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Douzinas and Zizek—Introduction: The Idea of Communism

after the crash of 2008, history is back on: and communism can be part of that history

Austerity and the return to fiscal discipline, bailout of banks, socializing the losses vii

the crisis has collapsed the end of history hypothesis viii

a return to politics; communism can come out again viii

question of the conference: is "communism" still the name to be used to designate radical emancipatory projects? viii

participants agreed that it is viii
did not agree on its meaning ix

common themes:

need for new political subjectivities and popular activation ix

communism must take its distance from statism and economism ix

communism must return to the concept of the common against privatization and enclosures of the commons ix

communism means freedom and equality x

Badiou—the Idea of Communism

This text is the same as part IV of his book The Communist Hypothesis (see notes for that)

Judith Balso—To Present Oneself to the Present

she wants to stress that communism must search for new political forms at a distance from the state

Communist hypothesis, when put into practice as a political hypothesis, has failed 15-16

it did not attain its objective, to invent and emancipatory political capacity 16

we should aim at opening up new paths for the political will toward a "politics for all" 16

we should not take philosophy for politics or subordinate politics to a philosophical idea 16

we must separate philosophy and politics 17

constituting the workers as a directing political figure, then taking politics toward real communism 17
communist can be used to mean vanguard organizers, as opposed to the workers themselves. Marx’s idea of taking state power in order to break the machine of the state, to transform it into an instrument of the political hegemony of the proletariat so as to change the regime of property.

so that it can become the "plain administration of things” as it says in the manifesto. This can be done through the party, and the Leninist hypothesis is that we have to build the capacity of a workers' party to take over state power and to hold on to it.

the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only possible means toward the withering away of the state and the advent of communism. Balso calls this extraordinary optimism about the state that reduces the state to its function of managing class conflict. She rehearses this argument of Lenin’s in order to show why it went awry.

Mao reopens the question of the socialist state. Cultural revolution aims to transform the Communist Party by placing it under the political control of the masses.

Balso’s point here is that the whole concept of being able to transform the state into something we can live with is a bad idea. May 1968 through clear distinctions between workers and the Communist Party, workers and unions [sexample of CORE in Chicago Teachers Union], and opened up questions of the political capacity of workers.

about how it might become a political figure. so we have to address the political questions anew; we can separate the idea of communism from the disaster of actually existing Communism. we can’t rely on capitalism as an emancipatory force.

we require new political and organizational capacities. in politics we have always to begin again. we must proceed without reference to a party, both the Stalinist party and the democratic state parties.

we must establish a principle of disjunction and distance between the state and politics. politics does not express a class, and already constituted people — any political capacity belongs to people who have become active in politics. a new political space at a distance from the state will be multiple.

people will organize themselves to declare what it means for each to count for what he is, where he is, on his own terms not dictated by the state.
politics as interior to people 26
the communist hypothesis of the withering away of the state, to transform the function of the state away from governing people and toward administering things 27
it was the state itself that did not allow the withering 27
we must set out not so much from the question of capitalism but from the question of breaking from the state 27
we can develop new political capacity except at a distance from the state 28
we must constitute a new political will 28
we must deploy three altogether new terms:
a place for politics at a distance from the state; principles of a politics that counts everyone for what he is where he is; clear understanding of the state on its own terms, not nearly as a handmaiden of capital 28-29
Althusser the failure of socialist states was a failure of not having enough theory 30
we must break with this idea 31
politics is integral only to itself; it cannot look to philosophy for answers 31
we must give politics back to politics itself 31
communism today is a word that belongs to the state 31
a politics at a distance from the state has to grope its way forward and try to succeed in flowering 31

Bruno Bosteels—The Leftist Hypothesis

laborious attempt to steer in between the extremes of 1) fidelity to the party and state and 2) utter rejection of the party and state

Marx: “communism is the real movement which abolishes the present state of things” 33
Lenin referred to the radical pro-Soviet workerists as “leftists” 34
communism requires a we that does not pretend to be a subject 35
it is not an end state but a common horizon, a real movement 35
Badiou accused Rancière of being apolitical 36
Žižek is the modern heir of Lenin, complaining about too much reliance on people themselves 36
leftists lack maturity, discipline [it’s the same old debate between Marx and Bakunin] 37
they take a principled stance against all parliamentary electoral politics, unions, and the party 37
they are what Bosteels calls “semi-anarchists” [and this is one of the very rare mentions of anarchism in the entire book] 37
appeal to the direct action of the masses [as Mao did] 37
of course the leftists lost the historical struggle and the default
position of Marxism became: the masses are divided into classes, classes
are led by parties, and parties are run by leaders, and those parties
should seize power through the state 38
1968 [and the cultural Revolution] reintroduced this "Leftist
hypothesis" 39
some rejected bourgeoisie-proletariat and instead talked in terms
of masses against the state 40
[here you can see Ranciere, as well as Badiou, and Deleuze and
Guattari]
  an important target was totalitarianism, and obsession with
resisting repression 41
  a valorization of the creative force of people 41
sometimes called “mass democracy" 41
  insistence on the primacy of politics [rather than the
economy], the state is in itself repressive 42
Bosteels caricatures this argument, calls it melodramatic, and
then says it's not realistic 44
another way leftism has stated its case is to insist on imminence, on
the imminent presence of communism inside capitalism 44-45
here they use Marxists womb idea 45
communism merely needs to bring itself into consciousness 45
[here we can see Hardt and Negri and Lefebvre]
this tends to be is an anti-dialectic approach [at least for Hardt
and Negri] 46
  power is not some monstrous Leviathan, it depends entirely on the
power of people 48
  the multitude is the real productive force of our social world,
Empire is an apparatus of capture 48
here communism is neither a utopian ideal or a future horizon —
it is already at work within the present state of affairs 49
the question of whether or not to raise communism to a Platonic Idea 50
Badiou: complete separation of the communist hypothesis from the
party and the state, Negri agrees 50
cultural Revolution helped solidify this idea 51
it is wrong to think the state can be reformed such that it
guarantees its own withering away 51, 52
must distinguish between socialism and communism 51
[and this is how those two terms are getting used today: socialism
is a form of the state in which a workers party controls political
power, communism is direct mass self-governance] 51
Negri: communism is "absolutely radical political economic
democracy" 51
Mao tried to subject the party to reform through mass action 52
Badiou: communism is anti-property, anti-authority, anti-hierarchy
52
it is autonomous mass action against the state, or at least
as distance from it 53
in Badiou’s conference paper we see mention of "another
state," but one that is subtracted from the power of the
state 53
this ongoing question of organization, party discipline, economism 54
the figure of Alvaro Garcia Linera, theorist and vice president of
Bolivia 54
separation between the plebs and intellectuals 56
Negri’s concept of potenza 57
Linera follows Negri’s reading of the Grundrisse 57
empower the emancipatory potential that already exists among the
plebs 57
communism is the real movement of this empowerment 58
this real movement does not emerge spontaneously from
capitalism’s crises 58
it requires the weak to mobilize themselves 58
they must curve the prevailing forces in another direction 58
this requires multiple and massive practical forms 58
for Linera, the party might be one of these forms 58
there is an importance to historicizing this real movement, rather
than creating an eternal Idea 59
the question of the way communism can be organized and embodied-- this is
where all the major doubts and disagreements can be found 60
Badiou defends party politics in his book Metapolitics 61
possibility of the party being the name of the flexible organization 61
Linera stresses the importance of society’s movement of self-
organization, civil society must organize itself 61
warns against non-statehood dreamed of by primitive anarchism 62
the idea that society outside the state is an innocent speculation 62
possibility of a non-capitalist state 62
the state subjected to a new constituent power might be able to
empower the communist hypothesis from within 63
communism relies on society’s self organizing capacities — can
the state play a role in supporting people’s autonomous
organization 63
lots and lots of effort to get to his rather obvious conclusion:
Bosteels wants to avoid two extreme answers: strict rejection of the
state and blind allegiance to the party and state 64
calls for "a comprehensive and collective rethinking" of the state
of the party and their relationship to mass action 64
[i.e. in the search for new political forms there is no reason to
reject party and state out of hand]

Buck-Morss—The Second Time as Farce...
We should be quite catholic in our search for new ideas and new political
desires; don't let Eurocentrism or secularism limit our search

Trotsky: uneven development and permanent revolution 68
importance of time 68
danger of Eurocentrism in thinking communism 69
   importance of Haiti, Muslim radicals, women's activism 70
   the memory of these events increases in value by being shared 70
no class owns the position of agent in historical struggle; no region of the
world does either 71
there is one time, in which we all partake 71
   there is a sense in which time is common, in which we share a time, we
   are contemporaries across space 71
danger in Hegelian approach: thinking that critique is all that is required of
philosophy 72
   we need to create also, something that did not exist before 73
   yet we can draw on spirits of the past in that project 73
   Benjamin and the human imagination, which is an act of freedom, of
   developing new possibilities 74
the importance of religious radicalism as source of inspiration 75
   it declares the freedom of man from the servitude to other men 79
objective crisis is not enough to propel a new consciousness 76
the truly new is the untimely as Nietzsche called it — it does not fit 77
   we certainly don't want to stuff the contemporary back into tradition —
   this would annihilate the potential of the now and the new, the hidden
   potentialities of the present 77
   that can arise and rupture the collective imagination 77
   Badiou thinks of this in terms of the event 78
   [and Ranciere in terms of politics]
we must seek to rescue the progressive potential in religious writers who are
operating in our time, as our contemporaries
we can affirm fragments of incompatible discourses, use them as they work in
our current project 79
Sprawling, disorganized, detour into rights bears little fruit

Most Marxists reject human rights discourse and yet there is a desire to defend Universalism.

Marx critiqued the way political rights became insulated from the economy. Political emancipation versus human emancipation. There is a sense that Marx wanted to push rights to their limit, to realize a kind of human right to free activity. Freedom then would be a positive power to connect with others. A social revolution leading to the emancipation of humanity.

Bloch insisted on the will to resist and rebel. He was interested in how people can be prepared ethically and psychologically for the event.

Being involves both jointure and disjuncture. There is a tension between man’s violent and creative power (poiesis), and the ordering power of structure (dike). Poiesis must eternally work against dike. A primordial sense of adike (which is the primordial lack of dike, chaos) prepares people for resistance.

Adike is the unmanageable, the politics inside the police. Communism is the modern form of adike.

Right to revolution, to resistance to oppression. Kant dismissed the right to revolution. As do modern human rights. Democracy is presented as the exercise of rights. Negative power against state control. Rights depoliticize politics; don't challenge the overall structure.

Ranciere’s democracy: when a new political subject is constituted (or Badiou’s event).

But rights can be thought of as initiations of constituent power (rather than as elements of the juridico-political order).

As the latter, they merely admit new groups at the margins of the same liberal-democratic system. Communism insists on equality and on the right to resistance and revolution when that equality is denied. Right of rebellion founded assuming an original equality as a premise of action.
When that equality is denied, rebellion is called for [really strange he
does not use Locke] 97
Every state rests on its own right to make law 98
State can accommodate this or that reform 98
But it cannot grant a right to law to any other entity [to auto-nomy] 98
Being in common is integral to each person 99
The idea of communism can help prepare us for the event, for the insurrection
100
The militant proclaims/assumes the equality of each to everyone else, and
rebels when it is denied 100

**Eagleton—Communism: Lear or Gonzalo**

The problem of abundance as necessary for communism 101
development of the productive forces and hence surplus sufficient for
the abolition of labor 101
then you have time for schol 102
you have to develop material production in order to overcome the need
for material production 102
then you can turn your attention to higher pursuits 104
Shakespeare puts productivity on the side of nature 103
in communism the release of creative powers for their own sake 105
not for the sake of exchange value; doing away with the idea of the
equivalent, the commensurable 105
communism is what is created by the activity of its members, not a
predetermined structure 106
socialism provides a structure as a placeholder; it is still a matter of
the state 106
communism would be a kind of state of grace in which we have acquired
the habit of self-governing cooperatives, such that we no longer need to
be regulated, they would operate spontaneously 107
central problem: nature is far from an inexhaustible resource 107
but human needs are not infinite, even if our desire is 107
communism is about the conversion of desire into an unending exploration
and enjoyment of the world for its own sake 107
[transforming the inner infant into delight]
savoring the use values of the world 108
King Lear offers a more modest, more chastened idea of communism 108
men and women are forced by circumstances that produce scarcity
into sharing and solidarity with one another [as in war, or as in
Cuba] 108
here drudgery remains [we must still do labor in Arendt's sense]
109
we must discover how to be a communist without abundance—a kind of materially austere communism, though not a spiritually austere one 109

Hallward—Communism of the Intellect, Communism of the Will

Communism is not purely anticapitalism 111
communism is a positive project for another world 111
we have to strive to realize it before it is fully formed; this striving converts the impossible into the possible 112
Marx did not give us a clear idea of communism; "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"; the autonomous deployment of "human energy as an end in itself" 113
"communism as the positive supersession of private property as human self estrangement and hence is the true appropriation of the human essence through and four-man, the restoration of man to himself as a social, i.e., human, being" EPM 113

Badiou prioritizes Plato over Aristotle, the absolute and the idea 114
or should we work with old conceptions and try to build on 114
the working classes for Marx must emancipate themselves 116
they must get a grip on history and engage in transformative activity, acting as an immense majority 116
they must revolt and expropriate the expropriators, preside over a new mode of production marked by self management, the free association of producers 116
in the Paris commune workers took the project of their emancipation into their own hands and created their own will and made the impossible possible 116-117
work becomes defined by autonomous self-determination, which is to say it becomes free voluntary action rather than involuntary labor 117
we require a collective will to decide our own history 117
to become authors and actors of our own drama (Poverty of Philosophy) 117
subjective forms of awareness are critical 118
in yet we currently have a situation in which the human subject is being displaced 118-119
conscious volition has been called into question 119
Nietzsche, Heidegger, Arendt, Adorno, Negri, Deleuze, Derrida, etc. 119
Agamben suggests that political will is essentially the same as fascism 120
so self-determination and self emancipation become troubled 120
we require some return to voluntarist philosophy 121
Rousseau’s general will

people participating in the act of willing of a general or generalizable will; this will is at work in the mobilization of any emancipatory collective force
striving to formulate a fully common interest

political will commands voluntary and autonomous action using free rational deliberation

autonomy is self-legislation, of actively willing a certain course of action
it is collective action and direct participation, democratic, and a common commitment
if you remain an active participant in the Association, you will what is in the common or general interest

general will is the active interest of the greatest number of people
it is not a matter of imposing an external will or awareness upon an inert people, it is people working to clarify and organize their own will
it is the self-production of general will

the shack dwellers movement in South Africa: we will no longer wait quietly for humanity to be recognized — we have already taken our place on the land and we have decided to take our place in political discussions, as people who count

for Rousseau people must choose to agree in order for the general will to exist, they must choose to privilege collective over particular interests

[Rousseau has a stark individual-collective dichotomy, which has been troubled by the new work on subject, identity, will]
a will that wills and realizes its own emancipation — this is the animating principle of the concrete political Association
since I can only will my own freedom by willing the freedom of all, the only subject that can sustain the work of self-emancipation is the people
it is people’s passivity that empowers their oppressors, they must will to be oppressed

Hardt—The Common in Communism

we need choices beyond capitalism/private property and socialism/state property

neither is the common that communism aims at

we should not abandon the terms Communism, democracy, freedom — even though they are corrupted — we should fight for them
we need an analysis of the forms of political organization that are possible
instead of doing that, though, he limits himself to a critique of political economy

composition of labor has changed
the relationship between property and the common is key to a communist analysis
shift from immobile property (land) to mobile property (commodities)
this was the shift from rent to profit as the dominant mode of expropriation
the shift from agricultural production to industrial production
industrial production becomes the leading edge
today industry no longer holds that position, immaterial production, or bio political production does
production of ideas, information, images, knowledges, code, languages, social relationships, affects
this is now the leading edge
the production of affects and care becomes increasingly essential in the valorization process
the struggle today is between material and immaterial property, which is to say between exclusive and shared property, between non-reproducible and reproducible property
scarcity applies less fully to this new domain
it is difficult to police ownership because products are so easily shared and reproduced
sharing something increases its utility to me
the realm of the production of ideas, maximum productivity comes through common and shared practices, not privatization practices, or even practices of public/state property
so there's an emerging contradiction: the more the common is corralled as property, the less productivity it has
labor is the sole essence of wealth (EPM)
the common can mean the earth and resources, or the results of human labor and creativity
the common is expropriated through privatization, through patents
this method of expropriation is in the form of rent
patents and copyrights generate rent — and income that is based solely on the ownership of property, not on having invested in its production
capital remains external to the processes of the production of the common
capital must exert control by gaining property rights in order to expropriate value through rent
the general trend from profit to rent 138
the production and productivity of the common becomes an increasingly autonomous domain (or at least autonomous from capital) 139
Marx says that communism is the positive expression of the abolition of private property 139
crude communism extends private property to everyone 139
communism is the abolition of property as such 139
something is ours though we do not possess it — open access, wikis, creative commons 139
today's common and its increasing productivity provide the basis for an alternative society and mode of production, the communism of the common 140
Marx: communism is the positive supersession of private property as human self-estrangement, and hence the true appropriation of the human essence through and for man; it is the complete restoration of man to himself as a social, i.e. human, being 140
appropriation of our own subjectivity and social relations and creative and productive powers 140
not so much appropriation but production: man produces man 141
not so much a humanism, that is taking recourse to a pre-existing or eternal human essence 141
but rather the autonomous human production of subjectivity, of humanity 141
but this is precisely what late capitalism is producing: lives, subjectivities, human faculties 141
capital is in its essence a social relation, it produces social relations and forms of life 142
Foucault says we should not call Marx a humanist, since he stressed the production of man by man, man produces something that does not yet exist 142
thus producer and product are both subjects in biopolitical production 143
this bio political production does not just reproduce capital but presents the potential for an autonomous process to create something new 143
it can exceed the bounds of capitalist relations because it constantly refers to the common, grants labor increasing autonomy 143
the idea of communism and contemporary capitalist production are thus quite close 143
the common is increasingly central to capitalist production 143
Hardt links communism to Ranciere’s notion of politics 143
Communism is the affirmation of the common deformation of open and autonomous bio political production, of self governed continuous creation of new humanity.

Nancy – Communism, the Word

etymology of communism: people having in common property

English diggers: land as a common treasure

community as a drive toward something that does not exist

communism as togetherness, the Mitsein, the being-with

the link between individuals who are separate

communism has more than political meaning, it says something about property

property is what makes a possession properly the possession of the subject

I never exist alone, I exist essentially with other beings

the width has nothing to do with collective, with the co- of being side-by-side

it is rather the mit- of the Mitsein, which implies that neither you nor me are the same when together or when separate – the with belongs to the very constitution, to the being of each of us not mere side-by-side, relationship

existence as ontologically being-in-common

individual property is proper to the subject, even personal property

the subject is the capacity of having properness

Freud: the ego is only a small disk emerging at the surface of the large it which is the totality of the otherwise being in the world–I am made of this whole world

communism therefore means the common condition of all the singularities of subjects, all the uncommon points whose network makes the world

it comes before any politics

it is in danger of becoming ideology

we can only exist with others, and so the politics of communism are simply how can we think about society with the aim of letting the common come and take its own chance

a bit about chrematics: wealth means to possess more than common life needs, poverty needs to have less

communism means to give to the common what common life needs

Plato critiques money after money [more so Aristotle]

property is only proper property, the proper level of wealth, and the only level of wealth that is proper is common-wealth

common means the opening of the space between beings in the indefinite possibility that this space opens
Ranciere—Communists without communism?
Communism is about emancipation, but the question is to know what emancipation means 167

Jacotot’s idea of emancipation is that it is a way out of a situation of minority 167
it is not about moving from the situation of inequality towards a situation of equality, that is the logic of enlightenment 167
equality is not a goal it is a starting point, a presupposition to be verified 168

intelligence is not divided, it is one 168
so emancipation means the appropriation of this single intelligence 168
the emancipation of workers is the affirmation that there is no specific aptitude for the artisan 168
emancipation means the communism of intelligence, the demonstration of the capacity of those considered incapable, the capacity of a community of workers to organize production themselves, or to govern a city that its rulers have deserted 168

emancipation cannot apply to a society 169
it is an anarchical principle, it cannot govern society, it means disorder 169
it is a worker asserting his capacity to talk and make decisions 170
there can obviously be no communist state 170

Marx and Engels thought communism was the full implementation of a form of universality already at work in capitalism; all that was needed was reappropriation 170
communism of intelligence: the capacity of anybody to be where she can’t be and do what she can’t do 171
[i.e. for him communism is the same thing as “politics”]
we should not suppose incompetence and inequality and see communism as a movement toward competence and equality 172
he does not think we should revive the discussion on spontaneity and organization 173
what is important is the history of communist moments; effective reframing is about what ‘common’ means; reconfigurations of the universe of the possible 173
moments like when ordinary workers prove their capacity, to struggle or run factories 173
we might try to connect up those moments 173
acknowledges Negri’s discussion of immaterial labor 174
says we must take into account the failure of capitalism to produce the utopia of a perfectly self regulated market 174
he thinks Negri’s analysis is still caught in the inegalitarian logic: communism waiting to be born in the body of capitalism seems to suggest
the goal of transcending the current inequality for a future state of equality 175
a sort of social evolution 176
what we need to do is examine the multiplicity of forms of experimentation of the capacity of anybody at all to act and show their capability 176
his communism seems to be very close to his concept of democracy 176
emancipation must mean the autonomous growth of the space of the common created by the free Association of men and women implementing the egalitarian principle, which is to say assuming equality and acting as though it were true 176
is not about some fully formed system that we should aim to achieve 177

communism or democracy? There is some value in the term communism in that it points to the collective intelligence [the general intellect] 177

Negri—Communism: some thoughts on the concept and practice

communism is the real movement that abolishes the present state of things (Marx in the German ideology) 155
communists assume that history is always the history of class struggle 155
there is no longer any semblance of use value, we are completely immersed in exchange value 156
communism takes shape when the proletariat decides to reappropriate the community and make it into a new society 156
money has become the common land, the privately held wealth that has been expropriated from the common 157
    communism reappropriates the common reality that is not from the past 157
an accumulation of counter power, of desire becoming solidarity 158
drawing on Gramsci he says: the pessimism of the will rewinds us that it is not about the emergence of rebellions but the constant in critical effort of organization — this always prepares the way for the event 158
being communist means being against the state 158
against all forms of private property, against the public (which is a form of alienation and exploitation of labor) 158
state-public-socialism 158

communism means the desire and ability to manage the entire system of production in a radically democratic way 159
    this prospect of a different order is virtually present today 159
political composition of the power of the multitude must take place 160
communist being involves turning constituent desires into expressions of power 160

communism attempts to build a new world where the exploitation of capital and the subjection to the state are eliminated 160
the multitude must constitute a force that is superior to the one currently in command 161
this requires a collective revolutionary will, a constituent will, and that requires organization (the event is not enough) 161
a collective desire that using force builds up its organized surplus throughout the aleatory process of struggles 161
multitude of singularities organizes into an anticapitalist force/power — not formally as a party — but as a resistance that is stronger and better articulated as the multitude becomes increasingly a whole of singular institutions 162
  institutions like forms of life, struggle, union organization, experiences of reappropriation, and the like 162
  the multitude is a group of such institutions, or coagulates 162
  the cognitive proletariat is a leading-edge, hyper productive of surplus 163
communism already exists in the development of singularities, and in the production of surplus value through cognitive labor 163
communism is an ethics of struggle that moves beyond indignation and toward subjection [here he is like Ranciere instead of Deleuze and Guattari], a becoming-subject of the multitude 163
  as singularities withdraw from solitude and work to make themselves multitude looking for the common instead of privacy 163
democracy is: the common management of the common 164
organization is crucial, it is a collective being-against, it is a principle of institution, and institution is essential to creating the multitude as subject 164
  labor freed from capital’s command; love freed from solitude—coming together to develop new forms of common coexistence in both resistance and organization 164
  the power of the poor and the common desire for love, equality and solidarity 165

Russo—did the cultural revolution and communism? Eight remarks on philosophy and politics today
the communist hypothesis is the name for an ethics of philosophy concerning its political condition 180
defending philosophy against depoliticization 180
  communism opposes the enchainment of politics inside state power 180
is communism a Platonic idea? 181
politics in sequences, which is the idea of Sylvain Lazarus, brief and singular [essentially the idea that politics corrupts briefly] 181
  politics is a rare and intermittent phenomenon 181
the political sequence of the 1960s was important 182
especially the cultural revolution 183
there is a need to think beyond the tradition of party, class struggle, and proletariat 183
the need to think beyond "the worker" as the agent of historical change 184
possibility of self organized forms of political subjectivity 184
these were on display in China in the 60s even in the context of the party-state 184
red guards as independent entities 185
explosion of political activity among students 186 and workers 187
the question of the capacity of workers to organize their own political entities outside the party and outside the state 188
he claims the political exhaustion of party-state, class-based politics, the inclusion of the worker in the state 189
the welfare state as a way to include the worker in the state 189
acknowledgment of the gap that separates the working class from the Communist Party; they are not the same thing 190
the cultural revolution didn't end communism, divided communism in two 190
communism as a powerful party-state 190
and communism as a form of mass self-liberation 190
it seems he wants to argue that there is a need for the invention of a new name to designate mass self-liberation, other than communism 191
need for a new relationship between politics and philosophy 192
we should stress their separation 193
we need a new exploration of the theory of the subject and a materialist rethinking of the theory of the state 193

Toscano—The politics of abstraction: communism and philosophy
the possibility that Stalinism results from thinking communism abstractly 196
Marx says that we do not anticipate the world with our dogmas but attempt to discover the New World through the critique of the old one 96
non-dogmatic anticipation 197
the productive negation of ideal history can extract the weapons for overturning the status quo 197
theory is an active principle, a set of practices 198
it is not a question of creating a Truth to serve as the standard against which to judge social change 199
that is what Marx and Engels accuse utopian socialism of doing in The Communist Manifesto 199
equality is not an abstraction, therefore, it is something that must be tried out, experimented with 199
equality in the distributionist sense is still steeped in the 
abstractions of bourgeois society 200
we can’t apply an equal standard two unequal individuals 200
communist equality has no standard of right 200
it implies creating social relations that render inequalities in 
operative 201
realization, experimentation is intrinsic to the idea of communism 201
some one must delineate the problems and lines of 
solution that communism calls for, but communism must be worked 
out in practice 201
this requires communist power, force, authority 202
we need to think together communism as a form of political 
organization and communism as a form of social association 202
power is not the same thing as the state 202
there is constituent power and constituted power (he doesn’t 
use these terms) 203
it is necessary to foster constituent power towards 
communism 203
that power will have to negate the current world in addition 
to building a different one 204

Vattimo—Weak communism?
Communism ought to be weak, theoretically weak 205
which is to say not metaphysical 205
metaphysics is the violent imposition which claims objective evidence 
with respect to truth 206
weak communism would include a good dose of anarchism which is where the 
idea of weakness comes from 206
when the left comes to power it loses its transformative energy 206
the key is to find a new form of subversive political action and yet not 
renounce the few benefits of liberal democracy 207
refuse to formulate a system or a constitution 207

Zizek—How to begin from the beginning
necessity of admitting mistakes 209
and accept the necessity of beginning again, of starting all over 210
and so our communism might be entirely new, rather than a building on 
communism of the past 211
the problem used to be the lack of a revolutionary subject constituting itself 
as a subject 212
the commons: the shared substance of our social being 212
nature, culture, human biology 213
capitalism will try to enclose this commons 213
we shouldn’t drop the notion of the proletariat we should radicalize it 213
no longer the act of a particular social agent but a combination of
different agents 213
something along the lines of the 99%, the excluded 214
the part of no part that claims its part, which claiming is called
democracy 215
what to do with Mao's cultural revolution 216
the new left says to leave behind centralized dictatorial power 217
he thinks we need more of that kind of power [because is a moron-clown]
217
there is a tension between the bureaucratic power of socialism and the
democratic power of the Soviets 218
how can we revolutionize an order like capitalism which is constantly self
revolutionizing 219
since capitalism continually disorders what is ordered, our revolt
should enforce a new order 219
the failure of the communist state was the failure of anti-statist
politics, the failure of non-state forms of organization 219
the task is to make the state work in a non-statal mode 219
it's a false dilemma to say we have to either struggle for state power
or pursue resistance at a distance from the state 219
revolutionary violence should not take over the state but should
transform it 220
the dictatorship of the proletariat is when the state is radically
transformed, relying on new forms of popular participation 220
then into his quite useful analysis of China as capitalism with Asian values,
or authoritarian capitalism 220
democracy is not necessary for capitalism, or even very useful 221
relations between people are now the very material of our everyday
exploitation [Hardt and Negri’s immaterial labor] 221
and this makes capital purely parasitic on our common production of
affect and relationships 222
the key then would be to see that the multitude directly produces life,
and that capital is a kind of unnecessary excess or remainder 223
immaterial labor directly produces social relations, which are then
privatized by capital 224
Marx didn't envisage the possibility of the privatization of the
general intellect 224
it takes the form of rent, and rent needs direct authority to
impose itself on the direct production of the multitude 224
a much more authoritarian state makes sense in this situation 224
Microsoft privatizes the code 225
three fractions of the working class: intellectual laborers, manual
laborers, and outcasts 226
difficult to create a space where these can all meet