded consent was obtained, and then
a written confirmation over e-mail for consent to use the interviews in
my research. All documentation and notes were encrypted and stored on a
server abroad, to which only I have access. As I will discuss below, I
always indentified myself as a graduate student doing research on
protest and anti-capitalism at the protest sites in both Toronto and
Seoul, as this often assisted in generating further contacts and
prompted offers for me to use their publications and papers in my work.
I conducted some interviews with participants at the protest sites;
other protests were spent with participants I knew from previous events
for extended periods of time; and still other times I was introduced
directly to third parties by participants in order to arrange
interviews outside the protest site. Chapter 5 will focus on the
distinctions between the politically mobilized protests I attended and
transformative practices at the margins of political practice that
became integral to this research.

Ethnography and Allegory

An ethnographic approach to the protest site that retains an
emphasis on allegory challenges the academic desire for authoritative
(or legitimate) accounts of those places and practices. As an
inherently contested space, one where the power of order, norms, law
and even reason are in flux, the experience of the protest draws on
both political claims and subjective interests. As the introductory
quote to this chapter recalls, the crowd is the figuration that
precedes order, the place from which coherence emerges and can once
again escape. Capturing the subjective claims of the protest site is a
way of balancing the desire for order with the necessity of subjective
engagement. The notion of ethnographic sensibilities adopted here draws
on Shaw's insights into the importance of a closer examination of the
lessons of Anthropology for International Relations. As she argues,
research in Political Science and studies of social activism could

benefit from the "highly charged and deeply engaged conversations about authority and disciplinarity, methodology and subjectivity, power and knowledge" that have taken place in anthropology (Shaw 2003, 202). As I am attempting to explore here, the engagement with specific and particular forms of social struggle provides a way to understand both the benefits and the limits of a critical examination of 'our' discipline's methodological practices. Such efforts have "produced a less coherent discipline, one less clearly identified with a single project, methodology or subject matter. Another consequence has been a more politically engaged set of practices and research communities" (ibid.). Being cognizant of the forms of representational practices employed in my research helps to foreground the processes of inclusion and exclusion throughout. Indeed, confronting the limits of academic practice is an integral part of ethnographic research. As Clifford has argued:

> ...the maker (but why only one?) of ethnographic texts cannot avoid expressive tropes, figures, allegories that select and impose meaning as they translate it. In this view, more Nietzschean than realist or hermeneutic, all constructed truths are made possible by powerful "lies" of exclusion and rhetoric. Even the best ethnographic texts - serious, true fictions - are systems, or economies, of truth. Power and history work through them in ways their authors cannot fully control (Clifford 1986, 7).

The power of rhetoric is important in its transformational power, a power which intersects both the protest site, the locations of my research and the forms of representation adopted in my descriptions. Authorship requires an intervention that is implicated in the tensions of self-representation, the challenges of what Butler calls 'giving an account of oneself' (Butler 2003). The adoption of a theory, the choice of citation and the selection of cases implicates the isolating and selective decisions of autonomous writers compensating for necessarily selective perspectives with every broadening effort. Such partisanship is abstracted as theoretical disposition, and yet has no less powerful effect upon the choice of cases, the examples of concern and the value placed on claims of truth.

Too Political for Politics?

Despite her call for a more complicated and less coherent discipline, Shaw's efforts continue to rely on rationality, abstraction and objectivity as hallmarks of permissible academic efforts. This is particularly evident in her concern with the demarcation between activist and academic work, or the necessity of objectivity in accounts of activism. As Shaw argues, the political writings of activists must be excluded because,

> while they provide an important 'snapshot' on movements and are
> probably the best material to read to get a sense of the varying
> goals of activists, their self-representations, assumptions,
> aims, objectives and political discourses, they tend toward the
> manifesto rather than the sustained analysis and provide a very
> partial view of the terrain of struggle (Shaw 2003, 212).

While Shaw's critical examination of International Relations
methodology lauds the partisan efforts encouraged and employed in
anthropology, she continues to dismiss activist accounts for lacking
the distance and objectivity required of academic efforts. Here the
citational and representational power of academic work is used to
reinforce a distinction between partisanship and objectivity that
reinforces the methodological practices Shaw set out to challenge. In
part this stems from the assumption that ethnography and anthropology
are primarily about the relationship between the academic and the
indigenous group, a belief that ignores the central way that social
anthropology also turns inward, exploring the complex social orders and
groups that exist both inside nations and inside the academy.[16]
Moreover, as I will discuss bellow, and especially in the case of
contemporary social activists, it is hardly clear that the group being
studied is distinguishable from the researchers themselves. In most of
the cases of the people I interviewed or participated in my research
they had some form of published work, about the efforts of their
interests. Even a rural farmer who I met in the large NO-FTA protests
in Jeju told me he was one of the famous protestors that swam across
the river in Hong Kong to disrupt the WTO meetings there in 2002. In
Toronto, a local Marxist group explained the importance of correctly
reinterpreting ongoing events following the logic of history that began
during the Russian Revolution. In two cases I was directed to doctoral
dissertations, one work as a published book, and the other a copy of
the original manuscript handed to me in one of our last meetings.

When they write what we read

An important question thus becomes: how do we cite activist
academic work? In particular, when a participant in research is both a
'subject' of ethical guidelines and equal in academic collaboration,
what role does the power of the citation have in exposing and

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[16] For example Stewart (1996) deals with the important complexity and
nuance of Appalachian communities within the United States, whereas
Young (2005) explores the academic practices of anthropologists
themselves. Either of these efforts would be an important part of
coming to terms with an international relations (within the state
itself) and the disciplinary practices of International Relations.

consequently undermining the purposes of research? How do I connect the activist experiences of protest with their published work without simultaneously exposing their identity and compromising their participation in my research? I will attempt to include a range of works that make it more difficult to ascertain the identity of my participations, but such efforts also disconnect their activist from their academic efforts. A key part of my efforts here are to democratize the hierarchical status implied in the citation, as published academic works draw on the support and mutual oversight of the editing and publishing processes, whereas the power of the participant voice comes from the inherent grounded authority of the case. In the 'mimetic faculty', the power of illumination through the representation and re-presentation of the citation grants the author access to an immutability and permanence which bears a political responsibility and ethics (Benjamin 1978, 325,334). The connection between what Benjamin characterized as the 'technique' of the author and the 'author as producer' speaks directly to the political power of citation, representation and authorship:

> In bringing up technique, I have named the concept that makes literary products directly accessible to a social, and therefore a materialist analysis … [which] distinguished the operating from the informing writer. His mission is not to report but to struggle; not to play spectator but intervene actively. He defines this mission in the account he gives of his own activity (ibid., 222-223).

It is thus important that I include the works of my participants in the academic text as indistinguishable academic authors, granting them equal authority and recognition of other theorists and authors (such as Benjamin himself). Yet, in doing so I am immediately confronted with the disconnection of that authorship from the conditions and experiences of our meetings, conversations and the ways in which that text is integral to the connection between their activism and their intellectual effort. In this sense, the activist/academic divide is not only an ethical issue of contention for me as a researcher, it impedes the ability to approach either side adequately, and is an impediment that emerges from the 'organic' itself. The necessary outcome to this impasse is to retain the contradiction throughout my work – I will be citing authors and participants separately, sometimes through publications and journals and in other cases as anonymous or participants with pseudonyms. This decision retains the academic emphasis on the systemic power of authorship and the 'legitimate' voice of the academy (academic as activist), but also foregrounds the inherent exclusion (the activists' cannot be a legitimate voice – it is 'too' political) that such a decision entails.

One of the primary tensions of studying activist work is the assignment of value of such efforts. As has long been the case in Anthropology, the extraction of knowledge for academic authority has been a highly contested and contestable notion. As Shaw has characterized it, studying activism in academia demands that we ask the question "Whose knowledge for what politics?" (Shaw 2003). While she suggests a closer examination of the importance of Anthropological insight in International Relations accounts of activism, my project has forced a reversal of this supposition; something closer to 'which politics produce ways of academic understanding?'. Indeed, while efforts such as Herring's (2006) help us rethink the role of pedagogy and the importance of directly challenging the policies and recommendations emerging from our academic departments, my research produced an emphasis on the forms of academic knowledge being produced from activist spaces. As I will explore below, even the distinction between activist and academic can inadvertently help to reinforce ways of thinking about knowledge and understanding that are disconnected from the sites of struggle.

Locating the International

The simple truism of 'international' relations is that the disciplinary production of international knowledge is often produced at the desks, in the offices and in the homes of very placed and local researchers. These practices of academic production and publication often appear disconnected from what could be considered the 'international'. The international aspects of my research came about in similarly disconnected and abstract ways, as I prepared for my trip to Seoul, I drew upon existing graduate student contacts with Korean students and other academics with connections to Toronto and Seoul. In some cases these connections were contacts, articles to read or meetings scheduled based on the translation of my interest in anti-capitalism in Toronto into something similar in Seoul. In some cases this was extremely successful, and allowed me to meet with members of the Seoul anti-globalization movement who had been at the 1999 WTO protests in Seattle and were versed in the range of tactics and efforts of contemporary anti-capitalist efforts. In other instances, such as a meeting with the Democratic Labour Party policy group, I was told that everyone in the party was anti-capitalist and asked if that was not also the case of opposition parties in Canada. From the isolation of individuated academic study to the well-attended protest site and back again is a complicated transition.

Upon my arrival in Seoul the first major protest I attended resulted in conversations with school teachers and local activists and centered on discussions that involved international connections. The

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efforts against the US-Korean Free Trade Agreement drew heavily from debates over North American responses to NAFTA, and this was present in these discussions. However, is the discussion of the 'international' alone, enough to characterize this research as international? After a few hours, I was approached by a member of a local media activist group and asked if I would like to sit with other international students/participants. Given that the protest was prominently attended by Koreans and there was a large anti-American sentiment, I was more than happy to accompany my host. When I arrived and was met by several North Americans and East Asian students and I quickly entered the small but well integrated group of students studying, researching and working abroad who were also integrated into a range of local progressive and activist issues in Seoul.

Can we conceive of international relations between international students? My research focused on the sites of protest in Seoul and Toronto, and my accounts of these political protests, in turn, inevitably contained international and transnational issues and causes. Fortunately (or unfortunately?), the limited foundation of ethnographic-minded field work in International Relations does not present the concerns of 'authentic' field research in the discipline yet.[17] The emphasis on the protest site as primary in this research highlights the 'ethnographic sensibilities' of my research, but comes at the expense of losing an integral part of what constitutes an ethnography (the 'ethnos'). By targeting the site of protest, rather than a specific activist group I was able to accomplish certain political efforts which may have come at the expense of academic 'authority'. As Chapter 1 discussed, it remains unclear if the accounts of political activism in Sociology and Political Science can retain the political impetus of the protest in their depictions of these groups. On the one hand, my research targeted local sites of protest with the intent of developing accounts of local forms of international anti-capitalist efforts, and drew upon the connections and strength of the contacts and interests of other students and activists interested in similar goals. On the other, there is a danger (which I will discuss below) of focusing on those international elements of these protest sites that is disconnected from the (organic?) connections established between those attending the protest site. As posed to me by a Gramscian colleague: 'Aren't you ignoring the real Korean workers if you only focus on international students?' Here, the very notion of 'the organic' serves to impede and designate 'authentic' activists as only those with clear counterhegemonic consciousness, rather than see the intellectual as the focus of research itself.

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[17] For a discussion of the importance of the 'field' in ethnography see Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson 1997.

Moreover, the sub-discipline of comparative politics already conducts research on the different local political practices and efforts across the globe. In order to address the focus of this research, the places chosen in my research are what Marcus characterized as the foundations of a multi-sighted ethnography (Marcus 1995). While ethnography can be understood as "predicated upon attention to the everyday, and intimate knowledge of face-to-face communities and groups", he argues that a multi-sited ethnography exposes the international linkages between sites that otherwise would be occluded (ibid., 99).[18] Indeed, the question of the location for the protest site is complicated by the assumption of the fixity of the site. In most cases, my participation at sites of protest also involved a high degree of mobility and adaption, as many discussions took place en route, marching from place to place, along designated routes, or in evasion of corridors and barricades erected to control, direct or limit the path of the protest. Mobility itself represents the globalized forms of contemporary capitalism and the sites where the global intersects with the local. As Tsing has proposed in her concept of 'friction', mobility is both accelerated and slowed at the intersections of the universal and contingent, the global and local (Tsing 2005, 6). From this perspective, a group of mobilized international students at a protest against deepening economic, social and cultural integration between nations, and in countries that are not necessarily their 'own' is highly international. The nature of the connection between myself and my participants as both students and workers abroad helps to outline the complex ways in which international connections are developed and sustained.

Academia can be utilized for political ends that highlight the importance of international students as well as the goals of the production of knowledge. As I encountered in both Toronto and Seoul, the impact of the 1980's Korean student and workers movements resulted in a generation of activists interested in radical educational and cultural activities as forms of political participation (Kim 2006, 36). Moreover, encouraging critical education and political propaganda was so important as a form of resistance under authoritarian rule that these practices carried over into the democratic movements of the 1980's and 1990's. Subsequently, these social activists are, or have been, continuing their university education abroad to develop and draw on their past activist experiences without the intention of becoming academics. For two participants of my research in particular, this

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[18] There are other cases of ethnographic research that fulfill similar themes and requirements that have influenced the method of this project. See for example Stewart (1996), Marcus (1998), Abu-Lughod (1991).

desire to go abroad stemmed from their time spent in prison for political activism which effectively removed them from the highly competitive and professional Korean university system. Upon release, they travelled abroad to schools that were more receptive and open to forms of social activism both as academic study and in their personal lives. In these cases, Korean social struggle spurred their interest in developing international academic activity that could be used when they to return home in ongoing forms of activism and for personal development. Moreover, throughout their international travel, these international students continued to participate politically in the communities in which they resided.

One night at a friendly dinner on the outskirts of Seoul, I discovered that four of the people around the table had spent time in Toronto. Most had been to Toronto for some form of higher education for varying lengths of time; from a few months to several years. As we discussed this coincidence further, it became clear that we had all attended the same anti-war rally in Toronto before any of us had met, a situation where all of us were politically active in the same space, only to meet formally thousands of kilometers away. For us, international politics was a continued place of convergence in practical, political, academic and personal terms. International students can be the conduit, focus and the researchers of what we can consider to be international. Moreover, their participation in the local political community in Toronto was also a primary way Toronto activists came to understand the political situations in Korea, which in turn led to my interest in conducting research in the country. These connections speak to the role that academia plays in the transportation and movement of politics and activism both across and within borders, but also the extent to which such connections would largely be occluded if we focused on developing a clear representative account of the protest site, one that separated academic and activist efforts.

Consequently, my encounter with a local media activist group at the initial protest I attended in Seoul made clear the ways in which my status as a student introduced me to the element of social movement and political organization that I set out to research – the international relations of anti-capitalist efforts. Here even the use of the term international student is complicated by the political complicity of the protest site. While we were joined together by our 'international' status, the common definition of 'international student' – one who formally studies abroad – is complicated by the political practices adopted by each of us. Thus, I was a student conducting research abroad, and encountered both current and former Korean graduate students who had recently returned from their own research (making them no longer international?). Also many protest participants and people I

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encountered were in a quasi-student status - leaving home in between
graduate programs, recently graduated students, and those who were
taking time before they entered the workforce. My international status
was clearly integral to my inclusion within their efforts, but also
drew upon their own experiences in helping my connections to Korean and
local protest participants. Some of these international students were
from both the surrounding countries in the region and further abroad,
engaged in various forms of political mobilization, developing an
awareness and political connection of their activities together. Thus,
much like the Korean students in Toronto, my participation at the site
of protest importantly implicated my efforts with those of other
international students abroad hoping to achieve political goals in the
communities of their current residence. These efforts ranged from
translating local Korean struggles, events and issues into the
languages of their home countries, to integral involvement in specific
groups or social movements. Many efforts of the group I met were
working to establish connections between political activism in Seoul
with efforts previously (and prospectively) that they would continue
upon their return home. Importantly, my research followed a similar
path, as my initial efforts in Seoul were supplemented by a similar
political purpose (translating my experiences) upon my return to
Toronto. The successes and failures of such efforts will be discussed
in detail in Chapter 5.

The issue that arises for the study of International Relations is
whether or not our examinations of the links across borders and
boundaries (both national and internal) can include the international
efforts of that very research. Moreover, in what ways do these forms of
participation that suture academic and activist efforts together,
expose a limit to the extent to which activism can be represented in
the academy? In my experience, it would have been impossible,
especially given the often anti-American sentiment of some of the
protest sites, to implicate myself into some supposed hidden core of
'authentic' protestors. Moreover, as has been the point of this
research since its inception, such efforts would potentially betray the
political purpose (recognizing the inclusivity and equality of the site
of protest) and still come no closer to developing a 'representative'
account of the protests in which I participated. Subsequently,
recognizing there is a limit to academic representations of the protest
site is politically important as a way of impeding totalizing
narratives of order and struggle. In Gramscian terms, this means
recognizing that the 'organic' character of counterhegemony is tied to
the praxis of political action. Just as the representations of the
protest site always foreclose the potentiality inherent in the radical
equality of the crowd, so to do forms of order that erase contingency
in the over-identification with hegemony.

Blurring the Boundaries: Suyu+Trans

My encounter with quasi-academic spaces of political practice demands recognition of the complexity of knowledge production, education and propaganda that stems from the protest site. Two particular cases that I encountered, that of 'Suyu+Trans' and a Toronto Marxist publication were both instances of indistinguishable sites of interaction between activist and academic efforts. The first, a subject of an academic article produced in part by the members of the commune, a place in Seoul where academic and activist efforts converge. Part manifesto and part story, Yi-Jinkyung's account of the origins of "Research machine Suyu+Trans" is an effort to come to terms with the sophisticated academic insights of contemporary political theory and practical questions of political praxis (Jinkyung 2006). The complexity of thought and action is described in the efforts to:

> seek to change the very way we study - to cross (go beyond!) the academic disciplines and territories designated by Modern society and, in doing so, to create a new space where various theoretical and historical elements meet and connect; to create knowledge that is not separate from life, and to produce theory as part of daily practices; to study and think not by changing knowledge or consciousness, but by changing physical habitus and the unconscious; to create space, not of fixed uniformity by eliminating difference and heterogeneity, but of constant creation where difference and heterogeneity constantly meet, creating and transforming new entities; to produce a commune-ist lifestyle to consider for oneself through the practice of consideration of others *(zililita)*; to create a space where we can perpetually change in a nomadic fashion through new relationships, instead of residing solely in familiar and safe relationships; to create a stimulating and transforming space where various activities that dream of veering outside of modernity can meet and connect; to practice self-motivated and self-directed activities based on autonomy, not simply following 'orders' from a fixed set of rules or higher authority; to shed the traps of capitalist exchange (law of value) and adopt the rules of 'gift-exchange' and so on (ibid., 537-538).

The depth and breadth of academic, practical and social reference speaks to the complexity of the efforts underway at the site. Referencing local political moments and critical western political theory, this account is both theoretically sophisticated and emergent from the specific struggles within the city. As I discovered throughout my time there, the institute functions as both refuge and catalyst, a

space of escape but also engagement, a site of politicization and
theorization.

    While I will develop my account of the 'Suyu+trans' facility in
chapter 5, for the purposes of the discussion here there are four
points of particular importance. First, the efforts to develop praxis
within the commune are bound to the research and academic interests of
the participating members of the space. Holding classes on contemporary
political thought and academic research for participants, the 'commune-
ists' place a particular emphasis on the role of practices in the
production of knowledge (ibid., 538). It is far too easy to
oversimplify the ways in which the space can be an immersive
experience, as you can eat, sleep, live and study in the same place.
Informed by a range of contemporary academic theories and theorists,
the research institute is an indistinguishable complex of academic and
activist effort. Second, upon my arrival to the new site of the
institute, a large former catholic school in the shadow of the Namsang
tower, I was given a tour by one of the North American international
students (whom invited me to see the institute after the aforementioned
protest) of the facilities and the space. Despite the obvious
commonalities between myself and my guide (in both language and
upbringing), I had a lengthy conversation with a Korean student who was
studying there, as we had very common theoretical and academic
interests. Within a week of my arrival in Seoul, one of the longer and
most compelling conversations of my trip took place in a facility
designed for the explicit purpose of fostering such efforts, on the
issues arising from the implications of the theory used here in my
dissertation. Lacan, Deleuze, Foucault and Agamben became the
intermediaries between my research interests and someone who was
organizing the NO-FTA actions for the institute, as our conversation
drifted between theory and mobilization. How can we conceptualize the
complexity of these experiences into something that resembles and
account of either activism or academic efforts? To simplify these
exchanges would betray the efforts to come to terms with the link
between theory, praxis, participation and engagement represented in
those discussions. Moreover, to equate such efforts with the outcomes
of policy-making, or the actions of an academic deconstructing a text
in the confines of an office would also perpetually foreclose the
intent of such efforts. Can we accept that there is an important
irreducible element of political practice that escapes academic
representation? As a consequence of this question, how does my
participation at the institute challenge the authority of my
assertions?

    The nostalgia in my descriptions of the institute is rendered
from the location of my current working space, and thus implicates my

representations in the overly romantic affective longing for the praxis of fieldwork. As I receive an e-mail from a standing contact in Seoul, with pictures and descriptions of a recent public protest, a public rally or new tactic of resistance I long for the engagement of fieldwork and the closeness to a more pure activist engagement that was likely never as close as I now remember. The recounting of events here occludes the long hours, the missed meetings, the failed interviews and the lack of progress that accompanied my research. Indeed as Stewart has argued nostalgia is an "essential narrative function of language that orders events temporally and dramatizes them" and in this sense, this dissertation is a ordering and re-membering of the political praxis of my research for academic distribution (Stewart 1992, 252). To the extent to that my dissertation is a nostalgic representation of political contestation, how can those efforts be reconnected to the sites of their emergence? Despite the emphasis at Suyu+trans on the immersive combination of academics and activism, there is an inevitable loss of urgency and immediacy that is integral to the description of political engagement. The ways in which the political contestation travels through or is lost in the academic representation of the protest site, needs to be brought to the foreground in the discussion of academic and activist efforts.

Blurring the Boundaries: Marxism in Toronto

The second location of the intersection of international activist and academic efforts emerged from a recurrent meeting at a range of protests in Toronto. Upon my return to Toronto from Seoul, I was keenly interested in participating in more organized forms of political and academic efforts to mobilize and protest current and pressing political issues. At almost all the protests I attended throughout my research (and the protests I attended before my research began) there were a group of Marxists who spend their time walking through the crowds, distributing their newsletters and propaganda (for a fee) to the crowd, discussing the issues of the day, and how they relate back to the broader concerns of the Marxist project, forms of agitation and political mobilization.[19] While I will explore the central issues of my research arising from these encounters in Chapter 5, of concern to the

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[19] Two important notes here are: first, that the description of these publications as propaganda, is what they are called by the authors themselves, an explicit politicization of the purpose of the production of the texts to mobilize and agitate the working classes; second, the decision to charge a fee for these papers is also not framed in terms of consumption or profit/loss, rather it is seen as renumerative for the distributional efforts and capabilities of the element of working class consciousness that they continue to represent and agitate.

issues of international connection and political praxis are the ways in which the distribution of knowledge and in particular, the production of propaganda, intersects with the issues of authority and accounts of the political. Here again nostalgia is paramount, as this Marxist propaganda is intimately connected to the loss of an imagined opportunity in the repeated betrayal of a True socialist revolution throughout the past century. The efforts to reverse this betrayal are personified in their goal of developing the missing True interpretation of the history of class struggle. Every issue published by the group is an effort to demonstrate through detailed chronological and historical analyses, how the political position of the Marxism is, and always has been, the correct political decision for the working classes. The political importance of nostalgia in the production of these efforts cannot be overstated, as the dense political tracts speak to the loss, betrayal and consistent encounter with the extent of this 'error' in the political mobilization of every hereunto event. Moreover, the production of the text fulfills both political and academic requirements, as page after page teems with the analysis of history for interpreting the current political moment, and the constant interpretation of struggles within the explicitly normative political framework of historical materialism and Marxism. Such efforts seem to fulfill the description of what Žižek calls the "perspectival distortion" of a political intervention, one which explicitly subjectivizes the facticity/objectivity of the world within a purview that directly confronts contemporary capitalism (Žižek 2006a, 2001d, 99). The authors, both graduate students and workers, do not sign their work as the text undergoes revision after revision and collective political editing to ensure the political Truth of their assessments. Rather than ensuring a lack of consistency, such communal efforts allow for the collective analyses of history and a sustained political relevance within their work. Thus, the nostalgia of the loss of the socialist revolution is constantly reenacted, as it is repeated and re-presented in every issue, at every protest and every failure to mobilize the working classes. As Little has argued, the "shocking sense of loss (recouped as nostalgia) is then "overcome" by the illusion of order", therefore the repetition of the failure of the revolution is narratively and personally reenacted at the protest site time and again (Little 2006, 604). Here the political effort represented in this Marxist publication is completely without the restraint of the objectifying processes of 'traditional' intellectual efforts, and in a way represents the fantasy inherent in the concept of the organic intellectual. On the one hand, the process of politically interested peer review, the detailed examination of international and local political struggles by educated authors (both academically and practically) and the direct distribution of the text at the site of struggle appears to be a cumulation of the efforts of an engaged

academic effort. And yet, much like the loss that drives the insistence on the correct interpretation of events, such efforts expose the anxiety of the excessive character of such political intervention, and the ways in which the abstraction inherent in the academic position disavows that level of engagement as excessive (see also the discussion of ethics below). The engaged political militancy of the Marxist publication and the necessity of abstraction in academic work speaks to the ways in which the absent cores of political and academic practice represent irreducible differences that are not equivalent.

The role of comparison in the international

Before moving to the important discussion of ethics, there is a need to explore the constantly shifting emphasis from Toronto to Seoul within my research. Such efforts raise the tension between the international and comparative elements of my efforts. While there remains an ever-present comparative element to this research, I focus on the links between the sites of protest in the global political economy. I have outlined above, the international component of this research takes a variety of forms, and is an integral part of understanding the politics of protest as well. It is perhaps more common for research on two different nation-states to imply that there is a comparative element to these efforts, with the accompanying expectation that nation states retain distinguishable categories of difference (dependent variables) and moments of commonality (independent variables). Indeed, much of the previous work on protest and dissent in Political Science has been the emphasis of comparative politics, as violent and nonviolent social movements are a persistent object of study. However, to concede that the state is a clearly defined, cohesive, sovereign object of study not only marginalizes the importance of contestation and resistance internal to the nation-state, it also reintroduces the abstract and neutral perception of social order directly challenged by sites of protest. My research examines the intersection of multi-scalar issues with the hope of developing a better appreciation of the forms of contemporary anti-capitalism underway even in the most heavily commodified and commercialized areas of Seoul and Toronto. As Marcus explains:

> … comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known beforehand, but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation. The object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated, so any ethnography of such an object will have a comparative dimension that is integral to it, in the form of juxtapositions of phenomena that conventionally have appeared to

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be (or conceptually have been kept) "worlds apart." Comparison
reenters the very act of ethnographic specification by a research
design of juxtapositions in which the global is collapsed into
and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations
rather than something monolithic or external to them (Marcus
1995, 102).

Comparison is thus an inescapable part of international research, and
my earliest encounters at the protest site inevitably drew on previous
political experiences and contexts. Contesting the idea of
international as state-to-state connections is inherently a part of
research into anti-capitalism and international forms of protest (as a
target - such as imperialism - and as a process of my research). The
tension between comparative and international efforts in Political
Science speaks to the disconnection between methodologies and practices
of studying relationships that cross borders, and this neglect produces
confusion for research that takes place in more than one state. In the
context of my research the role of the international student becomes
integral to the content of study, as the distinction between activist
and academic in these sites is complicated, blurred and inescapably
tied to the practices of the site. The necessity of relating my
experiences in Toronto to my participants in Seoul and back again,
inherently involves a process of comparison which itself speaks to the
importance of translation in the international. As I discovered, these
connections were often closer and more local than I expected and could
implicate my own practices as forms of international relations. As will
be explored in Chapter 5, these accounts require my inclusion in the
narrative and a recognition of the limitations of both activism and
academia as idealized forms of political action, that are often more
complex and complicated in the field and the offices than realized.

Ethics

Judith Butler has argued that ethics emerges at the limits of our
intelligibility, the points in which our common social ground is no
longer assured, in turn necessitating a coming to terms with these
situations (Butler 2003, 21-22). There are two primary ethical
trajectories of my research, the first is the technical and specific
aspects of conducting ethnographic-minded research at the protest sites
and places I attended, and the second, as discussed in Chapter 3, is
the subjective relationship between the notion of self and desire, and
coming to terms with the ethical responsibility of living one's life.
As subjects who emerge in a world not of our making - a world which
provides us with the terms and context of our self-recognition - coming
to terms with that world is also a process of coming to terms with our
selves (ibid., 22-23). The ethics of this research is intimately

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intertwined with the account of my efforts, my choices, my decisions
and politics, which emerge from the specific places and sites of those
actions.

Perhaps the most obvious example is the decisions made at the
site of protest for an interview, who I choose or am able to speak with
helps me characterize the protest scene, while recognizing that the
protest site itself is inherently contested, both in the actions of its
members and the numerous claims being made therein. The authority of my
claim to adequately represent those spaces (such as local Korean
farmers or Toronto non-status workers) is importantly subjective,
because of the political ramifications of those claims, it is important
to recognize the limits (and value) of my academic representations.
Protest sites challenge representative claims and limit
intelligibility. The link between the political and the ethical remains
a struggle for the study of international relations, one that is too
often assumed away under various forms of necessity, immediacy and
circumstance.

Reflexive ethnography that takes account of one's role in the
production of academic authority does not imply that such efforts are
necessarily less critical or less focused on the practices and
experiences of the political. Instead, it is the idea of complicating
the role that one's authority plays both in their texts and in their
representations. In the innumerable place of the crowd or the protest
site, the democratization (or perhaps more accurately the pre-demos
leveling) speaks to the subjective role of politics in the organization
of political action. Adopting forms of methodological interpretation
that reflect those political attitudes has been attempted in
Anthropology by those attuned to such sensibilities. As Davies
explains,

> postmodern ethnographers are uncomfortably aware of the authorial
> voice and are at pains to minimize it, they do not necessarily
> take the classical ethnographic approach of expunging it from the
> text. Instead of making the ethnographer disappear they make
> themselves more visible, even central in the production with the
> idea that in so doing, in presenting their gropings towards
> understanding, they undermine their own authority so that their
> interpretations become simply one perspective with no superior
> claim to validity (Davies 1999, 15).

This emphasis is at once ethical, political as well as an attempt to
come to terms with the positional authority inherent in the academic
voice, one which draws upon traditions and structures that are embedded
in modern western thought. In International Relations the dominance of
what George has called the 'Egoism-Anarchy Thematic' has produced an

overwhelming interest in politics as authority and decision. This
assumption results in the dismissal and peripheralization of moral and
ethical issues in the name of the necessity of 'power politics' and has
as a consequence, produced an overwhelming fixation on the egoistic
actions of nation states under an international system of anarchy
(George 1995, 46). This ethical position - the avoidance of ethics *as*
ethics - is largely coherent so long as it avoids the complicated
peripheral spaces at the borders of states and within them, in the
myriad of diverse local politics and constant swell of grassroots and
counterhegemonic movements. Coupled with the desire to create a
coherent and testable theory of international politics centered on the
individual, to mirror the precision and abstraction of economics (see
for example Keohane 2005), International Relations has tended to
supplant ethics as post-political, or render ethical issues as specific
to the researcher. These efforts rely on the implicit and explicit
coherence of the academic voice and the authority derived from the
assumption that we are all egoistic and individuated actors. Displacing
this emphasis is perhaps the primary effort of my psychoanalytic
approach, in an effort to explore the complexity of subjectivity in the
practices of the political. In this regard, even the Gramscian efforts
to actively politicize academic practice, have still tended to treat
ethics as a situated consequence of broader social movements and social
order. Thus while many Gramscian authors remain committed and active
political participants, the realm of ethics remains outside their
academic work, supplanted by the assertion of the importance of the
organic intellectual.

The idea of situated ethics has a strong resonance in the post-
structuralist efforts of critical International Relations. The
relationship between the subject and 'the Other' was the focus on
Chapter 3. However, in both Walker's work on activism (discussed above)
and the literary turn in poststructuralist International Relations in
general, the tendency towards insular and inwardly focused politics
remains (for a discussion of this tendency in social sciences see Žižek
2002; Chow 2002). In other words, by focusing on the ethical components
of research as inherently political leads to a new set of
methodological and practical concerns. In the case of autoethnography,
Bourdieu has challenged these self-referential efforts for their
inherent disconnection from the purpose of research. Subsequently the
focus on the role of authorship in the production of texts can tend
towards a form of solipsism, or in his words:

> the practice, made fashionable over a decade ago by certain
> anthropologists, especially on the other side of the Atlantic,
> which consists in observing oneself observing, observing the
> observer in his work of observing or of transcribing his

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observations, through a return on fieldwork, on the relationship
with his informants and, last but not least, on the narrative of
all these experiences which lead, more often than not, to the
rather disheartening conclusion that all is in the final analysis
nothing but discourse, text, or, worse yet, pretext for text
(Bourdieu 2003, 282).

Bourdieu's criticism focuses on the lack of emphasis in critical work
on the objectifying processes in which academic practices are
implicated, and the ways in which history plays an important role in
the production of both ideas and academic practices. He proposes the
concept of 'participant objectivication' to incorporate the important
role of the researcher within the lived historical and political
practices of their lives (ibid.). For Bourdieu, the structural position
of the academic is accompanied by a self-recognition of the
disconnection of the researcher from the processes of their lives and
the way that impacts their conception of events. As he explains,

the most difficult thing, paradoxically, is never to forget that
they are all people like me, at least inasmuch as they do not
stand before their action … in the posture of an observer; and
that one can say about them that, strictly speaking, they do not
know what they are doing (at least in the sense in which I, as
observer and analyst, am trying to know it) (ibid., 288).

Here the academic/non-academic distinction is asserted as an
imperceptible difference between modes of consciousness and ways of
being in the world. This has the function of both reassuring us that
those people being studied are missing the element of self-awareness
that accompanies critical academic thought, and also that non-academic
thought is interested in fundamentally different concerns than those of
academics. Here again the assumption of a critical self-reflection (the
purpose of western enlightenment thought) reinforces an egoistic
foundation from which academic work takes place. Politically and
ethically, Bourdieu's distinction between academic and non-academic
efforts fails to come to terms with the limit inherent in the assertion
of academic efforts. The Lacanian effort proposed here not only
recognizes these limits, but proposes that the belief in surpassing
that limit, trying to access 'true' universal knowledge is a way of
constantly differing political action in the present. In these terms,
the academic for Bourdieu occupies the position of 'the subject
supposed to know', one who has access to greater truths, training or
expertise upon which to analyze and interpret political action (Žižek
1998). Instead, the ethnographic and allegorical approach adopted here,
is an effort to democratize the otherwise exclusionary belief in that
access to political insight is reserved for the academy, and following

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psychoanalytic insights, come to terms with the idea that *everyone* 'does not know what they are doing', and that we are inherently obtuse to ourselves (Žižek 2002a). This is not an invalidation of academic efforts, but rather a way to come to terms with the ethics that emerges from the assumption that we are not only rational, calculating economizing individuals. The response to the critique of an overly 'textual' analysis that results in claims of solipsism is not to search for an ever more comprehensive theory of politics, but to recognize the politics already underway, and participate in ways that may not be fully understood or determined in advance. Politics that use theories as guarantees of political action usually remain restricted to the academic places of their emergence.

This chapter has explored the methodological, practical and ethical dilemmas of researching the protest site and the ways in which the distinction between activist and academic efforts should be seen as a problem to be discussed rather than an issue to be overcome. Beginning with the Gramscian notion of the 'organic intellectual' it is possible to see how the methodological discussions in International Relations remain in their infancy, as well as how it is politically and ethically important to interrogate the places where knowledge is produced. If we begin to recognize that the creation of academic knowledge can take place outside the academy, we can also critically assess the purpose and direction of research inside the academy. Bearing these insights in mind, I now turn to the sites of struggle and resistance that were the places of my research and begin to explore the practices and theories that I encountered.

Chapter 5: Militant Masculinities of Protest

The approach to contemporary anti-capitalism adopted in this chapter is an exploration of the oppositional strategies that directly confront the absent core of 'Capital' that stands at the center of the international capitalist system. The universality of 'Capital' and capitalism are opposed in the specific and local and specific contexts of struggle, in ways that utilize a range of subjective and performative strategies. The purpose of this chapter is not to undertake an effort to systematize or develop an internal logic of what constitutes a 'proper' anti-capitalist moment or who represents an ideal anti-capitalist (if such a person even exists). I instead focus on the trajectories that emerged from a certain form of participation across a range of different sites and contexts. The theme of this chapter is the way in which these performative gestures enact a specific form of masculinized violence, a convergence of strategies that draw on specific notions of participation, in the political in order to adopt an anti-capitalist position. Following this theme from Seoul, to the island of Jeju-do to Toronto was a process of coming to terms with the importance of militancy, masculinity and strategies of violence enacted at the protest site, and the connections between those practices. The experience of this militancy is an important part of how we can come to terms with the ongoing challenges to capitalism in the international political economy and the role that forms of participation play in this process. This militancy and political agency employs an important understanding of the politics of anachronism, an attitude towards participation that is out-of-step with the normalizing processes of political sensibility. This anachronism serves as both a source of hope and violence in the strategies examined here and is an important part of coming to terms with the political possibilities of the protest site. My journey is one that proceeds from the site of protest, winds its way through philosophies, narratives, gender and tactics in order to map out the complicated relationships between practices, knowledge and political participation.

Protesting Free Trade

Upon arrival in Seoul, it did not take long to find the sites of protest that became the focus of my research there. Plastered on lamp posts and street corners around the city, the 'September 24' protests against the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) were organized as resistance to a deepening integration of Korea in the global economy combined with a rejection of American military expansion on the peninsula. Both an anti-FTA protest and a rally in support of the residents of the proposed site of a new American military base, the protest was promoted with an image of elderly villager from Pyeong-tek with her fist raised

in resistance (see Appendix 2). Held in front of Seoul City Hall, the
protests were attended by a range of labour union members and local
activists groups, some from within the city and others who had bused in
from the countryside. The first person I spoke with explained that he
was a member of a group of rural middle school teachers who were active
in their labour union and had wanted to be able to better explain to
their students why the Korean government was supporting a free trade
agreement with the United States. Once they began to research the
issue, they made the FTA a rallying point for their union and were
helping to educate their students about the contemporary political
issues of resistance to free trade. For Chung-He, the protest site
represented a point of mobilization, solidarity and an effort to
contextualize the event within the broader framework of the issues of
globalization and international integration.[20] We spoke for a while
about the links between the US-Korean FTA and the NAFTA agreement, as
the experiences of Canada and Mexico's resistance to NAFTA was of
interest to those mobilized against the FTA.[21] As the event got
underway, he left to find the rest of his group, and the protest began
with a song.

The selection of Korea as the site of my field research was based
on both my studies of East Asian political economy, and the consistent
referral by Toronto activists to the perceived militancy and
organization of the Korean protest movements. As a country with a
recent history of student, labour and social movement mobilization as
well as a rapid transformation into a strong capitalist economy, Korea
has a vibrant and broad range of political mobilization and resistances
to capitalism. In North America, the references to Korean protests are
persistent and peripheral in popular culture, as the images of violence
between the police and protestors recur with a certain frequency,
perhaps a subtle reminder to us in North America of the limits of
acceptable political participation. In any case, this perception in
Toronto was linked to the idea of a direct effort to confront the
systemic violences of contemporary capitalism through a direct
engagement at the site of resistance. Indeed, if 'Capital' is the
articulation of social struggle and control over society, then
resistance to capital is representationally strongest at its explicit
site. Moreover, if Žižek's claim about the impossibility of thinking of
a non-capitalist future is correct, it is important to lend support to
those moments when the systemic violence of contemporary capitalism is
directly contested (Žižek 1999a, 2000, 2004). However, when the

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[20] Chung-He is a pseudonym.
[21] Oh My News hosted videos on their web site recounting the experiences
of the resistance to NAFTA and the impacts of free trade with the
United States.

September 24 event began, I was struck by the range of tactics and practices that were utilized in the processes of protest. While an event with such a high level of labour representation would inevitably produce a lot of labour chants and songs, this event employed a series of reenactments as well as choreographed dances to tell the story of Pyeong-tek.

One of the central themes of this protest site was the ongoing relocation of the American military bases scattered across the country - from the border with North Korea, to the centre of Seoul, and in areas to the south - to a central base on the West side of the peninsula, dislocating the residents of a local village, Pyeong-tek. The protest utilized a range of tactics to tell the story and mobilize the crowd, incorporating many potent nationalist, historical and cultural issues to mobilize support against the FTA and the military resettlement. Despite what has traditionally been a divisive issue for social movements in Korea, nationalism here was framed in overtly oppositional strategies rather than those based upon mobilization or partisanship. The links to a deeper economic integration with the US were politicized to exemplify a range of issues stemming from the large standing presence of American military forces in the country and to ongoing practices of contemporary imperialism. Thus, some of the elderly residents were brought in from Pyeong-tek and honored for their courageous resistance against the military expansion. As a local member of a recently banned (declared illegal) public sector union explained to me, these were the same residents that were forced from their land during the Japanese occupation during World War II, who had endured occupation and colonial rule once before, and were now being asked to give up their land again to a foreign nation. As both an indignity and an injustice, the Pyeong-tek issue helped to clarify the resistance to deepening integration with the American economy, as well as the problems such integration implies in a country with a large foreign military presence. To demonstrate their situation further, a group of students acted out the scene from the homes of the Pyeong-tek farmers as they were expelled from their homes during the first colonial occupation and their forced removal again - this time with the full complicity of the Korean government. At the end of the performances, the elderly residents were brought in on a large procession float through a series of erected barbed wire fences, crashing through each on the way to the stage, where they thanked the crowd for their support and were honored with chants, songs and applause.

There were of course a whole range of representational practices at work at the September 24 protest. First, the international dimension of the protest speaks to the ways in which international relations can be the catalyst and fodder of ongoing resistances in the contemporary

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global political economy. In a country with the political and military history of Korea, the South Korean government's decision to politicize the military expansion in such a way as to abdicate their participation in the reorganization while vilifying the American role drew on popular nationalism to deflect their responsibility. Moreover, the foregrounding of the plight of the Pyeong-tek villagers helped to unify what has been a divisive force in the protest movements since the 1980's - the split between the nationalist and communist tendencies of activist and social movement groups.[22] Also, the deference to age and the importance of respecting elders in popular Korean culture meant that the targeting of the elderly villagers was also an affront that became a potent tool of political mobilization.

And yet, each of these analyses does not on their own explain the importance of the site as a form of anti-capitalist practice in the global political economy. Instead, I would argue that the anachronistic mobilization of labour - in an era of multi-centered, postmodern, reflexive political-economic production - linked with the anti-American sentiments against the military expansion represents an important moment of anti-capitalism. It is the anachronism of organized labour- the way in which workers organizing themselves to collectively act as a political subject - that provides an explicit rejection of the logic of neoliberalism, and both grounds and concentrates resistance. The globalization and integration represented in FTAs is based in the decentered logic of the need for universal market principles devoid of the political manipulation of an interventionist state, a politicized populace or an organized workforce. Faced with such a global consensus, anachronism is the appropriate strategy to oppose such practices, as it recognizes both the challenges of the future and the failures of the past. As Walter Benjamin argued, the repetition of past political struggles helps to foreground the closeness, as well as the political possibilities that were in hand but managed to slip away. Residing within the failures of the past is the accumulation of political struggles that provides the basis for a revolutionary impetus:

> Take Walter Benjamin's notion of revolution as redemption-
> through-repetition of the past; apropos of the French Revolution,
> the task of a true Marxist historiography is not to describe the
> events as they really were (and to explain how these events
> generated the ideological illusions that accompanied them); the

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[22] The splitting factions of the student moment into PD (People's Democracy), ND (National Democracy) and NL (National Liberation) resulted from the divisive issues of national identity and the role of communism, and the status of North Korea (see YI-Jinkyung 2006; Prey 2004).

> task is, rather, to unearth the hidden potentialities (the
> utopian emancipatory potentials) which were betrayed in the
> actuality of revolution and its final outcome (the rise of
> utilitarian market capitalism) (Žižek 2006a, 78).

Thus, I believe there is both a certain purpose and logic behind the
efforts of labour movements to employ a link between the opposition to
the FTA and the anti-Americanism of the resistance to Pyeong-tek.
Moreover, understanding this politicization within the framework of
anachronism also dispels any need to clarify the 'success' of the anti-
capitalist effort. The September 24th protest mobilized its participants
around common and important themes that are often misplaced in the
discussion of political possibility today. Direct links between the
imperial status of American occupation, complicit government action in
the occupation of land, as well as the solidarity of labour unions
speaks to a certain political sensibility out-of-step with the location
and place of the struggle (the centre of Seoul's financial, business
and commercial areas). Moreover, to the extent that the FTA comes to
stand in for the ever-increasing expansion of global capitalism - the
thing that it is impossible to imagine a world without - such struggles
directly target the system, the abstraction at the core of capital
itself.

It is the universalization of this struggle through a
politicization of resistance against the FTA that founds the basis of
politicization, a suture across the range of political opinions
represented by the multitude of the crowd, and unites them with a
common cause. In this sense protest is most important because it both
includes and explicitly represents the assembled members in a way that
is not reducible to its participant members, nor a simple democratic
counting of opinions and beliefs. The politicization of the protest
site stems from its collective capability and its radically inclusive
character, one that can and often does include those members whose
interests may not even align with the purpose of the protest. Thus my
research includes a politics and a set of practices which I could not
determine in advance nor for which I could even claim to speak
representatively. Moreover, there is a certain interpellation,
commonality and cohesion to the political ends that is called for in
the songs and chants of the protest site. When I later asked how it was
that Korean protests utilized chants, songs and performances so much
more than I had seen at protests in North America, one protestor
replied that during the 1980's there was a basic necessity in student
movement to keep everyone mobilized day after day, and the only way to
do so was to keep the protests interesting, lively and fun. To think of
protest in terms of enjoyment is to link the practices of political

mobilization with the subjective experiences of how we understand what it means to participate politically. As Kim argues:

> Activities of popular theater introduce collective motives (criticizing the very oppressive regime) to all the participants (play writers, actors and audiences). Then, the popular theater provides not only its goals (strengthening working class solidarity) to the audiences, but also its conditions and tools (clapping, yelling hooting and reciting the lines of the play) to each participant. All participants have the role of co-creating a play and learn the spirit of play through these activities (Kim 2006, 58).

These processes of interpellation are part of the practices that help place the body within the mass of the crowd and the give coherence to the common voice of protest.[23] Bodily practices provide a kind of coherence to the oppositional stance of the protest site in ways that incorporate participation without the overt necessity of choice. The efficacy of the chant, the song and the march resides in its bodily performance rather than the need for a 'conscious' and 'informed' political choice. Thus, as was often the case, the haphazard decision to accompany a friend to a protest site can result in a support and participation of issues, causes and resistances of which I had previously never encountered, contemplated, or chose. The protest site is important as a space where participation can exceed choice, decision and self (as was explored in Chapter 3). As a foreigner participating in a quasi-nationalist protest, the representational difficulties and complexities abound. My inclusion in the oppositional space is importantly indifferent to my specific and particularized status, politicizing me (as participant) in spite of myself (as foreigner). As was discussed in Chapter 4, the small contingent of foreigners at the September 24 protest helped to define a space within the larger movement. This was not the case at the protest against the FTA in Jeju-do.

Jeju-do

While there were a range of tactics employed at the September 24th protest, the anti-FTA protests in Jeju-do a few months later exposed the more direct and violent spaces of conflict over the implications of

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[23] Indeed, a group that I met at a protest in Jeju-do was an explicitly Althusserian student group. While I did not have the chance to explore this connection further, the importance of Althusser's academic work - and his concept of interpellation as the process of creating ideological subjects - was remarkable to find at the Jeju-do protest.

the free trade agreement. Specifically, the Jeju-do protests were more
reminiscent of the Seattle, Quebec City and Genoa protests that
employed specific tactics to disrupt proceedings and block the efforts
of leaders to decide on the terms of a neoliberal free trade agreement.
Between the overwhelming police presence and the highly organized and
prepared protestors, the ensuing clashes were more reminiscent of my
pre-formed expectations of the Korean protest culture. In a common
symbolic juxtaposition of interests, the talks were being held in a
luxurious, sprawling hotel perched high on a cliff overlooking the
ocean, while the groups of farmers, labour union members and activists
marched through the police-lined and blockaded streets assembling in an
open field, kilometers from the meeting. The main rally began in this
field in front of one of the international convention centres, a
remnant of the development and expansion of the island during South
Korea's hosting of the 2002 World Cup. In order to get to the protest
site, I had to pass one of the enormous publically funded stadiums
built for the event, a testament to desire for an international
spotlight which now appeared as a strange juxtaposition, disconnected
from the surrounding suburban neighbourhoods of the small island. As I
was told repeatedly before I left, Jeju-do was considered Korea's
Hawaii, a separated and isolated place for the FTA talks to be held, in
order to avoid the large-scale protest that would accompany a mainland
visit. However, I arrived on the island at the same time as labour
union leaders and the police presence at the airport was overwhelming,
not a scene of vacation and relaxation. From the airport to the
protest site, protestors were standing at the side of the road,
individually, in the rain, with NO-FTA signs almost every 500 feet, and
their consistent presence diminished only slightly on the 40 minute
highway drive from the airport to the location. As the protests were
largely mobilized by local and mainland farmers contesting the
agricultural clauses of the FTA agreement, the decision to hold the
talks on Jeju-do (with large number of local tangerine and produce
farmers) was seen as a particular affront. One farmer I spoke with had
taken a boat from the peninsula to Jeju-do, a much longer trip than the
hour-long plane ride from Seoul to the island. He was one of the
farmers who also attended the WTO protests in Hong Kong, where many of
the friends he had travelled with were subsequently arrested. He
explained the need to protect his livelihood, but also had an interest
in telling as many people as possible about his efforts, and vocalized
desire to educate urbanites about the importance of the countryside.[24]

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[24]As Kim explains this is a movement that has become more common as
well:

> Many labor activists of the 1980's have gone back to farming land
> (homeland) in order to both recover their health, and realize the
> principles of alternative society (e.g. recovering communal

He introduced me to his 'niece' a North-American born Korean who was actively involved with the anti-FTA movement in both Korea and North America. They were not actually related but met in Hong Kong in 2005 and had spent time together during the protests, and he invited her to visit his farm on her next visit to Korea. She was participating through translation and communication between the efforts in Korea and the efforts at home, and spoke of the shared sentiment across the countries against the FTA, and of the upcoming protests in Washington D.C. as the negotiation talks moved back and forth between the US and Korea. After clarifying my purpose and research, she introduced me to some university students who had travelled from Seoul to attend the protest. They described themselves as an Althusserian student group, carrying a NO-FTA banner and invited me to spend the day with them. As we marched across the outer limits of the police cordon, they explained how – like the efforts in Hong Kong – a group of farmers were planning on swimming across a small channel in order to gain direct access to the beach of the resort where the talks were being held. The police cordon was marshaled across a bridge high above, which quickly turned into a vantage point for their efforts to determine how to continue their blockade in water.

Recurring violence

How can we reconcile the violences of the protest site with the violences of economic and trade agreements made behind closed doors? The back and forth with the police continued throughout the protests – reaching a peak when protestors swam across a short channel to attempt to climb the winding stairs up the cliffs behind the hotel. In the light of these ongoing protest-site contestations, is it enough to claim that the lack of a systemic alternative to neoliberalism and free trade justifies the decisions to exclude the direct interests of the farmers in the talks?[25] More importantly then, if the protest site is what we could call a minimally representative space – the articulated claims of the assembled are an explicit effort to reject the claims of representation of the free trade negotiators – then how is the structural violence of the talks figuratively reflected in the explicit violence outside them? Violent protest is often condemned as

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bond). Creating [their] own lifestyle such as exercising mediation and living the principle of honest poverty, [they try] not only to integrate the goals of social transformation within [their] personal [lives], but also develop new layers of working class identity" (Kim 2006, 116).

[25] Indeed, as it became abundantly clear in 2008, these exclusions could result in a wide-spread opposition to the FTA clauses, as the issue of American beef set off months of massive protest throughout Seoul.

an exclusionary and extreme tactic; except that if we recognize that
capital represents a claim over social control, and the sovereign
decision of the state reflects its assertion of monopoly of power, the
only appropriate and indeed consequent response to these efforts will
be the characterization of these actions as violent (see Critchley
2005). If Capital represents a limit-point, a structural impediment to
thinking about systemic alternatives, the position of anti-capitalism
is one that exposes the partisan, contingent and contested nature of
that decision-making. Indeed, the politicization of the site of
decision-making by the farmers is a rejection of the representative
character of the state, and the universal character of capital, as well
as the abstracted logics of market forces. Capital is exposed as the
social struggle it represents, manifested in the confrontation between
the farmers and the police, which continued throughout the night.

The explicit use of violence to defend the decision-making
process exposes the necessarily partisan nature of those decisions and
politicizes the foundations of the 'objectivity' of neoliberalism. Too
often we hear the assertion that the protestors of a FTA lack the
necessary objectivity, or the ability to discern the 'objective'
benefit of the relations of power. A quote that bears repeating, in
International Relations, we hear the voice of people like Robert
Keohane who argue that:

> Behind the protestors' annoyingly naïve characterizations of the
> WTO, IMF and World Bank, and their frequent failure to understand
> even elementary economics, lies a deep concern with democratic
> procedures. When asked, students involved in these protests may
> concede ignorance on how the World Bank is organized or whether
> it has changed policies to help the poor. Pressed on their
> economics, and on issues of fact, they may come back to their
> normative base: global institutions are "undemocratic" (Keohane
> 2002, 225).

The assertion of objectivity provides a powerful basis to reject the
claim of those who oppose power. Capital is presented as an objective
and clear thing upon which sound politics rests, and the processes of
decision making are employed through policies of objectivity and fact.
Yet, if we recognize that both sovereign power and capital are
contingent sites of social struggle, this objectivity is supplanted
with a partisan voice. The issue of universalization and objectivity is
thus central to the ability to make a political claim against voices
that would seek to exclude dissent, not simply because of the
disruption of necessary proceedings, but also because it curtails the
ability to make the claims of objectivity appear to be uncontested.
Thus, when Žižek calls capitalism the Real of our age, he means it in a
very specific and politically relevant sense, as 'the Real' is:

The gap which prevents our access to it, the "rock" of antagonism
which distorts our view of the perceived object through a partial
perspective. And , again, the "truth" is not the "real" state of
things, that is, the "direct" view of the object without
perspectival distortion, but the very Real of the antagonism
which causes perspectival distortion. The site of truth is not
the way "things really are in themselves", beyond their
perspectival distortions, but the vey gap, passage which
separates one perspective from another, the gap (in this case:
social antagonism) which makes the two perspective radically
incommensurable (Žižek 2006, 61).

The social antagonism represented by capital cannot be simply bypassed
through a claim to the objectivity of economics, or the abstract
importance of market forces in general. From the perspective of the
protestor outside the heavily guarded hotel in Jeju-do, the police and
the impasse of access represents an entirely different politics, a
different perspective on the same event, an inescapable interpretive
frame brought about by a contingent position of protest, one that
challenges the claim to objectivity of the negotiators. Anti-capitalism
is thus a perspective born of opposition, one that takes the central
antagonism of the capitalist system, capital itself, and uses the
oppositional strategies to oppose the objective violence of the state
and capital.

Gendered practices

Given the importance of perspectival distortion in the
interpretation of 'Capital', political participation at the protest
site includes an inescapably gendered component. The explicit exclusion
of forms of subjective identification (protest in spite of my 'self')
at the protest site also reproduces long-standing debates about gender,
Marxism and anti-capitalism. My experience of political engagement was
necessarily defined by the agency, status and articulation of
masculinity (both mine and those I spoke to and marched with) in ways
that consciously and unconsciously shape my experiences of the events.
Understanding the 'performance' of gender is an effort to foreground
the ways in which our selves are inescapably enacting gendered
practices (Butler 1993; Taussig 1993). Thus, the exploration of gender
in both this chapter and the next is also an effort to explore my
engagement (as a man, from North America with privilege) with what I
see as important political strategies.

More simply, the debate is this: in targeting 'Capital' in
protest, do I effectively exclude and dismiss 'gender' as an equally

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privileged target?[26] Like the criticisms of Marxism in the past (which
is why anachronism is important and inescapable), issues of gender are
quickly reduced to second-order political concerns, a topic and problem
to be dealt with in the post-revolutionary setting. Consequently, such
an anti-capitalism sustains the argument for political urgency,
necessity and the tactical ignoring and dismissing of gender. As Žižek
has argued (and was outlined in Chapter 2), if we do not focus on
'Capital' over all other specific forms of resistance, we transform our
anti-capitalism into a specific and particularized struggle thereby
leaving 'Capital' undisturbed. The result is that the "global dimension
of capitalism is suspended in today's multicultural progressive
politics: its 'anti-capitalism' is reduced to the level of how today's
capitalism breeds sexist/racist oppression" rather than directly
confronting the foundation of these struggles (Žižek in Butler 2000,
96). In my research, this was perhaps most commonly seen in the
articulation of what constitutes a protest itself - the radical and
confrontational strategy of an often violent suspension of law, social
norms and subjectivity. The emphasis of this chapter is a foregrounding
of the important militancy and anachronism of anti-capitalism today,
while recognizing that such strategies do employ an inescapably
gendered component that adopts a range of gendered and political
exclusions. The selection of cases, examples and characterization of
the important moments of protest explicitly adopts a militant
masculinity, a way to legitimate a confrontational, violent and
necessarily exclusionary political strategy.

If the protests in Jeju-do enact a policiticized form of
participation that utilizes violence as political strategy, the
universalization of struggle against 'Capital' can glamorize the
sacrifice and bravado of physical confrontation. First is the way in
which the confrontation with police at the protest site permits and
mimics the strategies of violence of the state. When the rows of
farmers ran up and down the beach to try to break through the police
line; when chants take over the crowd and drive everyone forward; when
fires are set in effigy and speakers are overcome with anger, violence

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[26] By 'Gender' here I refer to the Lacanian notion of the Phallus/Name
of the Father, or the importantly patriarchal foundations of Western
theory, thinking and practices. The debate over gender between Žižek
and Butler is ongoing, and centers on the extent to which gender
functions as an absent centre - much like 'Capital'. While relying on
the insights of Lacan, Butler rejects the notion of an exteriority, or
any exclusion that is not performatively enacted, which places gender
firmly within the realm of practices and performativity. This
disagreement is a minor theoretical point which has dramatic political
consequences, which is the focus of this chapter and the next.

is authorized as a political strategy. The transgressive power of the protest and violence in the heroic figure of a masculinized bravado (ability to break laws, norms and social codes) also reflects the response of the state in its need to exclude, contain and subvert alternative and oppositional voices. This inescapable element of the protest site reproduces a specific set of gendered exclusions, that while important and necessary for contemporary anti-capitalism, also delimit acceptable political action.

Consequently, and as a second point, the oppositional strategies of protest (such as in Jeju-do) engender a specific relationship between the personal and the political (an ethics), that necessarily (and rightly) occludes alternative strategies. The intimate transgression of militant protest comes from the ability to expose, reveal and unearth the implicit codes that sustain the echelons of power. The violence inherent in 'policing' is exposed by instigating confrontation with authorities, and the force behind the normalcy of sovereign power becomes apparent when you risk bodily harm to demand political change. However, recognizing the importance of such acts is not to say that they are exhaustive of resistance and opposition, or that they are the only forms of engagement employed in contemporary anti-capitalism.

Finally then, there is a certain glamorization of the sacrifice and fixation on those protestors who powerfully risk everything to achieve their political ends. It is perhaps unsurprising then that throughout my research I was encouraged by several members of the 1980's and 1990's student movements to read the inspirational biography of Chun Tae-il, the 1970's labour activist that famously organized workers in the Peace Market - the garment and clothing district of Seoul. His biography was assembled from his poetic and powerful diary, where he kept a detailed the record of labour abuses in the Peace Market and he described the hardships of his poverty-laden family. In the end, he decided that his self-immolation was his last and most important effort to draw attention to the workers plight. His story became a famous rallying cry for the student, labour and democracy movement in the 1980's and 1990's and his legacy continues today. As I will explore below, the legacy of his life is in part a political strategy that universalizes the contingent struggles of workers in an anti-systemic way; in part justifying and legitimizing the extraordinary efforts he took to achieve his political ends.

The 1980's and Chun Tae-il

When I arrived in Seoul and throughout my research, I would introduce myself as someone studying protest and contemporary anti-

capitalism, and I was repeatedly asked if I knew the story of Chun Tae-il and if I had visited his memorial in the Peace Market in Dongdaemun. In most cases, it was older members of the democracy movement asking the question, those who had struggled under the authoritarian regime until democratic movements emerged in the late 1980's and early 1990's. As I was told, if you want to understand the origins of the democracy, student and protests movements in Korea, I should go visit the Chun Tae-il memorial center. Indeed, I visited the centre with another graduate student who had heard similar stories about the importance of Chun Tae-il, and he asked to accompany me on my visit. The exploration of Chun Tae-il's legacy provided importance insight into the processes of political mobilization, protest and the role of subjectivity in formulating political action. An exploration here of the impact of his biography is also an effort to come to terms with the 'Chun Tae-il philosophy' and the subsequent political movements that arose from his efforts. As a personal commitment that emerged from my research at sites of protest as well as my visit to the memorial center, his story is important because it exemplifies the tensions between protest and political subjectivity and the consequence of such actions.

Chun Tae-il was a garment worker in the Peace Market, whose biography was assembled by Cho Young-Rae and distributed to pro-democracy student movements in the 1980's. As an illegal and underground book, the biography assembles parts of his journal with accounts and official reports of his death. It explores how the extreme working conditions in the garment district led Chun Tae-il to attempt to organize the workers and petition the government to enforce existing labour laws and bring attention to the plight of those in the garment industry. With access to Chun Tae-il's journal, Cho Young-Rae assembled a powerful and compelling account of the peasant worker's life and ultimate defiant act of self-immolation. The biography, evocatively titled *A Single Spark* outlines both Chun Tae-il's experiences and the hardships of his family, the particular suffering of his mother, brother and sister is powerfully documented throughout the book. On my visit to the memorial centre, I met both his mother who lives in the apartment below the centre, and his sister who works upstairs in the library and memorial centre. His sister is also integral to sustaining the efforts started by her mother after her son's death, assisting and providing support and resources for the garment workers who still constitute a large underclass of labour in the district. There is a complex relationship between Chun Tae-il's political legacy and the work underway at the memorial center, one that speaks to the divergent trends in political protest I encountered during my fieldwork. While in this Chapter I will examine the messages of militancy and protest that are integral to understanding the impact of his biography, in the next

Chapter I will also explore the legacy and alternatives that sprung from Cho Young-Rae and Chun Tae-il's efforts.

The biography itself was illegal throughout the 1980's like many other communist and radical books. The ongoing armistice and the persistence of the National Security laws make open and public support for communism subject to accusations of treason, subversion and imprisonment. Illegality and banning of political organizations and movements remains common; throughout my stay I attended rallies for a public sector union that was declared illegal, I met members of banned student organizations, and ultimately the Anti-FTA protests were shut down (literally by closing bridge access to Seoul and blockading entrances to public areas of assembly) by the government. The ongoing impact of the division of the country and tensions inherent left-leaning efforts that appear sympathetic to North Korea are an ever-present concern. The 1954 armistice remains an integral part of the processes of demarcating acceptable political discourse and actions. In the context of Chun Tae-il's efforts this meant:

> The Korean War, which resulted from the confrontation between the leftwing and the right-wing, produced hundred of thousands, or even millions, of casualties. It resulted in pro-American rightists taking over power in the south of the peninsula and virtually obliterating the left wing in the process. This suppression of so called 'communist leftists' extended to the blotting out of all dissidents and enveloped even the civil rights movement. From that time onward the Korean labour movement was to all intents and purposes, proscribed. It was branded universally as a 'communist movement' and people involved, or who were suspected of being involved, in it were branded as communists. Superficially, trade unions did exist, but these were without exception, controlled by the government (Cho 2003, 305).

This characterization of the split in Korean society was instrumental to the impact of the role of labour unions in the democracy movement throughout the 1980's and 1990's. Moreover, as I heard repeatedly throughout my research, the question of unification, nationalism and national security continues to dominate the anti-FTA efforts and more radical protest and social movement. This not only has the direct impact of making individuals who promote pro-communist ideals open to charges of violating national security, it sustains the radical importance of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-neoliberal efforts through its transgression.

The remnants of the authoritarian rule of Park Chung-Hee are integrated into the efforts to develop resistance and alternatives

flourishing forms of capitalism in South Korea. The connection between working practices and forms of resistance is integral to the subjective decision to resist, participate and challenge the conditions and practices of our life. In a passage that echoes the importance of the subject in the formulation of political strategy, Chun Tae-il's description of his labour provides a similar insight. In his description of his life as a garment worker:

> There are loud metallic noises and the irritated voices of the machinists. I cannot distinguish what is real from unreal, but I keep on working hard. It is meaningless. Just doing it the way I know. Other than what I am doing. I am oblivious. No, even what I am doing now is being done mechanically and automatically. I am actually nothing more than an observer of my own work. My body is doing the work, but it's not instructed by anyone. My sense and noise tell me how many inches, or how long. All measured drawn out, then cut on the cutting machine. Who cut it, though? When this thought comes to mind, it is I of course, who have cut it. I don't understand why I have to do the work for which I have no desire. When I dimly sense and answer to my question it is time to go home. After I wash my face, change my clothes and say good-bye, I come home. There I eat dinner, chat for a bit, then sleep, which brings my day to an end. (Cho 2003, 147)

The message of alienation, disconnection and disembodiment from his practices is a powerful narrative of the impact of labour on working bodies. The impact of the publication of his diary is an important exploration of the ways in which political mobilization can take place through the repetition and dissemination of the experiences that are marginalized and oppressed from discourses of trade, development and neoliberalism. Indeed, as the biography explains, Chun Tae-il was keenly interested in drawing on the strength of student and university protests taking place at the time, in defense of the unrepresented workers of the garment district (ibid., 294). The power of exclusion derives from the incommensurable claims that act as a rallying cry. The efforts to direct me towards Chun Tae-il's life by several people was in part to connect my research with the 'philosophy' of Chun Tae-il's efforts:

> The Chun Tae-il philosophy is that of an aware person speaking intuitively from the bottom of society. It is the philosophy of one who has awoken from a long silence to reject the values that society has imposed on him: the philosophy of an independent human being who feels with his own heart, thinks for himself and sees the world with his own eyes on the basis of his own experience. Hence his philosophy is one of inversion, reversing

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and thus rectifying all the inverted values of the society from
beginning to end. It is a philosophy for the minjung [people]
that transforms self-contempt into self-esteem, shame into pride,
fear and degradation into anger and courage, dependency and self-
denigration into autonomy and emancipation, silence and
resignation into criticism and struggle. It is. Therefore, a
philosophy that makes the slave become reborn as a human being
(ibid., 217).

The valorization of exclusion and the transformative power of
oppression speaks to the forms of militancy and the efforts of struggle
that have characterized the political landscape in South Korea over the
last two decades. The importance of participation, of struggle and
protest derives from the links between contingent and specific examples
in order to draw together a more powerful and oppositional force than
could be created alone. Thus, as Žižek often calls for the symbolic
reordering of the capitalist system through a direct and oppositional
strategy against contemporary capitalism - through the 'symbolic death'
- Chun Tae-il's final act was precisely such an effort. While he
believed that his action could accomplish this goal, Cho Young-Rae
argues that such an effort had not taken place within the Korean labour
movement before, and thus, there was no guarantee of success (ibid.,
32). This militancy and sacrifice in the face of an impossible
situation speaks to a valorization of a dedication that quite literally
is incommensurable to social order. Thus:

> He realised that only a determined struggle stood any chance of
> changing the situation. He also realised that the only way to
> stiffen the labourers' resolve was not through persuasive
> rhetoric or the expounding of sophisticated theories, but by
> leading by example. And that example would be the dedication of
> his life to the struggle. It was only through the protest of
> casting his life into the flames, he realised, that he could
> actually break down that thick wall of silence and indifference
> to other peoples' suffering. He made up his mind to commit his
> life to the flame, in the absolute belief that it would galvanise
> the oppressed to stand up and cast aside their subservience and
> their despair (ibid., 307-308).

This symbolic act, the passage from an impossible situation to a
profoundly symbolic event, represents the potential and transformative
power of protest. The publication of his biography was deeply
influential to the members of the 1980's student movement I spoke with,
and the memorial centre is dedicated to his legacy and efforts on
behalf of the migrant workers in the area.

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The visit to the memorial centre required considerable searching up and down the alleys and streets in order to discover its location. The area is a mixture of urban decay and gentrification, and we stopped on a walkway spanning one of the many bridges over the Cheonggyecheon River, a targeted site of revitalization and a source of protest during my visit, over the city's efforts to remove street vendors in the process of creating a more 'natural' restoration of the river. On this particular bridge sits a large silver bust of Chun Tae-il, inscribed with his legacy in the 'minjung' movement. The importance of his legacy lies in the powerful mobilization instigated by his death, and yet, it is impossible not to experience a deep ambivalence about the consequences of his efforts. The symbolic significance of his death valorizes a political strategy that represents an integral contribution to local struggles but also represents an unyielding dedication that can consume its participants and remain unfulfilled. As a result, the symbolic resonance of his efforts speaks as much to his success as it does to our failure to realize his vision. Indeed, as the practice of self-immolation is more common (though not commonplace) in workers movements and struggles today, the militancy of his act risks becoming a caricature of his success, both glorified and simultaneously lost. While the direct consequence of his sacrifice has been the support and mobilization of workers in the garment district, this has placed his mother and sister at the forefront of his legacy. Yet, their sadness and the extent of their loss is apparent in their efforts and their connection to his memory which surrounds them. As the impact Chun Tae-il's act has been incorporated into the milieu of social order, the complexity of his defiance risks being blunted by contextualization (sociality and normalcy).Thus, the importance of recognizing these militant masculinities as the defiant power of protest stems from the fact that:

> Demonstration is not an act to appeal to the power holder's conscience, mercy or sympathy. It is a threat to the oppressors by showing the demonstrators' counter power. This can take many forms, including voting in an election, violence, or the influence of public opinion. Therefore, to demonstrate is not to beg those in power to 'do something.' but rather to threaten: 'do this or you will be in trouble.' In short, 'demonstration' is a daring declaration of war and a warning of continuous challenge until demands are met. Why were the oppressors so afraid of a demonstration held by 'only a few hundred' students or some tens of labourers? They were fearful because they knew these 'few' could stir the many, as a small stone can start hundreds or thousands of ripples in a lake, or a single spark can start a huge conflagration (ibid., 291).

Violence becomes an important marker of the distinction between
tactics, and one that protest in Korea has gained considerable
notoriety for, and indeed was part of the impetus for my research
there. The powerful mobilization and ongoing struggles on the streets
represents a direct confrontation, a 'declaration of war' which uses
the legacy of effort like Chun Tae-il to promote an understanding of
appropriate and necessary political action. Indeed, this legacy is
inspiring, and certainly refounded a personal commitment to continue my
efforts upon my return home. The infectious coherence of the scale of
the struggles of the September 24 and Jeju-do protests, creates an
immediacy and possibility for participation and inclusion in those
spaces. The possibility of an anti-capitalist position seems closer and
more personal in the chant of a crowd, a foundation of hope that
springs from the negativity and loss that often drives protest. The
ability to turn exclusion into possibility and violence into strength
stems from the practices of the protest site and the experience of
those efforts.

Marxism and Anachronism

Subsequently, there is an important inescapable anachronism in
arguing that anti-capitalism needs to take precedence over the issues
of gender formation and political subjectivity. Indeed, to adopt a
Truthful, dogmatic and consistent Marxist or Socialist position today
distinctly places you out of joint with the current notions of
progress, identity and political possibility. During my time in Korea I
was energized by the depth and breadth of social struggles and forms of
political mobilization underway across the political spectrum there.
Within days of my return I attended a protest on Bloor Street in front
of the Israeli consulate that was a rally in support of Gaza. A well
attended event, formed in the shadow of the expansion of the Royal
Ontario Museum, there was a large and diverse contingent of actions of
against Israeli-apartheid as well as a smaller counter demonstration by
Pro-Israeli groups. The speeches at the rally ranged from Jewish
speakers against Israeli-apartheid, Palestinian students from local
universities, and a young girl - a polished and experienced political
speaker who uplifted the crowd (I had seen her speak at 2 previous
events). There was also a strong showing of anti-poverty and
Kanonhstaton/Caledonia First Nations activists making powerful and
important connections between the ongoing struggles in the Middle East
and the struggles taking place on First Nations land.

Like many protests before, there were a few members from
competing Marxist, Trotskist and Leninist organizations distributing
their newsletters to the crowd. As is the case at most protests I
attended, members of these groups wander the event talking about the

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issues of the day and encouraging you to buy their newsletters for a small fee, to cover their publishing costs and help further spread their message to the people. On this occasion, in a lull between speakers I approached one of the members and introduced myself, and explained how I had recently returned from Korea and was quite energized about politically engaging with a clearly identified effort to challenge capitalism as well as integrating myself into a larger political project. The relative ease of my integration with different aspects of political resistance and social protest in Korea had encouraged my interest in expanding this participation at home. I explained the nature of my research, my interest in protest and offered to submit something written for their publication, asking if they solicited submissions. I had bought issues of their newsletter in the past, and was familiar with their work. I was thinking of writing a piece about the Anti-FTA efforts in Korea and I asked about a contribution on Korea, as it seemed to be one country that had very little coverage in their efforts. Without discouraging my interest, Leon explained to me that the normal publication process was a large system of group editing, which represented an articulation of the group's consensus to ensure the political accuracy of their work.[27] He did say that on special occasions they would accept an outside article, but said it would be clear that those works were not produced by their group and a decision would have to be made at their next meeting. We talked a little further about the political purpose of the group and the importance of the types of explicit political struggles underway against in the community. We exchanged e-mail addresses and he left to distribute more papers.

The recurring question I have been asked by people to whom I explain this effort to join a Marxist activist group is, why out of all the political efforts did I decide to solicit such a 'tainted' and 'compromised' political movement? More specifically, after hearing of my intentions a friend told me this joke:

> Q: What's the difference between an International Bolshevik and an International Socialist?
> A: Obviously, one is a bourgeois capitalist sympathizer.
> Q: Which one?
> A: No one knows.

Much like the idea of 'proper' anti-capitalist protest, what would an 'untarnished' political organization look like? The looming history of the failed communist movements around the world delimits the context and targets of the groups I encountered. Consequently, the anachronism

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[27] Leon is a pseudonym.

associated with contemporary Marxism is a way to redefine the link between a lost history and a current line of thinking. Moreover, it was precisely this idea of 'untarnished' truth which founded the basis of the Marxist efforts I encountered. The articulation of an 'objective' Truth of the capitalist system is precisely the effort to come to terms with the impassable and distorting 'Thing' at the center of the edifice of the existing capitalist order.

A few days later I received an e-mail from Leon to meet at a local coffee shop to discuss my interest in writing for the publication. At this meeting, my host offered me a series of back issues of the newsletter, in order to better familiarize me with the authorship, politics and intent of their publications. The emphasis to detail and the complexity of theorization is both prolific and comprehensive. Easily 10,000 words per issue, the articles focus on the current political issues, from women's rights to indigenous movements to contemporary imperialism, with each issue interpreted and explained as a direct lineation of the correctness of the group's political position from the time of the Russian revolution to the present. Teasing out this line of thought was the basis of the Truth of their political assertions, and their participation at protest sites was an effort to both demonstrate and recruit on the basis of the newsletters arguments. The adoption of 'propaganda' is both explicit and purposeful, and they describe their efforts as such - its very anachronism demonstrates the hegemonic limits and totalizing grip that a capitalist social order has on our lives. Thus any effort to frame such efforts as politically disconnected are simply the normalizing and subversive efforts to establish a standard of political practice (through the cynical disconnection of the critical observer, or through the dismissive joke), rather than recognizing the sustained political thinking that is integral to such work. In their writing, the link between the issues of the day (such as the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan) and the Russian revolution is always present:

> In the 1991 UN-backed war on Iraq, the 1999 assault on Yugoslavia and the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan, the rulers of France and Germany calculated that they had more to gain by following America's lead than by opposing it. But this time they drew the opposite conclusion. The U.S. remains far more powerful than its rivals, particularly in military terms, but its economic position is declining…If it succeeds, the American bourgeoisie will recoup its investment many times over—but if the U.S. proves unable to subdue Iraq and consolidate control of the region, its decline relative to its imperialist rivals will dramatically accelerate. The imperialist world order today increasingly resembles that of pre-1914 Europe, when rivalries between major powers gradually

escalated until they eventually exploded in a savage
conflagration that killed more than 20 million people. In the
midst of that hellish bloodbath, Vladimir Lenin, leader of the
October 1917 Russian Revolution, observed:

> "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at
> which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is
> established; in which the export of capital has acquired
> pronounced importance; in which the division of the world
> among the international trusts has begun, in which the
> division of all territories of the globe among the biggest
> capitalist powers has been completed."— Imperialism, the
> Highest Stage of Capitalism

Lenin rejected the idea that imperialism was merely a "bad
policy," and insisted that competition for the redivision of
spheres of influence, access to markets, raw materials and cheap
labor is an inevitable and necessary product of capitalist
development. [28]

As a combination of contemporary political insight and historical
analysis, these efforts articulate the potential moments to directly
confront the contemporary capitalist system. Having participated in
many of the anti-war protests I attended, the link between
international politics and global capitalism is inseparable from their
position. Indeed, the politicization of a range of issues is nurtured
by the explicit efforts and goals of a direct challenge to capitalism
today. The seamless transitions and linking of otherwise disparate
events with an explicit anti-capitalist strategy is a struggle within
my own work, and their ability to do so was inspirational. The impulse
of their efforts includes an attempt to disconnect contemporary events
with the mistakes and missed opportunities of the past. The collective
reinterpretation of history and contemporary political events
represents a substantial political and authorial commitment, one that
links militancy with the abstract processes and challenges of
contemporary capitalism.

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[28] Again, I am I am caught in the restrictive web of citation and ethics
- how can I quote the complexity of thought without also exposing the
specificity of the group with which I was engaged. I know that the
group members are interested in propagating their message, I even asked
if it was acceptable to use their publication as a teaching material,
which they overwhelmingly supported; and yet to cite their work opens
them to a political attack from rival groups with academic members to
which I am not sympathetic or willing to participate (the ways in which
recruitment takes place). As such I have included quotes below, but
have not included the citation here (they have been stored outside the
dissertation).

As we continued to discuss our background and efforts, my desire for political engagement was channeled towards their emphasis on militancy and organization. After just over an hour of discussing the purpose, tactics and events currently mobilizing people to action, I agreed to look over the issues of the newsletter I was given and agreed to talk again soon. The melding of critical writing and political sensibility, emerging from the context of political engagement, fulfils not only what a Gramscian effort would consider 'organic intellectualism'; but also bears the insights into the multi-cultural, post-modern context of late capitalist society. With a decentered authorship, an attention to the complexity of marginalized issues and voices, the efforts of this Marxist group make a claim based on a close reading of history and an explicit and committed political program.

I would suggest that despite the anachronism of their Marxism, there are remarkable parallels between their efforts and a cynical, post-structuralist, urban attitude of critical sensibilities. Indeed, the production of a text with a collective authorship results in political statements that reflect a context of alienated and decentered subjectivity. Their newsletter asserts a marginalized political position and provides a textual critique of the world, producing a disassembly of existing practices (perhaps even a deconstruction?). Finally they bring to bear a criticism of the liberal universalism of capitalism from contingent and specific practices of struggles and the efforts of the marginalized. Indeed, even within the context of a Marxist understanding of militancy, struggle and anti-capitalism they are attentive to devote time to speak to the importance of women's issues:

> Despite all the international conferences and ''universal declarations'' in favor of female equality, the lives of most women around the world remain confined by prejudice and social oppression. The means by which male supremacy is enforced vary considerably from one society to another (and between social classes within each society), but everywhere men are taught to regard themselves as superior, and women are taught to accept this. Very few women have access to power and privilege except via their connection to a man. Most women in the paid labor force are subject to the double burden of domestic and wage slavery. According to the United Nations, women perform two-thirds of the world's work, and produce about 45 percent of the world's food----yet they receive merely ten percent of the income, and own only one percent of the property (cited by Marilyn French in The War Against Women, 1992).

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This is not to characterize their efforts as feminist or to argue they devote considerable effort to these causes, but rather than there is a nuance in their understanding of the struggles before them. The militant appropriation of the links between the international struggles of women and their own efforts speaks to the ways in which subjective interpretation is woven into the Truth of their political programme. Indeed, unlike my expectations of a Marxist organization, the teleology of their efforts is not based in grand-historical schema of the transcendent progress, but in the specific and contingent recognition of the need to develop their own politics and history based on the objective Truth of their situation, dating back to the originary moment of their founding – the Russian Revolution. And while this was an event which none of the group members could have possibly experienced, the constant reinterpretation of their alliances and purpose is an effort to come to terms with the explicit politicization of capitalism necessary to retain their objective. This is not to claim however, that gender is an explicit purpose of theme of their efforts, but rather it assists in speaking to a range of different people on issues those people find important. Moreover my experience was only with men of the group, and involved a very specific understanding of political engagement that includes a militancy, vanguardism and necessity that breeds political cooption. Thus, there is a tension between these efforts and the goals of the organization, one that reflects the debate between Žižek and Butler on the issue of gender. The appropriation of voices is not a primary concern of such efforts (and rightly so given their commitments and orientation) but also speaks to the exclusions and marginalization both implicit and explicit that these forms of anti-capitalism entail.

Limits of Action

The struggle outlined in Chapter 4 between the political efforts of protest and the academic commitments of research also ultimately halted my exploration into the militancy of such efforts. The abstraction and distance necessary for my political affiliation (a psychoanalytic detour through Lacanian insights that leads to organized political efforts akin to Marxism) also appeared to limit the extent of my participation. In particular, the militancy of a group with a clearly defined goal also meant that the complex dynamics of hierarchy, masculinity and militancy posed significant limitations to my involvement. My next meeting with members of the group was arranged a few weeks after my meeting at the coffee shop, where I met a more senior member of the organization. What started as an offer of solidarity to write a piece on my experiences in South Korea, increasingly became a process of my vetting, assessment and approval for acceptance into a political organization. In an early evening meet

at a local sports bar, I was introduced by Leon to his more experienced compatriot and we discussed my background and knowledge of the organization and their efforts. I explained that I was not very familiar with the distinctions between the different branches and camps of Marxist, Leninist and Trotskyite political camps in our area, and that while I believed the efforts were important, protest and anti-capitalism were the primary motivations of my research. My contacts then outlined a complicated development of the origins of the group, beginning with Marxist efforts in the United States and splintering to Canada which included complaints about the disruptive efforts of other Toronto Socialist and Trotskyite groups. When their group was trying to organize meetings, arrange speaking engagements and expand their membership, competing groups were working to disrupt and impede their efforts.

Concluding Thoughts

The militancy I was attracted to at the protest site was increasingly apparent in the organization of the group, but this lead to competing assertions of Truth being targeted against one another, leading them away from the struggle against the capitalist system. Militancy and understandings of 'action' grew increasingly complex as the organization committed to permanent revolutionary action was persistently drawn away from the place of action. The militant practices of protest produce a range of exclusionary and aggressive performances of gender; ones that make the consequent efforts to sustain such strategies reproduce very specific notions of political agency and practice. If I was to participate I would have to come to the small office where meeting and writing takes places, and this would require a bi-weekly commitment. Moreover, I was encouraged to read two books that were integral to understanding the foundation and direction of their group. I was instructed that when my reading was complete, I could meet with them again, discuss any questions I had about their efforts and move forward with my involvement. The books were the Deutscher's *The Prophet Armed* (1954), and Alec Nove's *An Economic History of the USSR* (1969). The melding of academic and activist interest seemed seductively coupled in this course of action, but it also turned me away from the protest site, back towards the academy. Moreover, as my reading commenced, it became less clear how those works would help me engage my initial political enthusiasm. Indeed, in retrospect, the suggestion to read this literature was more likely a polite hint that my efforts were not compatible with the motivations of the group. My academic leanings through which I came to understand the importance of an organized political militancy, kept me from the very enactment of this militancy. This did not end my conversations with Leon or my discussions with the group members, rather it forestalled

the question of my written participation. Indeed, at several political protests following my final meeting, I met up again with Leon to discuss the importance of political action and contemporary Marxism. The issue of my direct involvement was no longer discussed, or politely avoided.

The protest site represents a space whereby the performative and contingent relationship between the subjective experience of gendered subjects and the systems of their oppression takes place. Thus, the universalization of the struggle of anti-capitalism actively and performatively implies an opposition to representative claims adopted by both capital (economists) and the state (policymakers and negotiators). In Jeju-do, this was perhaps best seen in the willingness of protestors to take the front lines in direct conflict with police, embodying a militancy and propensity to oppose the forms of systemic and structural violence in their day-to-day lives. Indeed, the central role of organized labour in the efforts to oppose the FTA implicates the gendered history of labour practices in struggles of the present. Herein lies the strategic impasse that requires a recognition of the gendered strategies of protest underway in contemporary anti-capitalist struggle. To the extent that the history of organized labour in both North America and South Korea has explicitly politicized their material and political goals at the expense of a specifically gendered strategy of resistance, there has been a de facto acceptance of the prioritizing of political issues over the practices and problems of the performance of gender. To return to the debate between Butler and Žižek, Žižek argues that the standard of what constitutes an anti-capitalist effort can be as simple as those struggles which attempt to dislodge the idea of 'capital' as the backdrop of political practice. As he outlines, such an effort does not necessitate a guarantee of acceptable political action, rather it takes the form of a necessary prerequisite, or that: "The politicization of the series of particular struggles which leaves the global process of Capital intact is clearly not sufficient" (Žižek 1999a, 222). Consequently then, the antagonism at the centre of capital also effectively marginalizes the centrality of the issue of gender in these efforts. Thus, while anti-capitalism represents an effort to directly confront the social consequences of a capitalist system and opens the possibility for alternative visions of social order, such efforts do not explicitly dislodge the system of gender relations supporting them. The impasse between Butler and Žižek relates to the role of the 'Phallus' in our systems of social order, or what Lacan understood as the overdetermination of systems of patriarchy which have gendered the entire edifice of western thought (Lacan 1983). Rather than directly attempt to come to terms with the complex breadth of this situation, I believe that it is at least necessary to foreground the forms and practices of patriarchy and masculinity at the protest site.

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The important role of militant masculinities is the way in creates and reproduces a tactic of engagement, one that has important political and anti-capitalist potential. Indeed, my experiences of protest in Canada were motivated by the performative and relatively consequence-free possibilities for anti-systemic violence towards politically motivated ends. The role of labour can thus be understood as an explicit effort to come to terms with the limited political strategies and tactics of the processes of resistance to capitalism.

Chapter 6: Alternative strategies of resistance

International Relations as a discipline has unique position for exploring the global resistance to capitalism, as this field explicitly examines the relationships between different communities in struggle. While this commonly takes place through the lens of the state, the ethnographic approach adopted here explores the links between places of struggle and the importance of subjectivity as an ethical commitment of engagement. In this chapter I explore a series of resistances which I characterize as 'alternative masculinities'. The importance of alternative masculinities is that the concept allows for a discussion of the links between the militant, masculinized efforts of the protest site with the outcomes that are consequent of such efforts. In some cases, the performance of masculinity at the protest site leads to the creation of alternative forms of resistance that would be otherwise occluded by the identification of protest with only that form of masculinity. Overt forms of political protest can mask the forms of resistance unfolding in our day-to-day lives. In other situations, the translation between local community resistance and the consequent efforts to disseminate those efforts makes my participation a gendered conduit of protest. My understanding of myself and my performance of gender has both guided and determined my understanding of the protest site. To the extent that my participation in the sites of protest implicated me in those politics, I am bound to the specificity of those actions and obligated in the efforts towards those ends. There is a certain ethical injunction that my research has forced upon me, and one which I believe it is important to recognize and accept.

Consequently this chapter explores both the 'international' and 'gender' as connections between masculinities of protest and the efforts of a 'zero-profit market' in Hongdae, Seoul the mobilization around migrant workers and rights in Toronto and Seoul, as well as the significance of Suyu+trans and the legacy of Chun Tae-il's memorial centre. Each of these locations of resistance helps to clarify the complex relationships between specific communities struggling against the local consequences of capitalism today.

Zero-profit market

There are a myriad of efforts underway to develop alternative social spaces and resist the deepening logic of market forces and the expansion of contemporary capitalism. In particular, the 1980's student protest movements in Korea created a set of experiences that developed from the direct resistance of oppression into more multi-faceted forms of social resistance. Throughout my stay in Korea, I met a range of former 1980's student protestors who, through their involvement and in

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many cases, their time spent in prison, were effectively removed from
the fiercely competitive and hierarchical system of education and
employment dominant in the professional sectors of Korean society. I
met a number of foreign-educated former student protestors that due to
their inability and lack of desire to pursue professional paths in
Korea chose to pursue their studies abroad.[29] Upon their return home,
many continued their activism and direct participation with ongoing
Korean social movements and protests, but also took jobs as high-school
teachers, private school teachers, and members of the socially
conscious Korean media.[30] Consequently, the students most active in the
fiercest struggles of the protest movement have adopted dual roles at
activists and educators, employing a range of political tactics in both
aspects of their lives. This bifurcation is what I characterize as an
integral part of the alternative masculinities of protest, as it is
connected to the different tactics and sites of resistance adopted in
these efforts.

On one particular day in late November, I had the opportunity to
accompany one member of the 1980's protest movement to a different
political site of protest. Sun had spent six months in prison during
the height of the student movement, though he joked that that was such
a short time in prison compared to some.[31] He also remarked that his
prison stay was really more of an education - as he was imprisoned with
many other students and they took the time to better learn their
illegal and restricted Marxist literature. That morning we attended a
smaller labour union rally against the Free Trade Agreement (FTA),
marching and picketing through the streets around the financial
district and national assembly in Yeoido. Later in the afternoon, we
attended what was called by its participants a 'zero-profit' market in
Hongdae, a project linked to the ongoing anti-FTA events all over the
city. My attendance that day was at one of the final meetings for the
year, as it was a weekend event, mostly held during the summer months.
This 'market' assembled to create a space for an explicit zero-profit
exchange of items and services. The event was organized in the center
of Hongdae, a busy and trendy shopping area in Seoul not far from a
local university. The area, known for its artisan shops, was also a
heavily attended night life area. This zero-profit market should not be

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[29] Studying abroad also allowed them to academically explore issues and
topics that might otherwise be resisted or rejected in South Korea.
[30] By 'socially conscious' I mean the range of Korean local and social
movement medias which exist on the border between mainstream media and
social movement think-tanks which (such as Oh My News).
[31] Sun is a pseudonym and though my participant was willing to have his
identity included, I have removed his name for the ethical and
representational issues outlined in Chapter 4.

confused with a non-profit organization or event, as the explicit purpose of the site was to create a space of decommodified market relations in the center of a busy consumer area, and - on that day - linking such efforts to the anti-capitalism of the anti-FTA movement. The space around the booths and kiosk had "~~profit~~" signs in English with accompanying Korean explanation of the purpose of the space. When we arrived the market was coming to a close, and we met some of Sun's former high school students at the space. Under a large tent set up for the occasion, we sat down at a table covered with old novels and textbooks and other assorted items, all of which could be either exchanged for other items, services or stories. There were tables of assorted craft items and paints, allowing people to assemble their own items with the "~~profit~~" logo. We sat for a while and listened to stories about the reasons why people believed the space was important, and indeed, necessary in the busy intersection of the shopping area in which we were sitting. The enactment of the exchange of goods without the expectation of extra benefit, or compensation represented both hope and nostalgia, and created a separate space of interactivity not impinged upon by the bustling consumerism and consumption of the area. While we sat and listened to the softly spoken stories, a young woman created a set of necklaces for us both with a 'NO FTA' logo in English on small wooden blocks.

How do we determine the effectiveness of a zero-profit exchange market that exists and is supported by the objectifying rules of capital and the processes of contemporary globalization? Are these temporary spaces of resistance futile attempts to undermine the universal logic of the capitalist system? Clearly from the perspectives of those involved, there is a certain usefulness and political purpose in the establishment of a market space not dictated by rules of benefit and exchange for quantifiable gain. Moreover, the market represents a creative alternative to mobilized opposition. We were invited to dinner afterwards, and several of Sun's former students explained that they participated in the market because it was a place of creative expression, without the expectation of commercial gain. Several of them explained that they were graduates of the new (to Seoul) fine-arts high schools - private institutions that were relatively rare because they were not designed to be feeder schools into the competitive centralized high school and university system. Sun had introduced many of them to protest culture and had helped them address political issues through assembly, organization and dissemination of information. Moreover, as a teacher, Sun encouraged them to use their creative energies in their social and political practices. As they described it, in the standard Korean high school the competitive and relentless competition to gain entrance to the best universities stifled their creative talent and political interests. Their current predicament was that the lack of a

professional focus placed them on a different path than many of their
friends, and they needed to decide what their future held. Their
participation in the zero-profit market was a way to inhabit the spaces
created by the post-authoritarian generations. Sun's influence was two-
fold, he was not only member of the Korean protest movement, but he was
also actively engaged in forming a political basis for alternative
political organization.

Sun's efforts emerged from, and are integrally connected, to the
militant masculinities of protest and the experiences of struggles for
rights, freedoms and alternatives to contemporary capitalism. The
experience of an authoritarian pro-capitalist regime importantly and
integrally linked his life with the practices of struggle and the
efforts to promote alternatives to capitalism. To simply oppose one
part of his life with another would be to bifurcate an important part
of the processes of resistance and the varied forms such efforts take.
Indeed, I began this particular day by attending a rally against the
FTA and ended it by speaking with former students who saw their
artistic efforts as part of a rejection of the competitive logic of a
profit-based system. Both forms of struggle take place through
masculinized efforts, yet to characterize the activities in the zero-
profit market as feminized, would divorce the important links between
militant and alternative masculinities. The efforts of these struggles
are integrally linked, but require an acceptance of the importance of
alternative masculine performances of protest in order to recognize
those connections. The importance of linking the militant masculinities
to alternative masculinities of protest is to foreground the complex
configurations of gender and resistance that need not be framed as
oppositional, but rather we can utilize these incommensurable
differences to develop different tactics and forms of engagement.

Gender and the Protest Site

To return to the debate from the last chapter, the question of
gender explored here is important to understanding the ways in which
subjectivity requires performative practices (actions and decision that
define myself as male) that are sustained by gendered claims (Butler
1993, 7). In the absence of revolutionary suspension and
reconfiguration of the symbolic world proposed by a Lacanian ethics,
the questions of tactics, practices and efforts are paramount. Indeed,
the ethical stance of masculinized militant political protest employs
an overt notion of what protest should, and often does, entail. The
space for alternative strategies of protest reflects a concern found in
Butler's critique of the inescapably gendered nature of such acts. In
particular she argues that even the militant efforts of protest will
necessarily rely on the practices of gendered political agents, thus

> ...the performance of gender creates the illusion of a prior
> sustainability - a core gendered self - and construes the effects
> of the performative ritual of gender as necessary emanations or
> casual consequences of that prior substance...I am, I believe, more
> concerned to rethink performativity as cultural ritual, as the
> reiteration of cultural norms, as the habitus of the body in
> which structural and social dimensions of meaning are not finally
> separable (Butler 2000, 29).

Butler maintains that we need to understand the articulation of
political protest within its implicit political and economic context,
and that we have to come to terms with the limits that hegemony plays
in our political practices and performances of self. While critical
political economy has long focused on the role of hegemony in broader
political praxis, we still need to develop a better understanding of
how cultural and social hegemony limits and shape our thoughts, and how
we come to accept the certainty of things like capital and gender as
permanent and stable.[32] Thus, my experiences of anti-capitalism and the
universality of an anti-capitalist claim are deeply structured by my
practices of masculinity and the ways this informs and prioritizes my
political engagement. As I came to understand throughout my field
research, some political practices (both my own and others) could also
be characterized by alternative masculinities: strategies of protest
that would be distorted by framing them in simple binaries of masculine
and feminine. Consequently, my experience of the protest site is
inseparable from the practices of masculinity I employ in those places.
The 'performance' of gender does not mean that I can escape the
hegemony of patriarchy in order to speak on behalf of women, rather
that I have to explore the ways in which alternative practices shape
our sense of self and how we understand our gender. Thus, in my field
work alternative masculinities is also a conduit of ethics, an attitude
towards political struggles through which I seek affinity, while
resisting the militancy of outright appropriation. The situations and
struggles explored in this chapter demonstrate the contested nature of
'capital', but do so in ways that do not necessarily employ the
militant masculinities explored in Chapter 5.

Chun Tae-il Memorial

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[32] Lacan characterized this complex combination of internal and external
as "extimité" or extimacy, the ways in which there is a complex
intersubjective relationship between the subject, their unconscious and
the world at large (Lacan 1992, 139). This concept recognizes the ways
in which hegemony becomes part of our 'self', that we understand as
core components of who we are even if they are externally derived.

Recognizing the connections between militancy and alternative expressions of protest also encourages an exploration of the role of legacy in the transformation of struggles. To return to the discussion of the previous chapter, the story of Chun Tae-il was a powerful and potent expression of dissent that helped to mobilize students and workers in the years following his death. The militant image of self-immolation employs a range of understandings of strength, nobility, sacrifice and struggle that are melded into contemporary efforts of anti-capitalism in Korea. The complex legacy of his effort speaks to the various social resistances of the workers in the Peace Market where he worked, lived and died. Indeed, Tae-il's final act was preceded by years of mobilization including petitions and appeals to government and labour officials. From organizing a 'society of fools', to the detailed collection of documented evidence to demand the enforcement of existing labour laws, Chun Tae-il's story is a powerful tale of struggle and resistance.[33] Thus, by focusing on the militant masculinities of his efforts in the last chapter, I consciously and strategically utilized his militancy, much like the appropriating voice of the militant protest site. This chapter is dedicated to provide a more complex legacy and story of interaction between the alternative strategies, tactics and efforts underway in the intimate spaces of day-to-day lives.

Given the overt forms of political protest that gave rise to my interest in his story, it was surprising to see how the consequences of those efforts challenged my understanding of protest and directed my research in completely unpredictable paths. Established by his family to continue the work started by Chun tae-il, the small 3 room location was lined with walls books stacked and overflowing from their shelves, and a small office stacked full of papers, letters and documents. It was on the upper floor of a nondescript building not far from where Chun Tae-il fought for the enforcement of worker rights in the Peace Market. Whereas the descriptions of his impact on the student movement of the 1980's were heralded as indispensable to understanding contemporary anti-capitalist protest by my contacts, the work undertaken by the centre continued to focus on the specific issues of garment workers in the area. Chun Soon-ok, Tae-il's younger sister, was gracious enough both to sit and talk with us and take us on a tour of

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[33] The 'society of fools' was the origins of the labour movement organized by Chun Tae-il in the Peace Market. In his words:
> We have every right to be treated like human beings but up to now we have been treated like machines, not once protesting against our employer who exploits us, This is why ours is a meeting of fools. We have to come to a full awareness of our situation, for that is the only way we can cease being fools. (Cho 2003, 173).

the area. She, like many of the activists I met in Korea, had completed a PhD abroad, and her thesis was an examination of the women's efforts in the Peace Market from the postwar period through the democracy movement. Her account also outlined her family's role in the organization and labour movements in the area where we now sat. The memorial centre was only one facet of her work, and the affiliated workers education centre was a primary focus and emphasis of her current efforts.

The efforts of the Memorial centre are the product of Chun Tae-il's mother and sister's ongoing commitment and continued efforts to uphold his legacy. So, before we left the centre, we were taken down to the lower level, as her mother was insistent that she should like to meet us. We walked down the narrow stairs and turned the corner into a small apartment. The room was cozy, simply decorated and warmly lit, mirroring the reception we received. Unlike all of the warnings about the reverence respect for the formality of meetings and greetings of elders in Korean society, we were greeted with a hug, and an invitation to come sit for tea. Moreover, as we were leaving she repeated 'I love you' in English and told us to come visit again. The stark contrast of my expectations of Korean culture and my experience of this household was magnified upon my later reading of her life, her efforts and her work.

A central figure in the biography of Chun Tae-il, Yi So-Sun's story was marked by a constant struggle to provide for her family and support her children amidst the crushing poverty of the urban poor in the 1950's and 1960's. As a powerful story of the depth of her strength and suffering, the biography outlines the important role she had in supporting Chun Tae-il's struggles and efforts to improve the working conditions of garment workers. While the biography focuses primarily on her life up to the time of her son's self immolation, her daughter's PhD thesis and subsequent book 'We are not machines' details the aftermath of his death. After Tae-il's death, Chun Soon-ok explains that for her mother:

> from that time on, trade union activity dominated Yi So-sun's life. She was instrumental in setting up educational programmes for workers, which encompassed vocational and basic academic courses, as well as instruction in trade unionism and labour law. This latter was to be the cause of much conflict between the Ministry and the Peace market employees (Chun 2003, 144).

Enacting her son's legacy into the workers in the establishment of a worker's centre, and assisting and educating the labourers of the area was a powerful and trying ordeal for Yi So-sun. However, she saw the

importance her son's legacy and was determined to take up his cause after his death. Indeed, her commitment to these goals cost her 14 months of imprisonment (in solitary confinement) under the authoritarian regime, for her outspoken opposition to the labour conditions in the Peace Market. This was primarily because of the unheralded public stance she took against the authoritarian regime:

> Yi So-sun had attended the trial to show support for a man who had risked much in the cause of worker education (Chang Ki-pyo was found guilty and sentenced to seven years ' imprisonment). When she heard the precise nature of the charge she could not restrain herself from standing up in court and voicing an equally simplistic, and equally difficult to contest, rebuttal. If the South Korean state is suggesting that it is pro-Communist to create an educated workforce and improved working conditions, then the South Korean state is actively encouraging a pro-Communist stance by equating such conditions with Communism. This interjection was duly reported in national newspapers, and it could be argued that it constituted a watershed in the already uneasy relationship between Yi So-sun and the machinery of political authority. From that moment onwards the Park regime adopted a decidedly harder line in their response to the 'problem' of Yi So-sun (ibid., 146).

Repeated closures of the worker's centre, Yi So-Sun's arrest, and ongoing struggles throughout the 1980's of the garment workers became the central cause of Chun Tae-il's family. While Yi So-sun remains an important figure in the struggles and support for the efforts of workers in the area, her daughter has taken over much of the responsibilities of the education centre. Despite her busy schedule, Chun Soon-ok was still able to sit with us and explain the importance of the centre and the role of its efforts in the local community. Stumbling through my ignorance of the history of the center and her efforts, we discussed the connections between the efforts and the politicization of the workers in the areas. She explained how the role of the education center was changing alongside the increasing gentrification of the area, and how the overt politicization of the past was largely out of step with the current needs for support. Indeed, the local prefecture was so focused on the revitalization and increasing prosperity of the area, the education center was now looking directly to the national government for assistance and support for the workers. In contrast to the situations in the past, the primary efforts of resistance were directed at market pressures and the changing context of the laboring practices of the workers. After an hour of discussing the efforts of both the memorial and education center, I purchased an English copy of Chun Tae-il's diary - translated by Chun

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Soon-ok and published by the Korea Democracy Foundation, and we were
invited to tour the education center.

As we walked with Chun Soon-ok the several blocks to the site of
education center, we passed house after house with piles of clothing
stacked outside small access doorways to basements. The Peace Market
had, in the past, held the crowded garment cutting and assembly shops,
while today, the increasingly solitary piecemeal work of the garment
workers was performed in the basements of their homes. As we continued
down the streets, we passed house after house with piles of clothing up
to 6 feet high, loosely stacked outside doors to the basements of the
houses. It was possible to see through small open windows, and in the
basement of house after house, solitary women worked alone at their
sewing machines, surrounded by huge piles of assembled and unassembled
clothing. When we reached the women's centre, we were given a tour of
the new facility, and told that the current focus was to assist these
local workers to begin to design their own clothing in order to earn a
little more income than sewing alone provided. Thus, the goals of the
centre were modest; to provide support to many of the women who had
been working in the area for as long as 30 years, toiling to provide
better opportunities for their families, and to prevent their children
from having to pursue the same path. Thus, the centre provided
assistance in whatever forms were most helpful to the workers, from
basic skill upgrading to social support and networking. Given the
obligations and restraints already facing the workers, the modest
expectations of the centre were designed to assist and support the
efforts underway, without placing further demands on their already
limited schedules. Indeed, my expectations of politicization emerging
from the protest site resulted in several awkward questions about the
connections between the site and efforts to organize the women at the
centre. The long hours and piecework was a highly intensive system of
production, one that left little time for the extra responsibilities.
The education centre was built on the successes of the past and as she
described in her book, it was the early successes during the
authoritarian regime that paved the way for the current efforts of the
center:

> The achievements of Chonggye women, taking place as they did
> during the most socially repressive period in South Korean
> history, constituted a beacon of hope for countless other
> exploited women, whilst the provisions put in place by the
> Chonggye Union for the education of workers, from both personal
> and vocational self improvement perspectives, empowered and
> enabled those others to spread the democratic gospel (ibid.,
> 191).

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Thus, we met several women who were working on their own designs for an upcoming fashion show, a new effort to showcase and support their work and the importance of the center. As the district had increasingly become a central site of clothing shopping and boutiques, the buildings that previously held sweatshops were being transformed into sales outlets and retail locations, all the while peripheralizing the efforts and organization of the workers. The emphasis on education and mobilization also required efforts to sustain and promote the centre and the role in its participants lives. During our visit we were introduced to a member of the national assembly who would be at the show, and we were told the efforts of Chun Soon-ok were integral to the growing acceptance and support for the education center's efforts.

How do we reconcile the image of Chun Tae-il as militant icon with the education center and efforts to assist local garment workers? Indeed, the inseparable consequences of his efforts raise important links between contemporary anti-capitalism and the range of struggles to develop alternative residences and oppositions. The garment workers represent a consequence and a resistance to 'Capital' as a social order and sovereign control. With anywhere from 20-30,000 women working in the area (the exact number of which has always been a contentious issue), the life-long garment workers are also a group diminishing in number. The reasons are numerous: as the workers provide the means for their families to prosper, their children have better opportunities; the increasing global competition in garment production has meant it is cheaper to have clothing constructed in South East Asia; additionally, the restrictive immigration policies of the Korean state have limited the migrant workers that can supplant their roles. Thus, Chun Soon-ok explained that there is recognition that this is the last generation of garment workers to undertake these practices and that there is an unforeseen transformation of this area of Seoul on the horizon. Consequently, the education centre attempts to mitigate the disproportionate experiences of global capitalism in a very immediate way. By providing some form of support to the gendered labour practices of the area, the centre facilitates incremental but important changes for the garment workers. This is certainly not anything that we would normally recognize as anti-capitalist protest, and yet, it is an effort to establish a social space in direct response to the conditions and excesses of the present system. Akin to Polanyi's description of the double movement, these forms of resistance are enacted in the struggles over the micro-social organization of day-to-day lives.

Given the link to Chun Tae-il's legacy and the transformations underway in the area, the center is establishing a social centre of support and distribution of assistance. Moreover, if capital is a struggle over social control under a contingent set of economic and

social market exchanges, then can we understand those moments where
these excesses are mitigated and reformulated in terms of the needs of
the community, as some semblance of resistance? There was a clear line
drawn in the linking of the workers centre with the early work of Chun
Tae-il, and this explicit effort should be preserved and reiterated in
the context of the struggles of contemporary capitalism. This is not to
say that such efforts should attempt to overstate or represent the
goals and direction of the efforts of places such as the centre.
Indeed, my inquiries about the efforts to articulate the needs of the
centers' participants into local forms of governance was an effort to
impose a specific notion of participation and resistance upon practices
currently underway. The efforts of the centre allow the women to spend
a little more time with their families by giving them a little more
breathing room in their household budgets and respite from the
suffocating practices of garment production. It would be inappropriate,
presumptuous and ethically irresponsible for me to claim to speak on
behalf of the efforts undertaken at the centre. Moreover, Chun Soon-
ok's accounts of the efforts have detailed, important stories of the
struggles of the women in the area, which I could not (and would not)
attempt to duplicate. The site of the struggle I toured (in the most
literal sense as a 'tourist') and the importance of this site would
also be underrepresented and occluded through a simple reference,
citation or review of her book, thus the inescapable ethics of my
experience manifests an obligation that I seek to fulfill here. My
intent is not to assert a militant form of protest on the efforts of
the centre, but rather to recognize the links between the militant
masculinities of Chun Tae-il's biography and the consequences of his
act for the workers of the area. Moreover, my obligation to the centre
is about coming to terms with the limitations of militant masculinities
of protest in order to prevent the foreclosure of the importance of
sites such as the worker's center. In this sense, alternative
masculinities is an ethical attitude I had to adopt in order to resist
the appropriation of the centre by a militant characterization of their
ongoing efforts. Moreover, my relationship to the centre stems directly
from Chun Tae-il's efforts and is thus inseparable from the militant
masculinities of protest even as it forces me to recognize the limits
of that approach.

    As both a consequence of, and a complimentary strategy to
traditional political protest, it would be overly simplistic and
perhaps a violent imposition to label such efforts in terms of a
femininity or feminized form of political protest. Rather, in an effort
to come to terms with the performative differences of resistance in the
social space that the zero profit market or the garment workers centre
represents, we can begin to see the distinction between Žižek and
Butler's notion of universality. Butler argues that the articulation of

contingent resistance emerges from the site which bears its own
framework of intelligibility:

> There is no cultural consensus on an international level about
> what ought and ought not to be a claim to universality, who may
> make it, and what form it ought to take. Thus, for a claim to
> work, for it to compel consensus, and for the claim,
> performatively, to enact the very universality it enunciates, it
> must undergo a set of transmissions into the various rhetorical
> and cultural contexts in which the meaning and force of universal
> claims are made. Significantly this means that no assertion of
> universality takes place apart from a cultural norm…and no
> assertion can be made without at once requiring a cultural
> translation (Butler 2000, 35).

The articulation of social resistance emerges from a context whereby
its message undergoes a range of interpretive and intelligible
practices in order to understand existing social orders and practices.
Unlike Žižek's notion of capital as a limit point to thought, Butler's
understanding of the performative space of translation begins with an
emphasis on the articulated site of resistance. The violences of
representational cooption at once demands an ethical stance - what
Butler calls a recognition of the physical demands and vulnerabilities
of the necessity of relying on one another - and the importance of the
inaccessibility (necessary translation) of these moments as an impetus
for our political actions and decisions (Butler 2004, 22).[34] The sites
and moments of resistance articulate a call upon others to participate
in their own spaces of social resistance and to use the contingent
moments of their resistance to enact a politics of protest as well. I
believe that my participation in the zero-profit market and my tour of
the memorial center helped me come to a new understanding of (non-
militant) protest and the range of political practices available for my
participation. This alternative masculinity is an effort to come to
terms with the complexity of contemporary protest and highlights the
necessity of maintaining an emphasis on anti-capitalism throughout a
range of practices and the importance of using my academic voice to
translate those experiences into the university setting.
Suyu+trans

     While I discussed the role of the academic commune Suyu+trans in
Chapter 4, the importance of the site was only briefly outlined as an
intersection of activist and academic efforts (its militancy and not

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[34] By ethical here I mean the subjective experience of meaning - of how
we choose to live our lives and the decisions made in the furtherance
of those ends.

the practices underway). Indeed, the explicit argument about the role
of 'commune-ism' at the research centre does not outline what such
efforts entail, but rather explains the rationale and motivations
behind them. Thus, my first visit to the centre was after the September
24 protests, when I was asked if I would like to accompany some of the
international and Korean students with whom I attended the protest,
back to the centre. We hopped on a bus and took a winding path up one
of the large hills that surrounds the city. Not far from the base of
Namsang tower, the centre recently moved into one half of an abandoned
Catholic school, nestled in an aging residential neighbourhood. An
unassuming and worn exterior was in contrast to the cozy, well equipped
rooms inside. Occupying several floors of the building, the research
centre included living quarters, a large kitchen and dining area, a
makeshift internet radio broadcasting station and a gym for yoga and
exercise as well as a library and classrooms. There was considerable
excitement about the new location, as I was told it was much larger and
better equipped than the previous site. In the coffee lounge, records,
magazines, comics and books lined the walls from the floor to the
ceiling. As I scanned through some of the titles I saw that most of the
political theory and philosophers of my research were stacked in rows
with multiple copies of many of the books. Agamben, Žižek, Derrida,
Deleuze and Haraway were all visible on the bookends, though most of
the text was in Korean. When I asked about them, I was told that the
centre was funded both through the participation and efforts of its
members, as well as through the translation of English texts into
Korean. Indeed, costs for staying overnight at the centre were
moderate, and dinner was served by members on rotating kitchen duty
combined with a small fee paid each night for dinner. I was told there
were several former local and international academics residing there,
some who had walked away from the academic life to study, learn and
teach at the commune. Described to me as a space where politics,
education and learning were intermeshed, the appeal of such efforts was
clear. The voluntary classes included contemporary critical theory from
anthropology, sociology, philosophy and politics. Of particular
interest to me was the biweekly reading course in Psychoanalysis that
was posted on a schedule on the wall, with several weeks on Lacan.
Throughout my stay in Korea I would often end up in the library at the
centre, reading books I had left in Toronto and chatting with students
and other members about their research and activist efforts. Many
students were supplementing their current University education with the
readings and classes offered by the centre, or preferred to study at
the commune's library over the university's offering. My guide on that
night was the translator of Žižek's work into Korean, and was also
organizing and running one of the many anti-FTA websites used to
organize and mobilize protests and other efforts. The use of the space
was a way to intersect their academic and activist efforts, to support

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and relate to one another through participatory exchanges and practices. Wedded to the ongoing and specific protests and struggles of its participants, Suyu+trans also sustained those struggles in the ambiguity of the space, through the immersive and communal practices therein.

Can we reconcile the decision to abandon academia with the pursuit of academic practice? During my time at the commune, the anarchist anthropologist David Graeber was invited to give a talk about his experiences of the tensions between his academic and activist efforts. Graeber's work explores alternative systems of valuation, anarchical systems of social organization and how the cultural values of capitalism produce specific limits of meaning and political agency (see Graeber 2001, 2004). Indeed, part of the reason for his invitation (he spoke about it) was the recent loss of his position at Yale and the controversy around this decision (his supporters argued the decision was politically motivated). Like the students from the zero-profit market, an important element of the commune was the space to explore ideas and theories that were important in their personal political lives. The open ease of access, combined with the participatory nature of learning and working created a space opposed to the professionalization of thought and encouraged practices as the foundation of thinking and theory. Thus, while translation was an important financial support of the commune, the effort to explore contemporary social and political theory in Korean at the commune was to introduce members to international and global research. Indeed, part of the disjuncture of Graeber's talk in the space of the commune was the difference in militancy between his efforts and the efforts undertaken in that space. Whereas Graber's participation in direct action and anarchist efforts in the anti-globalization movement was defined by repeated and sustained conflicts with the dogma of Marxists groups, the centre's efforts were actively defined in seeking an engagement between these two approaches. Importantly then, the translation of theory in the context of contingent struggle allowed the *international* elements of such efforts to function as an important node of assimilation. In the desire to sustain an engagement with the efforts of critical thinking taking place around the world, it was the academic (the study and research of thought) moments that facilitated the practices of resistance and engagement. Thus, while I was engaged in research to develop closer links to the sites of resistance and movements against the FTA and the capitalist global political economy, it was clear that important efforts of the commune were seeking an international and theoretical link between their resistance and academic practices.

Migrant mobilization and protest

The role of the international both prohibits and facilitates struggle, as a target of anti-capitalism (in neoliberal globalization) a source of connection and strength (for territorially separated efforts) and as a contestation of the sovereign power of the state (inter-community struggles within states). This was perhaps most evident in the efforts of migrant struggles and protests both in Toronto and Seoul, as the tensions between efforts for participatory rights and normalization of status confound the assumptions of the political. In many cases the most persistent and recurrent protest themes in both locations was the issue of migrant rights (i.e. right to status, right to organize and the right to unionize) which on the one hand is a desire for inclusion and sameness (the rights of full citizenship) and on the other, is a direct oppositional challenge to the notion of statehood and sovereign power and authority (the politicization of the excluded; the demands of those without representation; people in constant states of exception). Thus, there are a range of difficulties in the representation of such efforts there, first and foremost being my own ambivalence towards characterizing such efforts as anti-capitalist, as well as the very real danger of deportation and other sanctions that are faced by informants. Moreover, this ambivalence reflects an important challenge to the militant and masculinized understanding of protest, one that complicates the relationship between the exclusionary practices of the militant process and the goals of normalization and inclusion that are often the aims of migrant groups.

The connection between international students and international workers was a recurrent theme throughout my fieldwork. The internet radio station at Suyu+trans reported heavily on the efforts of migrant workers, and many of the projects at Suyu+trans included politicization, support and efforts to assist migrant workers' movements. At events sponsored by the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), as well as migrant labour organizing efforts, the issue of temporary workers and their exclusion from the right to mobilize was a key point of contention. Indeed, at one migrant worker rally, the protest began at a site famous for proselytizing to crowds by many different political and religious speakers and ended at a church famous for its central role as a meeting point of the minjung and democracy movements in the 1980's and 1990's. The ability to draw on the recent successes of democracy and workers movements was explicitly restated in the actions and events of migrant workers. Indeed, it is unsurprising that migrant workers in Korea became mobilized by following the path of the Korean unions and workers. An important and energizing part of such struggles is the high stakes (many members of the movement were arrested and deported during my stay) and the strong connections between Korean protests and the protests of migrant workers. From the

international students I met at the September 24 rally, more than half
were involved with some form of migrant mobilization and the issues of
migrant worker rights. This included volunteering efforts for the
migrant workers television - a internet broadcast that also produced
stories and documentaries of migrant workers struggles - or efforts
underway at migrant workers centres, such as one I visited in Ansan.[35]
The connection between international students and migrant workers was a
very fluid exchange, assisted and supported by their peripheral status.
Indeed, the increasingly nationalist rhetoric of social movements and
protests was likely an important factor in the support of their
association. Mobility, migration and rights are linked in the common
exclusion from political practices (working visas explicitly forbid
participation in protests) at the same time they are facilitated by
growth and expansion of the Korean economy (in the demand for foreign
English teachers and non-skilled workers). The international became the
unifying cause between the international students and the international
workers.

Labouring practices facilitate both the inclusion and exclusion
of migrant workers in ways that reflect the commodification of migrant
labour practices and the simultaneous exclusion of those practices as
grounds of political representation. At 'No One is Illegal' marches in
Toronto, it was common to find people distributing flyers from
construction companies, offering to facilitate landed status for non-
status people if they are skilled in a construction trade. The value of
labour follows the exclusionary logic of contemporary capitalism,
through the universalization of traded skills and practices and the
exclusionary of the politicization that emerges from those same
practices. This issue was a source of protest in both Toronto and
Seoul, as the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) and the Korean Confederation
of Trade Unions (KCTU) challenged the efforts to deregularize working
hours and create 'temporary' jobs in order to subvert the
responsibilities of the state to full-time workers. The tension between
these inclusionary and exclusionary practices was perhaps best
exemplified during a protest outside of the Federal immigration
minister's reelection headquarters in Toronto. It was a protest
organized by NOII against deportations, security certificates, and
called for the creation of an appeals process for refugee applications.
In a show of solidarity for the efforts of the NOII crowd, a CAW

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[35] Indeed, this is a visit with which I have struggled to include here
as it was an important exploration of the insights of those working
with migrant communities and the contradictions emerging from the
support for migrant labour as well as the rejection of migrant
'politicization'. However, this examination will, like many of the
efforts I have needed to exclude here, be left for another purpose.

representative attended the event and was given the chance to speak to the small, but vocal and boisterous crowd. As he explained, the CAW supports full regularization of status and protection for all workers in Canada. He saw the use of migration as an excuse to support union decertification under the guise of neoliberal competitiveness. However, the representative explained that the close race between the Canadian Liberals and Conservatives at the federal level required a strategic assessment of their support and they had made the decision to back the Liberals in this particular riding. While the subsequent booing and catcalls were predictable and awkward, the tension between labour, capital and the state was exemplified by ambiguous consequences of the efforts of regularization of status. Would not the end to deportations and regularization of status place the formerly excluded in the exact same position, having to make the strategic choices about the representation and the reflection of interests?

The dangers of inclusion

The tension between status and oppositional strategies speaks to the ways in which the sovereign power of the state functions as an inclusionary claim and an exclusionary solution for migrating peoples. The organization and mobilization of groups such as NOII, and the Migrant Workers Union adopt specific targets and strategies (such as advocating those facing deportation) while using those contingent cases as part of a larger strategy of opposition and refusal of the idea that workers or people can be 'illegal'. In some moments, this resembles the militant and masculinized strategies of direct oppositional resistance. When the police outnumber protestors 3-to-1 at the refugee detention center across from Pearson Airport in Toronto, the ensuing confrontation and demands are an important challenge to the exclusions of the state and the practices of sovereignty. These efforts challenge the depoliticization and marginalization of the actions and struggles of migrating people and use the contingent site of exclusion (or incarceration) as an affront to claims of 'legitimacy' of sovereign authority, as they act on 'our' behalf. And yet in other moments, such as walking down Bloor street in a large family-friendly demonstration to support the 'status for all', which ended in a peaceful discussion of issues in a park, there are different tactical and operational strategies at work. The complicated relationship between these tactics is overshadowed by the claim that 'No One Is Illegal'. Under the contemporary international system of sovereign states, the free mobility and migration of labourers (a goal supported, institutionalized and codified for capital, property and finance by Free Trade Agreements) would require such a impossible reorganization of sovereign power it (like an anti-capitalist future) is quite literally unthinkable. The collapse of borders, the reformulation of

citizenship, the ambiguous claims over territorial and representational power is anti-thetical to the sovereign system of states and the current structures and centres of power. Thus, the complicated intersections of often mild and normalizing exercises of sovereign authority (granting citizenship or status) speaks to a larger reorganization of how we think about the international and the global. What I have characterized throughout as the militant and alternative strategies of protest reflect the complicated relationship between representation that mediates the questions of global political economy in the intersections of contingent struggles.

Gender and Protest

The relations of gender to the performance of politics at the protest site stems from the importance of the body and the immediacy of the site. In the masculinized efforts outlined in the previous chapter it was argued that performativity of protest extends from the refusal to place the body within the domain of power, and in the threat of the assembled to form an alternative basis for the sovereign decision and social control. And yet as Benjamin argued, in the context of laboring bodies, it is the refusal of action, the withdrawal of effort that constitutes a defiant gesture and attitude. Thus, while the power of refusal is embedded in the strike, it is the "withdrawal" and "estrangement" from the employer that provides a respite from the demands of labour (Benjamin 1978, 281). Indeed, if capitalism functions as the effective backdrop of efforts that are not explicitly targeting 'capital', most efforts to effect change assists in the extension and commodification of social life (Žižek 2006a, 334).
The bodily importance of the protest site is enacted by placing your body in the mass of the crowd. In those moments the revolutionary potential of protest becomes intoxicatingly evident - and yet - in the moments afterwards, the crushing implications of those actions ('normalcy' and 'reality') reappear. In particular, when in direct confrontation with the state, the protest site can begin to reflect the coherence of the national sovereignty, obliterating difference and replacing of one sovereign voice with demand for another. This is one of the reasons violence is so divisive and gendered in the context of a protest, as violence in the name of the oppressed, marginalized and excluded can quickly become used to form new repressions in the name of political ends. The cooption of voices and representations of political movements was a primary focus of the militant masculinities of last chapter. Butler's effort to come to terms with this tension recognizes the contamination of the universal by the contingent in the demand for recognition. Thus,

> When one has no right to speak under the auspices of the
> universal, and one speaks none the less, laying claim to

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universal rights, and doing so in a way that preserves the
particularity of one's struggle, one speaks in a way that might
be readily dismissed as nonsensical or even impossible. When we
hear about 'lesbian and gay human rights' , or even 'women's
human rights' we are confronted with a strange neighbouring of
the universal and the particular which neither synthesizes the
two, nor keeps them apart (Butler 2000, 39).

The inability to come to terms with the tension between the universal
and the contingent should not prevent us from recognizing the ways in
which the politicization and struggles of ongoing political protests –
symbolically and physically – embodies these resistances. The openness
towards the possibilities for change in the face of unrealistic and
impossible odds speaks to the way in which politics can precede the
formulation of strategy, theorization, analysis and method. An
important part of this chapter is an attempt to come to terms with
struggles that take place in immobile and intimate places. This ethical
stance stems from the decisions forced upon me (and no one else) as a
result of my fieldwork and the commitments that flow out of my
research. The role of hegemony in my life (in what Levinas describes as
the inescapable way that Otherness precedes 'me') is also what forces
me to resist the clear appropriation of these events as explicitly
'anti-capitalist', though they are and integral part of how I
understand anti-capitalist efforts (Perpich 2008. 126). Thus the
importance of protest stems in part from its resistance to foreclosure
of political possibility and analysis. It is instead a placed politics
of an experience, a specific struggle for a local issue, or an outrage
over injustice that is articulated as a symbol of a 'universal'
struggle while remaining wedded to the contingency of its emergence.

The gendered practices of resistance occupy as innumerable forms
and tactics as the bodies that are conduits for those efforts. My
emphasis on the practices of the zero-profit marker, the worker's
education center, Suyu+trans moments of migrant struggle cannot and
should not be systematized into a common understanding and framework of
anti-capitalist practice. Thus unlike the direct targeting of 'Capital'
in the expressions of political resistance outlined in the previous
chapter, such strategies have complicated intersections with the effort
and events outlined here. To identify the militant strategies as
masculine and these ethical dilemmas as feminized would enact a range
of violences on the connections between the efforts of both. In the
absence of an adequacy of representation, I have characterized the
efforts here as 'alternative masculinities' in that they require a
different understanding of the role of subjectivity and a link between
my narrative and the impetus they have in my description of their
significance in my efforts.

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Conclusion: Forward Looking Struggles

International Relations as a field of study has underutilized its disciplinary access to the efforts of political struggle taking place within and between nation states. The experience of my fieldwork speaks to the political, theoretical and disciplinary insights that engaged forms of International Relations scholarship can produce. It also raises questions about the limits, the applicability and the appropriateness ethical and methodological choices when dealing with politically contentious issues. One of the most pressing issues that emerged from my fieldwork is the implications of a sustained effort to engage with incommensurable and radical ideas. The normalizing and representative processes of contemporary liberal democracy combined with global capitalism make it far too easy to co-opt and appropriate the voices of the protest site. This tension is inherent throughout my dissertation and came to a fore with my struggles to assess and capture the political relevance of the Chun Tae-il memorial center. On the one hand the center retains a potent political legacy and represents a landmark struggle to overtly resist capitalist processes through a subjective and symbolic act. Yet, on the other, the centre's efforts to mitigate the excesses of contemporary capitalist processes could be seen as a loss of the radical potential of the process site, and direct oppositional strategies that were so successful in the past. I would argue that this is symptomatic of tension inherent in us between the demand for conformity and the transgressive desires of personal resistance.

Contemporary anti-capitalism is embodied in efforts to struggle against the enactment of political and economic policies using the exclusionary logics of expertise and the 'apparent' lack of alternatives. Efforts that contest these logics take a myriad of forms, and I have addressed only a glimmer of the actual and potential forms that these struggles can take. My reliance on Lacanian ethics in part stems from the belief that direct anti-capitalist protest is integral to challenging the sovereign authority of the nation state representational powers therein. To politically support such efforts is to intervene without a guaranteed outcome, accompanied by the doubts and reservations demonstrated throughout in this dissertation. To adopt such a position is to critically challenge insular turns which move away from direct confrontation, as they risk making capitalism the foundation of their political efforts. However, to assume that the militant masculinities of the protest site exhausts resistance to capitalism and efforts to retake and remake alternative visions of political economic exchange would be needlessly reckless. My adoption of alternative masculinities is to foreground the forms of my political disagreement while recognizing the meaning of such alternatives to its

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participants. Moreover, as I discovered on several occasions, much like the protest site itself, it was possible to participate in such efforts without choosing or predicting to include oneself. What was required was an attentive understanding of the implicit and explicit assumptions of my own assumptions and sensibilities which were open to such possibilities.

An under-utilized capability of International Relations is the ability to re-present the struggles and resistances at the margins of social order, in those spaces that are uniquely inter-national. Giving an account of these struggles that retains the importance of incommensurability requires a set of methodological and ethical commitments that International Relations needs to develop in both practical and abstract terms. This is not to romanticize the protest site, but rather recognize the successes and failures of engaged political research. The persistent desire to assess political struggle in abstract and neutral terms undermines the relevance of these efforts, evacuating contestation of its inherent claims against the existing world. Walter Benjamin believed that it was instead necessary to catalogue such efforts, in order to demonstrate the how potentially close radical change is at every moment, even as particular struggle fails or members lose hope in the cause. The power of these struggles

> plays itself out between the collective imagination and the productive potential of the new nature that human beings have brought into being, but do not consciously comprehend. Moreover, this dialectic has developed not by "burying" the dead past but by revitalizing it. For if future history is not determined and thus its forms are still unknown, if consciousness cannot transcend the horizons of its sociohistorical context, then where else but to the dead past can imagination turn in order to conceptualize a world that is "not-yet"? (Buck-Morss 1989, 124).

The protest site epitomizes the crack in the façade of the world that exposes the potential inherent in our subjectivity. Our obtuseness to ourselves is both the source of new forms of political possibility and defines our current political limits. To return to the legacy of Chun Tae-il, it is in the recurrent memory of his sacrifice and the retention of the familial loss that links the radical militant masculinities of protest with the activities of the women's center. The failure of his legacy to end the labour exploitation inherent in the capitalist development of Dongdaemun is just as much a testament to the successes of the centre and the relevance of his role in reorganizing contemporary Korean struggles.

The question then becomes, is the symbolic event all protest can ever hope to achieve? The importance of psychoanalysis throughout this

research is the ways in which the protest site has the potential for subjective and systemic reformulation. The power of protest stems in part from its immediacy and the sensuousness of the crowd, the bodily performance of resistance and the personal confrontation with existing power. Systemic change cannot take place without subjective participation, and the refusal inherent in the protest site is an effort to liberate oneself from forced inclusion, to temporarily withdraw consent from the domain of political representation. Part of the persistence of protest efforts - like those of the Marxist collective in Toronto - stems from the freedom and hope that emerges in participation at the protest site, sustained by their repeated inclusion. The inclusivity of protest is a form of political participation that exceeds reason and can precede choice. The subjective potential for change represented in the protest site is necessarily carried into broader social, political and cultural changes when the protest is over. The emerging work on these 'evental' politics (and the influence of Alain Badiou) has not made inroads into International Relations as of yet. However, the persistence of efforts to challenge the decision making power (and supposed economic expertise) speaks to the necessity of these continued efforts. Anti-capitalist protest emerges as a consequence of the social struggle for inherent in capital itself, and is integral to reformulating the realms of political possibility. This has long been the goal of critical International Political Economy, a subfield that is moving increasingly closer to the fieldwork and efforts that I present here.

The questioning of expertise is an inescapable consequence of a sustained engagement with protest sites. An explicit purpose of this project was to challenge the notion of a hidden core of authentic protest, democratizing and derationalizing the purpose of participation at the protest site. The revelatory authority of expertise is a powerful mechanism of international politics and International Relations, and something that is not easily jettisoned. Expertise is the justification for the exclusionary and repressive tactics at global economic summits and delimits the policies and options within the meetings. Expertise is the supposed boundary that sustains the distinction between the activist and academic, as the rhetorical and political voice of the activist is often perceived as excessive or insufficiently abstract. Disciplinary scholarship establishes authority through the use of links, influences, connections and citations to sources of knowledge and existing power making efforts to challenge these practices endlessly complicated. Within this work I have often drawn on scholars at the margins of their respective disciplines, included academic works by activists and wrestled with the decisions of including and excluding citations. As I have argued throughout, methodological choices are ethical and political as well, and their

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consequences are magnified when attempting to capture the incommensurability of protest. International Relations draws on the disciplinary insights of many fields and is only beginning to deal with the issues I have outlined as 'ethnographic sensibilities'. As research continues to expand in this direction, a greater disciplinary discussion of methodological assumptions – which are too often assumed to be personal choices – and the political implications of those choices will be required.

The irony of the increased emphasis on social construction (and the tension between structure and agency) in International Relations is the persistent absence of 'the personal' in methodological, theoretical and practice choices of research. The recognition of social construction has not led to a more intimate, personal and less abstract study of International Relations. The loss of the perception of expertise, authority and rigor remains an impediment to discussions of subjective, rhetorical and allegorical understandings of political practice. Consequently, discussions of ethics in Political Science have tended towards the depoliticization and abstraction of issues, rather than calling for an engaged and active form of scholarship whereby questions of ethics emerge from the experience of research. My discussion of Lacanian and Levinasian ethics provides some important critiques of ethical engagements in political life, and calls for more sustained research and discussion about the subjective and the ethical in our practices. While philosophical discussions are often part of International Relations, issues of belief, personal choice and personal action remain largely absent. Undoubtedly there are vast amounts of important, insightful and useful experience that remains marginalized and discarded throughout the field because of disciplinary notions of the role of 'science' in Political Science.

Additionally, there remains much research to be done on the political ramifications of subject-formation and a role for psychoanalysis to posing important questions about the freedom and domination in International Relations. In simple terms, debates over the role of gender in the field have consumed far more time than explorations of gender would entail. As I have tried to demonstrate in my work, outlining the role of gender in research efforts is to initiate important discussions, rather than seek a resolution of gender issues. While there have been some efforts to address issues of masculinity in International Relations (such as Goldstein and Whitworth's efforts), there is much room for elaboration. Moreover, to critically engage with masculinities is to address the role of gender on an ongoing basis, and to supplement and discuss feminist and critical thinking that has a much longer history in International Relations. The tension between challenging contemporary capitalism and

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adopting a gendered frame of analysis was a recurrent theme throughout my dissertation, with no pretense to a resolution. The notion of 'alternative masculinities' was an effort to compensate for my decision to retain authorial representation over all the forms of resistance that I saw throughout my work. My methodological decision meant that I had to sacrifice the ways in which collaborative or polyvocal efforts would have challenged my narratives and perhaps allowed for explicitly feminist voices in my work. Here ethical decisions guided my methodological choices and forced me to think about the ways that strategies adopted in my research impacted one another.

Thus, I believe that the intersection of Lacanian and Levinasian efforts may have the most potential insights for future research in International Relations. The tensions and problems of representing Otherness, the ethical and moral concerns as well as the issues of faith, belief and action that are the emphasis of both authors present a plethora of topics for discussion and research. At present Lacanian efforts have made greater inroads in the field, and the gradual engagement with Žižek (who has published in International Relations journals) has made it possible to link issues in International Relations with interdisciplinary discussions taking place elsewhere. This is not to use external authority to chastise disciplinary International Relations scholars but to explore topics such as: the role of faith in economic and policy decision making in the wake of the current economic crises; the ways in which the traumas of war linger in the international system, and to propose forms of research that engage directly with people. Some of these efforts are already underway (in works of International Political Economy I have referenced throughout the dissertation), but the benefits of engagement and subjectivity remain underutilized. A possible outcome of the emphasis on subjectivity and methodology will be the possibility of more collaborative academic environments, where the discussion of 'first principles' can emerge from engaged political scholarship, rather than the other way around. Idiosyncratic experiences and allegories of political life retain specificity and uniqueness with less need for competitive expertise and authority over knowledge. In turn, the realm of resources from which International Relations can develop knowledge will have increasing depth and variety.

Meanwhile, Levinasian efforts can help us develop the notions of limits and boundaries of ethical and methodological decisions in International Relations, by preventing language that forecloses ways of thinking, highlighting the need for reflexivity that has become more commonplace in Social Anthropology. Levinas helps to clarify the dangers in current efforts to theorize political action, as if political decisions could be separated from the local and contingent

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struggles of their emergence. Protest is a way to resist the foreclosure of incommensurability, to sustain the importance of struggle and the inescapable engagement with the world around us. International Relations has been largely deficient in engaging with discussions of faith and belief as equal sources of political meaning, and Levinas helps blur the boundaries between the secular and the religious in Western thought. This is not to argue that Levinas should become a required text of International Relations, but rather that his notion of ethics and the burgeoning scholarship based on his work can help stimulate hitherto lacking discussions of belief and faith. In practical terms, there is a need to discuss failures, losses and limitations in practical fieldwork and research methods in order to begin to develop a more reflexive and introspective scholarship.

In addition, my research laid out a foundation to rethink some of the strategies of critical International Political Economy and anti-capitalist efforts. My research is a small swath of the breadth and depth of social movements and protest groups engaged in the efforts of anti-capitalism. While the existing literature on Global Social Movements, labour mobilization, and other global diasporas has provided us with important assessments and depictions of the global scope of these efforts, in many ways activist efforts continue to outpace the scholarship that studies them. There are political and practical benefits from democratizing both the study and emphasis of such research. Demonstrating the sophistication and nuance of groups that are supposed to be 'radical' would begin to encourage a discussion about the expertise (or lack thereof) behind economic policies and decision-making. While considerable effort has been spent targeting these elite groups as the object of struggle or the goal of defiant resistance, such strategies only reinforce their importance within the international system, rather engaging directly with those people who lives are determined by these ideas. There is a need to discourage strategies which abstract and reinforce impotence in the face of power. Instead we need approached which politically support and encourage the role of subjective participation, and why personal decisions are important.

My use of 'ethnographic sensibilities' was a way to foreground the important issues of translation and representation as well as engaging ongoing debates over where the 'international' resides in the contemporary world. I believe Michael Taussig's work in particular has a range of benefits for International Relations which have not yet been realized. Reading his works for International Political Economy, Taussig helps us come to terms with the links between social orders represented in the concept of 'primitive accumulation' and the processes of translation between capitalist and non-capitalist forms of

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social order. In methodological terms, critical ethnography's experimentation with surrealism, fantasy and auto/biographical writings inspire discussions International Relations has only peripherally engaged with or hitherto neglected. Fiction as a form of International Relations scholarship, or more to the point, fiction as a way to confront capitalism in International Political Economy has yet to be addressed in a sustained way. This is not as nearly as challenging as it may seem, as most of popular anti-capitalism resides and flourishes in the realm of imagination, and critical voices draw on utopias and envisaged alternatives to support their claims. Indeed, as I argued in Chapter 2, the myth of a free market and the global story of free trade are organized around a central fiction, the story of uncontested social values at the heart of capitalism. Consequently, if we are to begin to challenge the ideology of contemporary capitalism, we need to dismiss the idea of a hidden truth at the centre of the system while foregrounding the importance of faith and ideology in our practices and beliefs. This effort begins with coming to terms with the role that our practices (of consumption and consumerism) play in reinforcing our beliefs, as well as the ways which political volition is channeled through notions of the rational, coherent, choosing individuals. As such, future research along this path could begin to explore the practices of challenge and resistance, whether it is confrontation for systemic reform or the efforts to assist local workers ease their daily burden.

Finally then are the prospects for the future, and what contemporary anti-capitalism can say about the future of international politics. Unremarkably, the continual changing of governments and the emergence of new world leaders has done little to reinvigorate the discussion about the alternatives to capitalism and role of efforts in the streets to resist expansive policies of free trade and global capitalism. The sovereign vision of power remains a dominant form of representing resistance and securitization of dissent continues unabated. However, the hope inherent in the protest site and the power of the mass of the crowd is an infectious source of cohesion for the disaffected and marginalized, and is a bodily power with strong symbolic importance. The immediacy of dissent and the forms of resistance to capitalism continue to grow and diversify, drawing strength from the very system that appropriates the power of the masses. The efforts to challenge capitalism are inherent to the very core of the system itself, and can never be resolved or concluded. Capitalism is a systemization of belief, and thus is susceptible to a lack of faith in its functioning, making an anti-capitalist future rest in tantalizing closeness of tomorrow.

Appendix 1
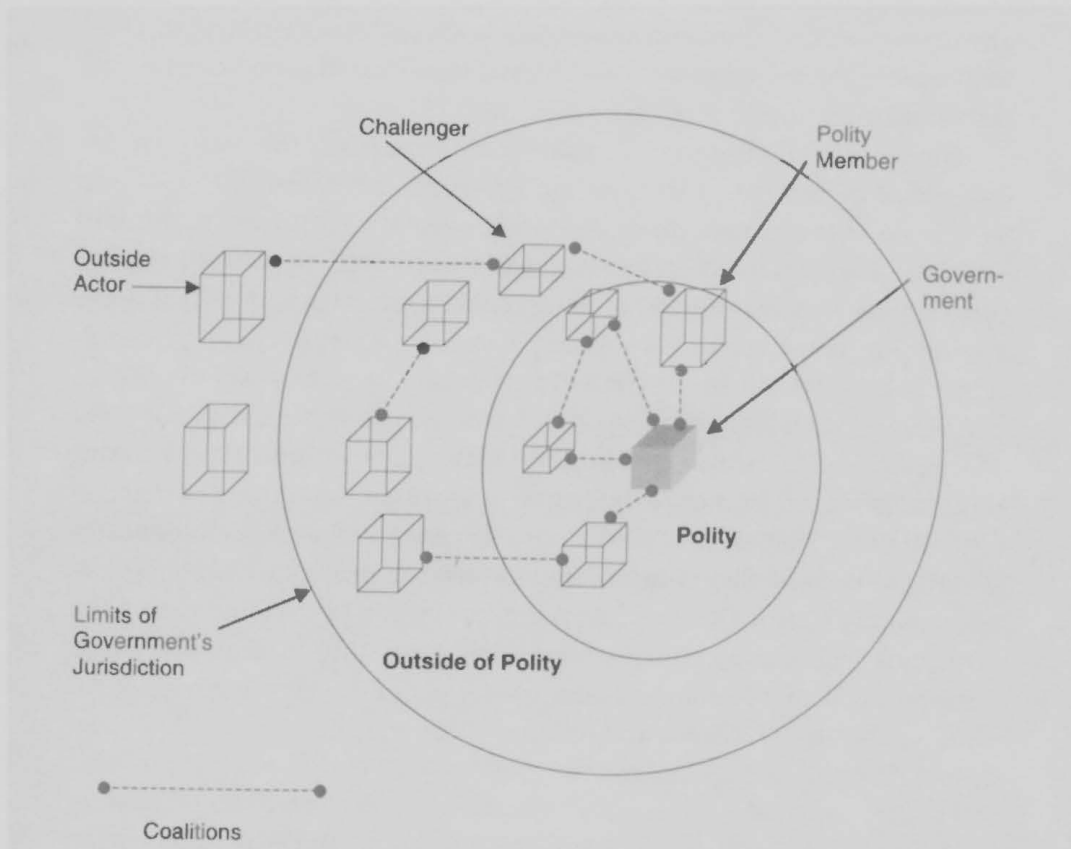
(McAdam 2001, 11)

Appendix 2
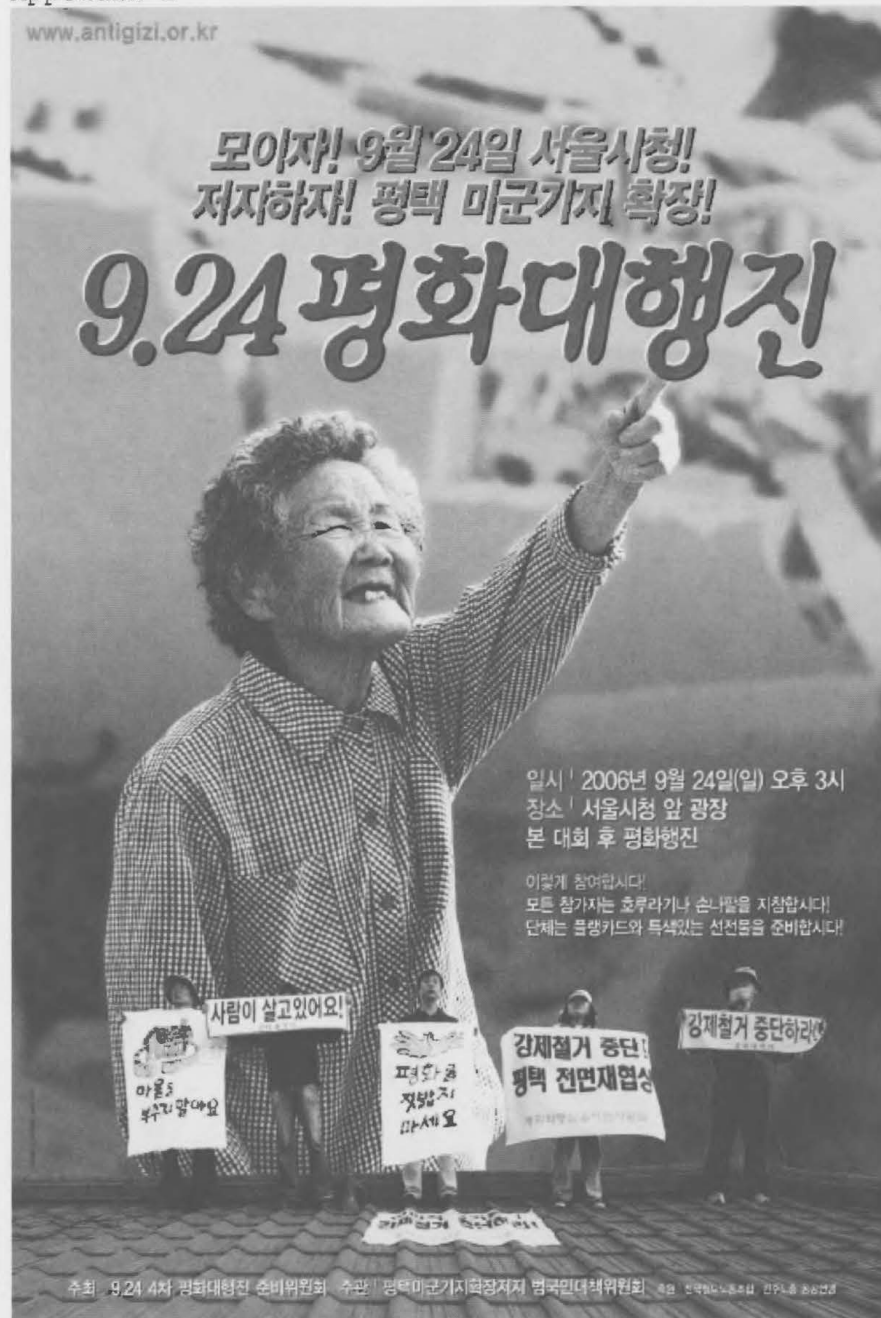
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      December 6, 2003.

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