

ABSTRACTS

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I am a senior lecturer in social and cultural theory at Birmingham University. I have just completed a period of research on the relationship between Marxism and recent French social theory. My most recent publications are *Marxism After Modernity: Politics, Technology and Social Transformation* and 'The Spectre and the Simulacrum: History After Baudrillard' (*Theory, Culture and Society*).

Technocratic Control and the Ethics of Penalty

The paper is concerned with the ethics of a new prosthetic penalty whose aim is to alter the somatic and neurological constitution of the offender. What is offered by these interventions is the fulfilment of Marcuse's account of technocratic control: the transformation of individuals into docile resources. My aim is to examine the fate of Marcuse's account of the organic potential of the body, and of the discourse of dangerous sexuality which he contributed to the spirit of 1968. I will argue that an ethical penalty can never be discharged through purely technological interventions, and every time an individual is deprived of their right not to be technologically controlled, this should be conceived as a failure of 'Enlightenment'. It is at this liminal point that I will pose the question of an ethics of care which emerges from the presence of the monstrous.

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Ekua Andrea Agha is a PhD candidate in the School of English and Humanities at Birkbeck College. Her area of research is Postcolonial Studies with specific interest in postcolonial Senegal. She is currently writing her doctoral thesis on the literary and film works of the late Ousmane Sembene.

Marxism and its Influence on the Senegalese Student Movement

The politicization and radicalization of the Senegalese student movement and youth organization is directly linked to its close association with the opposition party of the intellectual left, the PAI (Parti Africain pour l'indépendance des masses). Its aim was to influence the student movement with Marxist anti-imperialist and nationalist ideas. For these students, the Left was also one of the combative segments of the state which they could ally with. Senegalese Students were therefore able to organize successful demonstrations and strikes. By the end of ninth annual congress of the International Union of Students, members of the students' union (UDES) voted for students to organize a rally in Dakar on the 27th of May 1968 to protest against the neo colonial regime and, most importantly to organize a one day of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. This demonstration, which almost caused a government crisis, was a result of the government's underestimation of the influence of the Marxist led PAI on the students' movement.

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How 1968 collapsed in 1989: A Critical Examination of Discursive Shifts in Social and Cultural Theory after 1989

The protagonists and theorists of 1968 tend to congratulate themselves on their lasting influence. Critics of the 68ers often unwittingly enhance the significance of 1968. While the lasting influence of 1968 on social and cultural life is evident, the theoretical legacy seems much more uncertain. With 1989 and the end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the USSR, the collapse of state socialism, the demise of communist parties, not just the New Left got disoriented but also social and cultural theorists in a wider sense. This paper examines significant discursive shifts after 1989 to illustrate how much of social and cultural theory lost its edge. It is being written by someone from the post-1989 generation that has spent the past 15 years travelling between the regions formerly known as the 'East' and the 'West' and now leads efforts to build and promote a research agenda that looks at the lasting influences of 1989 for Eastern and Western Europe as well as the wider world.

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David Austin is co-founder of The Alfie Roberts Institute, an independent education and research centre based in Montreal, and editor of *A View for Freedom: Alfie Roberts Speaks on the Caribbean, Cricket, Montreal, and C.L.R. James*. In addition to his manuscript, *The Unfinished Revolution: Linton Kwesi Johnson, Poetry, and the New Society*, he is currently working on his second book, an intellectual history of the CCC, and editing *You Don't Play with Revolution: C.L.R. James, the Montreal Lectures*, AK Press (2009).

Caribbean International Opinion: The Caribbean Conference Committee and the Dynamics of Liberation

In the mid-1960s several Caribbean nationals formed the Montreal-based Caribbean Conference Committee (CCC). They were young, bright, and full of ideas on how to transform the Caribbean – and the world. CCC members were arguably the most important catalyst for the Caribbean New Left and their work influenced political development across the Anglophone Caribbean, including the Grenada Revolution. Their political vision was shaped by Marxist theory and the ideas of, among others, their mentor C. L. R. James. My paper explores the work of the CCC, with particular emphasis on the journal, *Caribbean International Opinion*, which in many ways captures the spirit and temper of 1968.

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Adria Battaglia is a doctoral candidate in Rhetoric and Language in the Communication Studies Department at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research interests include the intersections of public sphere theory, the rhetorics of social movements, feminist theory and free speech studies.

A Materialist Critique: Echo and Narcissus or the Myth of the Sex-Positive Feminist

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s used consciousness-raising efforts to stimulate political action. Such efforts are echoed in the performative politics of today's sex positive feminist artists like Annie Sprinkle, but as an end in itself for the feminist movement. In this paper, I offer a materialist critique of Annie Sprinkle's sex positive feminism. I argue that such an echo of sexual consciousness-raising is commodified as self-empowerment, and mistakes the true source of oppression at the macro level (capitalism) for a by-product of that oppression at the micro level (pornography and sexuality). Sex positive feminism forgoes a comprehensive political strategy to fight oppression at its political and economic source for a bourgeois solution that celebrates a false consciousness that claims personal triumph over sexuality.

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Colleen Bell is a post-doctoral fellow in the Department of Politics at the University of Bristol. Her research focuses on how political liberalism encourages interventionary conduct by Western countries. Current research examines the reemergence of counterinsurgency less as a re-strategisation of military intervention and more as the instantiation of broad relations of governance and contingent sovereignty over subject populations.

Sovereign Authority and the Political Practice of Exodus

The events of May 1968 point to two disparate strategies for challenging established authority. While most attention has been paid to those which attempt to seize the State apparatus, others demonstrate a refusal to acknowledge as legitimate received accounts of the character and location of 'the political'. This paper examines idea of 'exodus' as an animation of this latter approach, involving what Paulo Virno describes as an 'engaged withdrawal' and 'mass defection' from statist life. Rather than seizing power and holding public space, refusing though exit works as a radical intemperance to a given set of intellectual understandings about the character of ethics and politics. The paper asks whether exodus offers a political strategy for challenging distinctions between the forms of life which sovereign power relies upon for authority and coherence.

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Stefan Bertschi is an independent management consultant in Strategy and Business Development, and a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. He lives with his family in

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Before and After 1968: The Paradox of Post-Structuralist Sociology

In this paper I understand '1968' as the metaphorical date at which the prevailing structuralist approach was challenged by poststructuralist ideas. Instead of referring to the actual event in French theory, I propose a poststructuralist view without post-structuralism. This view is specifically sociological in nature and builds upon Georg Simmel and Max Weber's theoretical conceptions of 'sociation' and 'meaning'. Contesting Emile Durkheim and his structuralist approach, this kind of poststructuralist theory aims to overcome sociology as a discipline locked in a meaningless term of 'society'. The paper develops a strategy to facilitate introspection and to allow a holistic view beyond holism; in this regard, it concludes that before '1968' is after '1968' and that there is still a lot to learn from these classical poststructuralist ideas.

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Ian Birchall was formerly Senior Lecturer in Humanities, Middlesex University. He was joint author with Tony Cliff of *France: The Struggle Goes On*. He has written mainly on the history of socialism and is currently writing the biography of Tony Cliff.



Tony Cliff and 1968

1968 saw a reshaping of the British far left. The International Socialists [IS] grew from 400 in early 1968 to 3000 in the early seventies. A major factor was the role of its principal theoretician, Tony Cliff [Ygael Gluckstein]. Cliff had to re-evaluate his earlier thinking, to decide which Marxist principles must be held on to, and what must be adapted to meet the new situation. He did this in his pamphlet *France: The Struggle Goes On*, in various other writings, and in his contribution to the internal debates in the IS. His rethinking covered six areas: (1) Perspectives for international capitalism; (2) Third World struggle (3) The roots of the student movement and its relation to the working class (4) The international crisis of Stalinism (5) The appropriate form of organization for the period (6) Voluntarism and determinism.

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Since partaking in a strike ten years ago he is still organizing within the labour movement. He has also participated in other anti-capitalist movements: anti-globalisation protests, a queer cumming-together', groups concerned with the occupation of Palestinian territories and/or NATO's aggressive expansion in the Balkans. Currently he is finishing a dissertation that uses Jean-Luc Nancy's texts on community to revisit so-called 'classical' sociological theory.



Maurice Blanchot's Indifferent Community

Maurice Blanchot claims that May '68 marked the turn beyond orthodox communism, the negative community, as well as the politics of production and exclusion. In its watershed we find the advent of a politics of indifference. Jean-Luc Nancy has noted that this approach ends up reproducing the polarization between difference and sameness that it sought to move beyond. Rather than merely opposing sameness with difference, Nancy claims that we must disrupt its source, which is the hypostatization of community. This presentation will focus on some of the critical insights in this debate in order to aid those of us who remain concerned with the communist exigency and the problem of community.

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Lorenzo Bosi is Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute. His research examines social movements, political violence, and consolidated political identities and relations, in socio-politically polarized contexts such as Northern Ireland. He is also an affiliated researcher in an international research project 'The European Protest Movements since the Cold War'.



The Reciprocity of Social Movement Consequences. The Short Term Outcomes and Long Term Legacy of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement

Until recently, most of the scholars who have been interested in research on the consequence of social movements have narrowed their studies on single-outcome analysis, such as the public policy impact, the spill-over effects, the cultural consequences, or the personal and biographical impacts. Vice versa, I will support in this paper a reading of social movement impacts that will consider how different outcome domains mutually influence one another. Impacts in one domain may have a bearing on another domain, and a consequence taking place at one point can shape future broader outcomes. Understanding the reciprocity of social movement consequences is a fundamental mission for researchers who want to discover better how contingently contentious action relates to social change. Theoretically drawing on a review of the social movement literature, I adopt the tools of qualitative historical analysis, using archival and newspaper data and former activists' perspectives, to shed new light on the enduring consequences of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement (1960s-1972).

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Julian Bourg is Assistant Professor of History at Bucknell University, USA, where he teaches European intellectual history. Julian is the author of *From Revolution of Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought* (2007), which won the 2008 Morris D. Forkosch book prize from the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. He also translated Claude Lefort's *Complications: Communism and the Dilemmas of Democracy* (2007), and edited *After the Deluge: New Perspectives on the Intellectual and Cultural History of Postwar France* (2004).

Tempered Nostalgia in Recent French Films on Les Annees 68

Recent French films about the '68 years' take a position of tempered nostalgia on the late 1960s and early 1970s. By tempered nostalgia, I mean how that mode of memory is modified according to three different meanings of the word 'temper': to neutralize, to harden, and to be angry. The two films under review—*Les Amants réguliers* (Philippe Garrel, 2005) and *Les Lip, L'imagination au pouvoir* (Christian Rouaud, 2007)—submit les années 68 to overlapping judgments: the past is past (neutralization), familiar iconic motifs associated with '1968' have congealed and settled (hardening), and the events of those years exemplify the kinds of social and political frustrations (anger) that can be found just as easily forty years before 1968 as forty years afterwards.

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Maud Bracke is Lecturer of Modern European History at the University of Glasgow. She is the author of *Which Socialism, Whose Détente? West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1968*, CEU Press (2007), forthcoming in Italian translation, and has published articles on '1968', the Prague Spring, and West European communism. She is currently working on immigrants and 1968, and on the role played by female workers in during the Italian Hot Autumn of 1968.



1968, the Left and the End of Empire: The Case of France

The paper explores aspects of the ways in which those at the forefront of the May '68 events in France – students, protesters, intellectuals, trade union activists – attempted to understand the emerging post-colonial world, and integrated the passage to post-colonialism in their opposition to capitalism. However, the theories and actions in solidarity with immigrant workers that were developed through and after 1968 inherited from older forms of European Marxist anti-imperialism some major unresolved dilemmas.

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Jodi Burkett is a PhD Candidate in History at York University in Toronto, Canada. She holds an MA from McGill University in Montreal and an Honours BA with High Distinction from the University of Toronto. Her work focuses on conceptions of race and national identity on the Left in England and Northern Ireland during the 1960s.

From 'Rivers of Blood' to 'Ulster's White Negroes': Ideas of 'Race' and 'Britishness' in England and Northern Ireland

In England and Northern Ireland discussions about 'Britishness' were fundamental to the major ideological clashes taking place in 1968: the debate about immigration and demand for civil rights. In England, Enoch Powell's April 1968 speech about the 'problems' of immigration and the reaction it engendered were about how inclusive 'Britishness'

could be. In Northern Ireland the civil rights movement used international examples of non-whites fighting oppression to illustrate their plight. Famously referring to themselves as 'Ulster's White Negroes' while claiming British rights for British citizens, the civil rights movement too was making claims about what 'Britishness' was and what it should be. This paper will examine the ways in which British identity was used and challenged by radicals in England and Northern Ireland in 1968.

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Miguel Cardina is a Contemporary History PhD student at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. His current work focuses on the radical left during the sixties. He has published a history of the students' movements during the dictatorship of *Estado Novo*.

War to War: Violence and Anti-Colonialism in the Final Years of Portuguese Estado Novo

In the sixties, at a time where the world had already seen the triumphant consolidation of the anti-colonial independentisms, the Portuguese dictatorship would try to enforce their dominance overseas. During these years, some sectors in Portuguese society, essentially emerging within university campuses and receptive to the influence of a certain 'space '68', were shaping practices and notions overly critical of the dominant political, economical and cultural models of society. This paper intends to reveal the importance of the concept of 'violence' in the speech of post-'68 Portuguese Maoism. The diverse interpretations over its nature and legitimacy and the constant broadcast of images and representations that associated social emancipation to the need of using force as a method, allow us to recognize it as a specific characteristic of this political segment.

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Siu-Han Chan is a PhD Candidate of Sociology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her research interests include the sociology of knowledge and intellectual, cultural sociology and historical sociology.

Radicalism Caught Between the Motherland and the World: The Case of the Hong Kong Student Movements in the Late 1960s

The utopian or reality-transcending orientation, to use Mannheim's words, of student movements is one very important intellectual motivation for social change. Underneath the altruistic aspiration, Lewis Feuer, however, suggests that student movement is a symptom of the cultural crisis of the society involved. These theoretical observations will serve to illuminate the case of Hong Kong student movements in the late 1960s, when the first locally grown-up generation became critical to the colonial government echoing the worldwide radicalization. This paper will first interpret the nature of the student movements, and their significance in the social development of colonial Hong Kong. Secondly, I will look at the student movements in Hong Kong as arising not simply from the internal socio-political situation, but also as responding first to the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and then on a broader scale to the international socialist fervour.

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Manlio Cinalli is Senior Research Fellow at Sciences Po Paris. He received his PhD at the Queen's University of Belfast, with a thesis focusing on political mobilization and ethnic relations in Northern Ireland. He has led research at the University of Leeds, the European University Institute, the University of Oxford, LUISS (Rome) and Columbia University (NY). His comparative research focuses cross-nationally on ethnic relations and mobilization. At Sciences Po, he is director of the French project for LOCALMULTIDEM (EU FP6) and YOUNEX (EU FP7).

Deliberative Networks and the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland: Relational Legacies for Political Integration Across the Divide

This paper takes a network approach to the study of political integration across the traditional cleavage between Nationalists and Unionists in Northern Ireland. It argues that failures of integration are explained by pointing to the absence of deliberation between policy actors, divided communities, and society at large. In particular, deliberation is operationalized in terms of two types of networks—amongst actors and ideas respectively. The conclusion quests whether the CRM was a lost chance killed by political conveniences, or rather, the first attempt to build a long-lasting structure for enduring peace.

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Alex Colas teaches international relations in the School of Politics and Sociology. He is author of *Empire* (Polity, 2007), *International Civil Society* (Polity, 2002) and is member of the editorial board of *Historical Materialism*.

Marxism and Internationalism in the post-1967 Middle East

The conjuncture of 1968 was experienced in a specific fashion across the Mashreq. In that part of the world, political transformation came a year early, and in the form of the organised violence of the Six Day War. 1967 was a landmark year for all the peoples of the region not only insofar as it set the geopolitical contours of the following forty years of conflict between Israelis and their neighbours, but also in that it marked a deep rupture in the political and ideological orientation of leftwing movements across the Mashreq. This paper focuses quite narrowly on the Palestinian and Israeli experience, and in particular on the challenges to revolutionary internationalism generated by the 1967 war. It explores the emergence of a new generation of revolutionary organisations in the region which sought to recast the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a Third World anti-colonial struggle, and considers the conceptual and political implications of this shift for the broader understanding of 1968 as a world-historical event.

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Ben Cranfield has a BA in History from Queens' College, Cambridge and an MRes from the London Consortium, University of London in Humanities and Cultural Studies. Currently he is completing a Collaborative Doctoral Award at the London Consortium and Institute of Contemporary Arts, using the ICA's archives to create a cultural analysis of post-war Britain at the, much neglected, institutional level. He is contributing editor of *How Soon is Now?*, ICA (2007), and curator of the *60 Years of Curating* discussion series, ICA (2007/8).

***"Didn't they realize he might be a terrorist upstart treading these virgin white terraces?" Students, Institutes and Artists; the Revolution Within***

This paper will examine the British experience of 1968 via the lens of two particular texts, namely *TANK*, *The Hornsey Affair* and the intersecting nexus of the ICA. Seeing the romantic/classical dialectic as extended into the 60s, this paper aims to explore how this relationship may be more helpfully thought about in terms of poverty and technology. This transformation of terms allows for a view of competing radical visions within the same societal moment in relation to each other, without negating a divisive relationship with the main hegemonic structures of consumption and tradition.

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Liana Maria Daher is a Sociology researcher at the University of Catania, where she also teaches general sociology, research methods and social movements. For several years she has worked on collective behaviour and social movements. Her studies focus on theoretical, epistemological and methodological perspectives, recently analysing unexpected

***The Cultural Legacy of 1968: Unexpected Outcomes of Social Movements Collective Action***

Historical research presents 1968 as a very complex period that produces, above all, long-term goals in institutions and actors' behaviours. This period left us a considerable change in culture: thinking, habit, language. The legacy of 1968 bears from the cultural side a very positive balance, whereas institutional changes are not always clearly distinguished. In fact, 1968 is a watershed of a considerable epochal change, and even though it produced not only direct effects, it represents one of the main dynamics of social and cultural change in contemporary society. Social movements were the most important vehicle of transformation in 1968. Social movements collective action, following stated strategies and goals, effected essential changes in social life. This season of movements is wildly significant for a reconstruction of the previous dynamics, 'goals-strategies-outcomes', of social movements, and it is representative too of some perverse effects of social movements collective action.

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Baolinh Dang is a PhD student in the Social and Political Thought Programme at York University. Her research interests include Frankfurt School Critical theory, phenomenology, and political philosophy.

Marcuse's Continuing Relevance: The Criticality of Utopian Thinking to Critical Theory

Branded the "Guru" of the New Left by the American mainstream media, Herbert Marcuse is indelibly associated with the uprisings of the late 1960s. My paper appraises the continued importance of Marcuse's utopian and negative thinking to a critical theory of society. Particular attention will be devoted to the aesthetic and ethical nature embodied in his concept of the Great Refusal and in the 'new sensibility', which he thought was integral to socialist liberation. I will consider how this aesthetic rationality (that is simultaneously an aesthetic morality) can inform oppositional politics in the era of neo-liberalism and imperialism.

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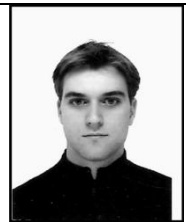
Laurence Davis has taught political and social theory at Oxford University, Ruskin College, and University Colleges Dublin and Galway. He is editor (with Peter Stillman) of *The New Utopian Politics of Ursula K. Le Guin's The Dispossessed* (Lexington Books, 2005), and (with Ruth Kinna) of *Anarchism and Utopianism* (Manchester University Press, forthcoming in 2009).

Anarchist Revolutionary Legacies of 1968

One of the key distinguishing characteristics of the global uprisings of 1968 was their revolutionary personalism. Emerging from the most radical, politicised edge of the counterculture of the 1960s, as well as from anarchist-inclined strains of radical pacifism, anti-racism, radical feminism, and ecologism, the philosophy and practice of revolutionary personalism emphasised the defining importance of the liberation of everyday life as a feature of anti-authoritarian revolutionary change. The anarchist theorist Murray Bookchin articulated this point with memorable clarity in the immediate aftermath of the events of May-June 1968 in France, "It is plain that the goal of revolutionary today must be the liberation of daily life. Any revolution that fails to achieve this goal is counter-revolution. Above all, it is we who have to be liberated, *our* daily lives, with all their moments, hours and days, and not universals like 'History' and 'Society.'" I have two primary aims in this paper: first, to identify the anarchist roots of the revolutionary personalism of the global uprisings of 1968; and second, to assess its theoretical and sociological significance in the context of contemporary academic and activist efforts to re-imagine revolutionary politics in ways that depart from traditional, state-centred insurrectionary models.

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Renaud Debailly is a Sociology PhD student at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. His work concerns the critique of science, in the scientific field, since May 1968 in France.

Radical Criticism of Science in France (1968-1977)

The events of May 1968, in France, are famous for the students' mobilization. A radical tendency also arose among scientists during the 1970s. Teachers, researchers, technicians and engineers have denounced the academic establishment and the misuses of science. Those scientists shared a common view: science is merely a social activity. We will demonstrate that this radical criticism of science, which began with May 1968, can be understood as a contestation of the *epistemic authority* of science. In this paper we would like to draw a map of the radical criticism using three reviews: *Survivre et Vivre*, *Labo-contestation* and *Impascience*. We will define their principal themes (ecology, feminism, expertise, teaching...) thanks to a lexicometric analysis. Finally, we would like to emphasize the particularity of the *boundary-work* between science and politics in France during the 1970's.

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Ipek Demir is a lecturer at the University of Leicester. Her work draws on political philosophy, social theory and epistemology in order to develop a better understanding of science and its relationship to society. Her current research interests include a theoretical and empirical study of order and trust within science.

Thomas Kuhn: A Conservative Revolutionary?

The aim of my paper is to highlight the fact that Kuhn described science as a profoundly conservative activity and that he did not challenge but instead cherished this conservatism. This is because Kuhn argued that what made scientific activity innovative and creative was its very conservatism, a point which is usually missed both by his critics and supporters. In my paper I will consider the extent to which the student and academic environment in 1960s contributed to the reception of Kuhn as a 'revolutionary' rather than a 'conservative', and the impact this reception has had on our current understanding of science in general, and relationship between science and the public in particular.

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James Driver is a 2005 PhD graduate of the School of Politics and Sociology, Birkbeck College

Habermas on the Student Protests: Reflections on Collective Action and Communicative Potential

Habermas' conclusions about the 1968 student demonstrations were dismissive because they did not meet with the more communicatively orientated form of politics he was looking to develop circa 1970. However, in spite of its naive radicalism and confrontational approach, the protest movement had value in that it raised awareness of the possibility of collectively achieved alternative forms of social and political organization. The paper will examine how, in comparison with today, our ideas about political legitimacy have gained and lost with regard to potential alternatives in rather contradictory terms. The collapse of Marxism and structuralism has allowed a more communicative politics to develop. However, our politics is more attached to 'narrow definitions of income, leisure time and security' than ever and protest seems to be limited to this. The idea of collective protest to achieve radical change has far receded.

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Dr Aaron Edwards is Senior Lecturer in Defence and International Affairs at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. His monograph *A History of the Northern Ireland Labour Party: Democratic Socialism and Sectarianism* is forthcoming from Manchester University Press.

The Northern Ireland Labour Party and the Civil Rights Issue

Debates over the nature, significance and legacy of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement tend to stress its Catholic and nationalist character. This paper takes a different approach. By examining the important role played by individual members from the bi-confessional Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP) it argues that the civil rights issue involved significant input from Protestants and socialists, who sought redress of political, social and economic grievances. Moreover, it considers the NILP's relationship to other civil rights bodies, such as the Campaign for Social Justice and the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, and asks how its approach differed. Drawing on extensive empirical research – including previously untapped archival sources and oral histories - the paper challenges the orthodox academic interpretation of the civil rights issue as an ostensibly anti-partitionist cause designed to overthrow the state.

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changing discourses and identities of British and American community development, and the other exploring the labour market outcomes of minority ethnic groups in Scotland.

The Misunderstood Radicalism of 1968: The Silencing of Democracy in British and American Community Development

1968 and its legacy is often constructed as a transformative historical moment whereby the ideas of democracy, power and justice were radically transformed by the Civil Rights Movement, the New Left and the nascent second-wave feminist movement. This dominant interpretation of a so-called 'golden age' of radicalism obscures alternative analyses of the practices and events of 1968 and makes it difficult to understand how this moment and its legacy continues to influence and perhaps distort our ideas of radicalism, democracy and social justice today. Using a post-structuralist discursive analytical framework, this paper will argue that, rather than community development being infused by the radicalism of 1968, its dominant discourses and identities silence democracy and perpetuate conservative and elitist ideas of equality, leadership and social change that seem to reinforce the status quo rather than trying to dismantle it.

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Revolutionary Social Theory is Made Outside the Academy

Having cheered for the Paris revolutionaries in May 1968, entering the campus of Leeds University in October to find it painted all over with slogans from the Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation was like walking into paradise. The next fifteen years of theory and practice in the UK's left-libertarian movement, and in the organization called *Big Flame*, were inspiring. This paper will reflect on a political-learning process which took place at a tangent to what passed for radical theory in the universities, arguing that theoretical advances were made off campus, while radical social theory largely stagnated in the ivory towers, precisely because off-campus theory was continually challenged and disrupted by the demands of practical politics. The paper will discuss three fields: the impact of the 'social factory' theory in Italian Marxism on community politics; the impact of the Men's Movement's theory on gender theory and the women's movement; and the impact of CLR James' theory on the politics of organizing (with particular reference to the racialized aspects of political organizations).

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Civil Rights Mobilization and Repression in Northern Ireland: A Comparative Perspective

Was the rise of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland any different from mass mobilizations in other Western countries in the 1960s? Were the Unionist counter-mobilization and the RUC repressive stance against Civil Rights protests a unique feature of ethnically divided Northern Ireland? The detonation of the Troubles and the collapse of Northern Ireland state would seem to suggest the labelling of the Civil Rights years as exceptional. However, I argue that the investigation of contentious processes occurring in the 1960s in Europe and USA contradicts such a claim, as strikingly similar processes of mobilization and repression were occurring consistently elsewhere. A comparative focus on mass contention in the Deep South of the USA in the 1960s highlights tactical and strategic isomorphism between the two Civil Rights Movements, as well as a cross-national diffusion of repertoires of action and ideas. Moreover, a comparison of the patterns of counter-mobilization and protest policing which occurred in Northern Ireland with those in the US reveals similar mechanisms of activists' radicalization and police repression.

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Everyone Longs for a Master: Lacan and 1968

The Paris events of 1968 were observed sympathetically by Jacques Lacan, who had a longstanding commitment to refusing to accept any pre-given order, and whose own son-in-law/heir (Jacques-Alain Miller) and daughter became members of the Maoist Gauche prolétarienne. However, the role he took up is described as that of the 'stern father' who always knew better than did the revolutionaries themselves. 'As revolutionaries, what you long for is a master,' he told them; 'You'll get one...' Lacan distinguished between totalitarian revolutionary movements – in which he included Maoism – and the truly revolutionary movement of Freudianism (at least as refracted by Lacan). The key issue here was that of the '*pas-tout* (not-whole)': the Freudian revolution is that which has no ambitions to total knowledge, but allows for the fallen, divided subject. Without this *pas-tout*, there will always be demand for a master. Hence the parallel (failed) Lacanian revolution of the time: the *passe* or famous 'self-authorizing' procedure for becoming a psychoanalyst.

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Jorge Gibert-Galassi is professor of sociological theory at the University of Viña del Mar, Chile. He has published his first book entitled *The Connection between Free-will and Determinism: A Reconstruction of the Philosophy of the Social Sciences*.

The Epistemic Transformation on the Relationship between Power and Truth in Sociological Theory after May 1968

It is my contention that the May '68 political movement constituted a historical breakpoint for the conventional assumptions of sociological theory concerning the relationship between the categories of truth and power. Since then, the suspicion that an objective description of society is unattainable has grown stronger. Hence, sociological theory ought to conceptualize in new terms the process whereby truth structures arise from power structures. In this respect, I would analyze in what sense and in which roles the concept of truth works within a framework built around power as a central and relativistic concept in modern sociology. I shall develop my thesis with reference to how contemporary sociological theory upholds and is itself built upon certain theories of truth, and how those theories of truth give rise to several conditional circumstances for the advancement of sociological theory.

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Neo-liberal Globalization, A Gender Transition and Reproductive Rights in Feminism

In the '60s, feminist consensus rejected women's formerly hegemonic domestic and reproductive identity, and demanded more equal access to the labour market and to legal contraception and abortion. Since then, in countries where gender concerns have been institutionalized, State policies now assume that everyone will work, while the 'care deficit' is identified as a crucial problem, often 'resolved' through its commodification as low-paid, often informal, sometimes illegal, waged work – a market mechanism which reflects and reproduces polarised labour markets and increasing inequality among women. This paper will elaborate the notion of a 'gender transition' as related to transformations of the social conditions of human reproduction in the neo-liberal world, and adopt the critical concept of 'situated knowledges' to analyse the relationships between feminist conceptions of the State and representations of reproductive rights in this historical context.

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All-Consuming Images: Postfeminism's Reconstruction of Gender Identities and Relations

Brain size, serotonin, testosterone, endorphins, bipolarity and synaptic connections are terms are no longer confined to the specialist lexicons of psychiatry, neuroscience or biochemistry but have become the staple fodder of discussions about men, women and the relationships between them on a host of daytime talk shows and phone-in radio programmes that are popular in Ireland and beyond. This paper examines the various ways in which an increasingly consumerist society and commercially driven media are sidelining debates about material inequality between men and women, while simultaneously shifting biodeterminist accounts of gender centre stage to address a broad range of contemporary social ills, many of which might be better explained by using other analytical variables such as class, ethnicity or sexuality. This is increasingly evident not only in the allegedly ironic gender stereotyping that has become a key feature of popular cultural imagery but also in serious media debates about male disadvantage, fathers' rights, domestic violence, childcare and anti-social behaviour. The paper argues that consumer capitalism and postfeminism are complicit in re-constructing gender in ways that are harmful to men, women and children, and looks to feminism and queer theory for ways in which this consumer-driven gender apartheid might be tackled.

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Marxism and the Post-1968 Political Subject

May 1968 is taken to mark a radical rupture from the revolutionary universalist political subject of change and social transformation which was vested within the Marxist tradition in the 'privileged' position of the proletariat. Radical resistance came to mean a subject which in its heterogeneity and singularity celebrates the split and contingency in the social thereby subverting all determinism and positivity. My argument is that the split, contingency of capitalism offers only a starting-point for radical transformation but cannot in itself be either really subversive or revolutionary. It is not contingency – the split, singularity, autonomy, democracy – but necessity, the inexorable logic of capital and commodity fetishism which has to be the starting point of critique for any emancipatory project. Alain Badiou's idea of not just positing a split but of traversing it through a procedure of truth, as an axiomatically given ethical act, thus takes us beyond this post-modernist, post-Marxist celebration of the contingent, the fragmentary, of multiple identities. I therefore seek to explore a radical political subjectivity which will go beyond the post-structuralist moment inaugurated by May 1968 and yet take into account the conjunctural specificity of 'late capitalism'.

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*The Relevance of Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony Outside of the 'Primary' Political Sphere: An Example from the Arts*

The sensational events of 1968 centred predominantly on power, and the discourses through which this was established, maintained and challenged. Gramsci's theory of 'hegemony' rose to prominence partly due to its effectiveness in explaining how these power relations and processes may be understood. This paper seeks to apply hegemony outside of the 'primary' political sphere, in which it has been most often utilized, using the theory to illuminate how individuals discursively negotiate status hierarchies in their daily lives. Drawing on the example of US based poetry slam – an oral poetry competition and artistic movement – this paper explores the ways in which multiple layers of hegemonic discourse

are mobilized by individuals during the course of their everyday interactions, and the implications which this has, both for poetry slam participants and for sociological theory.

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The 1968s Movement Revisited – Education and the Distinction in Values, Political Interest and Political Participation in West Germany

This paper focuses, from a quantitative and longitudinal perspective, on the cohorts that experienced the 1968 events. As education has been a major characteristic of the active 1968 generation, educational level and educational expansion will be theorized to analyze social mechanisms behind the 1968 movement and its development. We will compare the 1968 generation – the birth cohorts 1939-48/1949-58 – to other earlier and later cohorts, regarding their values, interest in politics and political participation. We follow the course of these factors over time by analyzing age, period and cohort effects. Results show a robust effect of education: More highly-educated people are more politically interested, rather postmaterialist and politically mobilized. Longitudinal evidences include that in particular the more-highly educated people of the 1939-1958 cohorts founded the 1968 movement and the following political mobilization.

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Eloise Harding is a PhD candidate at The University of Nottingham. Her work focuses mainly on the identification of a horizontal theory of political action. She has been at various times an active participant in alter-globalization, antifascist and animal rights activism.

The Situationist Legacy: Revolution as Celebration

Key to the Situationist revolutionary ideal is the concept of self-determination: not depending on, and often actively resisting, 'specialists of revolution', and instead thinking for oneself. My focus in this paper will be on the implications this has for the concept of revolution espoused by movements such as Dissent Anti-G8. I will examine here how such a conception of revolution can be used to explain the motivations of activists in today's 'horizontal' movements. While it is not the only theory which makes a contribution here, I will argue that it has provided an important turning-point in perceptions of the struggle for political change, in particular the emphasis on carnival and usurpation of the dominant culture rather than martyrdom.

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Riding the Waves: Feminism, Lesbian and Gay Politics, and the Transgender Debates

The social movements of the 1960s have been well documented in relation to the contribution of, and the impact upon, the political cultures of women and sexual minorities. Yet the role of trans people in these social transformations has received scant attention. This paper will examine two events, which 'sandwich' 1968, where trans people fought alongside feminist and lesbian and gay activists: Compton's Cafeteria Riots (1966) and the Stonewall Riots (1969). These events will be explored to illustrate the role of trans activism in 1960s gender and sexual movements, and to

map the relationships between trans communities and gender and sexual politics from the 1960s onwards. The paper will argue for the need to recognize past links, and the necessity to forge present and future connections, between transgender, feminist and lesbian and gay theory and politics.

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From 1968 to 1951: How Habermas Turned Marx into Parsons

Talcott Parsons is one of the most significant figures in 20th Century sociology, yet his contemporary standing has perhaps never been so low. He defined what might be called a 'high modernist' moment when sociological theory was attached to a collective project of disciplinary formation. Increasingly since the 1950s, the idea of a foundational project has been under criticism and few have associated themselves with it. It would be over-stated to say that, just as Jürgen Habermas has set himself the task of engaging with the 'unfinished project' of modernity, so he has undertaken the task of completing the 'unfinished project' of Parsonsian social theory. However, in this paper, I suggest that the sociological substance of Habermas's theory is a sustained bringing together of Marx (mediated by Weber) and Parsons. This 'dialogue' begins in the voice of Marx, but concludes with that of Parsons being dominant. I suggest that Parsons's categories live on in the work of Habermas, but rather than transcending their flaws Habermas reproduces them. In this context, I shall suggest an alternative way of thinking about what we might learn from Marx one that avoids the problems of the latter's approach, but does not return us to Parsons.

Sarah Hornstein

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Sarah Hornstein is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at York University in Toronto, Canada. Her current focus is social theory generally and the work of Marx, Freud, and the Frankfurt School in particular.

The Frankfurt School on Totalitarianism

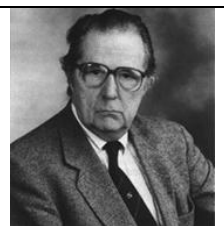
The work of the Frankfurt School was highly influential not only to May '68, but to the development of the New Left in general. Given this, and given that the organizers of, and participants in, the events of May '68 were committed to an anti-totalitarian politic, it is important to explicitly interrogate what such a politic entails. This requires asking how those members of the Frankfurt School who were of particular influence to May '68 understand totalitarianism. This paper focuses specifically on Marcuse's and Adorno's work in an attempt to answer this question. Of particular interest is the connection between totalitarianism and advanced capitalism as this is not only a central theme in the work of the Frankfurt School generally, but was also key to the political and philosophical underpinnings of May '68.

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Roy Johnston is a scientific consultant with background initially in physics, which subsequently evolved into techno-economic and socio-technical analysis, mostly computer-based. He had been involved in the post-war student Left in Trinity College Dublin in the late 40s, picking up a concern for science and society issues, also development economics in the colonial to post-colonial transition process, Ireland being recognised as a key example.



Civil Rights and the Republican Movement: An Insider's View, 1963-72

The IRA had interacted with the Comintern in the 1920s, and the 1940s student Left was aware of this background. The student Left combined with a group of ex-IRA wartime internees, and the remains of the pre-war CPI to form the Irish Workers League in 1948. The IWL remained isolated during the 1950s, and the writer distanced himself from it seeking to re-establish the makings of a political republican left, under democratic Marxist influence, as an alternative to the doomed 1950s IRA armed campaign. This bore fruit during the early 1960s leading to the setting up of the NICRA in 1966, with active political republican support. The moderate objective of achieving civil rights to enable political republicanism to exist however was negated by the B-Specials-led armed pogrom in August 1968, a successful right-wing armed provocation which triggered the rise of the Provisionals, and political republicanism was neutered for 3 decades, not again emerging until the 1990s processes culminating in the Good Friday Agreement.

Thus the apparent link with the European 1968 events was of questionable relevance in the Irish context.

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All Along the Watershed: The '60s Episteme, Community Activism & Civil-Society as Lifeworld

To help resolve transience vs. persistence perspectives on the significance of '1968' the present paper adapts Habermas's theory, that the 'lifeworld' reactions to capitalist modernity generated 'crises of civil society'. The limitations of affluence, and apparent suppression of individual and minority rights and life styles fuelled protest against, and challenges to, core institutions; often, if implicitly, to defend or expand civil society freedoms. The inadequacies of subsequent Establishment solutions to the constriction of civil society lifeworlds are compounded by renewed needs for political action to ameliorate socio-environmental deterioration and pressures from market forces on social, personal and ecological wellbeing. Consequently, both states and corporations seek to employ the capacities of civil society organizations – rooted in the ethos of Sixties radicalism and voluntarism – with potentially more tangible prospects for success than their precursors.

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History, Memory and Politics: The Legacy of 1968 in the Czech Republic

Liam Kelly (see under Nagle)

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Criticism and Interpretation as Foundations of Social Science

The protests of 1968 are often held to be one of the political developments which led to the rejuvenation of critical social science, and contributed to its place as an influential orientation to research. However, critical social science was not the only orientation rejuvenated in the 1960s. In the Anglo-American context, interpretive approaches to social inquiry were also growing in influence during this period. Although the two approaches share some features, there are enough tensions and differences for proponents of each to enter into critiques of the other's perspective; as in the Habermas-Gadamer debate and in Brian Fay's critique of Peter Winch. In this paper I want to argue that although critical appraisal is a relevant part of social science, it is more appropriately conceived of within an interpretive framework than within an explicitly 'critical' one.

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1968, Michel Foucault and the Specific Intellectual

This paper will examine current concerns around the role of the critical thinking and the critical intellectual through the

lens of the debates in 1968. In particular it argues that we need to revisit our understandings of the work of Michel Foucault and explore it as a transformative process. In doing so it opens the possibility to rethink our own research and practice. This paper argues that the legacy of the events of 1968 remains with us. The questions they raised - the role of the university, critical intellectual and purpose of critique and possibilities of transformation - are ones we continue to grapple with today. It argues that it is only by addressing the concerns raised by the protest we can begin to tackle our current struggles.

Barbara Körner (see under McKechnie)

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The Diffusion of a Radical Student Imaginary Through Cinema: The Case of Greece during the Military Dictatorship (1967-74)

This paper is about the indirect means in which youth rebellions in the Western world reached Greek students in the time of the military dictatorship (1967-74) and the ways in which they shaped their imaginary. Youthful defiance struck Greek students through the films rather than through the standard channel of the '68 events, which were underplayed due to the censored media. Movies depicting the counter-cultural hippy scene of United States youth or its political *engagement* incited an emotive response in the youthful Greek audiences and screenings were often followed by staged performances of the film's story in the streets. Effectively, Greek youths were dis-placing their opposition to the dictatorship by adopting the countercultural energy of *Woodstock*, *Easy Rider*, *Zabriskie Point* and mainly *The Strawberry Statement*. This paper will highlight the subtle ways in which the image and the semiotics of youth protest culture were culturally transferred, even to countries under authoritarian regimes.

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From May 1968 to the Generalized Subversion of Daily Life? Notes on the (Not So) Latent Situationism of Michel de Certeau

In my paper, I will explore the link between Michel de Certeau's writings after May 1968 and the Situationist key notion of re-appropriation. I will argue that de Certeau's stress on tactical re-use does not imply a naïve romantic view on subversion. In de Certeau's view, the constantly renewed operation of re-appropriation is literally a-subjective and therefore enigmatic. Its true subject, in the original meaning of the word ('subjectum'), is the unconsciousness: daily life is a continuous insistence of 'the discourse of the Other' that punctuates the reigning symbolic discourses and power practices.

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After Anti-Racism?

This paper demonstrates the heterogeneity of anti-racism, spanning both pro- and anti-State based analyses of the origins of racism. Secondly, a parallel discourse of 'anti-anti-racism' within the radical Left reveals the reluctance to identify the anti-racist project with anything other than its officialised, State- endorsed version. This raises important questions about the possibility for autonomy from paternalist control in the construction of radical anti-racisms. Today, the emphasis placed on diversity seeks to rally a public alienated by the negativity of anti-racism. The paper examines the relationship to anti-racism within these three shifts from anti-racism, to anti-anti-racism, to post-anti-racism. It asks what conclusions can be drawn about the status of anti-racism today: Has it indeed exceeded its political utility, or is it a political project that is, in fact, yet to be born?

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Contesting Capitalist Expertise, Then and Now

The 1968 events symbolized and stimulated a revolt against capitalism in everyday life. The New Left contested official assumptions about science, technology and expertise. According to its re-readings of Marx, technology is frozen labour embodying particular strategies for exploiting human and natural resources, especially the real subordination of labour. Scientific expertise serves this process through practices which naturalize technology as progress. These perspectives informed challenges to capitalist forms of production, consumption and reproduction. Capitalist forms of expertise were contested through alliances among radical trade unionists, professional workers and other activists – sometimes called a 'radical science movement'. Since the 1990s the 'anti-capitalist movement' has likewise targeted capitalist development agendas around technologies such as the new genetics, bioprospecting, energy production and biofuel crops. This paper will open up a discussion on ways to learn from and inform today's efforts at contesting capitalist expertise.

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From Sartre to Stevedores: Connections between the Paris Barricades and the Revival of the Black Trades Union Movement in South Africa

The discourses of 1968 were introduced to Anglophone students in SA largely through individual academics who had travelled and studied abroad. Students sought a voice and role in resisting apartheid. A small group of activist students inspired by Rick Turner, a lecturer at UND, formed the Wages and Economics Commission. They researched wages, and educated workers about their exploitation. The largest wave of strikes by Black labour in decades started in 1973 and ultimately resulted in the revival of the Black Trades Union Movement in South Africa. This paper traces connections between the ideas and practices of 1968 and their impact on South Africa in the 1970s.

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May's Tensions, Today's Movements

Sociologists point to the distance separating the creativity of action and the recourse to old categories of analysis to articulate what is at stake. This is one of the most significant dimensions of the movements of May 1968 (which begin

in Berkeley in 1964), where actors attempt to articulate new themes of cultural action in an old language of the revolutionary left, a tension that became evident in the post-1968 period in both the distance separating new social movements and Leninism and in the inversions into violence that occurred in Italy, Germany and to a lesser extent the United States. This paper identifies these tensions, and asks to what extent they are present in forms of culture and action characterising contemporary 'experience movements', with reference to the global justice movement. In particular the paper considers changing grammars of ethics and representation in contemporary movements, and the extent to which May's legacy of autonomy is being transformed by what appears to be its opposite, an ethic of vulnerability.

Terrence McDonough (see under O'Boyle)

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Sinead McEneaney lectures twentieth century US history at Newcastle University. Her doctoral work systematically compared the experiences of women in student movements in France and the USA during the 1960s. From this, she developed an interest in the dynamics of protest movements, and is now beginning to work on a new project to examine the history of protest in post-war Ireland. Sinead is an editor of the Irish Journal of American studies.

Civil Spaces, Urban Spaces and Popular Protest: 1960s Ireland in Comparative Perspective

This paper examines the phenomenon of urban protest in Dublin towards the end of the 1960s. Focusing on the Dublin Housing Action Committee, I argue that the protests drew on both republican ideologies and ideas of civic responsibility and stimulated debate about the nature of Irish society. By comparing the Dublin protests with those that occurred in Derry, I argue that these urban protests reveal both a continuity with pre-independence protests, as well as a new consciousness about the direction that the modern Irish state should follow.

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Manus is a PhD History student in the School of Language and Area Studies at the University of Portsmouth, currently in Paris researching the French radical press in the aftermath of May 1968. This follows both from a Masters dissertation he completed in 2005 at Sussex University on the posters of May-June '68, and an abiding interest in the language, imagery and practices of the radical movements of the '60s and '70s.

Tout!: Militant Press and Resistance Cultures in Early 1970s France

The fringe libertarian Maoist group *Vive la Revolution* emerged from the street-fighting of May-June 1968, entering the factories, challenging racism and advocating a transformation of life in the here-and-now. Protected by Jean-Paul Sartre from state censorship, the VLR paper *Tout! (Everything!)* was transformed in little under a year from a Maoist propaganda sheet into a manifesto of social and sexual freedom. *Tout!* is mostly referenced in chronicles of French left, underground writing, and briefly mentioned in scholarly works such as Arthur Marwick's *The Sixties*. This paper argues how in the post-'68 political landscape, *Tout!* best exemplified the new left channel from proletarian revolution to counterculture. Assessing its impact therefore is of vital importance to understanding the longer-term significance of 1968 for radical politics in France.

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Carrying the Flame Forward: Tracing the Inter- and Intra-generational Legacies of '68 through the Routes of Activist Life Stories

The paper reports on the findings from research which explores the biographical experience of adults, who have been involved in a variety of forms of (broadly defined) activism across their lifetime. Twenty in-depth interviews have resulted in data that substantially illuminates how individual and group political responses have been influenced by the inheritance of, and sometimes reaction to, 1968. In Alberto Melucci's terms, we have observed both the power of cultural politics, and the ebbing of more exposed periods of activist visibility into less visible states of 'latency'. The narratives suggest that the movement between these states also has a parallel in different stages of the life course, where passionate involvement with the world continuously transforms itself. Our use of life story narrative therefore provides a perceptive vehicle through which to illustrate the transmutations of '68 legacies both between and within generations.

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Peter McLoughlin is an IRCHSS Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for British-Irish Studies, University College Dublin. His research focuses on various aspects of Irish history and politics, but in particular on the Northern Ireland conflict.

'You Can't Eat a Flag': John Hume and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement, 1968-72

This paper explores the Northern Ireland civil rights movement through close examination of the thinking of arguably the most significant figure to emerge from the mobilisation, the later Nobel Peace Prize winner, John Hume. By following Hume's role in the movement from October 1968 through to its arguable death on Bloody Sunday, January 1972, many of the debates over of this mobilisation can be explored. In particular, a close analysis of the evolution of Hume's thinking in the period allows for engagement with the central controversy of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement: whether it was truly a campaign for equality within the Northern Ireland state, or simply anti-partitionist nationalism adopting a new tactic.

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Julia Mahler (PhD, MA in Cultural Studies from the University of London, Goldsmiths College; degree in Sociology from Hamburg University) lives as a researcher and writer in London. Her current work explores perspectives for sociality within global capitalism. Julia is a published author and a frequent presenter at conferences within and outside the UK.



Sameness, Difference and '68: Emancipative Relationality within Global Capitalism

Social and cultural theorists over the past four decades have found in French post-structuralist thought (Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault) invaluable sources for the subversion of Western modernity. This paper will show, through the example of the notion of relationality in the work of Deleuze, how this thought expresses values that 1968, and the spirit of which it emerged, served the exploration of emancipative strategies, but that now, forty years on, it is in danger of becoming one with some of the exploitative principles of encounters between self and others within global capitalism. By extending the notion of relationality in Deleuze, this paper proposes to update the emancipative potential of this fascinating approach for current demands.

Gregory Maney

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We Shall Overcome: Transnational Dimensions of Civil Rights Movement Outcomes in Northern Ireland

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Radim Marada gained his PhD in Sociology from the New School for Social Research, in 1995. Recently, he chairs the Masaryk University's Department of Sociology. His major areas of interest are sociological theory, cultural

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East or West, George is Best (The Last Great Generation)

Starting with a life story of a local Czech footballer – long haired, easy going and nicknamed Best – the paper pursues the diverting historical fates of the 1960s generation East and West. The termination of the 1968 liberal reforms in Czechoslovakia launched the Czechoslovak 1968ers on a generational orbit quite different from their western counterparts. Formed, too, by the liberal atmosphere of the late 1960s, they later encountered different sorts of challenges, which resulted in a kind of a generational alienation: feeling of divergence from the Western age-mates (different enemies, priorities, radicalisms, dilemmas to cope with). And when the borders have ceased to matter, after 1989, the two camps of once one generation have often found it frustratingly difficult to reconnect.

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Iris Mendel is a PhD student at the University of Vienna and a doc-team stipendiary at the Austrian Academy of Science. In her PhD project in Philosophy of Science she is focusing on feminist epistemologies and critical knowledge production in the social sciences.

Revolution in Epistemology: Feminist Challenges to Epistemic Authority

1968 is a symbolic date for the beginning of a severe critique of science, furthered by feminist challenges to science's androcentrism reaching deep into its epistemological basis. Focusing on politicized epistemologies affiliated with social movements – in particular those provided by 'standpoint approaches', the concept of the 'organic intellectual', and the notion of 'oppositional consciousness' – this paper examines in which ways these concepts have altered the epistemological and methodological basis of the social sciences and in which ways they may further do so. In this context, the definition and legitimation of scientific knowledge shall be discussed, in particular, in contrast to knowledge produced outside the academy. The paper also asks about the role critical epistemologies may play in present social movements characterized by great heterogeneity, such as the precarity movement.

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Audra Mitchell is a PhD candidate at the Queen's University of Belfast. Her research focuses on the transformation of orientations (norms, values, goals and interests) through changes in social structure, particularly through governance and conflict transformation.

The Ideational Afterlife of the NICRA: Lasting Legacy or Unfinished Business?

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement (NICRA) generated goals, grievances and demands that are central to the broader Republican movement to this day. From the mid-1990s to the present, the policies of conflict transformation subsumed the movement and related organizations within an expanded public sphere, and many of the ideas spawned in the NICRA became formalized, institutionalized and subsumed within the mainstream policy discourse. This could reflect the acknowledgment of these ideas by the State; however, it may also suggest that these ideas persist because they have been inadequately addressed, and their 'mainstreaming' reflects strategic action on the part of movement elites rather than authentic transformation of the movement and its goals. This paper will explore the latter argument by examining the effects of this of this change upon one offshoot of the NICRA: the former prisoners' movement.

John Nagle and Liam Kelly

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Liam Kelly is a first year PhD student at the Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University, Belfast. The provisional title of his PhD is *Identity, Space and the Civil Rights Movement in Belfast*.



Before '68? The Protest Cycle of 1960s Street Politics in Belfast

The tactics – the repertoire of contention – utilized by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Campaign on the streets of

Belfast in 1968 is often assumed to have an international source. The sit-in occupations, street marches, blockades which characterized the enrages of Paris Mai '68, the Free-Speech protestors at Berkeley and the Afro-American civil rights movement were imported by Northern Ireland's radicals. Street protest in Belfast 1968, in this analysis, can be viewed as part of the 'protest cycle'. While the various sources outlined above were important for shaping the street politics employed by the CRM, there was a plurality of street protests which occurred in Belfast in the immediate years before the advent of civil rights that has been rendered relatively unimportant. This paper seeks to excavate and contextualize the impact of cross-community street politics in the years leading up to 1968 by placing the temporal rhythm of the CRM's protest cycle back to the early 1960s.

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Passages from 1968 to 'the Reinvention of India'

Departing from the outbreak of the Naxalbari uprising, this essay traces the evolution of subaltern oppositional politics in India from the late 1960s to the present with a particular focus on how this process represented a rupture with both mainstream left politics and with the social compact which underpinned the postcolonial development project. Arguing that the erosion of this social compact from below gradually came to be matched by an 'elite revolt' against state-led capitalist development, the essay then proceeds to reflect on and discuss some the major strategic dilemmas that faces social movements from below in the current struggle over the future form and direction of India's development.

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Terry McDonough is a senior lecturer in the Economics Department at the National University of Ireland Galway. His work is primarily in the area of economic history although he has also contributed centrally to the Social Structures of Accumulation Approach.

'Post-Post-Structuralism' and the Revival of Structural Marxism

This paper engages with contemporary debates concerning the status of our knowledge and its relation to human emancipation. In particular, it advances the 'critical' and 'realist' claims of the social sciences by defending a version of structural Marxism. If the events of 1968 have shown us anything it is that capitalist social structures are both continually susceptible to challenge and yet extremely resilient in the face of such opposition. This provides a number of salutary lessons for socialists and preeminent among them is the validity of a structural account of social reality such as Marxism has consistently sought to provide.

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Niall O Dochartaigh is College Lecturer in Political Science and Sociology in the National University of Ireland, Galway. He is the author of *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles*, Cork UP (1997), Palgrave (2005, 2nd ed.) and two books on Internet Research. His current research is focused on use of the internet for political activism in Northern Ireland, and the dynamics of conflict in Northern Ireland.



Territoriality and the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland

The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland challenged the State and provoked repression above all by challenging the State's right to order public space. It dramatized the exclusion of the minority community from political power by

highlighting the exclusion of oppositional forces identified with the Catholic community from symbolically important civic spaces. This paper examines the use of territorial strategies and tactics by the civil rights movement, the internal struggles over such tactics, and the relationship of these tactics to the subsequent territorial configuration of violent conflict.

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Mike O'Donnell is Professor of Sociology at Westminster University. He has recently published an article in *Ethnicities*, arguing a human rights/egalitarian based alternative to nationalism and multiculturalism, and has a forthcoming article in *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society*, discussing the clash of liberal and radical thought in 1960s America.

What Kind of Radicalism was 'The Movement'? Mannheim, Marcuse and Mills

This paper offers some theoretical reflections on how to categorise or type the 1960s radical movement. Particular reference is made to the work of Karl Mannheim, notably his use of the concepts of 'generation', 'utopia' and 'disinterested intellectuals'. The article concludes that the radical 'generational unit' or student movement of the 1960s, despite weaknesses, was in certain respects, 'realistically utopian' rather than manifestly 'unrealistic' as some critics have argued. Reference is also made to Mills' and Marcuse's understanding of 1960s radicalism and to interview data and theoretical reflections from a number of British and American activists. A tentative comparison is made between the social origins and ideology of 1960s radicals and certain contemporary radical groups.

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Cristiana Olcese is a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Reading. Her current work focuses on the relationship between art and politics in protests. An amateur photographer, she enriches her data collection through documentary photography.



Contemporary Protests: Beyond Politics

This paper uses a comparison of a set of disparate collective actions in France, Italy and the UK to address the relationship between art and resistance in protests. Using participant observation, photographic records, and a content analysis of protest speeches, leaflets, and performance, I argue for the centrality of symbolism and expression to contemporary contention. Much of the literature suggests that social movements are only (strategic-instrumental) 'politics by other means', and attempts to simplify the heterogeneity of discourses and actors involved in a given protest event. In contrast, I show that mass participants' motives for participating in protests consistently differ from those of organizers. I illustrate the importance of personal emotions and creativity/metaphor in the representations and practices of participants: protests provide opportunities, particularly through art, to express deeper urges and speak to broader themes than just the specific issue officially motivating an event.

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Dr. Patrick O'Mahony is a lecturer in Sociology at University College, Cork. His substantive fields have chiefly been centred on the environment, science, technology and knowledge and nationalism. He is currently writing a book on the theory of the public sphere.

Expertise, Participation and the Reconstruction of Citizenship

The widespread belief that experts represent partial interests, that scientific over-confidence can produce adverse consequences and that the model of scientific truth should no longer legitimate politics have led to a transformed context for the realization of expertise in the scientific-technical area; it increasingly occurs within the horizons of political argument. Such argument in turn is given impetus by wider socio-political and epistemic changes in the respective emergence of a more 'polycentric' model of State-society relations and the rise of a post-positivist climate in the human and social sciences. These developments can be traced to the post-1968 climate of a decentering of authority relations and a continuing crisis of the normative integration of society. On the above foundations, and drawing off empirical inquiry in Ireland and Britain, the paper will explore the discursive connections between expertise and citizenship within the frame of a new kind of participatory politics. It will show how the enlargement of the

discourse of citizenship in environmental and technology politics today is part of an argumentation and norm-building process of asserting and opposing critical normative claims.

Jean Owen

Jean Owen is a PhD candidate at the London Consortium. Her research focuses on daughter-father incest in myth and life writing. Jean is a poet and has facilitated workshops and readings for London Survivors and Essex Health Authority.

The First Rough Draft of Herstory

Hélène Cixous' well-known literary essay 'The Laugh of the Medusa' (1975) exhorts an *écriture féminine* that announces women's 'shattering entry into history' as *she* learns to write politically 'through the body' in a style that will 'sweep away syntax'. This essay could only be written in the aftermath of May 1968 when all sorts of intellectual possibilities were released. But what impact has Cixous' passionate statements had on women's writing and women's lives when most of us still reside and read outside of university? Phil Graham identifies news-orientated journalism as 'a first rough draft of history'. With particular reference to writings from therapeutic communities, this paper will explore the implications of women's 'writing of the anon' – poems, memoirs, diaries and journals – to suggest that this rich source of raw material could represent the first rough draft of *herstory* since it constitutes what Muriel Rukeyser refers to as 'documentary fact'.

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Mihnea Panu studied Medicine in Bucharest, Public Health in Oxford, and Sociology in Sussex and Birmingham, UK (where he obtained his PhD). His present research looks at the mutually formative relations between expert knowledge, subjectivity and the governing of reproduction in the US.

Subjectivization, State and Other: On the Limits of our Political Imagination

Are we, in the post-1968 social configuration, still unable to realize politically a 'critical ontology of ourselves'? This paper argues that despite our best intentions, most of our political (self)understandings remain tributary to humanist ideas of identity-as-substance; to liberal ideas of the polity-as-State and freedom-as-rights; to Enlightenment ideals of truth and ethics; and to traditional conceptualizations of power-as-repression. As such, more often than not, contemporary politics reproduce (and are easily subsumed by) the political subjectivization of the contemporary liberal-scientific governmentality: 'othering'. Since 'othering' confines resistance within the discourse that makes it possible, the risk is that our political practices de-politicize the social and reiterate the very power/knowledge relations they aim to dislocate. Those points will be illustrated using recent developments in reproductive politics in the US.

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The Moral Inadequacy of Anselm Kiefer Meets the Moral Innocence of the West German Student Movement of 1968

The West German student movement of 1968, the student generation of Anselm Kiefer, was very much a part of the West German awakening as to their collective guilt for the atrocities committed in the Second World War - the Germans-as-perpetrators debate. They entered this debate as to the representation of guilt for these atrocities, summarized with the iconic intensity of Auschwitz, with a proclamation of innocence. There was a sense of moral innocence, which Anselm Kiefer did not share. In this paper we will use the empirical lens of biography and the artistic performances of moral self-incrimination, together with the theoretical lens of Karl Jasper's (1946) typology over different types of German guilt, in order to understand the collective moral dilemmas posited by the West German students' proclamation of innocence.

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'We have seen these sort of people at work lately all over the globe': The civil rights era in its international context

The Northern-Irish Troubles is seen as having its origins in the ancient quarrel between Protestants and Catholics. Northern Ireland is regarded as being out of place and out of time in the post-war world. Reading the primary sources, however, suggests another reading of the recent past. Northern Ireland was not outside the mainstream in a Europe where a counter-insurgency war was being fought in one of its great cities and where former Nazis held high office. Post-war reconstruction, the Cold War, the affluent society, and '68 all impacted upon Northern Ireland. The last of these transformed the struggling civil rights campaign into a mass movement and sparked the Troubles. Northern Ireland's '68ers were hoping for a repeat of Paris in May when they provoked police in Derry into attacking civil-rights marchers. They believed that by unmasking the authoritarianism that lurked beneath the Government's liberal rhetoric they could inspire a socialist revolution. The violence that the '68ers unleashed did indeed succeed in polarising society, but it was along sectarian lines rather than class lines.

Bob Purdie

Approaching Northern Ireland From The Left: An Autobiographical Reflection on 1968

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Richard Randell completed his PhD in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and is currently teaching at Webster University, Geneva. His interests include the literary criticism and history of sociology.

Reading Marxism from the present to the 1960s

The collapse of western Marxism in the last decades of the twentieth century may be likened to the paradigm collapses described by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. In the wake of intellectual challenges to Marxism within the academy and, outside the academy, the events of Tiananmen Square, the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent collapse of the "actually existing socialisms" of Eastern Europe and the USSR, a generation of intellectuals turned away from Marxism. As a political movement composed of adherents who were existentially committed to that movement, an account of western Marxism's demise must consider what the nature of that commitment was and why that commitment collapsed in the context of this confluence of theoretical challenges and political events. Any reading of the history of Marxism, such as of western Marxism during the 1960's, I argue, must consider how it is informed by our reading of late twentieth century Marxism.

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Lucy Robinson is a Lecturer in Modern British History at the University of Sussex. Her book, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-war Britain: How the Personal Got Political* has recently been published by MUP and is a finalist in this year's *Erotic Awards*. She is currently working on the impact of soldiers' accounts of military experience since the 1960s.



When is a Scene a Conspiracy?: The Angry Brigade and the Cohering Impact of Legal Prosecution on the British Counterculture during the Late 1960s

This paper considers responses to the Angry Brigade in Britain during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Like the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany and the Weathermen in the United States, the Brigade reacted to the failures of 1960s radicalism by turning away from traditional structures of political organization and towards political violence, seeking a base in the communal, hippie and countercultural scene around London. Situating itself within these loose structures, the Brigade spoke for, rather than within, the organized working class. This changed when the 'Stoke Newington Eight' were arrested in August 1973 for conspiracy to cause explosions. The trial and its coverage in the press, therefore, successfully built alliances where the Brigade itself had failed – with a wide cross-section of countercultural and left-wing groups coming to identify with the defendants' interests and motivations. Ironically, the State succeeded where the explosions of activism around 1968 had failed – legal prosecutions for conspiracy brought the fractured post-68 movement in Britain to recognize that despite their different style, approach and structure, they did indeed share the same interests.

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Derek Robbins is Professor of International Social Theory in the School of Social Sciences, Media and Cultural Studies at the University of East London, where he also is Director of the Group for the Study of International Social Science. He has published books and articles on Pierre Bourdieu and is now writing *The Internationalization of French Social Thought, 1950-2000* for publication by Sage.

The Centre de Sociologie Européenne, Paris in 1968: Social Theory and Politics

It is often claimed that the analysis of French higher education and culture contained in Bourdieu & Passeron: *Les Héritiers* (1964) was in part responsible for stimulating the 'events' of May, 1968 in Paris. The authors were young researchers in the Centre that Raymond Aron had established in 1960. The paper explores the nexus of relations in the Centre in 1968, focusing on the work of Aron, Passeron and Bourdieu, concluding with a discussion of Aron's critique of the May 'events' entitled: *La révolution introuvable. Réflexions sur les événements de mai* (1968).

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Anna Rogers is a third year postgraduate research student in Sociology at the University of Leeds. Her PhD research looks at women's experiences of feminist consciousness-raising groups in West Yorkshire during the 1970s and '80s.

Women's Groups of the '70s and '80s: Their Legacy (and Persistence) in Members' Lives

This paper arises from my PhD research on women's participation in small consciousness-raising-like groups in West Yorkshire during the seventies and eighties. Using data from interviews with twenty women, I look at how interviewees narrate their changing relationships with feminist ideas and contexts over time, as well as exploring how feminist contexts of the past have ongoing personal/political significance for the women involved.

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Alejandro Romero has recently submitted his doctoral thesis on Postmodern Social Theory and Humour. He has taught Sociology of Education at the University of Granada. As a comic writer, he won the Injuve Award.

Pornography, Illusion and the Code: Irony as Resistance in Baudrillard

Jean Baudrillard built, from a Marxist and Structuralist starting point, a theory on culture and consumption that understood reality as a fading concept, being gradually obscured and displaced by increasingly perfect simulations. Postmodern society is drowned in hyperreality: everything is visible, exposed and developed to its most obscene expression. Citizens are hostages to their own societies, often narcissistic objects for statistical research, having no other choice but to conform their experience to an abstract code which no longer refers to reality but to its own structural logic. Baudrillard's theory mirrors the 1968 disappointment: revolution is not possible, since it cannot avoid working within the code, and resistance must be as subtle as the code itself. Thus, in a world disenchanted by the perfection of its own pornographic simulations, irony, among other fatal strategies, provides a way to regain illusion (which implies shadows and secrets, rather than blinding hyperreal perfection) and imagination. The masses are possessed by evil genies of their own, moved by blind unreason that compels them to resist and disobey any order while apparently conforming to it.

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Sanjeev Routray is a PhD student in Sociology at the University of British Columbia. His main area of research is Urban Restructuring and Politics of Poverty. He is also interested in Theories of Modernity, Marxism, and the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's Marx

In this paper, I shall attempt to discuss some of the common methodological and substantive concerns of Bourdieu and Marx. In doing so, I shall indicate the similarities, contrasts and useful syntheses in Marx's work that lay the foundation for Bourdieu's work. In other words, although Bourdieu advances Marx's methodological and substantive concerns in many important ways, Marx's concepts need to be acknowledged, retained, and reintroduced into Bourdieu's theory. In doing so, the paper shall also trace Bourdieu's intellectual trajectory in relation to various socio-political contexts. In fact, the May 1968 upheavals hold pre-eminent resonance with Bourdieu's academic trajectory. One of his important works *Homo Academicus* stems from his engagement with the events that marked the unfolding of May 1968. In this light, this paper shall make explicit connections with the events of 1968 and their implications for Bourdieu's work and the legacy of Marx. In doing so, I shall indicate what Bourdieu's theory inherits and needs to revisit in the Marxian legacy.

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Mallarika completed her DPhil in October 2007 from the Department of International Development, University of Oxford. Her thesis focuses on gender and politics in South Asia, and her current work is on youth politics in postcolonial South Asia.

'Forgotten Love for Dead Gods': The Student Movement in Bengal (1968-1972)

One of the significant ways in which '60s 'happened' was varied experiences of decolonization. Student radicalism in South Asia in the 1960s denotes a wide range of responses to the decolonization process which began with national independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. While in the Indian province of West Bengal the student movement allied itself to the Naxalite movement, a peasant movement inspired by Maoism, East Pakistan began its second independence struggle against West Pakistan with the Bengali nationalist student movement at its forefront. This paper aims to unravel the ways in which objective situations were inextricably intertwined, yet varied and innovative responses to them became possible.

Michael Ryan

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Michael was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He did his undergraduate work at the University of Minnesota. He turned to the Left as the Viet Nam war worsened. He did his graduate work at Stony Brook on Long Island where he encountered the works of Marx and by (good) chance the works of Henri Lefebvre. He published a poem, *The Political Process* on the assassination of Robert Kennedy, which he wrote in June of 1968. Five of his essays were published in the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* by Blackwell in 2007. He takes urban drifts across American cities in the summer with his son Sean who is an applied anthropologist.

*The May Events Forty Years Later: Henri Lefebvre, Everyday Life, Differential Groups, and the Struggle Against the Bureaucratic Society of Controlled Consumption – The Urban Revolution*

This paper is a considerable revision of the second chapter of my unfinished dissertation. In it I carry out a Lefebvrian critical analysis of the events of May 1968 in terms of dialectical movements involving the following processes: crisis of imperialism/ modernization/ urbanization/ production of space/State mode of production/ neo-imperialism/ urban revolution/ and the possibility for a worldwide urban society as the end of the history of the State. It will involve the analysis of new relations currently alienated and possibilities: the urban, the everyday, differences, social space, and the worldwide.

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1968: From the Critique of Political Economy to the Critique of Everyday Life

Following the First World War and the revolutions in Berlin, Munich, Budapest and Italy, echoes of Situationism and 1968 could be heard in the demands of Dadaists and surrealists that the difference between politics/art and daily life be *aufgehoben* in revolutionary-aesthetic existence. The separation between aesthetic experience and everyday life was denounced by André Breton in the First Manifesto of Surrealism (1924) as a product of the division of labour and humanity's alienation in modern industrial pseudo-democracies. From then on, the integration of politics and the institution of the museum and art gallery into daily life have continually occupied the concerns of artists and radicals. Yet as the transition from fine art to installations has been accomplished without undermining existing institutions and hierarchies, it has become imperative to reconsider the Relations between art, economy and society. It will be argued in this paper that, whilst 1968 is normally associated with the first signs of the collapse of Eurocommunism and the rise of New Social Movements, the year also marks the coming to fruition of a critique of everyday life, whose origins can be traced back to Baudelaire, Rimbaud and surrealism. I suggest that political and epistemological gains may be made from a re-articulation of the relation between the critique of political economy and of everyday life.

Ursula Scheidegger

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The focus of Ursula's work is currently on local governance, popular participation and social movements

Africa and the Promise of Liberation: Solidarity Movements in Switzerland

The paper focuses on Swiss solidarity movements in support of Africa which originated in the '60s and '70s, and argues that the quest for justice and human rights - after fascism in Europe and influenced by the ideology of the Frankfurt School - critically contributed to the ability of sustaining solidarity work over decades. Traditionally, the churches and missions raised awareness of the Third World. The politicization of humanitarian obligations by a number of clerics and churches and the rise of a multitude of organizations originating in the New Left, challenging values, norms and conventional lifestyles formed the background and shaped the first solidarity organizations from the Anti-Apartheid Movement to the Bern Declaration and more radical movements. The focus on human rights, justice and dignity also facilitated the mobilization against questionable business practices by stakeholders of industrialized countries and oppression by African governments. Due to clever networking and the strategic use of political opportunity structures, a number of organizations are today well established and have won powerful allies.

Florian Schlapbach (see under Hadjar)

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Kristina Schulz is an historian. She did her PhD on the Women's movements in the '60s and '70 in France and Germany and published several pieces on women's movements and the 'sexual revolution'. Working at the Institute of Social and Economic History at the University of Lausanne, she is planning a wider research project on the new Women's movement in Switzerland.



1968 and the Women's Movement

The women's movement's relationship to the 1968 protest movement in Western countries was difficult but constitutive. The 1968 protest movement's activities had a positive effect on women's willingness to participate in a 'revolutionary' project. Women made friends and built up relationships with other women during movement activities, such as community life, Free Universities, Kritische Universität, or at demonstrations. Those contacts were basic for the creation of autonomous women's groups within the 1968 movement. Thus, in all three countries women moved away from their left comrades and in all cases tensions resulted in an open and explicit break up. The 1968 protest movement is still a subject of controversy between former women's movement's activists. '1968' is a reference and an object of distinction at the same time. The significance of '1968' for the women's movement can, this is the argument the paper wants to differentiate on several levels, hardly be overestimated.

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Sanjay Seth is Professor of Politics at Goldsmiths, University of London. He has published many essays on political and social theory, postcolonial theory and modern Indian history, and is the author of *Marxist Theory and Nationalist Politics: Colonial India* (1995) and *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India*, Duke University Press and OUP (2007). He is also founding co-editor of the international journal, *Postcolonial Studies*.

From Maoism to Postcolonialism?

Critics of postcolonial theory have provided it with a genealogy in which it appears as the poisoned fruit of a period when revolutionary energies were ebbing and in retreat. This essay seeks to provide an alternative genealogy, suggesting that the *Subaltern Studies* project, and postcolonial theory more generally, were enabled and in important ways shaped by the Maoist upsurge in some parts of India in the latter 1960's and early 1970's. The critiques of modernity, of nationalism and the nation-state, and of homogenizing narratives of progress which mark, and in the eyes of its critics, mar these intellectual currents, far from being reflections of their disassociation from radical politics, are here presented as the indirect outcome of a profound cultural and intellectual shift which has been the consequence of the Naxalite movement of this period.

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Facing the Veil

In the eighteenth century the masquerade ball was commonly denounced for the sexual freedom it encouraged on account of the anonymity the festive masks permitted. In 1968 covering the face with a balaclava was symbolic of resistance, power and defiance. Today, shielding the face from public view as some Muslim women have chosen to do is tantamount not to freedom, sexual proclivity or resistance but a symbol of sexual oppression, a lack of free will, political and personal submission. This paper is concerned with tracing the political history of the face. The core questions I seek to engage with are: why is the face, within modern western discourse, accorded such a privileged status? What role does the face play in contemporary western political and cultural thought? What, if any, historical shifts underwrite the privileging of the face as a signifier of transparency, trust and authenticity?

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*1968: Was it Really the Year of Social Change in Pakistan?*

In 1968, the first military dictator of Pakistan decided to arrange a decade of development on completion of his 10 years of autocratic rule. In response to this the first stirring of mass discontent showed upon the streets of Pakistan. Ayub's policies increased the inequality and poverty between classes and were pursued simultaneously with a policy of regional inequality in terms of West and East Pakistan, which ultimately resulted in the separation of the East wing as Bangladesh. Twenty-two families in the country got hold of the around 90 percent of the assets of financial institutions and wealth was concentrated in a few hands. Financial disparity and the denial of political rights to all segments of society led to the students, lawyers and urban bourgeoisie to rise in protest against military rule in Pakistan. This paper analyses the nature of this protest and its impacts on the future of Pakistan. The paper will also examine whether the Pakistani establishment learned any lessons and why the political and social forces of the country failed to hold their grip on later events.

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What if Chicago was an Orgy?: A Meditation on the Political Possibilities of Playing with Power

Shortly after the 1968 Democratic National Convention, Allen Ginsberg ruminated about what Chicago could have been like if the flurry of energy had focused on creating public displays of pleasure rather than a riot. His flights of fancy offer a narrative trajectory for what a new generation of activism would look like. Here, a form of community building would focus on affect rather than rational ends. For Ginsberg, street theatre, singing and dancing were imagined as ideal alternatives. Instead of violence, an orgy of activism would open up a new trajectory of social change. In the face of police repression, Ginsberg envisioned, "Organized chanting and organized massive rhythmic behavior on the streets, shamanistic white magic, ghost dance rituals, massive nakedness and distribution of flowers might have broken through the police-state hallucination-politics theater wall." Here a 'theatricality of disorder' and pleasure was capable of cultivating a truly pluralistic democracy. The results would soon be witnessed with the ascendance of Gay Liberation. This talk considers the ways the politics of play overlapped with countless ways of thinking about emancipation, pleasure, pluralistic democracy, and movement organizing over the following four decades.

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The Cuban Remix: Rethinking Culture, Hip Hop Aesthetics and Political Participation in Contemporary Cuba

This piece analyzes how Cuban artists and intellectuals employ culture as a means of increasing democratic participation on the island. I argue that elements of Cuba's approach to Revolution combine an economic focus with an ideological-cultural mechanism that encourages artistic production in every aspect of cultural life and in all sectors of Cuban society. Consequently, this has fostered the emergence of a unique approach to culture in relation to political participation. The emergence of such discourse has helped citizens—especially those commonly excluded from civil society—to make citizenship claims for social inclusion. I explore how Cuban Underground Hip Hop, fueled by black and mulatto youth, is the result of two things. First, of the Latin American and Caribbean anti-modernist movements and second, of the global Hip Hop movement that emerged in the post-1968 period. This piece draws from interview and archival research collected in Cuba from 1998-2006.

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Tracey Skillington is a lecturer in Sociology at University College, Cork. She is a former member of the Centre for European Social Research where she worked on a number of EU funded international projects. Her interests include critical theory, cosmopolitanism, social movements, solidarity and collective learning. She is currently one of the editors of the Irish Journal of Sociology, along with Linda Connolly and Kathy Glavanis-Gratham.

Critical Theory and Crisis Diagnosis

In spite of the historical distance separating the protest events of 1968 from the mass anti-capitalist rallies of today, there are a number of lines of continuity between these periods of unrest. Both reflect the social actor's compulsion to resist oppression and voice their opposition to the imperialist and authoritarian tendencies of capitalism's global expansion. Both embody a critique of capitalism's increasing liability for a mass destruction of inner and outer nature. Most importantly, both embody the actions of those who define their collective identities as agents of history; as actors who continue modernity's revolutionary impulse and preserve the radical element of its 'historical imagination'. This paper explores the political-normative and cultural significance of 1968 to modernity's ongoing projects of emancipation.

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Neil Stammers is Honorary Research Fellow in the School of Social and Cultural Studies at the University of Sussex. He has just completed a book *Human Rights and Social Movements and the Paradox of Institutionalization* and was co-editor of a recent volume on *Global Activism/Global Media*. Currently he is working on a paper 'The Complexity of Power:



Explorations beyond Lukes and Foucault'.

Movement Praxis and Academic Theory: Debates on Power Since the 1960s

From the 1960s and continuing into the present, the praxis of a wide range of social movements have identified and brought focus to bear on a range of key issues which ought to impact on our conceptualizations of power. Unfortunately, the trajectory of much recent academic analysis of power has obscured or rejected these insights, consequently ignoring some of their most important implications. This failure is explained in the general context of the disciplinary structure and political economy of the academic world, but particular attention is drawn to 'the poverty of theory' and the tendency of applied studies to be entrapped in processes of legitimating technocratic governance.

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Student Politics in the Indian Context

In the post 1968 era, student organizations around the globe have a co-dependent relation with political parties. In almost every part of the civilized world, for the first time in political history, it was possible for one's tenure as a student to be the beginning of a guaranteed political career. This analysis is the outcome of a recent breakthrough in Uttar Pradesh, India. The decision of the Chief Minister to put a ban on student union elections has unfolded a debate on the relevance of student politics in the country. The study explores questions such as: Is the government against representation to students? Or is it visualizing some alternative form of democratic representation to students that synchronizes with academic excellence? This paper is an attempt to investigate that even though the universities may have become the training ground for politics, why shouldn't they have simultaneously been the training grounds for active and responsible citizenship holding the elected accountable for their actions.

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Gavan Titley is Lecturer in Media Studies in the School of English, Media and Theatre in the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. His research currently focuses on contemporary discourses of multiculturalism in 'crisis', and on the transnational media practices of people who migrate to Ireland. He is the co-editor of *The Politics of Diversity in Europe* (2008).

All Different, All Different, and All Different: The Anti-Politics of Diversity

The ubiquity of diversity as a notion in policy, campaigning and public debate appears to suggest all manner of good things. It has become what Isar (2006: 373) terms a 'normative meta-narrative' deployed "...with a view to supporting the 'right to be different' of many different categories of individuals/groups placed in some ways outside dominant social and cultural norms". However the dissemination of diversity frameworks represents less a critique of hegemonic formations than an anti-politics; a gently unifying, cost-free form of political symbolism attuned to the mediated consumerism of contemporary Western societies. Through a discussion of a recent European diversity campaign, this paper contends that diversity has primarily become a strategic re-branding of multiculturalism that sidesteps the foundational problems of culture, race and socio-political power that have so 'unsettled' European multiculturalisms.

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Chris Warne is a lecturer in the History Department at Sussex. His research interests are in contemporary French history, with a particular focus on the evolution of popular, material and everyday cultures since 1945.

Bringing Counterculture to France: Actuel Magazine and the Legacy of May 1968

This paper examines the trajectories of a group centred around the first incarnation of *Actuel* magazine, which appeared between 1970 and 1975. Inspired by first-hand experience of counterculture in America, those associated with the magazine launched it as a self-conscious attempt to create a French equivalent, building on aspirations expressed in the May 1968 events. The magazine provided extensive coverage of a range of countercultural themes. It also served as a forum for those who identified with new cultural trends, a means by which contacts were made and initiatives launched throughout France. It therefore represents a central node of radical cultural practice, and a base for promoting an approach to social transformation derived from a cultural renewal that started with the rejection of existing politics. In charting the rise and fall of *Actuel* the paper provides key insights into the development and (de)politicisation of radical cultures in France in the years after 1968.

Geoffrey Warner

Official Reactions to the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland

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Pete Webb is a lecturer and researcher at the University of Birmingham. He has published work on the internet and music and fashion, music milieu, music and cities and has recently published a book 'Exploring the networked worlds of popular music: milieu cultures' (Routledge, 2007). His interests are in culture and social theory. He is also a musician and has released several albums and a variety of work under the name Statik Sound System.

Milieu Theory: Punk, Crass, Banksy - Tracing the Impact of May 1968 and Situationism on the Critical Cultural and Political Milieu of the British Alternative Underground.

This paper examines the trajectories of Situationist politics (Debord, 1987) and cultural artefacts that were influential in the formation of three cultural milieu: Punk Rock (Savage, 1991, Sabin, 1999.); its Anarchist/alternative lifestyle based offshoot in the late 1970 and early 1980s around the band and record label Crass (Mckay, 1996) and the graffiti of 1990s and 2000s artists such as Banksy. The paper is discussed through the lens of Milieu Theory (Webb, 2007, Durrschmidt, 2001) that looks at cultural networks as relational entities that are developed through personal narrative and stocks of knowledge (Schutz, 1970) in specific cultural fields (Bourdieu, 1993). The paper concludes by considering the cultural legacy of 1968.

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Leo Zeilig is a researcher at the Centre for Sociological Research, where he completed his book *Revolt and Protest* and worked on the Congo and the life of Patrice Lumumba. He has taught at Chiekh Anta Diop University in Dakar, Senegal and helped to coordinate the Zimbabwe Independent Media Centre in Harare.



Turning to Africa: Politics and Student Resistance in Africa Since 1968

1968 was the high-point of student unrest and politics for more than one continent. Despite a few honourable exceptions, one of the problems with the literature that poured out of the social movements in the late 1960s and 1970s was its extraordinary Eurocentrism. The decade was also, in many ways, as important for student activists in Africa as it was in Europe and North America. Similarly 1968 was a crucial year for student revolutionaries on the continent. In Senegal, in events that some have claimed predated the upheavals in France, students were central to the worst political crisis the President, Leopold Senghor, had faced since independence eight years previously; forcing him to flee the capital and call in the French army to restore order, after only eight years of independence. This paper looks at the nature of the student revolt in Africa in the late 1960s and 1970s, and how this activism has been transformed in the following four decades.

PANEL SESSIONS

Marxism and 1968: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives from the Global South

Speakers: Alejandro Colas, Alf Nilsen, Sanjay Seth

The events of 1968 crystallised a number of contradictions between Marxism as a critical theory and the expressions of political praxis it sought to inform. But these tensions played themselves out in very different forms across the world. 1968 was arguably the one postwar moment where Third World revolutionary praxis took centre-stage in world politics, and where very local dynamics over-determined any universalised or homogenous understanding of 'Marxism'. This panel considers the ways in which 1968 was experienced across different regions of the 'Global South', and in particular how those theorists and militants working within a broadly-conceived Marxist tradition reacted and contributed to that unique conjuncture. Among the questions to be address in the panel are: how might we interpret 1968 as a historical marker within the Global South? Can we speak of a globalised 1968? And if so, what was the place of Marxist thought and practice in this phenomenon? What were the specific dynamics and problematics behind 1968 in the different regions of the Global South? What was the interaction between western and Third World Marxisms in this process? Can Marxist categories help to explain the causes and effects of 1968 in the Global South?

Contesting Anti-Politics

Speakers: Alana Lentin, Gavan Titley, Debbie Ging

Under the conditions of 'liquid modernity' that Zygmunt Bauman proposes defines the current age, emancipatory and securitarian/neo-national discourses appear to nourish each other. This can be seen, for example, in the way Islam is labelled unmodern and thus opposed to the rights of minorities proposed, in contrast, to be already achieved in the West. Building on the premise that the Western State today is always dichotomously liberal and aliberal, the extender of rights and their detractor, we seek to examine the trajectories of some of the radical and potentially subversive politics symbolically associated with the key moment of 1968. What are the processes by which liberatory and autonomous politics emerging from within or in parallel to the 1968 moment become subverted by power? In particular, how do languages of liberation and equality such as anti-racism, gay and women's rights become 'managerialised' and married to the demands of hyper-capitalism? What structural political shifts in reaction to the explosion of new social movement politics demanded this cooptation and subversion? The panel questions the simplistic notion that concepts such as multiculturalism, and now diversity, emerge from the unproblematised 'identity politics' of the monolithically categorised 'Other'. How has the culturalisation of the 'Other' (racialised, queer, disabled...) always enabled her reification, her exclusion from the realm of supposedly authentic radicalism, and eventually her cooptation into both the corporatist world of diversified consumers and its (supra)governmental concomitant (e.g. visions of 'unity in diversity' as definitive of European union).

Charting the Legacy of 1968: Remaking Radicalism in the Years 1968-1975

Speakers: Manus McGrogan, Lucy Robinson, Chris Warne

This panel addresses the question of the legacy and impact of 1968 in Europe by adopting a close historical and empirical focus on the years that immediately followed. It tests the hypothesis that the full implications of that year can best be understood by examining in detail actions and decisions taken by key groups in its immediate aftermath. The panel therefore highlights significant groups in Britain and France who were either closely associated with important events in 1968, or who quickly recognized it as a profound challenge to their existing habits of political activism. Each paper uses varied techniques of historical enquiry to chart the activities of its chosen group, analyse its relationships with other radical and activist groups, and assess its overall contribution to the process of sustaining and prolonging 1968.