

The new social movements and capitalist justice

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ABSTRACT

Since 1991, New Social Movements (NSMs) of what Hardt and Negri called 'the multitude' have emerged in several major capitalist countries. This paper investigates the potential of major NSMs for restructuring capitalist order. It argues that their potential for doing this is limited since they presume that reducing micro political dominance will automatically deconstruct capitalist macro power. Major NSM's endorse postmodern subjectivity as depicted by Foucault and Deleuze and do not seek to construct an antagonistic capitalist subjectivity. Therefore, while they can succeed in reducing racism, environmental regulation etc, they are gradually absorbed within capitalist civil society and the existing capitalist macro political regime (neoliberalism)

Keywords: New Social Movements, Capitalism, Neoliberalism, Capitalist subjectivity

Introduction

Capitalist order is a relatively new episode in the history of mankind. Its continued global dominance depends upon its ability to ensure capitalist justice among other things (such as ensuring environmental sustainability and avoiding nuclear holocaust). In periods of crises - the 1890s, the 1930s - and during periods of relative stagnation such as what we are experiencing today providing capitalist justice becomes problematic for capitalist markets and states. At such times mass movements seeking enhanced capitalist justice emerge. These movements challenge incumbent capitalist authorities and seek a fundamental restructuring of capitalist market and state relationships to promote a “fairer” distribution of Rawls “primary goods”, - income, wealth, power authority. Traditionally these movements were organized by the proletariat led by trade unions and social democrat and communist parties seeking a subordination of market mechanism by state planning and collective bargaining. Currently, the main challenge seems to be posed by the so-called Neo Social Movement (NSM).

This paper will attempt to address the question; will the NSM succeed in enhancing capitalist justice. Section 1 elaborates the concept of capitalist justice, section 2 attempts to identify the typical characteristics of the NSM and section 3 evaluates their potential as against that of the proletarian movements for promoting capitalist justice. We conclude that this potential is somewhat limited.

I Capitalist Justice:

Capitalist order - both system and life world - is a product of the Enlightenment movement perhaps its most successful project along with science. A fundamental premise of Enlightenment is human autonomy and capitalism is a project for articulating this premise - its ultimate aim is to continuously maximize freedom through accumulation. Given this

premise¹. Enlightenment rationality is universal in its application. The capitalist order is built upon protestant roots (Weber 1965) but it posits that there is

“a generic faculty incarnate and latent in all men ... the assumption that there is such a faculty is tantamount to the denial of prevaliged knowers, prevaliged location (and) Revelation (all men are).

The assumption that such a faculty exists amounts to the claim that in a cognitive sense are equal and subject to criteria which can be applied to anyone. There is a deep leveling quality about Reason². It does not allow any person to be special (Gellner 1993, p52-53)³

Gellner also notes “the world as a whole or the manner in which it is known may be sacred but there is no privileged sacred within it (Gellner (1993, p57).” This illustrates “this worldliness” of capitalist order. It seeks “transcendence from within”. Its project is to build heaven on earth by providing equal access to all men to Rawls’ primary goods. As Dourlein has often stressed equality is the essence of both capitalist retributive and distributive justice. Equality is to be promoted through the provision of constitutionally guaranteed human rights, the rule of law, the enforcement of voluntary contracts, the institutionalization of democratic processes and the construction of welfare support systems. Capitalism claims (at least formally) to equalize the opportunities of all its subjects in their quest for liberty. Marx argues that this is a false claim - the accumulative process focussed on the extraction of surplus value necessarily equalizes - liberty is the prerogative of the bourgeoisie. (Marx (1971), Rawls (1971) and Sen (2001) suggest principles for synthesizing the institutionalization of procedures for promoting social equality (of opportunities or capabilities) through liberal democratic systems. Nozick

¹ The premise that rationality is the maximization of freedom/autonomy is of course not universal in that throughout recorded history must men have not accepted this premise. Faith in autonomy/freedom is as meta rational as faith in God.

² That is the enlightenment conception of reasons.

³ Gellner also notes “The potential equality of all inquiries also objects of all investigations (Gellner 1993, p53) but of course the premise of Enlightenment - the assumption of individual autonomy and the quest for freedom - should not be investigated. Post modernists - especially Jacques Derrida and his school - have investigated these premises and found them to be unjustifiable.

(1976) argues that the quest for capitalist justice should be restricted to the sphere of the state for extending it to the markets restricts capital accumulation and liberty.

Thus, a capitalist order may be deemed to be just (on its own terms) to the extent to which it provides equalizing opportunities for the autonomous pursuit of liberty through ever expanding capital accumulation. Harvey (2014) argues that capitalist order is unjust because the pursuit of the idea of freedom leads to the denial of freedom to the masses in terms of restricted access to both liberties and wealth. It is this, he argues, which produces other inequalities - between sexes, races and countries - within capitalist order. Inequalities are driven by the “engine” of accumulation. But continued capital accumulation is necessary - not sufficient - to satisfy “the demand for cheaper and more effective housing, education, health care and social services” (Harvey 2014, p68). The provision of capitalist justice though entails both a continuous expansion of economic surplus as well as its equitable appropriation.

Enlightenment rationality commits its adherents to an unending quest for both the growth and equitable distribution of material resources - capitalist order is deemed to be just when it satisfies both these ends. But both growth and equality have come under stress in recent times. Roberts argues that the recession which began in 2008 has morphed into a long depression similar to the long depression of 1873-97 (Roberts 2015, p45)⁴. Authors such as Krugman (2010) expect that growth will remain anemic for several decades and multilateral institutes such as the IMF and the World Bank have been downgrading growth prospects for the key capitalist economies and the global economy as a whole much before the 2020 pandemic. The US Congressional Budget Office (CBO) Forecast in 2013 argued that the US real GDP will never return to the pre-2007 growth trajectory. CBO believes that the US GDP trend growth will never be above 2 percent a year for the foreseeable future⁵. The ‘recovery’ such as it that occurred during (2012-14) has been confined to

⁴ Periods of long depressions include short period of recovery (such as that of 2010-12) but these recoveries are not long-lasting and pre recession (pre-2012) rates of GDP trend growth are not achieved (<http://thenextrecession.wordpress.com>) globally or in the major capitalist economies.

⁵ <http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/49850-GDPprojections.pdf>

America while in much of the world employment and investment remained low and public and private debt is soaring, global debt exceeded 200 trillion - about 290 percent of global GDP (Dobbs et al 2015; McKinsey Global Institute data base). During the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century productivity growth was low in the major capitalist economies despite the widespread information technology revolution (Gordon 2012, p164).

The standard response to relatively permanent growth deceleration has been Quantitative Easing (QE) near zero interest rates and ‘austerity’ measures cutting back government social expenditure and depressing real wages. But both fiscal and monetary policy initiatives have been ineffective and investment and profitability growth remains sluggish (Roberts 2015, p65)⁶. What investment there is often takes the form of financialization - not only trading stock but also buy back of own stock and dividend payouts encouraging further financialization. Hence, the real economy stagnates, employment growth is low and income inequality growth is widespread.

Justice claims of capitalist order are undermined by falling economic growth and rising distributional inequalities. A 2014 Oxfam report claims that 85 billionaires own more than the poorest half of the world’s population (Oxfam 2014 p2). Piketty⁷ has famously argued capitalism generates unsustainable inequalities that undermine the meritocratic values on which democratic societies are based (Piketty 2014, p12). He discredits Marginal Productivity theory and rejects the view that technological growth and higher education enhance the income of the poor or promote equitable distribution. Piketty’s second principle implies that low growth if accompanied by a high saving rate will generate a

⁶ According to Roberts 2015, p071, Fig-12 profits were at all-time low in 2014 since 2000 in the United States.

⁷ In Piketty’s view the notion of individual marginal productivity becomes hard to define in relation to top income earners and becomes something close to an ideological construct on the basis of which a justification for higher status can be elaborated (Piketty 2013, p333)

higher capital income ratio⁸. If growth is low and savings high (as in the case in the developed capitalist countries today) there is according to Piketty an inherent tendency for the pattern of income distribution to worsen⁹. Piketty's main argument is that if the ratio of return on capital is higher than the rate of growth of GDP, income distributional inequalities will rise. In his view the rate of return on capital was 4 to 5 percent in the late 1990s and the early twenty-first century (Piketty 2014 p200) and currently no major developed capitalist economy has achieved (or is likely to achieve) GDP growth at this rate. Hence, distributional inequalities are continuing to rise. One may justifiably conclude that though growing inequality may not be a cause of the periodic crises (2008-2009, 2020-....) that capitalism experiences it is a necessary consequence of the subsequent upturns which are invariably triggered by a rise in profit rates. As growth rates fall (or remain low) the share of "inherited wealth" increases exacerbating distribution inequalities¹⁰.

II Characteristics of the New Social Movement:

Our main argument in this paper is that the NSM was a response to capitalist injustice and not an attempt to transform capitalist order. As argued above we regard capitalist Justice as a capitalist state's ability and willingness to provide its subjects increasing access to Rawls' primary goods' - income, wealth, power, authority. Faltering growth and exacerbating distributional inequalities undermine the ability of capitalist states to do so¹¹.

This becomes clear when we identify the main characteristics of the NSM. Most importantly these are mass movements temporarily uniting a broad coalition of social

⁸ Formally Piketty writes $b=s/g$ where b is the capital income ratio, s is saving rate, g is the growth rate. Thus, if the growth rate is 3% and the saving rate is 15 percent, the capital income ratio would be 500 percent (Piketty 2014, p166)

⁹ Given that the distribution of wealth (capital) is much more unequal than the distribution of income.

¹⁰ Hence Piketty's major proposal of imposing the highest taxes on inherited fortunes to redress distributional inequalities (Piketty 2014 p515, 517)

¹¹ Some mainly Marxist critics have argued that this also undermines capitalist states' willingness to provide its citizens with increasing access to the "primary goods". Neo liberals may not recognize an obligation to foster growth or reduce inequalities - at least in principle - and equate capitalist justice with this provision of legal, procedural, constitutional rights alone (Callinicos 2015, Chp 3, 11)

segments the “precariat”, trade unions those motivated by the quest for “climate” justice and feminist activities and students and public intellectuals. From time to time they organize demonstration in urban centers which mobilize millions (Davey et al 2014). Participants in such demonstrations are described as typically “young, vibrant, diverse and radicals” (Jeffery 2015, p33). The organizers of such movements are usually large NGOs and grass root activists. Slogans such as “Another world in possible” and “Jobs, Justice and Climate action” sum up their demands. They sometimes succeed in inducing major multinationals to abandon or redesign projects (Ansar et al 2013)¹². They have also contributed to government and international policy reforms such as multilateral financial support on poverty alleviation and global climate accords. The anti fracking divestment campaign uses pro market arguments - warning companies that investment in fossil fuel industries will become “stranded assets” as government and markets succumb to pressure for the switch to renewable energy sources (Jeffery 2015, p34).

This shows that many ideological trends combine somewhat awkwardly in the NSM - they cannot unambiguously be described as “subaltern” or “liberal” or “green” or “social democrat” or “marxist” or “anarchist”. System change is certainly not on the agenda of most factors within the NSM, which seem mainly concerned with lobbying corporations, politicians and World Bank officials rather than overthrowing governments. Even the minority that argues for ‘system change’ does not articulate a unified policy and strategy. Differences between and within ideological groups remain large despite this common struggle against capitalist injustices.

As we argued that capitalist justice requires a continuing increase in living standards (through growth) and an equalization of opportunities through access to Rawls’ ‘primary goods’ (i.e., improvements in distributional patterns). This is reflected in the heavy emphasis laid by almost all NSM on fighting ‘austerity’ policies, unemployment and

¹² Klein (2014, p71) reports Oxford university research which shows that the movement for divestment from the fossil fuel industries is growing more rapidly than divestment campaigns against the tobacco industry.

distributional inequities - thus in the global climate justice movement the campaign for promoting millions of ‘climate jobs’ is among the most prominent causes and trade union support throughout Europe and America is focussed on the employment issue (Campaign Against Climate Change 2014). Trade unions supporting climate NSM’s stress that solutions can be found within the existing political economic order - they are not arguing for system change, fossil based industries see climate jobs as a threat to their own members. In a seminal contribution, George Marshall (2014) states that avoiding focus on institutionalizing climate justice is necessary for the growth of mass movements and that this is becoming a preferred NSM strategy. Zero growth is not and cannot be an explicit goal of the NSM - not even ‘climate justice NSMs’ (Smith 2014, Morris 2014). If NSMs are a response to growing insecurity and deprivation within capitalist order, they are unlikely to mobilize the masses on an anti growth platform¹³ NSM remain committed to “anti austerity”,

The demonstrations sponsored by the NSMs have famously been called “the multitude” in a classic work by Hardt and Negri (Hard and Negri 2004). The multitude has no common purpose. It jealously guards the innumerable singularities it combines. It constitutes a “new social subject” only in that it is a process of communicating and collaboration among singularities. They redefine democracy by struggling against its institutional forms class, party, parliament, ideology. They are an expression of desire to step out of the disciplines of modernity. Their common project is “liberating desire” - freeing desire by open ended communication celebrating “differences”.

Giles Deleuze interprets the actions of the multitude challenging the disciplines of modernity as expressing a micro-politics of desire (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p205). Unlike the earlier capitalist antagonist movements - socialism fascism - the multitude is not focused on directly challenging the capitalist state. The movements of the multitude are decentered and disorganized. They express a micro-politics of desire, a need to burst

¹³ That is why marxist's such as Suzanne Jeffery describe Naomi Klein's (2014) anti growth position as ‘idealist’ (Jeffery 2015, p42)

forth in an infinite multiplicity of becomings. These multiple becomings challenge the right forms of modernist subjectivity. But as Deleuze stresses this is not a rejection of capitalist subjectivity as such. According to Deleuze, being is “univocal”. Being is differentiated by differences in the intensity of desire (Deleuze 1994, p35-42). The difference between being is not qualitative, capitalist order as structured in modernity provides an institutional framework for the expression of desire - superior to all previous historical frameworks - but it limits differences. The micropolitics of the NSM are experiments for “liberating desire” by loosening some capitalist discipline at the micro level not a transcendence of being (Deleuze and Guattari 1987)¹⁴. Production according to Deleuze is the “immanent principle of desire”. Desire is created through production (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, p154). NSMs reflect Deleuze’s insight that desire though anarchic (a) must always be organized and (b) there is no “pure” or “optimum” way for organizing desire - hence the quest for “liberating desire” is endless. hence , desire has not purpose except freedom - a fearless experimental expressiveness.

These experiments for “liberating desire” challenge specific forms of dominance not power as such. Domination is a distorted form of power. As Foucault writes “power relations are not something that is bad in itself that we have to break free of” (instead we must learn) “to play the games with as little domination as possible” (Foucault 1996, p446). Struggles against domination are usually “micro-political” challenging not regime or state but some specific aspect of capitalist governance. That is why they are often seen as coalition of single issue movements¹⁵. That is why it has been possible for multinationals and international organizations (such as the World Bank and the IMF to institutionalize dialogue with some NSMs and for corporations to respond creatively to some of their demands.

¹⁴ In other words there is no qualitative difference between precapitalist, capitalist or post capitalist order. They merely structure/limit the articulation of one and the same being in different ways. We interpret this to mean that Deleuze rejects the notion of transcendence.

¹⁵ The movement for climate justice has often been called “a movement of movements”

Thus NSM challenge, not order as such - they do not seek transcendence - but aspect of orders that dominate capitalism today, i.e. neoliberalism. As Foucault writes “in the future we must separate ourselves from the society of discipline of today” (Foucault quoted in Hardt 1995 p41) while recognizing the necessity of disciplining/ordering desire¹⁶. Neoliberalism extends market rationality to evaluation of all spheres of existence - personal, social, political, ecological - and non market ‘spheres of justice’ are collapsing into the market through communicative ‘wiring’ networks and through networks of debt. NSM mount resistance against some globalized neoliberal network seeking to free the liberated individual from the domination of the market for the market rationality inhibits the full flourishing of the creative productive power of desire. It does so by exclusion of the many from full participation in the process of accumulation through increased unemployment and the exacerbation of distributional inequalities.

This critique of market rationality does not lead the NSM to a rejection of what Danial Bell has called the “theological presumptions of capitalism” (Bell 2012 Chp.4). NSM’s endorse --autonomy, voluntary constructed interest orientedness, self creation, unlimited choice, the inherent insatiability of desire¹⁷ human rights, the eradication of poverty, consumers participation in the society of the spectacle and unity in diversity. NSMs seek to liberate capitalism from some aspect of market dominance to enhance the flourishing of desire. NSMs reject the view that capitalist justice is merely ‘commutative’ - a matter of fulfilling contractual obligations.

Some authors have sometimes seen NSM as “anti-political” (Callinicos 2015) - reflecting a mass disillusionment with representative democracy in advanced capitalist countries (Mair 2013). Some NSM claim to erode capitalist order’s social base - The “15.M” Indignados movement of Spain for example which mobilized millions of people was

¹⁶ As argued above

¹⁷ As reflected in the increasing struggle for growth.

explicitly “anti-political”¹⁸, but this movement has provided the social base for the emergence of Podermos as a major player within the Spanish political elite. These NSMs may be anti-political but not “non-political”. They seek to seize power at the “micropolitical level” in the hope that such social action will deconstruct the micropolitical order. These “autonomist” NSMs mobilize the multitude “to serve the interest of the great mass of people through social struggle”. (Tietze and Humphrys 2014, p194) expecting that this will lead to the eventual “withering way” of the state. “Autonomous” theorists recognize however that “it is possible that this wave of anti politics will end with ‘the political’ reasserting in a new form on some quite new social base without overcoming capitalism (Tietze and Humphrys 2014, p194)

III The Systemic Transformation Potential of NSMs

This section seeks to evaluate the system transformative potential of the NSMs. Historically such transformation has been achieved by proletarian movements led by Social Democrats and /or Communist parties. This transformation lies in the complete or partial subordination of the market to a national plan, such transformation has involved regime change with the social democrat and communist parties taking power at the macro political level. Are NSM capable of achieving a similar transformation involving a reconstitution of capitalist governmentality. The question is do they weaken the dominance of the state over capitalist society by subjecting the market to a new form of social control (without planning).

NSMs typically attract disillusioned members and would be members of social democrat and communist parties who detach themselves from these parties. Sometimes this leads to the formation of “far left parties - Syrzia Podermus” MAS etc. NSMs have often shown themselves capable of creating what Gramsci called “a crisis of hegemony, a crisis of the state (Gramsci 1971, p210) reflecting a distancing of the ruling elite’s preferred policy options from the aspirations of the multitude - a weakening of elite social hegemony. But

¹⁸ 15-M refused to all political parties and trade unions to participate in its demonstrations in 2010 and 2011

in Gramsci's view this weakening of ruling elites hegemony has often been exploited by "charismatic men of destiny" (Gramsci 1971, p212) who seize power. It does not lead to a dissolution of macro-political structures of power. If nothing is provided to fill the macro-political vacuum created by the NSMs the multitude tends to relapse into apathy and disillusion, as has happened after the Arab-Spring, the anti war movement, the climate justice movement and the 'occupy' uprisings.

As against this major mass struggles against capitalist injustice in the 1880s and 1890s, and at the end of the First World War and during 1945-49 in China did lead to desired regime change - the rise of social democrats and communism as forces contesting (and often capturing) state power. The lesson seems to be that the struggles of the multitude (NSMs) are less robust than the mass struggles of the proletariat¹⁹ and this is because of a lack of strategy (or strategies) to overwhelm macro political power. NSMs do not succeed in institutionalizing the power that has been seized even at the more political level let alone developing a capacity to challenge the macro organization of power Within a few years, after the upsurge the social base formed by an NSM are reabsorbed within capitalist social and state structures. NGOs usually play an important role in negotiating such reabsorption.

As noted above NSMs do sometimes provide a social base for parties - such as Syrzia, PODEmos MAS etc. – but these too are usually subsumed within capitalist state structures, as the Greek 2015 debt crises resolution and the 2016 and subsequent Spanish election have shown. "Far left" and NSM mass mobilization since Seattle 1999 have not led to a destruction of capitalist state structure or a transformation of liberal democracy. The mass mobilization of the "Arab Spring" in 2011 and the Ukraine uprising of 2014 have neither transformed society nor led to the coming into power of non-neoliberal regimes²⁰.

¹⁹ Recently, proletarian movements - the French pension strikes, the Chicago teachers strike, the British The lead strikes of 2014-15 have been modeled on the LSM and have typically been the one day strike to articulate protest. They have also not led to regime change.

²⁰ And in the Arab World the dominance of the state over civil society has increased.

NSMs do not typically contest capitalist hegemony at the macro political level explicitly “Multitudinous” movements usually fail to construct a collective subjectivity and “no strategy without strategist” emerges from such a struggle. The multitude today – including the proletariat – represents a ‘precariat’ which because of the precariousness of its constituents lacks the potential will for collective coherence and even at the micro-political level.

NSMs reject the party form as an organizational structure. This rejection of both the Leninist and the open broad based Social Democratic organizational structure - is based on the assumption that movements of the multitude will spontaneously generates resources for reordering social and political relationships and overcoming capitalist dominance. Again this expectation has not been validated by historical experience anywhere in the world.

Actually this re-absorption process reflects the influence NSMs have within capitalist societies and state. Both, the environmental and feminist NSMs have been socially and politically influential. Thus neoliberalism has promoted the objectification of women’s bodies (through the media and advertising industries) as evidence of women’s liberation (Orr 2007). Women have been liberated from domestic life by increased subordination to capitalist enterprise especially in the rapidly growing entertainment industry. Female empowerment is empowerment as subjects of capital Feminism is a typical NSM which fragments the multitude through intersectionality; it cannot effectively challenge capitalist power at the micro or macro political level. Undermining patriarchy and the socio-cultural role of the family (specially the joint family system) has not seriously dented capitalist power (Harman 1980, p221).

On the other hand there is little doubt that feminist and environmentalist NSMs have reduced capitalist injustices. In most developed countries women’s income share and their access to the labour market have improved and steps are being taken in national and international policy making to reduce carbon emission and avoid other forms of

environmental degradation. Despite this feminist and environmental movements are no instruments for transforming capitalist relations of production (Zizek 2006,361-364)

As Bensaid has shown system hegemony cannot be achieved by ignoring macro political struggle (Bensaid 2013, p106). NSM theorists are called “autonomists” because they postulate macro power dissolution to occur as an unintended consequence of social mobilization and therefore the constitution of an antagonistic capitalist collectivity through well articulated social engineering is not seen as required.

NSMs fail to recognise that Neoliberalism has remodelled capitalist subjectivity in a manner which subverts collective consciousness. The postmodern subject of capital rejects grand narrative and is a decentered fragmented “entrepreneur of the self” awkwardly at home in “a society of the spectacle” (Dardot and Laval 2014). Alienation is attempted to be overcome by the identification of the individual with the enterprise through the elimination of difference between capitalist subjectivity and the enterprise through which capital is served (Dardot and Laval 2014, Kindle location 103.6088.6261.6276). Neo liberalism has transformed the individual into “human capital”. It is true that Neoliberalism’s transformation of subjectivity is incomplete and inherently unstable²¹ but NSMs seem to lack any coherent strategy for exploiting the weaknesses.

The inability of NSMs to transform New liberal order reflects its inability to transform neoliberal capitalist subjectivity. The postmodern subject of capital struggles against neoliberal - discipline austerity, globalization nuclear war - but remains committed to the life style it fosters - individualism autonomy, consumerism - Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida - celebrate the emergence of this subjectivity and its reconstitution is not an any NSM agenda with rare and questionable exceptions²². Teitze and Humphireys are right when they assert that in NSMs “ordinary people take action to change society in their own interests” (Teitze

²¹ As reflected for example in the Brexit vote which illustrated differences between elite and mass perspectives. Arguably the majority did not vote as enterprise men.

²² Such transformation has been achieved in some Latin American countries - Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru - but it appears that a relapse into neoliberalism remains on the cards. In any case the movement which brought Chavez to power was not a typical NSM but was organized an insurrectionist lines making effective use of armed struggle (Gonzalez 2014)

and Humphreys 2015, p192) but these ‘interests’ are on the one hand the interests of neoliberal capitalist subjects and on the other they are not sustainably collectivised through multitudinous mobilization. Neoliberal order is therefore not politically or socially undermined and NSMs remain rooted in the postmodern neoliberal life world and system.

When avowedly “anti-political” NSMs abstain from struggles against the state, they endorse Foucault’s conception of the positivity of power presuming that its reconfiguration will occur automatically from macro political struggles against specific forms of capitalist dominance. But when specific dominances are reduced lean Management taken the place of Taylorist management for example, macro political capitalist power is strengthened in its existing neoliberal form (Boltanski and Chiappello 2007) not despite but because of the fragmentation of neoliberal capitalist society which the NSMs reflect and their ideologues celebrate. The state remains ‘fetishdirect’ (Halloway 2002) and subject to commodified exchange. NSMs do not challenge capitalism macro power and remain in Marxist’s words “a plaything in (its) hands” (Marx 2005, p259). That Syriza and Podemos and Die Linke and MAS have succumbed to representative democracy and subsequent compromises with neoliberal order represents NSMs intrinsic inability to subvert neoliberalism’s macro-political power. Even when NSMs abandon “anti-politics” and provide a mass base for genuine radical political movements of the multitude they are gradually absorbed into neoliberal macro political structures (Garganas 2015). NSMs create and temporarily sustain the illusion that this power will deconstruct or reconfigure itself within postmodern society without the appearance of a new collective subject.

NSMs protest (against specific forms of capitalist injustice without delegitimizing capitalist rationality to which the overwhelming majority of the postmodern subjects of capital remain committed and to which Syriza and Podemos have to submit. As a consequence of such struggles neoliberal order is not transformed into social democracy or communism.

Conclusion

As we have stressed throughout this paper this does not mean that NSMs cannot redress specific capitalist injustices - expressed in specific capitalist dominance. Capitalism promises to deliver equalizing freedom to all its subject, neoliberal order's enduring weaknesses is as its critics from John Rawls to Istavan Merzaros to Paul Krugman reiterate - in its continuing generation of inequalities in the market in civil society (sexism, racism) and in the political sphere. These inequalities have today created an existential risk for mankind by fuelling multi-dimensional environmental crises.

NSMs protest against capitalist injustice - neoliberalism's inability to generate and sustain equalizing abundance. This is also true for social democrat and proletarian movements but unlike them NSMs cannot produce an antagonistic capitalist subjectivity. NSms can effectively resist specific forms of capitalist dominances - environmental depletion racism, denial of human rights to LEBTQs - but they cannot prove the way for a dissolution of neoliberal capitalist order or for its systemic re-structuring by the subordination of the market to a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' or a 'communitarian' state which escapes or subverses the discipline of the globalisect capitalist political economy.

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