

# ELEMENTS FOR A LOGIC OF STRUGGLES

political economy of social conflict



$$\bar{B} = \delta B + \text{int}(B)$$

4 . 2022

# SUMMARY

- Ø. case-study
- I. interaction
- II. boundary
- III reproduction
- IV. residue



## **Escolas de Luta** (Baderna)

A. Campos, J. Medeiros & M. Ribeiro



- Vamos ocupar as escolas!

## **A Escola é Nossa!** (doc, 24 min)

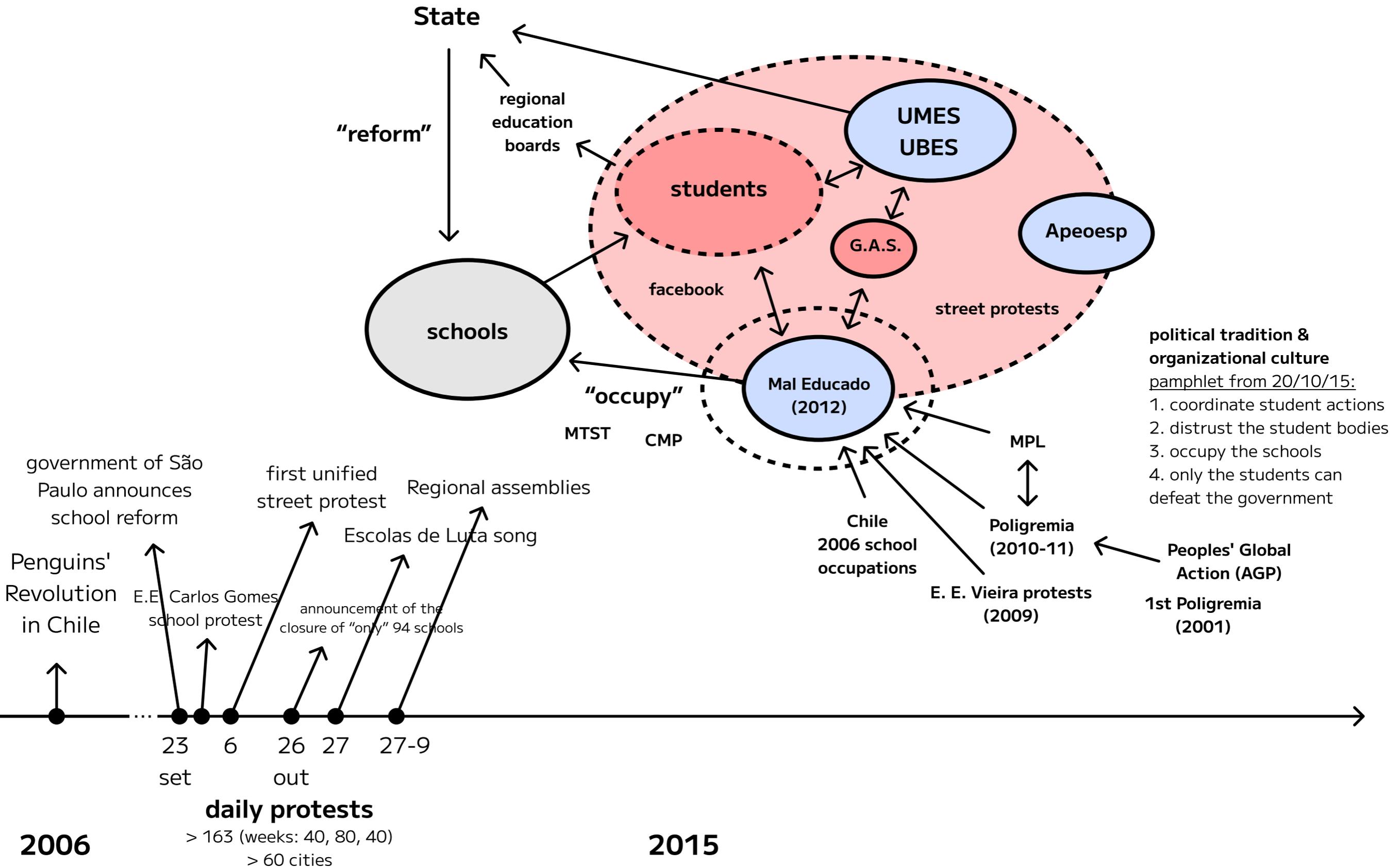
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vaT6KpdU1KU>



# Escolas de Luta de São Paulo (doc, 9 min)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f36AERXUuD8>

# SCHOOL OCCUPATIONS IN SÃO PAULO (2015-2016)





**Protest against school "reorganization"**  
(Av. Paulista - 9 oct, 2015)

# COMO OCUPAR UM COLÉGIO?

Manual escrito por estudantes secundaristas da Argentina e Chile



A luta dos estudantes não começou agora, e está longe de terminar. Em 2006 e 2011, o Chile viveu a "Revolta dos Pinguins", um movimento imenso de estudantes secundaristas que exigia uma educação pública gratuita e de qualidade. Durante meses, as escolas do país inteiro foram ocupadas pelos alunos – que entravam, tomavam o prédio, montavam acampamentos, e ali ficavam dia e noite como forma de protesto, até as reivindicações serem atendidas.

As ocupações começaram nas escolas onde as turmas estavam mais engajadas na luta, mas o exemplo serviu de inspiração para estudantes de mais lugares, e rapidamente quase todos os colégios do Chile foram tomadas pelos alunos.

Essas ocupações serviam para por medo no governo e chamar atenção da mídia, mas também para aumentar a força e a organização do movimento secundarista. Nos pátios, os alunos faziam assembleias regulares para discutir os rumos da luta. Essas assembleias eram coordenadas em toda cidade, permitindo que fossem feitas manifestações simultâneas e também grandes atos unificados.

Já pensou se fizessemos igual em São Paulo? Para aprendermos com nossos companheiros de outros países, traduzimos alguns trechos do manual sobre "Como ocupar um colégio?", escrito por estudantes da Argentina durante seu movimento.

**MAL-EDUCADO**  
<http://gremiolivre.wordpress.com>

## 2. ORGANIZAÇÃO DA OCUPAÇÃO

Com esse texto não queremos nada mais que tentar deixar mais fácil o caminho para os companheiros que estão começando suas lutas agora. Textos como esse são os que nos fizeram falta durante os momentos de luta para evitar que conflitos dentro dos grêmios nos distraíssem dos problemas que são realmente importantes em um período de ocupação.

Não existe fórmula secreta nem perfeita para ocupar um colégio. Simplesmente é necessário seguir alguns princípios básicos, ter clareza sobre como se organizar e ajearitar o que foi planejado à conjuntura geral, à correlação de forças, etc.

Uma vez decidida e votada a ocupação do colégio pela totalidade dos estudantes, é primordial e "obrigatório" que se discuta como se organizará todo o processo de ocupação, para garantir que todas as tarefas sejam cumpridas no prazo e da forma proposta, sempre respeitando a democracia direta.

Para que se respeite a democracia e se garanta o cumprimento das tarefas, é preciso dividi-las de alguma maneira. O mais prático e recomendável é que a assembleia geral nomeie comissões para cada tema específico, que fiquem responsáveis de supervisionar e cumprir as tarefas designadas para elas.

As seguintes comissões são básicas e não devem faltar em nenhum processo de ocupação:

**COMIDA** - É a comissão encarregada de garantir comida para quem dormirá no colégio. Ou seja, ela deve se assegurar para que haja pelo menos jantar e café da manhã. Pode cuidar do almoço, mas como esse é um horário em que há mais pessoas entrando e saindo do colégio, é mais fácil conseguir alimentos do que nos horários em que o colégio fica fechado.

**SEGURANÇA** - É uma das comissões mais importantes. É a encarregada de cuidar do patrimônio da escola e dos ocupantes. Também é a encarregada de evitar qualquer tipo de briga ou descontrole entre os estudantes. Ela deve fazer as seguintes tarefas:

- Fechar os principais acessos à escola e garantir que sempre tenha alguém os vigiando;

- Impedir que qualquer pessoa não autorizada pela assembleia entre na ocupação (depende do que for decidido coletivamente: professores, autoridades, jornalistas, pais, alunos de outras escolas, alunos que possam representar uma ameaça, etc.) exceto durante a realização de atividades abertas. Durante todo o dia deve haver um grupo considerável de companheiros na entrada principal – no mínimo três – que anotem em uma lista quem entrou e saiu e o horário em que essas pessoas entraram e saíram. Com isso, há um controle que garante um número constante de pessoas na ocupação. Ao encerrar a ocupação, essa lista deve ser destruída, para que não caia em mãos de autoridades que possam chegar a utilizá-la contra os estudantes, fazendo "listas negras", punindo, expulsando, etc;

## 1. PLANO DE AÇÃO

O objetivo deste texto é explicar o plano de ação escolhido para a luta dos estudantes secundaristas da cidade. Nossa estratégia deve nos permitir vencer a luta por uma educação pública, gratuita e de qualidade. As ocupações massivas de colégios são uma das ferramentas dentro desta estratégia. Para ganhar, todos devem saber porquê brigamos, quando devemos atacar, quando é preciso recuar e quando é preciso dispersar. Se nunca atacamos, não seremos ouvidos, mas se também não dispersarmos no momento certo, vamos nos isolar e desgastar, e não conseguiremos o que queremos.

Começaremos com ocupações rápidas, que nos permitam usar nossas forças da forma mais efetiva possível. Não devemos nos desgastar no início da luta, além disso devemos deixar claro que não ocupamos as escolas porque queremos. Uma ocupação é sempre o último recurso, depois que todos os canais de diálogo e as outras formas de luta tiverem se esgotado. Não é nenhuma festa ter que dormir todos os dias no colégio, suportando as mentiras do governo e dos meios de comunicação que nos apresentam como vagabundos que não querem estudar. É por isso que ocupações devem ser relativamente curtas (por volta de uma semana), para abrir um canal de diálogo, e ver se o governo está disposto a atender nossas demandas.

Se depois das primeiras ocupações e das tentativas de negociação o governo insistir em suas políticas contra a educação pública, teremos que medir nossas forças novamente. Se sentirmos que somos mais fortes, que conseguimos convencer mais estudantes de que eles devem estar dispostos a ocupar seus colégios, então estará dada a possibilidade para um novo levante dos estudantes com dezenas de ocupações em toda a cidade. No entanto, se vemos que não temos forças suficientes para ocupar as escolas, seria um erro ir para o tudo ou nada. A ocupação não é um fim em si mesma, é só uma ferramenta a mais dentro de um plano de luta maior. O nosso objetivo final é frear o avanço governamental sobre a nossa educação, não ocupar por ocupar. Por isso, se não temos condições para ocupar, temos que encontrar outras maneiras para defender nossa educação, com travamentos de ruas, marchas, jornadas culturais, debates abertos com nossos pais, etc.



- Geralmente as autoridades são avisadas da possível ocupação da escola e podem chegar a "entrincheirar-se" (ficar esperando os alunos lá) na diretoria, secretaria, etc. Isso deve ser evitado a todo custo, tendo em conta que nesses espaços é que estão os documentos dos estudantes nos quais as autoridades podem efetuar as sanções/advertências/suspensões/expulsões e fazê-las constar em ata;

- Evitar o uso de álcool, drogas, armas ou qualquer outro elemento proibido pela assembleia. Isso pode ser garantido evitando a entrada desses materiais, proibindo seu uso dentro da ocupação ou até descartando esses materiais; Essa comissão não tem outra tarefa além de cumprir o que foi deliberado pela assembleia em relação ao tema da segurança. Em relação a casos de violência (tanto internos quanto externos) não se deve tomar uma posição de entrar na briga. Ao contrário, utilizando métodos fraternais, deve-se tentar acalmar os ânimos o máximo possível.

- **IMPRESSA** - É encarregada de divulgar a ocupação para os meios de comunicação, outras escolas/universidades e para quem se considerar necessário. No caso dos meios de comunicação, deve-se chamar os meios selecionados, informando-os da ocupação e pedindo um número de celular para mandar uma nota (por mais bobo que isso pareça, ajuda bastante na difusão das razões da ocupação e da luta em si).

Assim que for feita a ocupação, essa comissão deve também redigir um comunicado no qual se explique suas razões e os motivos que os levaram a este ponto. O comunicado deve ser difundido por todos os meios possíveis (email, Facebook, meios de comunicação, etc). É primordial ressaltar que o comunicado deve se ater ao que foi decidido na assembleia, sem a interferência de interesses pessoais ou partidários.

Outra ferramenta de divulgação da ocupação são os cartazes, para colar na fachada da escola com as reivindicações da luta que está sendo feita ali.

contra a "reorganização" da rede estadual!



SE FECHAR, VAMOS OCUPAR!

**ASSEMBLEIAS** - A assembleia é o órgão mais importante durante uma ocupação. As decisões mais importantes devem passar por ela e ser discutidas nela. É importante que se incentive a participação de todos os estudantes e não só dos mais experientes. Isso pode ser alcançado decidindo com antecedência um conjunto de temas para serem discutidos, para que dessa forma os companheiros com menos experiência tenham mais tempo para elaborar suas posições.



Se esse conjunto de assuntos é extenso e os debates são chatos e longos, o melhor é colocar um limite de tempo (3 a 5 minutos) para cada intervenção/fala. Devem ter dois moderadores: um que controle o tempo da intervenção/fala e avise quando o tempo terminou ou se a discussão está

fugindo do tema e um outro que faça uma lista de quem deseja falar e anote as decisões tiradas na assembleia. Outra pessoa deve fazer a ata, um registro detalhado da assembleia. Como é algo que pode ser chato e entediante, esse posto pode ser rotativo.

Na primeira assembleia (quando se decide a ocupação) é conveniente que seja votada uma série de reivindicações e demandas. Com isso, se evitam confusões e se tornam claros os objetivos da ocupação.

**ATIVIDADES** - É recomendável que durante o dia sejam realizadas atividades na ocupação com a participação de alunos, professores, pais e todos os que apoiem a ocupação. Essas atividades podem ser decididas tanto por companheiros com experiência quanto por professores ou por pessoas que não sejam da escola (familiares, conhecidos, etc). Algo a ser levado em conta é que tendo mais gente na ocupação durante o dia se reduz muito a possibilidade de algum tipo de agressão à ocupação por parte das autoridades.

Essas atividades podem tanto ser recreativas quanto de formação: podem ser conversas sobre algum tema de interesse ou também pintar cartazes, murais, paredes, grafittis, oficinas de desenhos, o que se desejar. Finalmente, mas não menos importante, é durante esse período de atividades que os companheiros mais atarefados e presentes na ocupação possam relaxar e descansar, diminuindo o esgotamento e cansaço deles.

”

(Documento publicado pela Frente de Estudantes Libertários - Argentina em 2012. Traduzido e adaptado pelo coletivo O Mal Educado.)

## E NO BRASIL?

estudantes ocupam escola no Mato Grosso do Sul e impedem seu fechamento

Pode parecer distante, mas não é só em outros países que os estudantes tomam as escolas para fazer suas lutas. Aqui no Brasil isso já aconteceu algumas vezes, como no Mato Grosso do Sul em 2012.



Para impedir que o Governo do Estado entregasse a escola ao município, os estudantes da E.E. Prof. Luiz Carlos Sampaio se uniram e decidiram ocupar o colégio como forma de protesto. Entraram no prédio, montaram acampamento, e ali ficaram por dias, até que o governador recuasse. A ocupação logo chamou atenção da mídia, pôs medo no Estado e conquistou o apoio dos demais trabalhadores da cidade, que passaram a se solidarizar com os estudantes. A pressão deu certo: no final, a escola se manteve.

exemplo para nossa luta de São Paulo



A vitória desse colégio no Mato Grosso do Sul é um exemplo para todos os estudantes que estão hoje lutando em São Paulo. Porque prova que com organização coletiva e ousadia é possível impedir o fechamento de escolas, e barrar a "reorganização" que o Governo Alckmin quer impor. **Se eles fizeram lá, podemos fazer também aqui.**

**INFORMAÇÃO** - É a encarregada de difundir a informação dentro da ocupação. Ou seja, deve divulgar as resoluções tomadas pela assembleia para todos os estudantes, assim como informes dos meios de comunicação sobre o processo de ocupação. Dessa forma todos tem acesso à informação, igualando o nível de discussão de todos os companheiros e possibilitando um processo realmente democrático e igualitário. Deve também informar os horários e salas das atividades caso essas sejam atividades que todos possam participar.

**LIMPEZA** - É a encarregada de limpar o estabelecimento (varrer, lavar, etc.). Deve utilizar os utensílios que os funcionários emprestem ou, caso não possam emprestá-los, devem consegui-los em suas casas ou onde for possível. É importante não só limpar, mas também evitar que os companheiros sujem o espaço, para reduzir o esforço coletivo de limpar grandes estabelecimentos, além de que um espaço muito sujo prejudica a imagem do movimento. Como é uma tarefa que a maioria não quer fazer, o melhor é incentivar a rotatividade de integrantes nessa comissão.

**RELAÇÕES EXTERNAS** - É um tema importante, sobretudo para evitar que organizações, grupos ou partidos se apropriem da luta, passando por cima da decisão dos estudantes. É necessário proibir práticas que só tenham como objetivo "ganhar ibope" à custa do movimento ou o movimento pode perder sua legitimidade e se esvaziar ao tentarem impor uma bandeira externa.

Para falar com os meios de comunicação, a assembleia deve eleger um ou dois delegados revogáveis (de preferência com mais de 18 anos, para evitar inconvenientes com a lei) que possam comunicar apenas o decidido pela assembleia, sem emitir opiniões pessoais ou de seus grupos.

Para falar com as autoridades (da escola ou externas, como a polícia) devem ser eleitos também um ou dois delegados revogáveis. Esses, depois da discussão, devem transmitir tudo o que foi discutido para a assembleia. Se não o fizerem devem ser trocados. Todas as propostas que surgirem por parte das autoridades devem ser discutidas em assembleia antes de tomar qualquer decisão.

É desejável gravar as reuniões com as autoridades para evitar qualquer tipo de agressão ou ameaça. Devem ser escolhidos também um ou dois delegados para ir às assembleias das escolas vizinhas para dar informações sobre a ocupação, trazendo depois informes das outras escolas para a ocupação.



# Manual: How to occupy a school?

(translated in 2013 by Mal Educado from argentinian "Frente de Estudantes Libertarios" pamphlet)

**FOICE:** "Salve, salve Martelo!"

**MARTELO:** "E aí, Foice, firme mano?"

**FOICE:** "Firme, não né, tio! Cê é loko, o Alckmin aí fudendo com os estudantes, mano!"

**MARTELO:** "Cê é loko, eu ouvi dizer, né mano, vai fechar uma pá de escola. O cara fecha escola e abre cela, não tô nem entendendo, tio! Mas é isso, eu ouvi dizer que os estudante tá tudo organizado, né não?"

"O Estado veio quente  
Nóis já tá fervendo (x2)

Quer desafiar

Não tô entendendo

Mexeu com estudante

Vocês vão sair perdendo  
(por quê?)

O Fernão é Escola de Luta

Andronico é Escola de Luta

Ana Rosa é Escola de Luta

Fica preparado

Que se fecha

Nóis ocupa

(vai, vai)

Antonio Viana é Escola de Luta

Salim Maluf é Escola de Luta

EE Julieta é Escola de Luta

Fica preparado

Que se fecha

Nóis ocupa

[...]"

**FOICE:** "Estudante tudo zica, mano, só na luta autônoma organizada, nós têm que incentivar essa porra, tio."

**MARTELO:** "É isso, tio, é nós por nós, né mano? Porque tá fudendo pro nosso lado, se nós não se organizar, mano, cê é loko, tio. Mas é isso, o recado é esse né não? Pra cada escola que ele fechar nós vai ocupar é duas, tio."

**FOICE:** "Cê é loko, não podemos deixar os companheiros pra trás não, mano. Cê é loko, nenhuma escola a menos."

**MARTELO:** "É isso, tio, nenhuma escola a menos, carralho!"



**SICKLE:** "Yo, yo Hammer!"

**HAMMER:** "What's up, Scythe, steady bro?"

**SICKLE:** "Steady, no, dude! Shit is crazy, Alckmin is fucking with the students, bro!"

**HAMMER:** "Crazy, I heard, man, he's closing a lot of schools. The guy closes schools and opens cells, I don't even understand, dude! But I heard that the students are all organized, right?"

"The State came burning

We're already boiling (x2)

Wanna challenge

I don't understand

If you mess with students

You're gonna end up losing  
(why?)

Fernão is a Struggle School

Andronico is a Struggle School

Ana Rosa is a Struggle School

Be prepared

because if it closes

We occupy

(go, go)

Antonio Viana is a Struggle School

Salim Maluf is Struggle School

EE Julieta is a Struggle School

Be prepared

because if it closes

We occupy

[...]"

**SICKLE:** "Students are all angry, bro, it's the organized autonomous struggle, we have to encourage this shit, man."

**HAMMER:** "That's right, man, it's us for us, right brother? Because it's fucking up our side, if we don't get organized, man, shit is crazy, man. But that's it.

This is the message, isn't it? For every school he closes we're going to occupy two, Uncle.

**SICKLE:** "It's crazy, we can't leave our comrades behind, bro. Yo, not one school less.

**HAMMER:** "That's right, uncle, no one less school, dammit!"



**Escolas de Luta - MC Foice e Martelo (song, 3 min)**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QvdrLD1RbTI>



**E. E. Fernão Dias**



**E.E. Diadema (CEFAM) - Diadema Sp**

**E. E. Diadema**

*"How does the governor want a reorganization when not even what there is is organized?"*

(manifesto of the occupants of EE Clotilde Peluso)



*"against the reorganization, occupy your school"*



*"schools occupied, against the dismantling of education"*



**E. E. Marilza Garbosa Francisco**





## Comissions - E.E. Castro Alves (ZN)

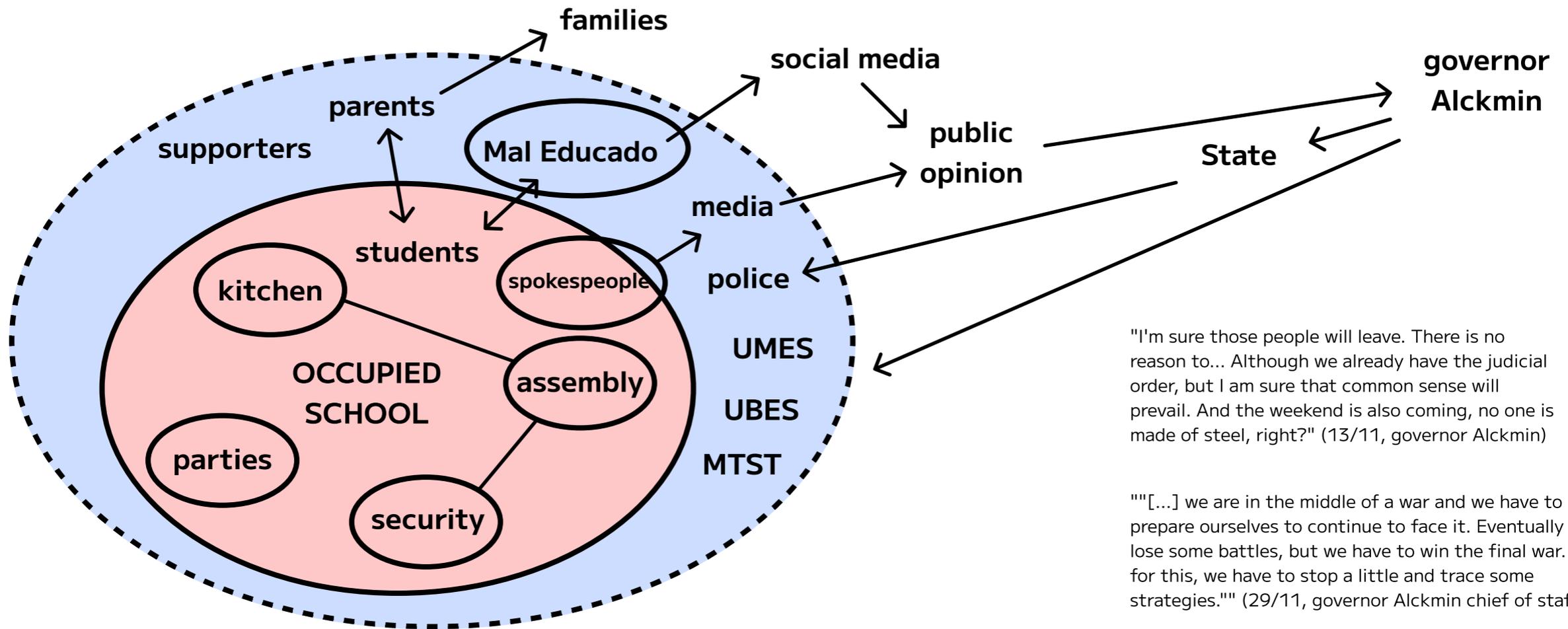
Renata Armelin

EE SELMA MARIA MARTINS CUNHA - FACEBOOK - 11/30/15]

"Tomorrow the OCCUPIED school will be 'open' and with activities to receive the students of the school, parents, mothers and the community. The purpose of the occupation is not to close the school and prevent the access of people, but to prove that students can make a better school. Here is the **schedule** for tomorrow, November 1, 2015:

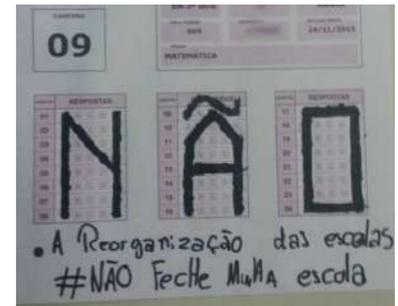
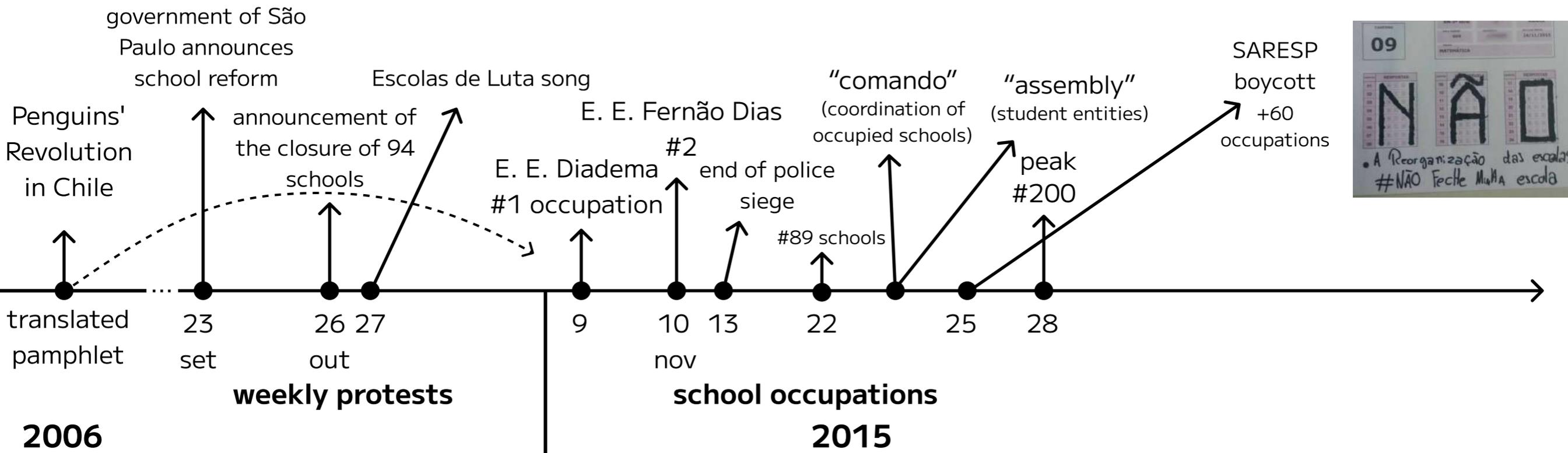
- 7am to 8am - Assembly of the students in occupation.
- 8:00 am - Entrance released to students and community.
- 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. - Open court / cleaning of hallways and courtyard.
- 12:00 pm to 1:00 pm - Lunch (donations are needed).
- 1:00 pm to 2:00 pm - freestyle rhyming.
- 2:00 pm to 4:00 pm - Open Court / Music circle.
- 4:00 pm to 4:30 pm - Afternoon coffee (we need donations).
- 4:30pm to 6pm - Debate: sexism and feminism (with students from of Ufscar).
- 6pm - School closing.
- 6pm to 7pm - Assembly of the students in occupation.
- 19h00 - Dinner (we need donation)."

# SCHOOL OCCUPATIONS IN SÃO PAULO (2015-2016)



"I'm sure those people will leave. There is no reason to... Although we already have the judicial order, but I am sure that common sense will prevail. And the weekend is also coming, no one is made of steel, right?" (13/11, governor Alckmin)

"[...] we are in the middle of a war and we have to prepare ourselves to continue to face it. Eventually we lose some battles, but we have to win the final war. So, for this, we have to stop a little and trace some strategies." (29/11, governor Alckmin chief of staff)





## **Comando das Escolas Ocupadas**

# MANUAL DE COMO TRAVAR UMA AVENIDA

Estamos entrando na 4ª semana de ocupação e já são mais de 200 escolas sob o domínio estudantil! Mas o governo decidiu fingir que nada está acontecendo. Temos que tirar o conforto do Seu Geraldo. Se não dermos um passo radical agora podemos perder o tempo e a luta, ou eles vencem ou nós. Com duzentas ocupações podemos fazer centenas de atos e trancamentos de ruas pela cidade. Se o governo não recuar, São Paulo vai parar!



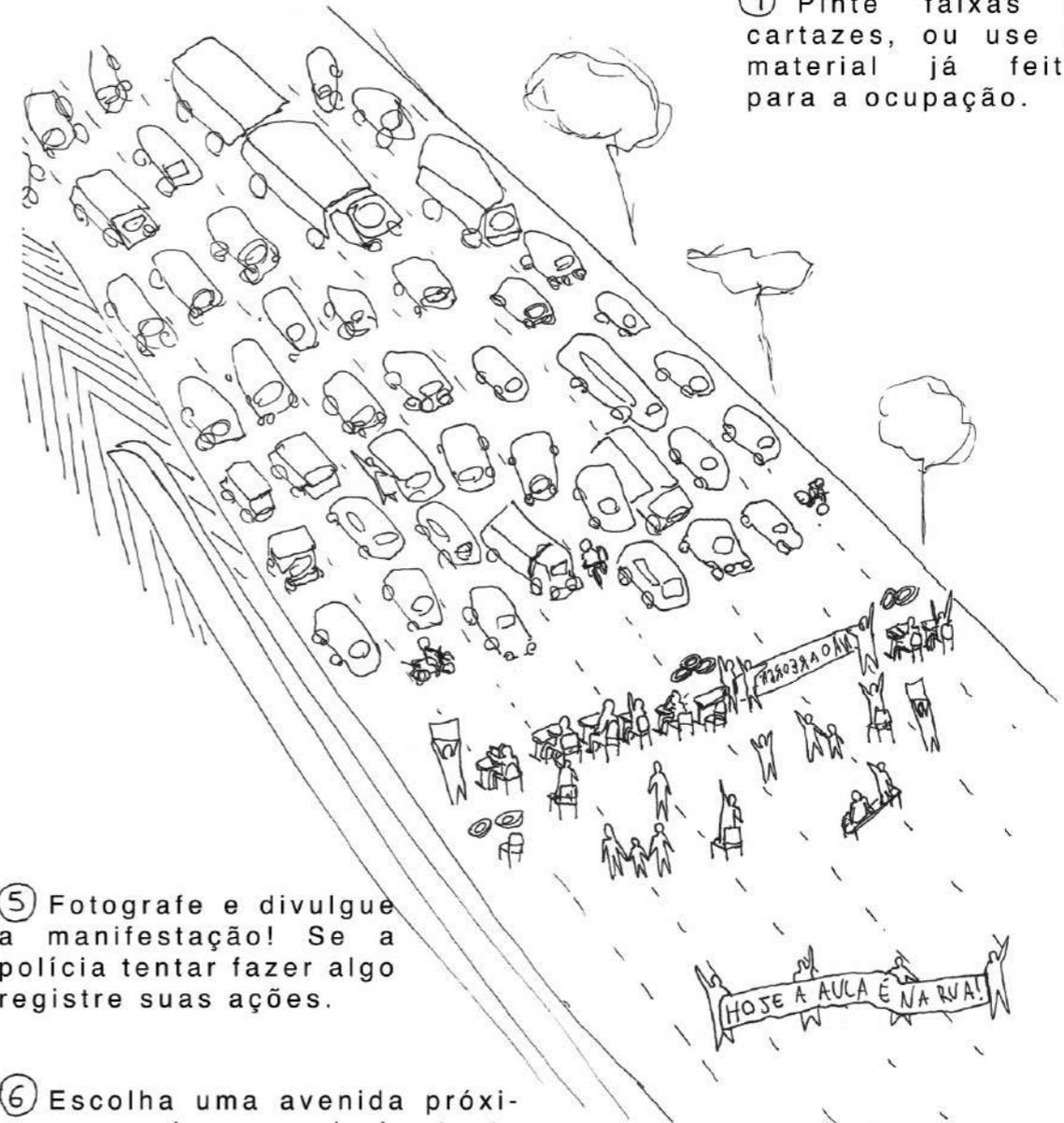
① Convoque todos os alunos, pais, professores, apoiadores e comunidade para a frente da escola. Se houver poucas pessoas, combine um ato com outras ocupas, mas o mais importante não é quantidade, é disposição (10 pessoas já conseguem travar uma rua!).



② Leve mesas e carteiras para o ato. Além de ajudar a bloquear a passagem dos carros, elas são o símbolo da nossa luta. Hoje a aula será na rua!

③ Não deixe a ocupação vazia. Garanta que um grupo de alunos e apoiadores fiquem na escola. Lembre-se, a polícia só pode entrar na ocupação com mandado judicial ou se presenciar um crime em flagrante. Fechar a rua não é crime.

④ Pinte faixas e cartazes, ou use o material já feito para a ocupação.



⑤ Fotografe e divulgue a manifestação! Se a polícia tentar fazer algo registre suas ações.

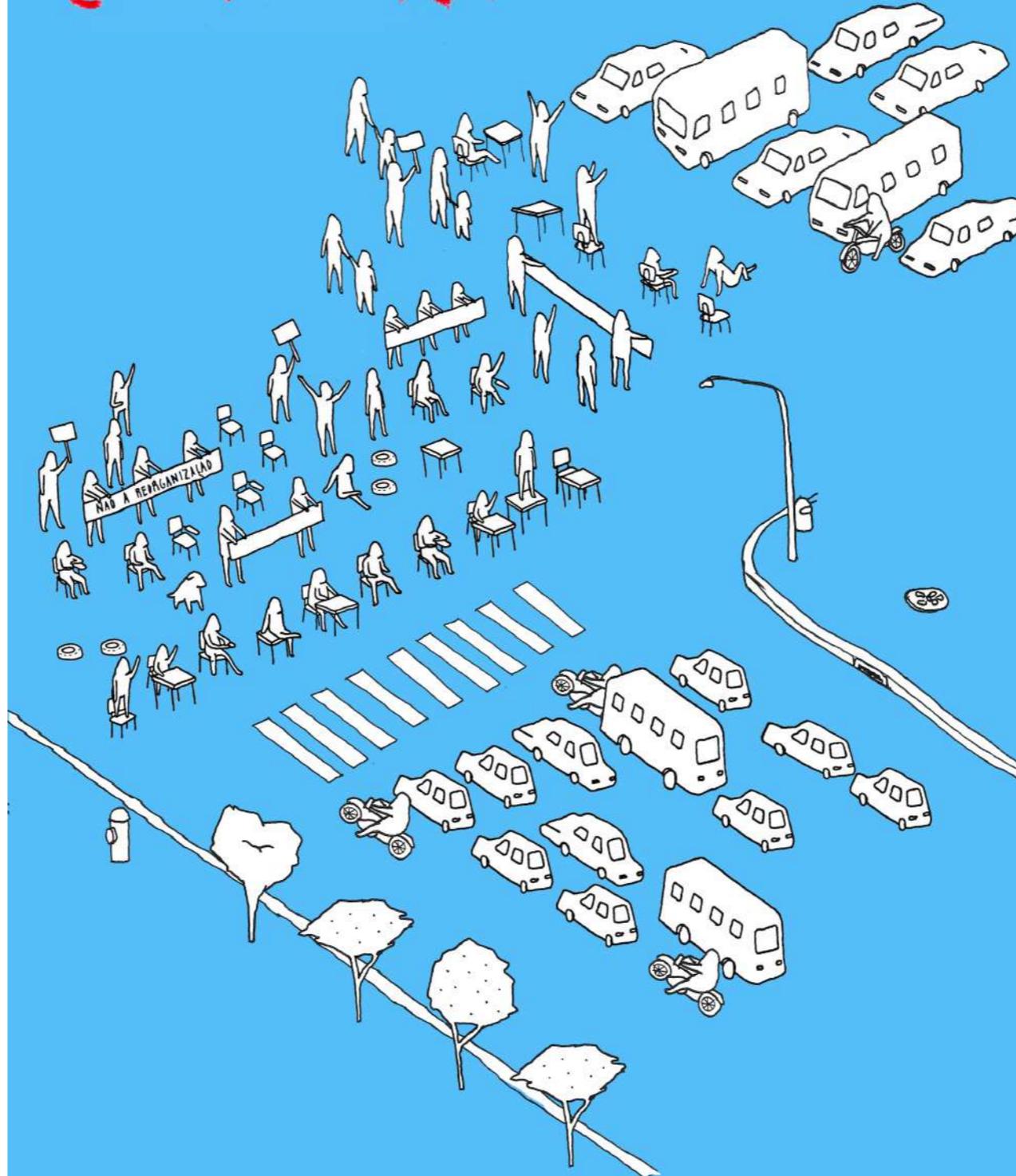
⑥ Escolha uma avenida próxima a escola que seja bastante movimentada. De preferência, faça o ato pela manhã, entre as 6 e às 9. Se for um cruzamento de duas avenidas, melhor ainda!

⑦ Repita o ato ao longo do dia, o importante é fazer o máximo de pressão possível!





AGORA A AULA  
É NA RUA!



*“now the class is in the street!”*



**HOJE A AULA É NA RUA**

**SE A ESCOLA FECHAR, A CIDADE VAI PARAR!**



**FIDELINO PRESENTE  
NA LUTA CONTRA  
A ESCOLA**



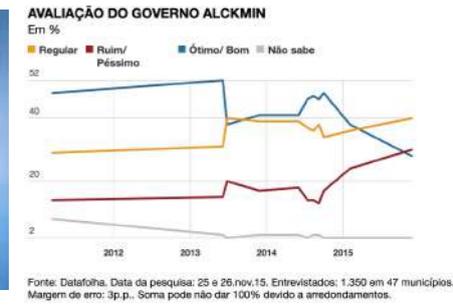
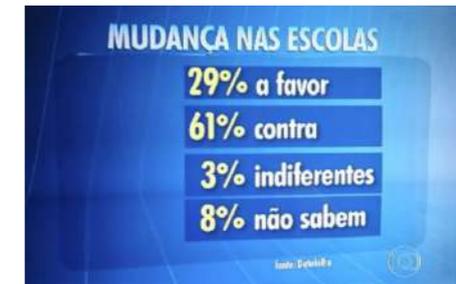
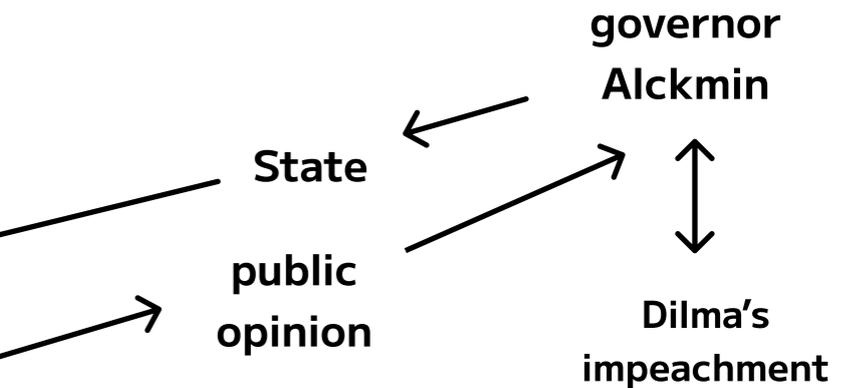
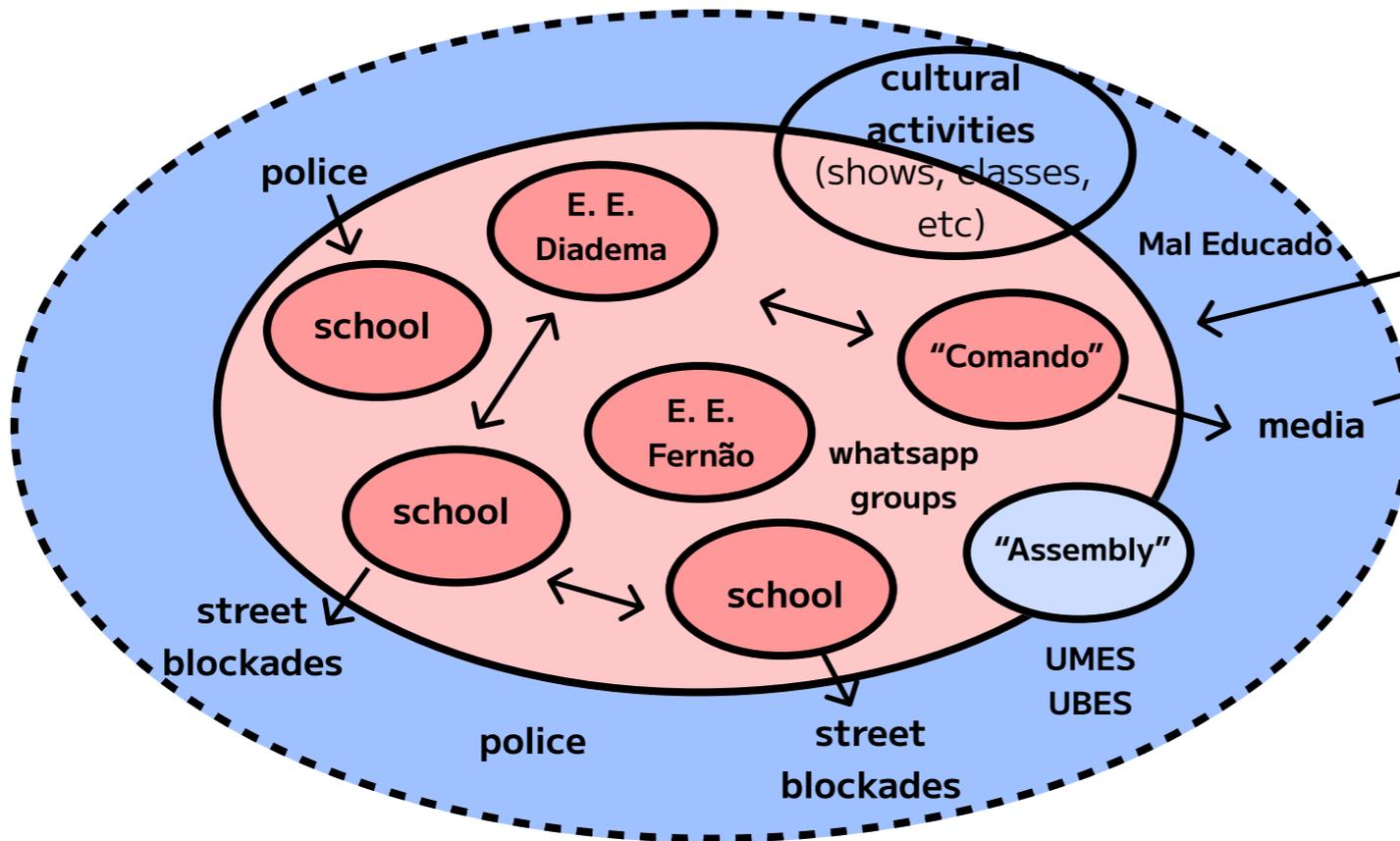
**[EE ANTONIO MANOEL - INTERVIEW - 11/30/15]**

"We went out in street protests. Street protests, street protests, street protests. All the regions did street protests. Street protests didn't work out, [...] they became the floor. Then we have to radicalize the fight, what do we do? Let's go and occupy the schools, occupying the schools was, like, a radical measure. Then we occupied the schools and then it became a big thing: 200 schools occupied.

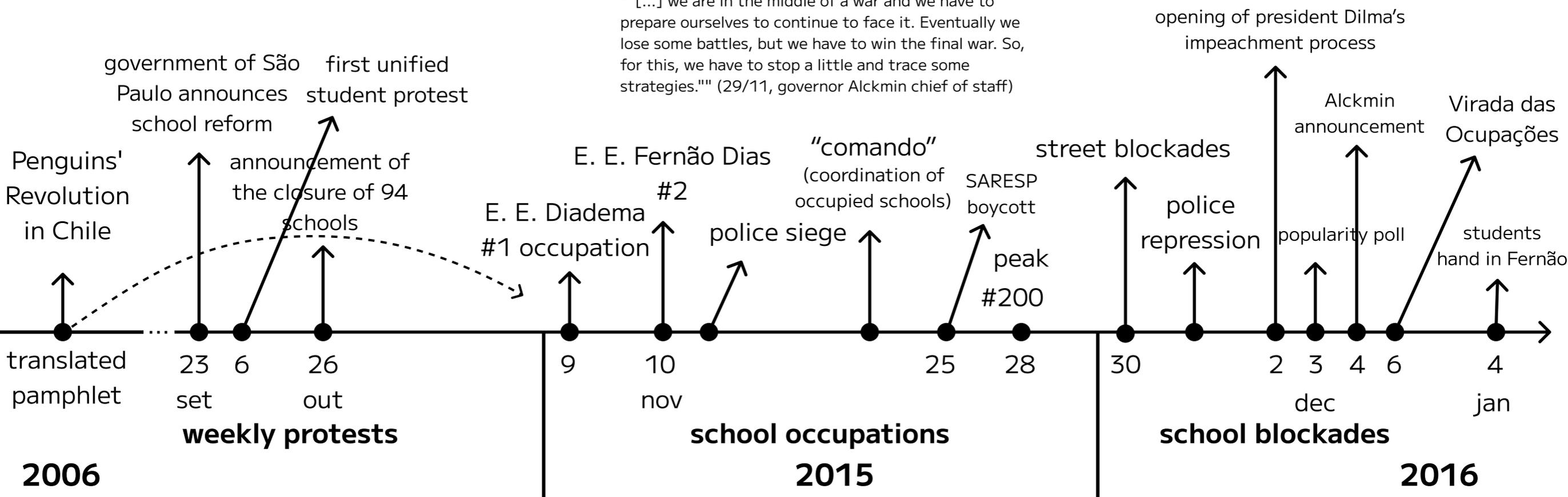
**Then occupying the school [...] you know, it became the floor.** What do we do, besides occupy the schools? And it is a question that we ask ourselves everyday, what are we going to do, what is the next step for us to radicalize more? Are we going to get the tires and set them on fire? It tough..."



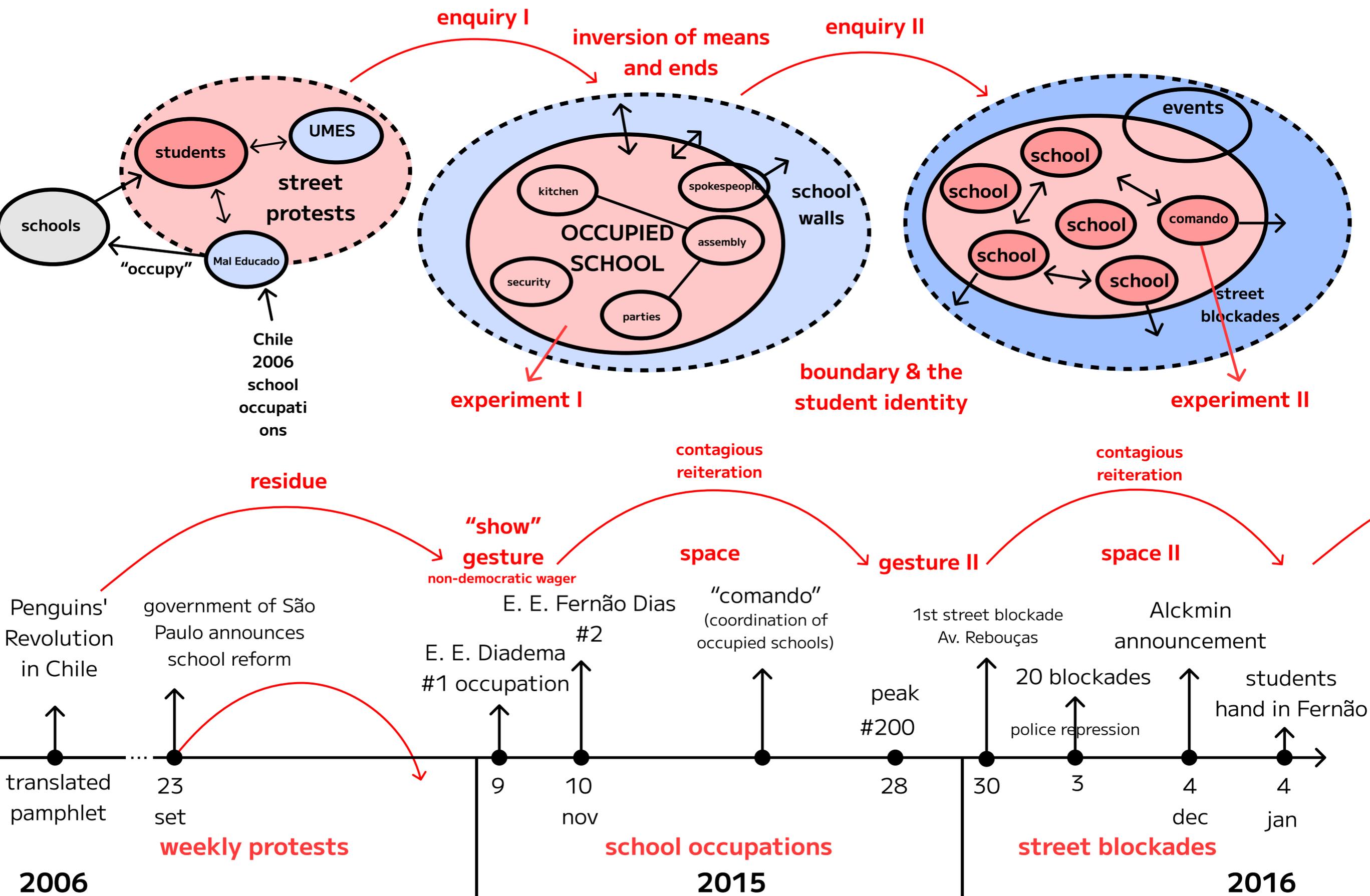
# SCHOOL OCCUPATIONS IN SÃO PAULO (2015-2016)



""[...] we are in the middle of a war and we have to prepare ourselves to continue to face it. Eventually we lose some battles, but we have to win the final war. So, for this, we have to stop a little and trace some strategies."" (29/11, governor Alckmin chief of staff)



# SCHOOL OCCUPATIONS IN SÃO PAULO (2015-2016)



**For us, in the secondary school movement, it seems that we are always starting.** On one hand, starting our political action; on the other hand, starting or resuming from scratch the organization of our political spaces. A good part of those who participated in student councils had to dedicate themselves, first, to their (re)construction. **The rhythm imposed by the three-year high school cycle is hostile to the formation of lasting student organizations.**

(...)

Breaking the cycle of eternal (re)beginning characteristic of secondary school struggles and organizations, both inside and outside the schools, **requires keeping alive their previous and contemporary experiences, relating past, present, and future of the movement.** That is, to see them as part of the same history, tracing their historical meaning. Without formulated continuity, actions become meaningless and it is almost impossible to build a collective identity [31].

The search for identity within oneself: a Polygremia of guilds

Now, Poligremia - a union of the Latin Poli- to the Portuguese Grêmios - should, by definition, seek the point of convergence, **a sense common to the experiences of these organizations.** But establishing the relationship between them is not such a clear or simple task, and **it is easy to miss how absurd it is to look outside the experience of the guilds for a meaning for their unity. In this way, the Poligremia gets lost in an absence of identity, which returns cyclically in moments of ebb and demobilization.**

This identity void was filled in early 2011 by the mobilizations against the raise. The involvement with a broader struggle and at first external to Poligremia temporarily provided the purpose that its actions lack.

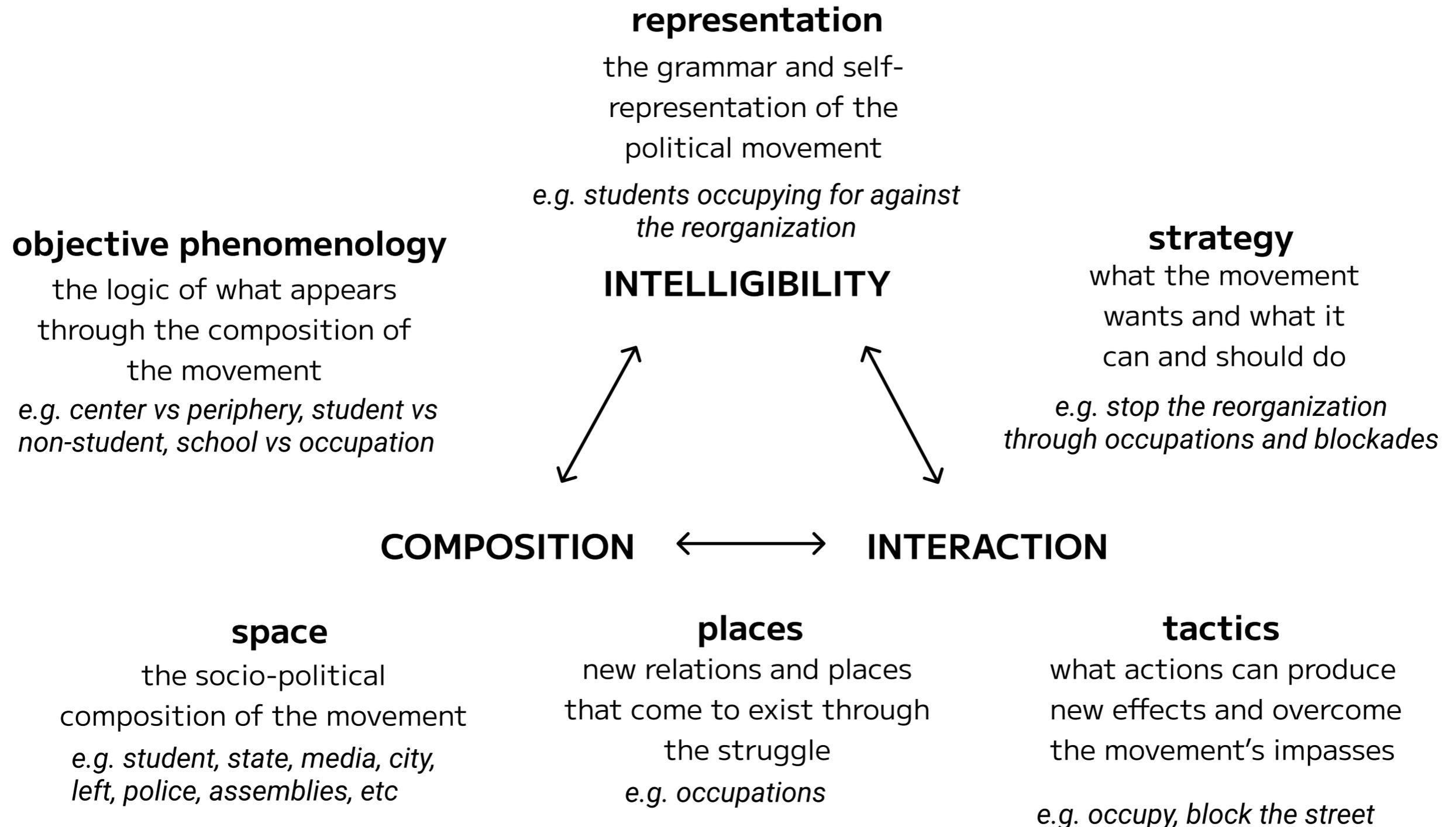
**The (non-)history of Polygremia has always been around temporary external agendas:** in 2001 and 2006 these were, respectively, the Peoples' Global Action and another fight against the fare raise. They have provided, with their concrete struggles, a meaning - alien and temporary - to the group. The great challenge is, however, to look for concrete struggles in the guilds, to appropriate our own experience. Without a defined relationship with the student councils, the Poligremia will always be a small group that tries to guess the demands of other students or impose projects of its own interest. It will always be **informally commanded by the ideas of a group of friends** or by a group that participates in another organization, larger and more structured, and that thus shares common political conceptions [33].

Already evident in the discussion raised with the but interrupted Letter of Beginnings were the unresolved problems of the confused relationship between the guilds and the Poligremia [34]. Without seeing itself as a meeting place for the guilds' struggles, but only as a place for periodic meetings of its members, it goes against any possibility of identity construction and continuity. Its bond with the guilds gradually loosens: **it empties itself into a Poligremia without guilds (!).** It ceases to assume, finally, the organization of students inside the schools - precisely that which has always defined their participation in this broader space - and becomes, at most, a group of friends, a political formation group, or worse, an inviting environment for partisan youth, but not a collective of school guilds.

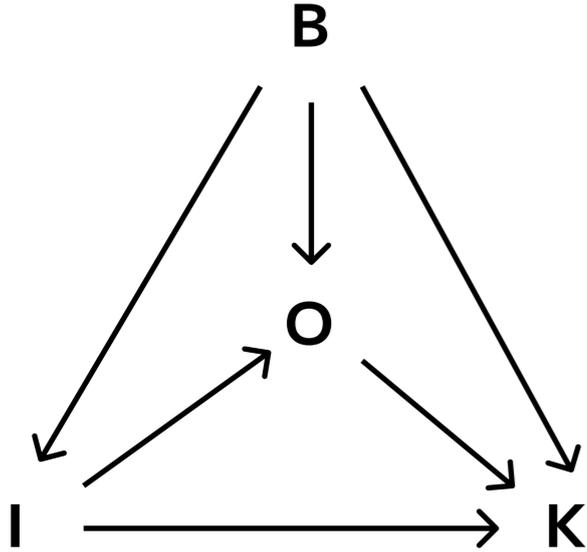
**The 'Poligremia' experience (2012)**

<https://passapalavra.info/2012/06/60822/>

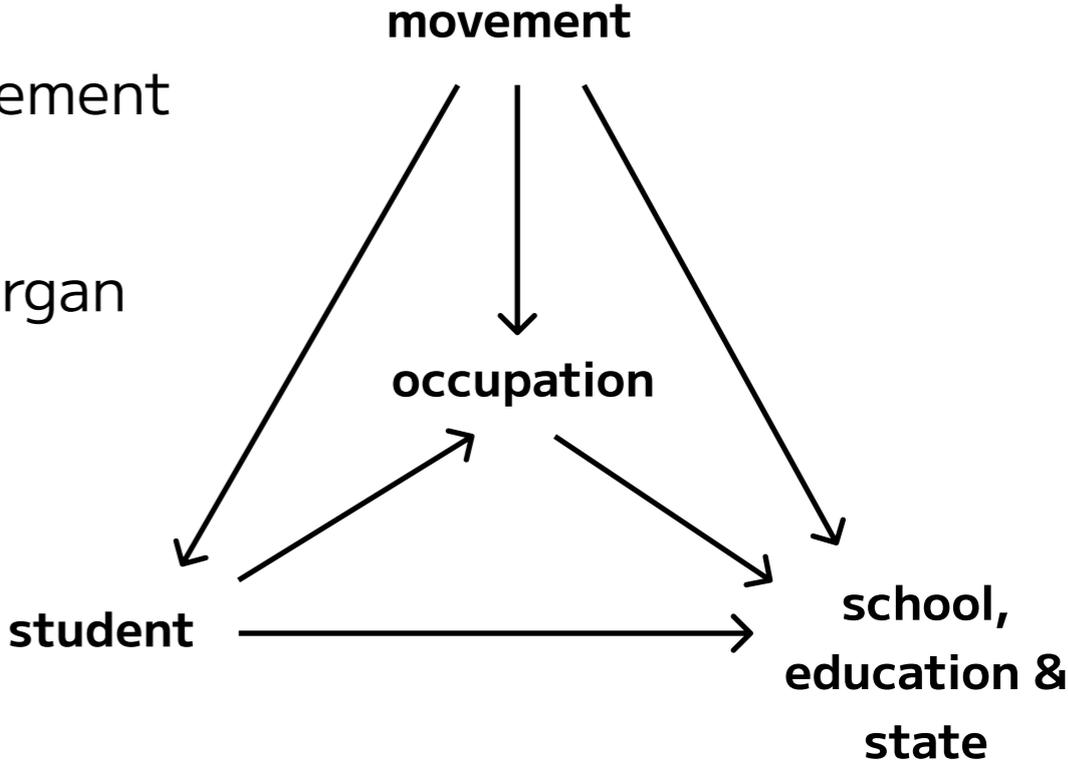
# ORGANIZATIONAL TRINITARIANISM



# POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MEDIATIONS

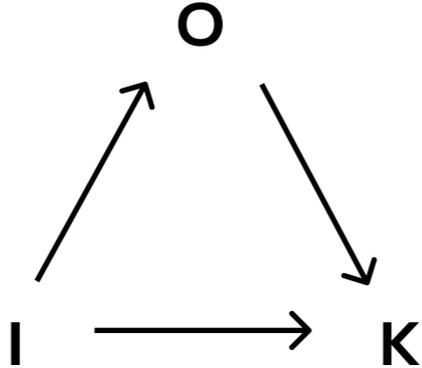


**B** : body of a political movement or sequence  
**O** : organization, object, organ  
**I** : individual agent  
**K** : social world



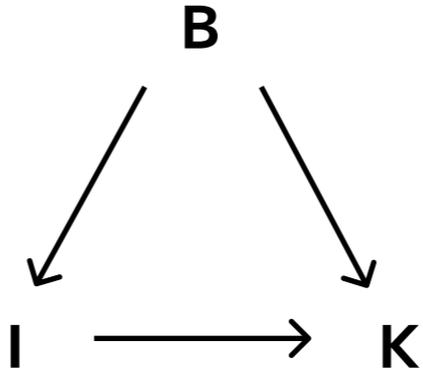
**social point-of-view**

student in everyday existence at school



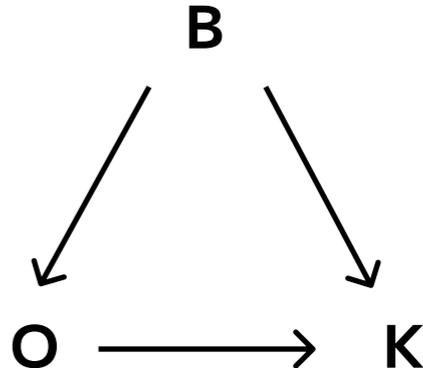
**activist point-of-view**

student in occupation



**militant point-of-view**

militant student

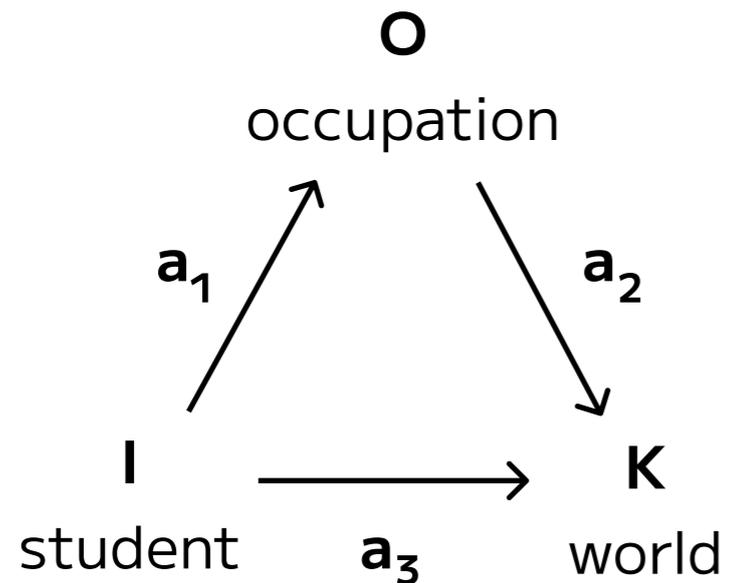


**point-of-view of struggle**

student movement

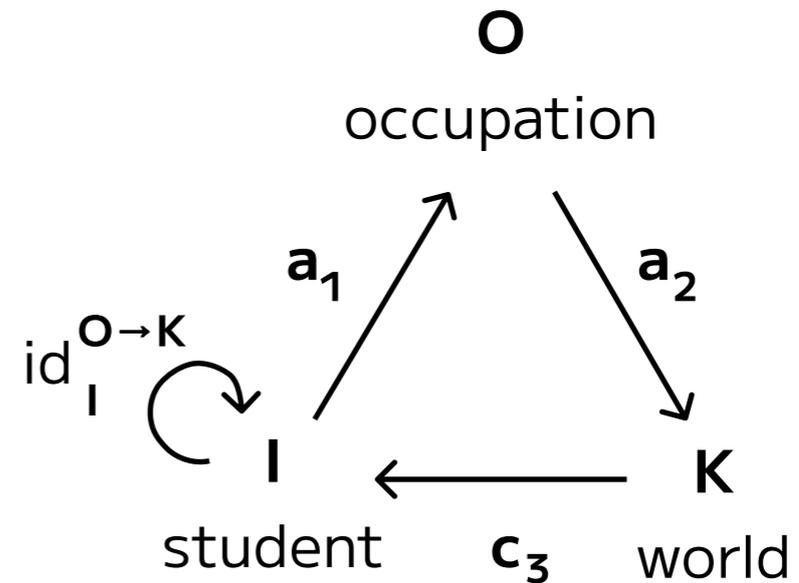
## AUTONOMIZATION

real abstraction, "positive alienation"



## EPISTEMIC ACTION

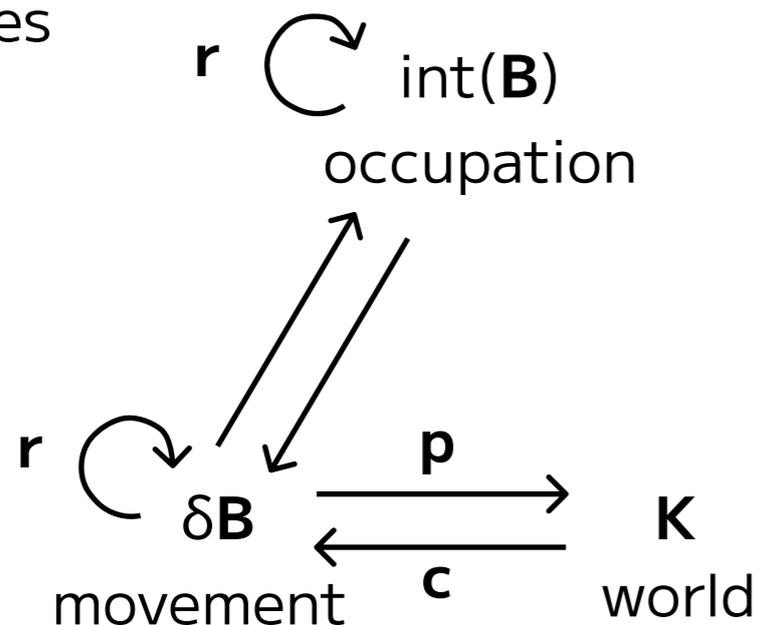
action-perception-residue loops



**control  $\Leftrightarrow$  knowledge  $\Leftrightarrow$  reproduction  $\Leftrightarrow$  boundaries**

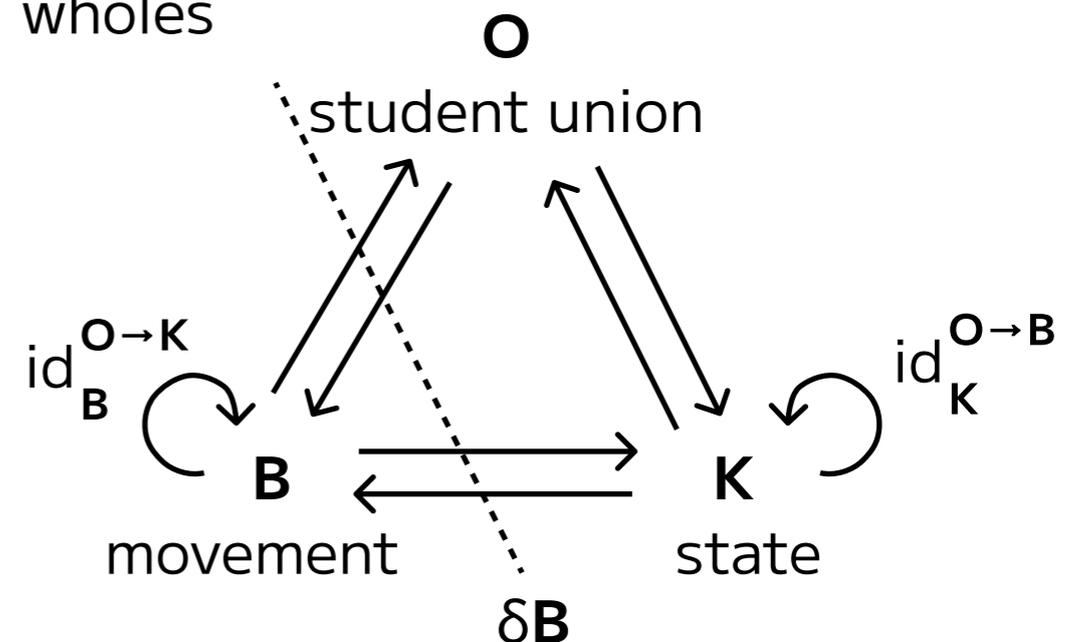
## POLITICAL ECONOMY

production-consumption-reproduction cycles



## MEREOTOLOGY OF BODIES

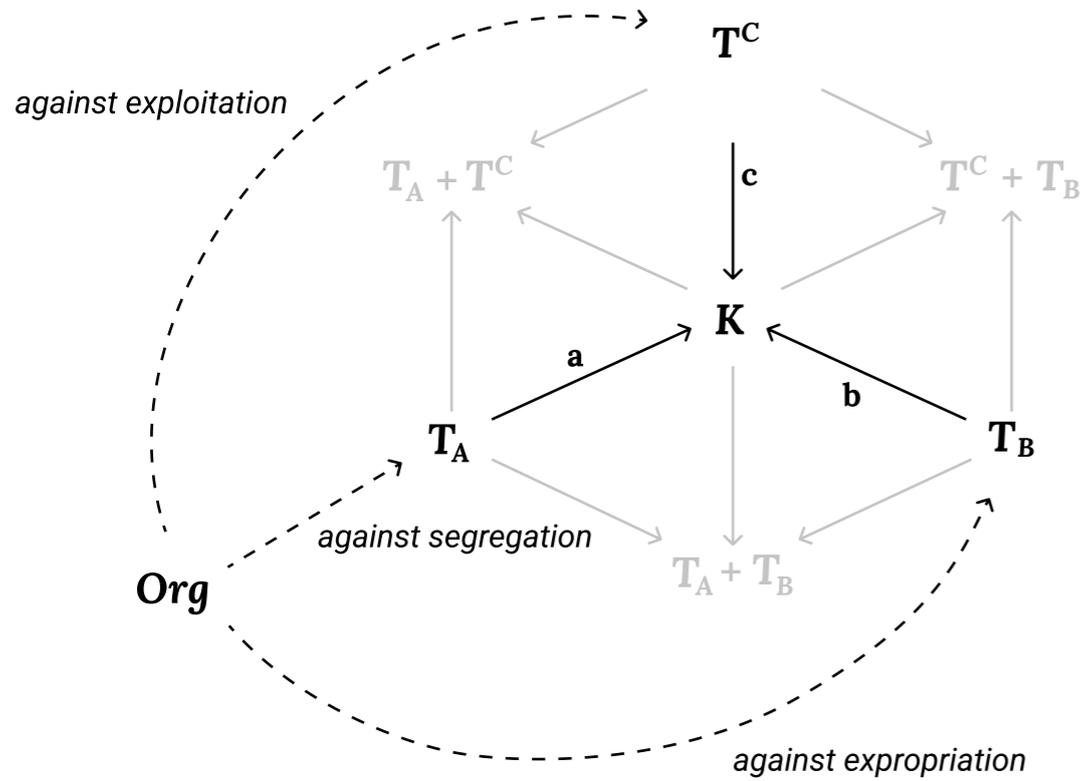
interior-boundary-exterior, parts & wholes



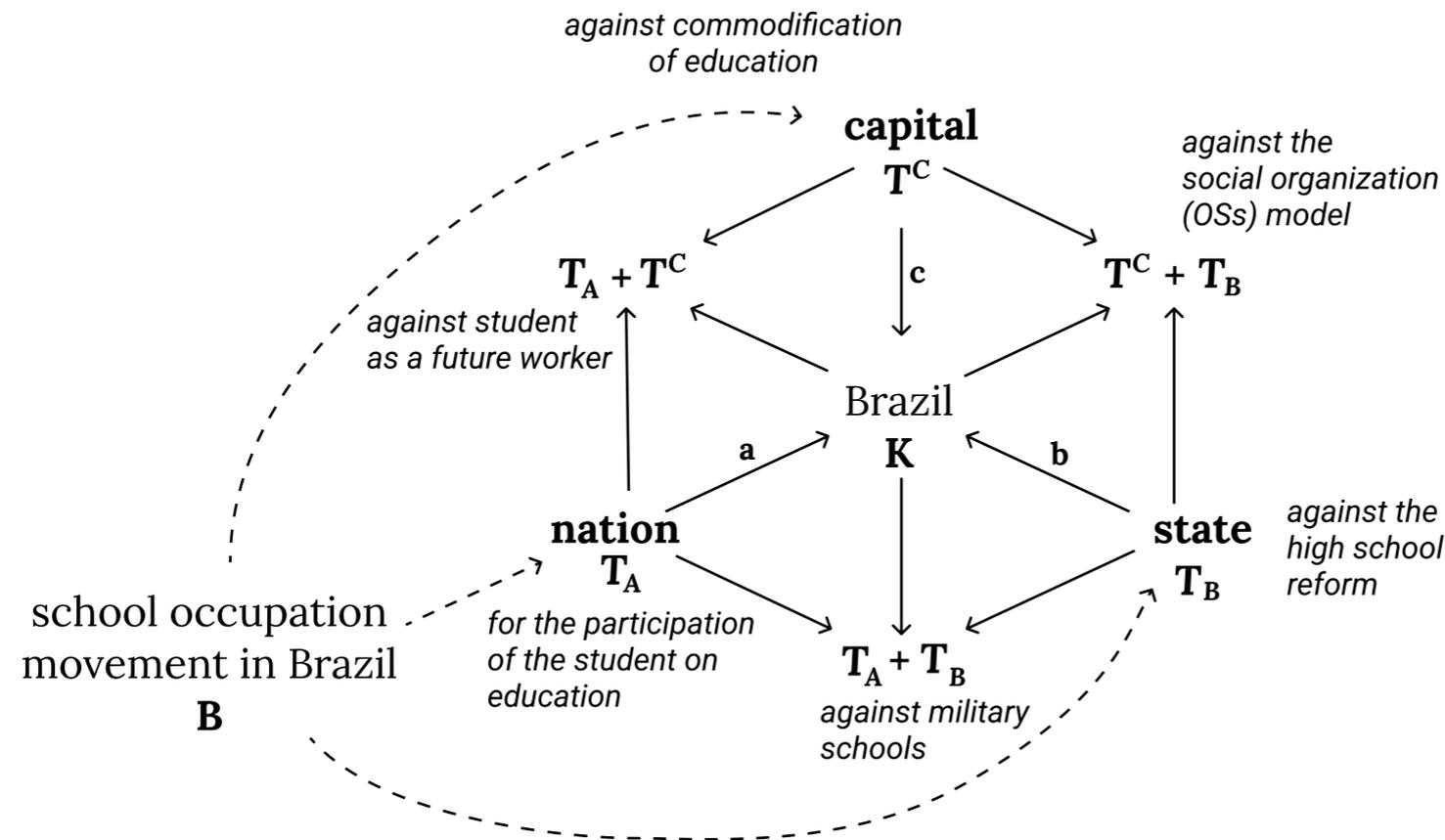
# COMPLEX SOCIAL WORLDS

## capital-nation-state

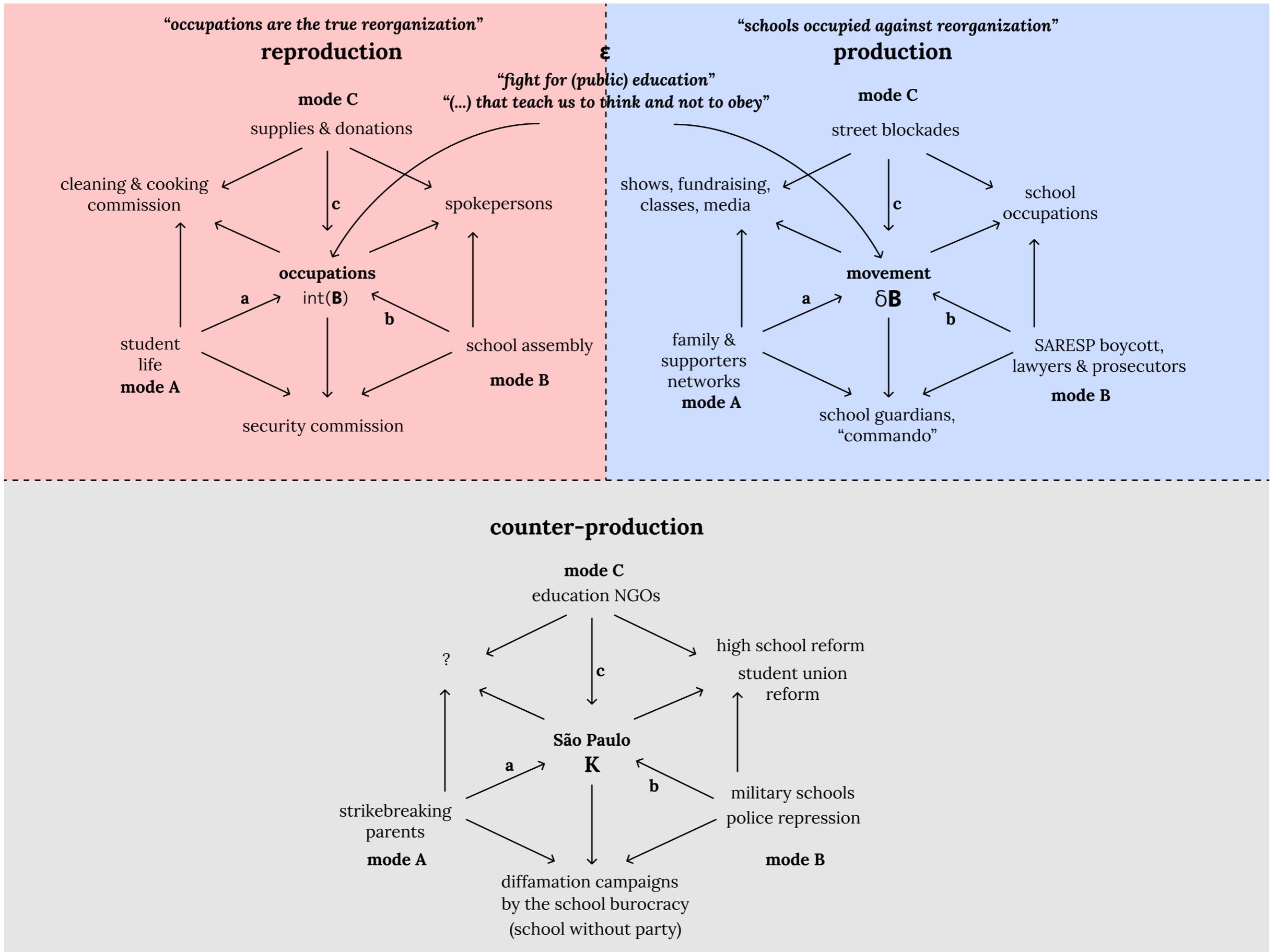
$$\mathbf{K} = (\mathbf{T}_A, \mathbf{T}_B, \mathbf{T}^C)$$



	modern form	social logic	Left	formal logic
<b>T<sub>A</sub></b>	<b>Nation</b> (identities, communities, culture)	logic of reciprocity (gift, counter-gift)	communitarian & identity movements	paraconsistent [0, 1, 2]
<b>T<sub>B</sub></b>	<b>State</b> (taxes, law, repression)	logic of contracts (domination & protection)	parliamentary, NGO left	classical [-1, 1]
<b>T<sup>C</sup></b>	<b>Capital</b> (commodities, money)	logic of value (equivalent exchanges)	classist, workerist left	intuitionistic (0, 1) ⊂ <b>R</b>



# School Occupation Movement



# OBJECTIVES

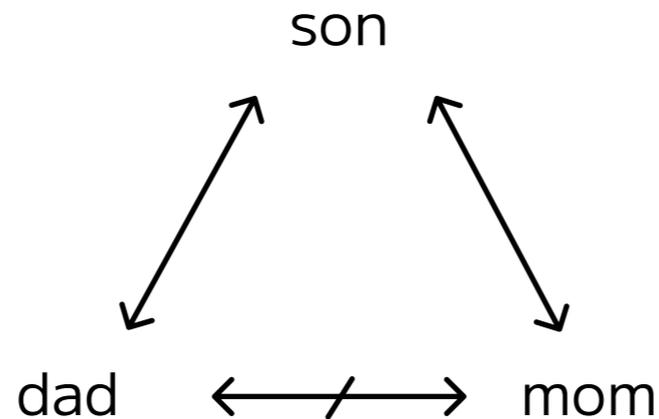
- I. To propose a (quasi) formal model of social and political interaction.
- II. To delineate some elements of a **political economy of social struggle**, i.e. the means of reproduction and production from the standpoint of a political body or movement, rather than of capital.
- III. To think the separation of political bodies and the social world, i.e. the complementary relation between the interiority of a political movement and its **boundary**, and of its boundary to the exteriority of State and capital. This, rather, than thinking politics solely as a contradiction between two objective terms (e.g. of workers vs capital, State), or as a pure (subjective) interiority.
- IV. To think the historicity of political bodies, its sequential character, more specifically, as a process of **experimentation and enquiry**, a treatment of **residues**, rather than of as a matter of program, of class objectivity (or other ontologizations of the social) or of progressive accumulation.

# I. INTERACTION

In the foregoing discussion we were concerned with organized *activities* and the *resistances* surmounted by them. It is easy to be convinced that these are quite correlative concepts; in essence, they express one and the same thing and are everywhere substituted one for the other. If two armies or two classes are engaged in a struggle, then the activities of each side represent resistances for the other; the whole matter is but a question of the point of view taken. From the point of view of a hunter, who takes himself as the centre of observed facts, his efforts represent activities, and the efforts of all animals hunted by him represent resistances; but if we put the animal which is struggling for life at the centre of attention, then its efforts embody the activities of its organism. Again, in this sense there are no fundamental distinctions in nature between the living and the dead, the conscious and the elemental, etc. Formerly, there existed in science a concept of resistance which is not an activity; of the "inertia" which characterizes matter. This idea is now obsolete. Matter, with all of its inertia, is being perceived as the most concentrated complex of energy, that is, precisely activities; its atom is a system of closed motions, the speed of which exceeds all others in nature. Consequently, the elements of an organization or any complex which is studied from the organizational point of view are being reduced to *activities-resistances*.

A. Bogdanov, Essays in Tektology p.42

## EXAMPLE: DIVORCE

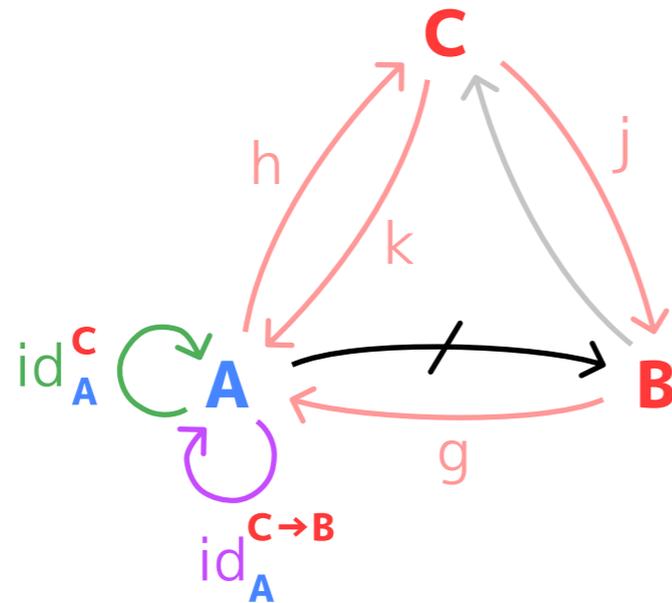


**composition:** the separation of the couple must take into account their son and the family as a whole

**boundary:** is the son on the side of his mom, his dad, or does he have his own side in the story?

**reproduction & affect:** the dad and the son get along very well, but the mom basically raised the son while the father was away

# INTERACTION SPACES

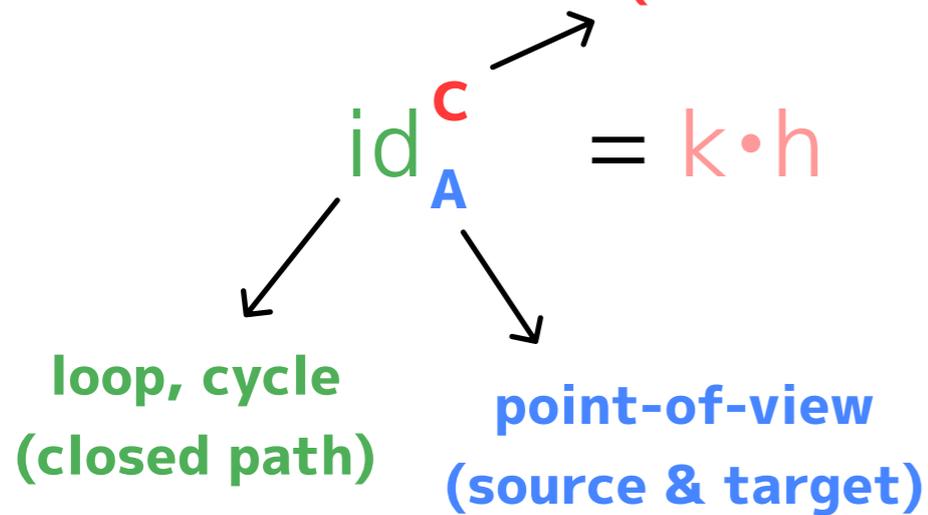


**A : dad**

**B : mom**

**C: son**

**mediations  
(intermediate objects)**



“the dad has a good relation with his son”

$$id_A^{C \rightarrow B} = g \cdot j \cdot h$$

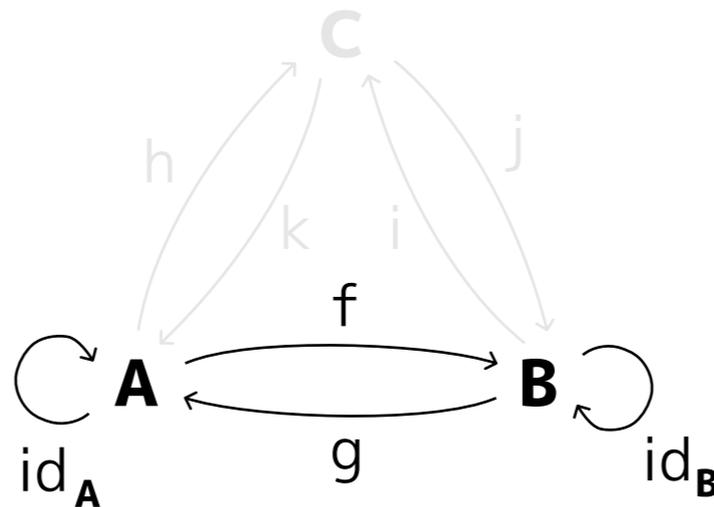
“the dad’s relation with his ex-wife includes her being his son’s mother”

# INTERACTION SPACES

*and what it takes for something to exist*

given a bidirectional graph, one asks:

for each object (node), which closed paths that return back to itself ("loops" or "cycles") exist?

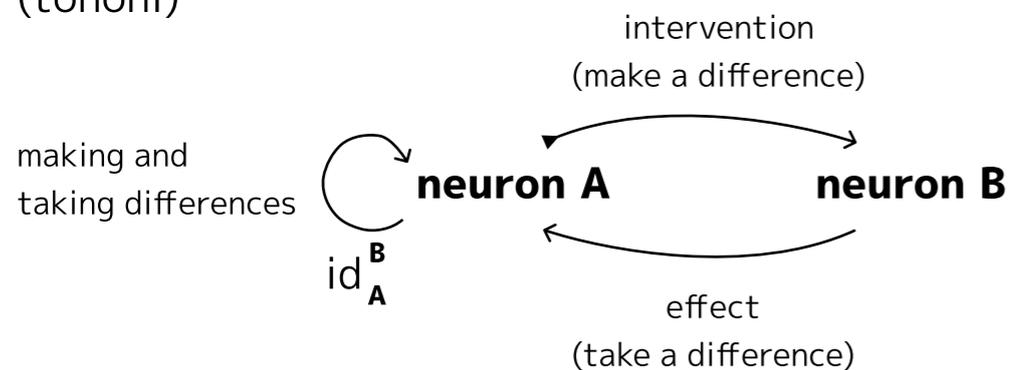


$id_A$  and  $id_B$  trivially exist

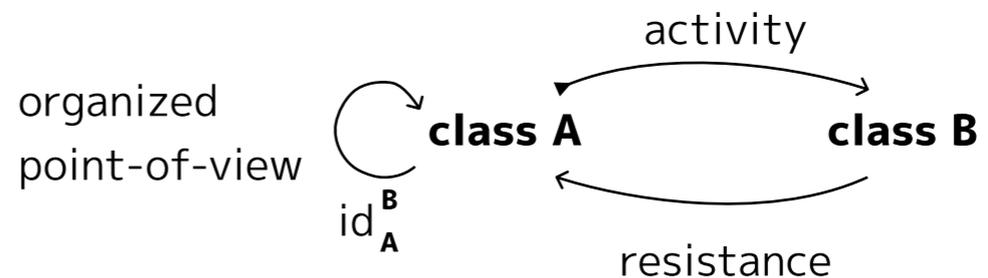
$id_A^B = g \cdot f$  exists ?

$id_B^A = f \cdot g$  exists ?

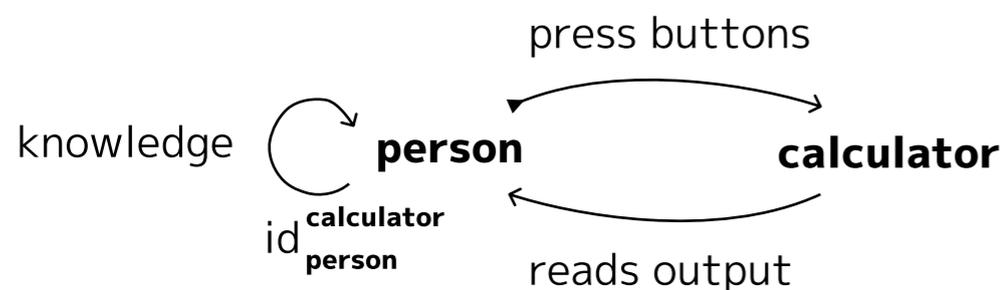
**1. causal interaction:** identity as causal power (tononi)



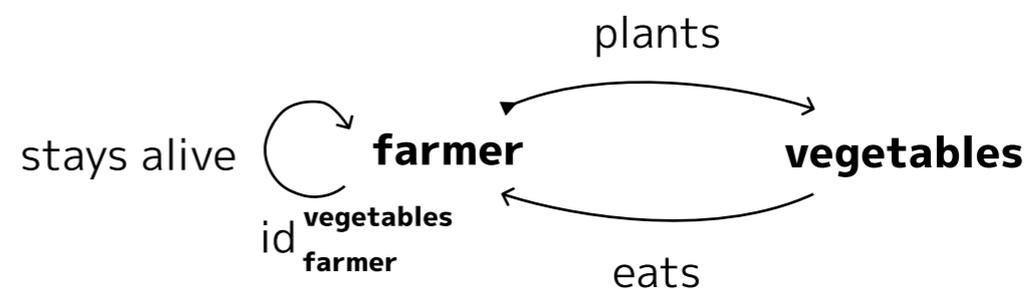
**2. activity-resistance pairs:** identity as organized point-of-view (bogdanov)



**3. action-perception "loop":** identity as knowledge (clark & chalmers)



**3. production-consumption "cycle":** identity as reproduction (marx)



Complete disorganization is a concept without meaning. It is, in reality, the same as naked non-being. For a complete disorganization it is necessary to assume a complete absence of connections; but that which has no connections cannot present any resistance to our efforts, and only in resistances do we learn about **the existence of things**; consequently, for us there is no such thing as complete disorganization. And to think about absolute disconnectedness is possible only verbally: it is not possible to put into such words any real, living representation, because an absolutely incoherent representation is not representation at all – generally it is nothing.

A. Bogdanov, Essays in Tektology p.5

To account for the **intrinsic existence** of experience, a system constituted of elements in a state must exist intrinsically (be actual): specifically, in order to exist, it must have cause-effect power, as there is no point in assuming that something exists if nothing can make a difference to it, or if it cannot make a difference to anything.[7] Moreover, to exist from its own intrinsic perspective, independent of external observers, a system of elements in a state must have cause-effect power upon itself, independent of extrinsic factors.

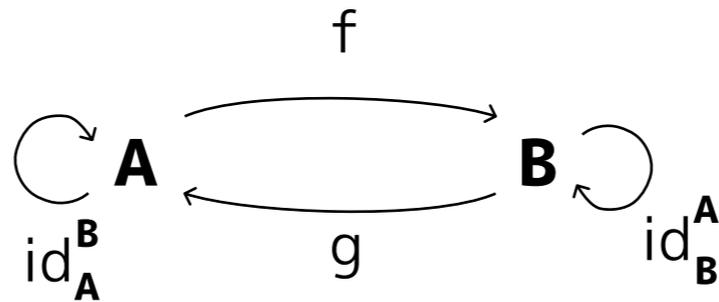
G. Tononi, IIT entry on Scholarpedia

"I suggest that everything which possesses any power of any kind, either to produce a change in anything of any nature or to be affected even in the least degree by the slightest cause, though it be only on one occasion, has **real existence**. For I set up as a definition which defines being, that it is nothing else but power."

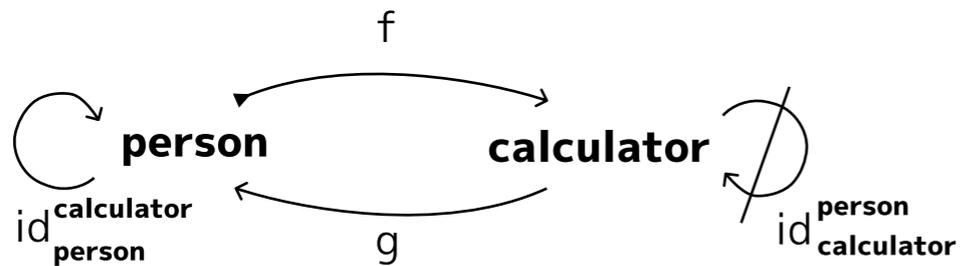
Plato, Sophist, 247 D,E

# INTERACTION SPACES

## I. antisymmetry of interaction



### a. inclusion (asymmetric dual interaction)



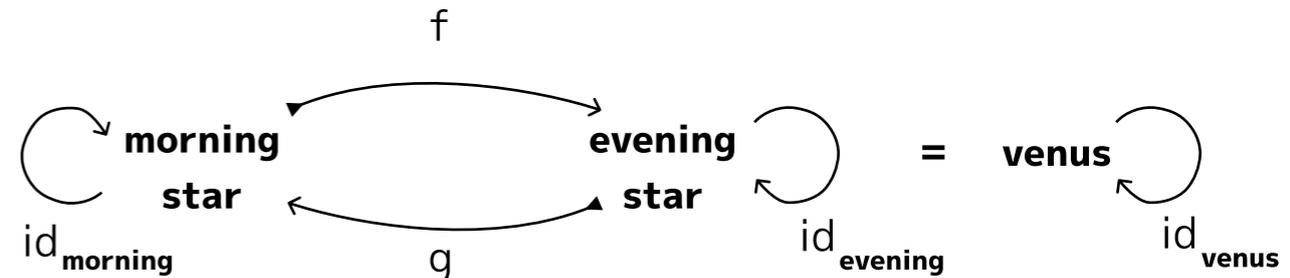
$$\text{id}_{\text{person}}^{\text{calculator}} = g \cdot f \quad \text{exists}$$

$$\text{id}_{\text{calculator}}^{\text{person}} = f \cdot g \quad \text{does not exist}$$

⇒ **calculator**  $\subset$  **person**

i.e. **calculator** is a part of a **person**,  
the calculator “extends” a person’s  
cognition

### b. equivalence (symmetric dual interaction)



$$\text{id}_{\text{morning}}^{\text{evening}} = g \cdot f \quad \text{exists}$$

$$\text{id}_{\text{evening}}^{\text{morning}} = f \cdot g \quad \text{exists}$$

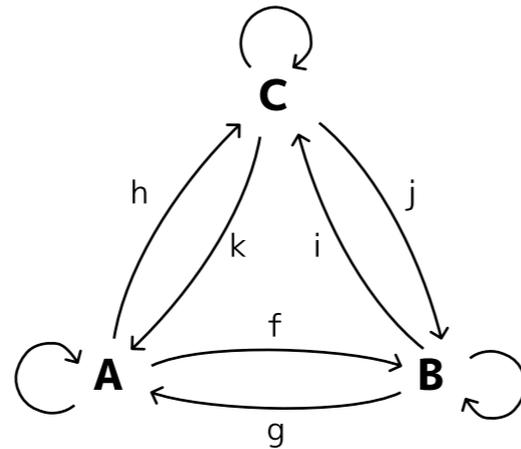
$$[\text{id}]_{\text{venus}} = \{ \text{id}_{\text{evening}}^{\text{morning}}, \text{id}_{\text{morning}}^{\text{evening}} \}$$

⇒ **morning star**  $\approx$  **evening star**

i.e. **morning star** and **evening star** are  
the same object, i.e. **venus**

# INTERACTION SPACES

## II. chained interaction

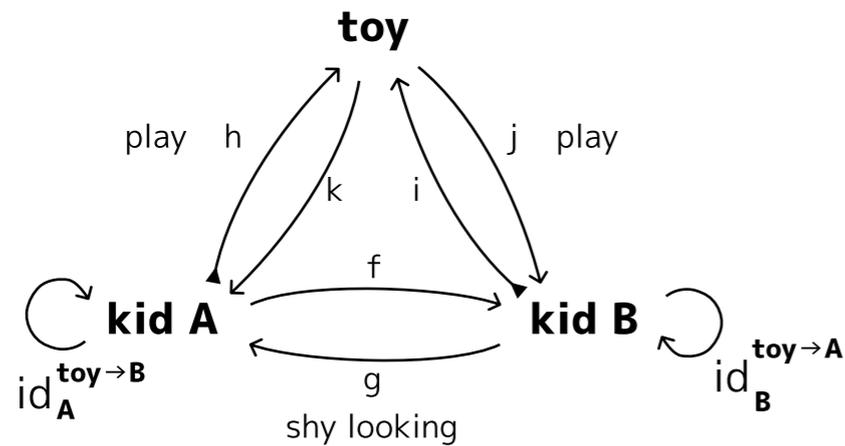


which terms exist?

$id_A^B = g \cdot f$	$id_A^{C \rightarrow B} = g \cdot j \cdot h$	$id_A^{C \rightleftharpoons B} = k \cdot i \cdot j \cdot h$
$id_B^A = f \cdot g$	$id_A^{B \rightarrow C} = k \cdot i \cdot f$	$id_A^{B \rightleftharpoons C} = g \cdot j \cdot i \cdot f$
$id_C^A = h \cdot k$	$id_B^{C \rightarrow A} = f \cdot k \cdot i$	$id_B^{C \rightleftharpoons A} = k \cdot i \cdot j \cdot h$
$id_C^B = i \cdot j$	$id_B^{A \rightarrow C} = j \cdot h \cdot g$	$id_B^{A \rightleftharpoons C} = f \cdot k \cdot h \cdot g$
	$id_C^{A \rightarrow B} = i \cdot f \cdot k$	$id_C^{A \rightleftharpoons B} = f \cdot k \cdot h \cdot g$
	$id_C^{B \rightarrow A} = h \cdot g \cdot j$	$id_C^{B \rightleftharpoons A} = i \cdot f \cdot g \cdot j$

### a. common part

(symmetric triangular interaction)



$id_A^B$  and  $id_B^A$  does not exist

$id_A^{toy \rightarrow B} = g \cdot j \cdot h$  and  $id_B^{toy \rightarrow A} = f \cdot k \cdot i$  exist

$kid\ A \stackrel{toy}{\approx} kid\ B$

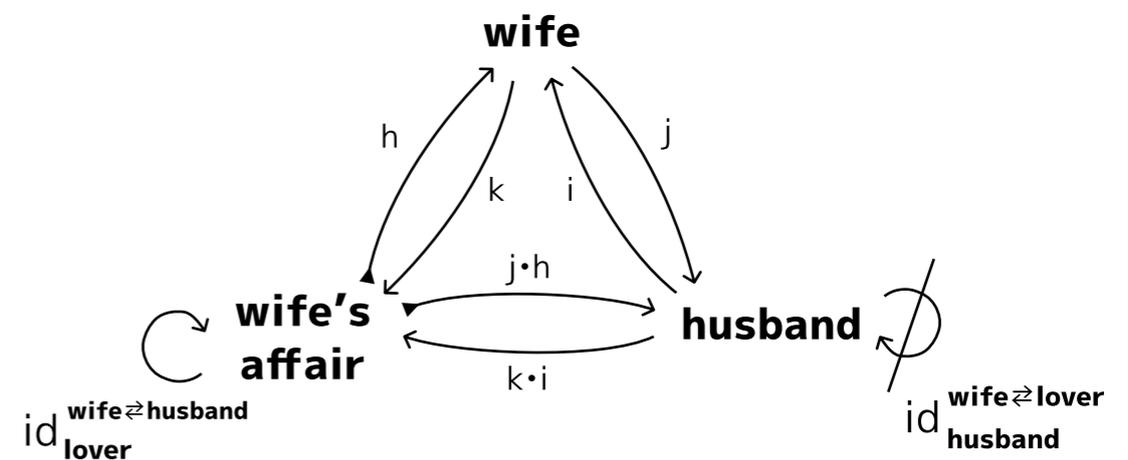
i.e. **kid A** and **kid B** are similar under their interaction with the **toy**

$$toy \subseteq (kid\ A \cap kid\ B)$$

i.e. the **toy** is a common part of **kid A** and **kid B**

### b. mediated inclusion

(asymmetric triangular interaction)



$id_{affair}^{wife \rightleftharpoons husband} = k \cdot i \cdot j \cdot h$  exists

$id_{husband}^{wife \rightleftharpoons affair} = j \cdot h \cdot k \cdot i$  does not exist

$husband \stackrel{wife}{\subset} affair$

$$wife \not\subset (husband \cap affair)$$

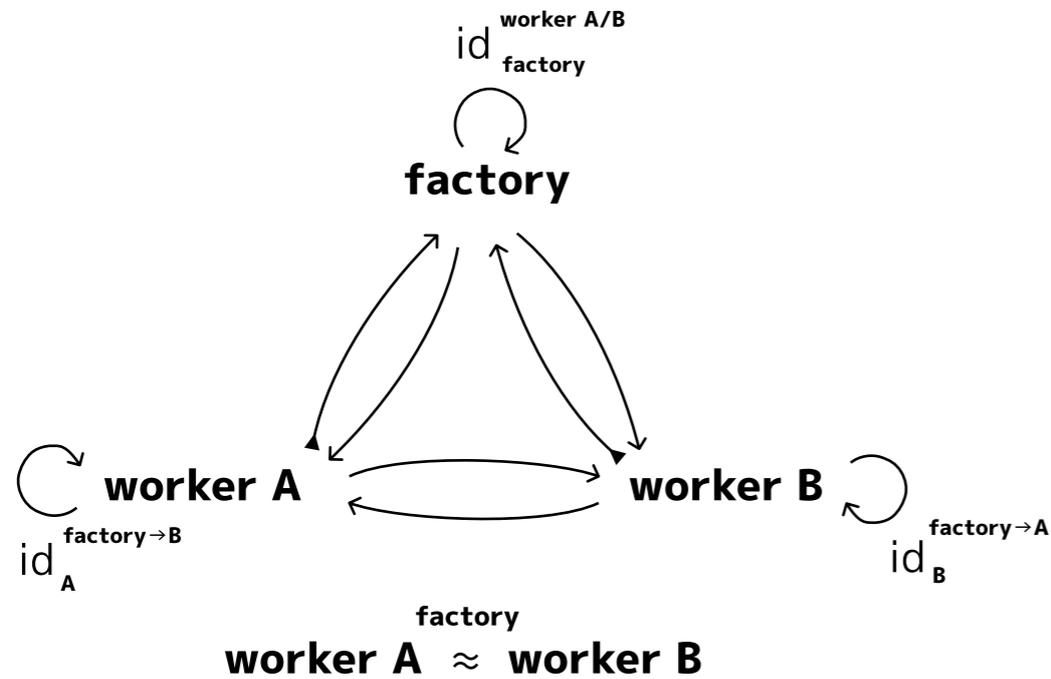
i.e. the **husband** is a part of the **affair's** relation with his wife, but the **affair** is not a part of his relation with his wife

# EXAMPLE: FORDISM

the symmetry break of post-fordist work recomposition

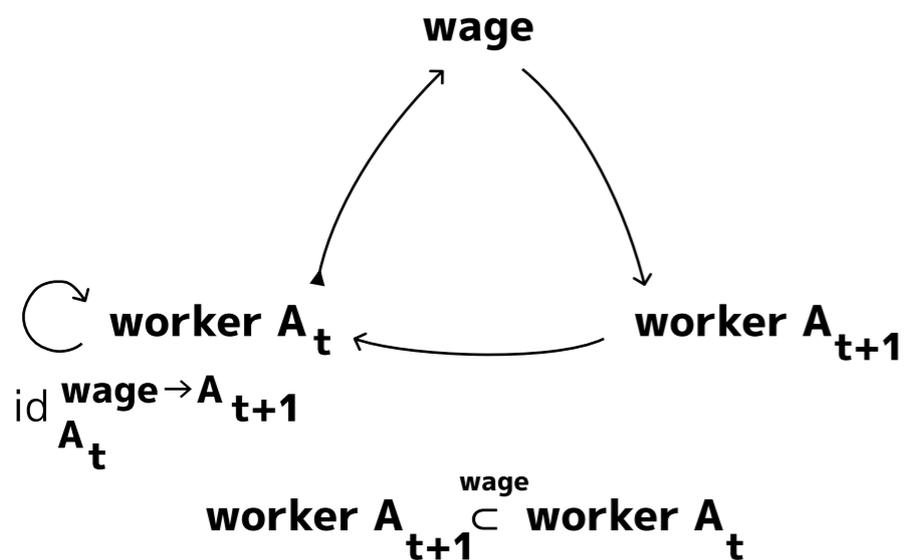
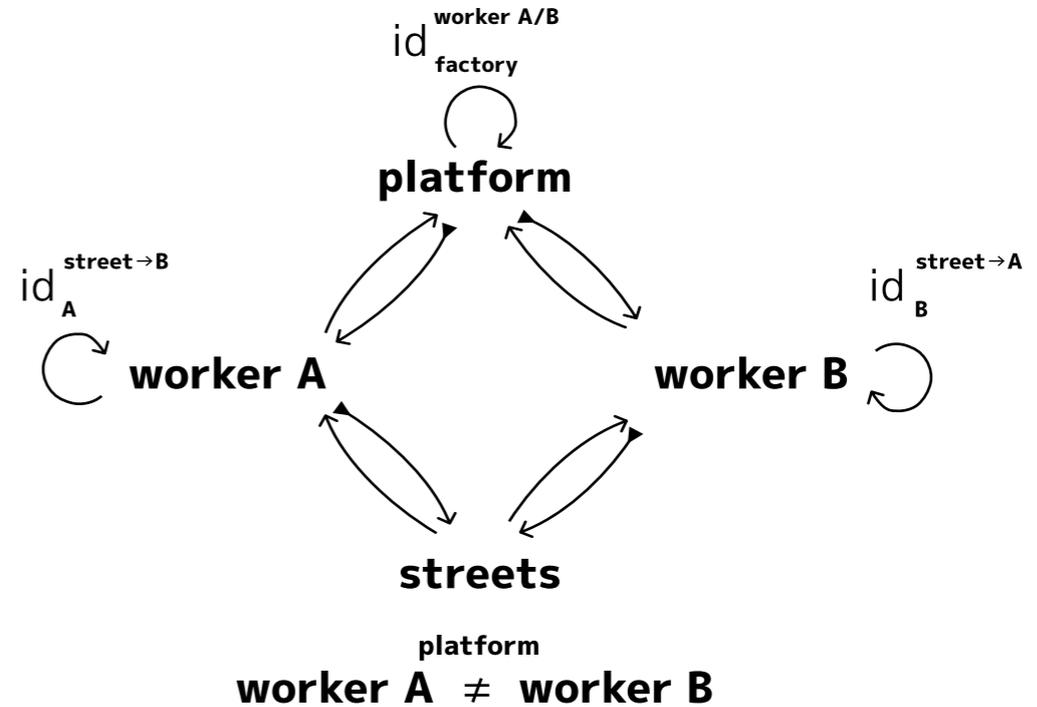
## SYMMETRY

$$| id_{\text{worker}}^{\text{factory}} | \sim | id_{\text{factory}}^{\text{worker}} |$$

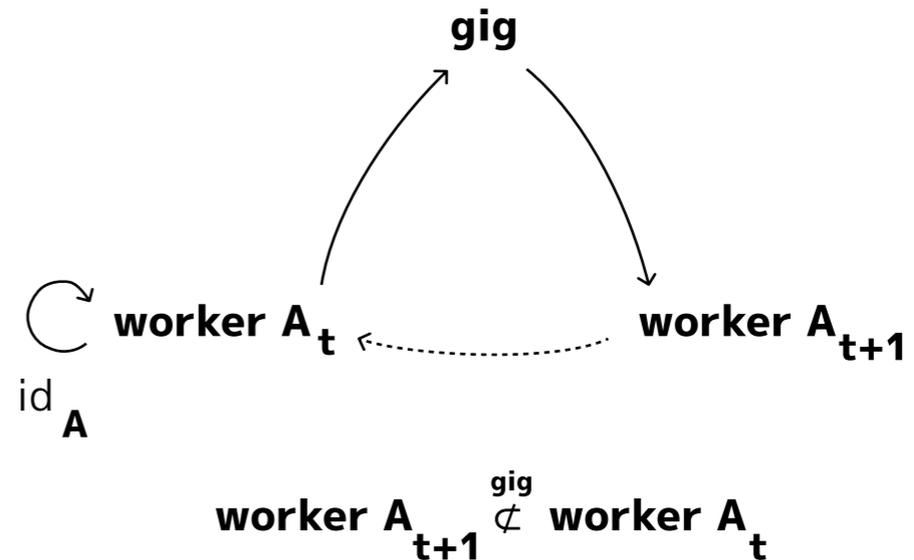


## ASYMMETRY

$$| id_{\text{worker}}^{\text{platform}} | \ll | id_{\text{platform}}^{\text{worker}} |$$



i.e. security means that the future of the worker (as a worker) is included in his present



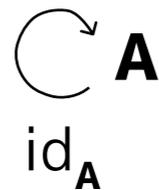
i.e. precarity means that the future of the worker (as a worker) is not included in his present

# INTERACTION SPACES

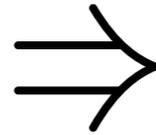
## III. unfolding of the interaction space of an object

### abstract self-identity

$$id_A = id_A$$



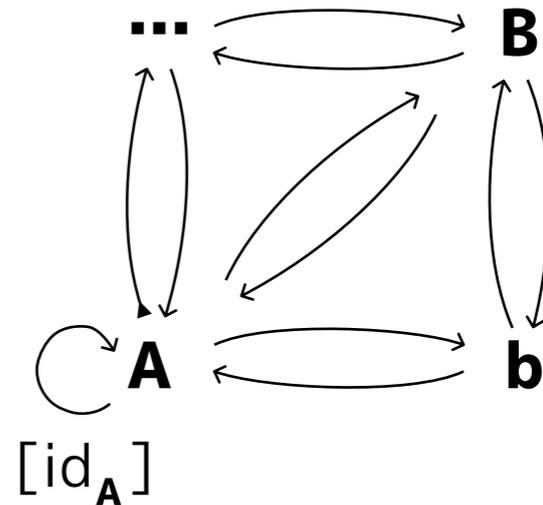
e.g. "worker"



unfolding  
of interaction space

### interaction space

$$[id_A] = \{id_A, id_A^B, id_A^{b \rightarrow B}, id_A^{\dots \rightarrow B}, id_A^{B \rightarrow \dots}\}$$



powers, knowledge, reproduction of **B**

### a. dense interaction space

$$\forall id_A \exists \mathbf{B} \text{ s.t. } \exists id_A^B$$

space such that every object has  
a proper part

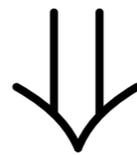
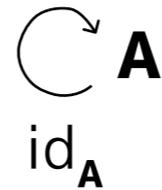
### b. postulate of materialism

$[id_A]$  is infinite

every social world is a dense  
interaction space

# INTERACTION SPACES

## IV. residues



unfolding  
of interaction space

### limit object



making a difference,  
without sensing it

### petit object



sensing a difference,  
without making it

### isolated object



absence of difference  
making, object is  
disconnected

## b. real interaction space

$$\forall id_A \exists \mathbf{X}, a \text{ s.t. } \nexists id_A^{\mathbf{X}} \text{ and } \exists id_a^{\mathbf{A}}$$

space such that every object makes differences it  
cannot sense, and sense differences which it  
didn't make

## c. postulate of materialist dialectic

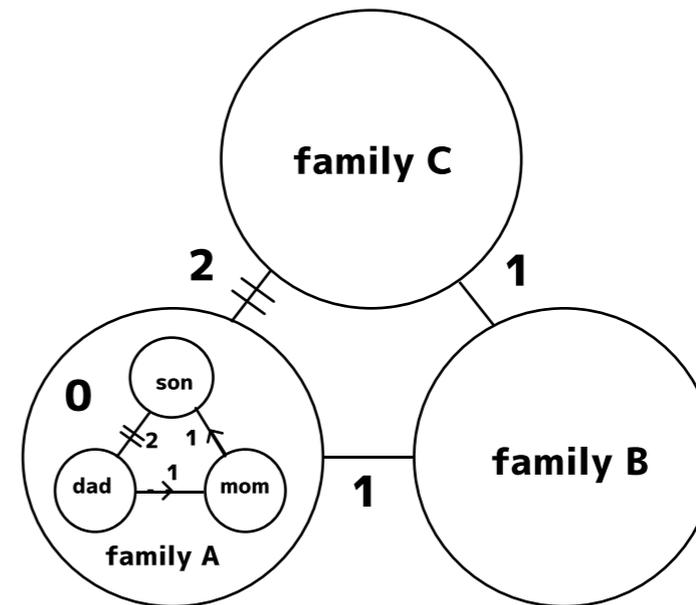
$[id_A]$  is infinite, but incomplete

every social world is a dense and  
real interaction space

# INTERACTION SPACES AS COMPLEX SOCIAL WORLDS

**MODE A** (inconsistent mereology of communities)

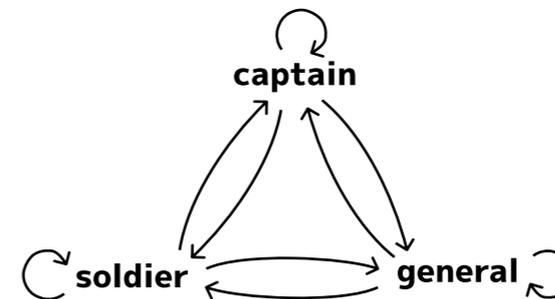
- 0 [ **equivalence:  $A \approx B$**
- 1 [ **strict connection:**
  - strict inclusion:  $A \subset B$
  - partial symmetric overlap:  $A \overset{\subset}{\approx} B$
  - partial asymmetric overlap:  $A \overset{\subset}{\subset} B$
- 2 [ **disconnection:  $A \cap B = \emptyset$**



- $\text{son} \subset \text{mom}$ ,  $\text{mom} \subset \text{dad}$  but  $\text{son} \not\subset \text{dad}$
- $A \overset{\text{kin}}{\approx} B$ ,  $B \overset{\text{kin}}{\approx} C$ ,  $A \approx B$

**MODE B** (consistent asymmetric mereology of social contracts and subjection)

- 1, 1 [ **strict partial order:**
  - reflexivity:  $A \subset A$
  - antisymmetry:  $A \subset B$ ,  $B \subset A \Rightarrow B \approx A$
  - transitivity:  $A \subset B$ ,  $B \subset C \Rightarrow A \subset C$



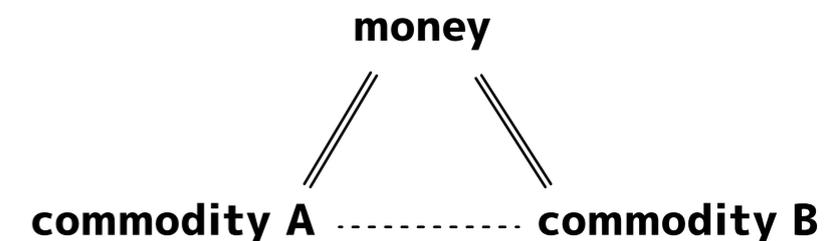
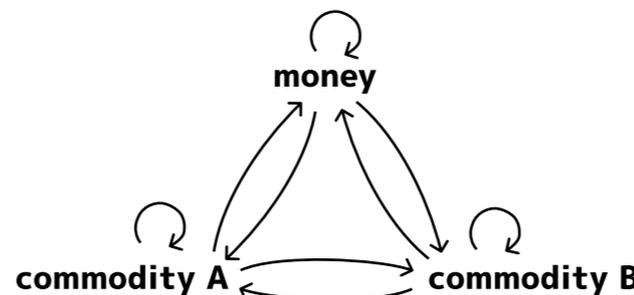
**general  $\vdash$  captain  $\vdash$  soldier**

**MODE C** (equivalence symmetric mereology of value exchange)

**equivalence relation:**

- reflexivity:  $A \overset{M}{\approx} A$
- symmetry:  $A \overset{M}{\approx} B \Rightarrow B \overset{M}{\approx} A$
- transitivity:  $A \overset{M}{\approx} B$ ,  $B \overset{M}{\approx} C \Rightarrow A \approx C$

- [0, 1] [ **commensurability**
  - $|[\text{id}_A]| = p |[\text{id}_B]|$ ,  $p \in [0, 1]$



## II. BOUNDARY

### LENIN

Lenin walks around the world.  
Frontiers cannot bar him.  
Neither barracks nor barricades impede.  
Nor does barbed wire scar him.

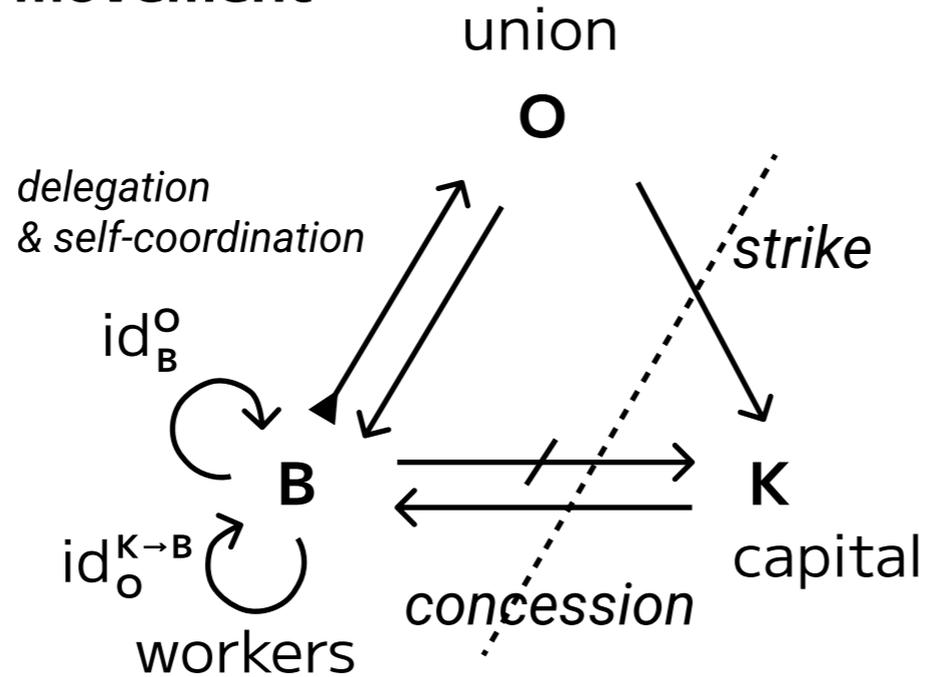
Lenin walks around the world.  
Black, brown, and white receive him.  
Language is no barrier.  
The strangest tongues believe him.

Lenin walks around the world.  
The sun sets like a scar.  
Between the darkness and the dawn  
There rises a red star.

LANGSTON HUGHES.

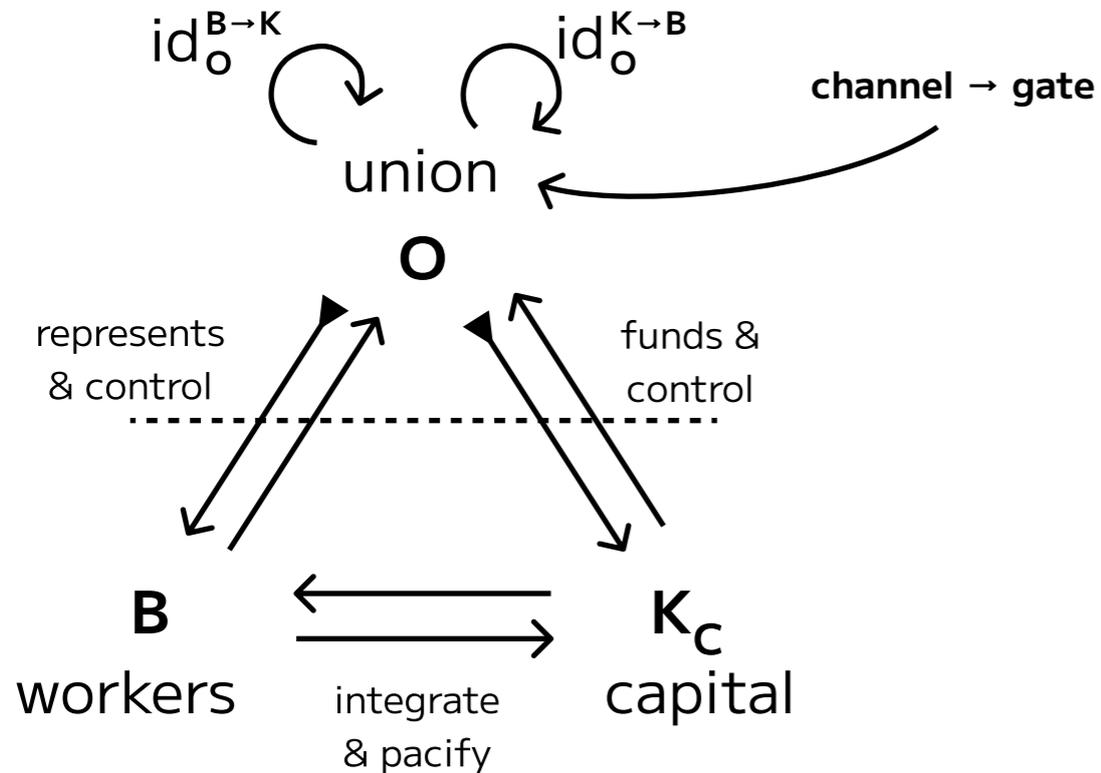
# EXAMPLE: WORKERS, UNIONS & CAPITAL

organ of the worker's movement

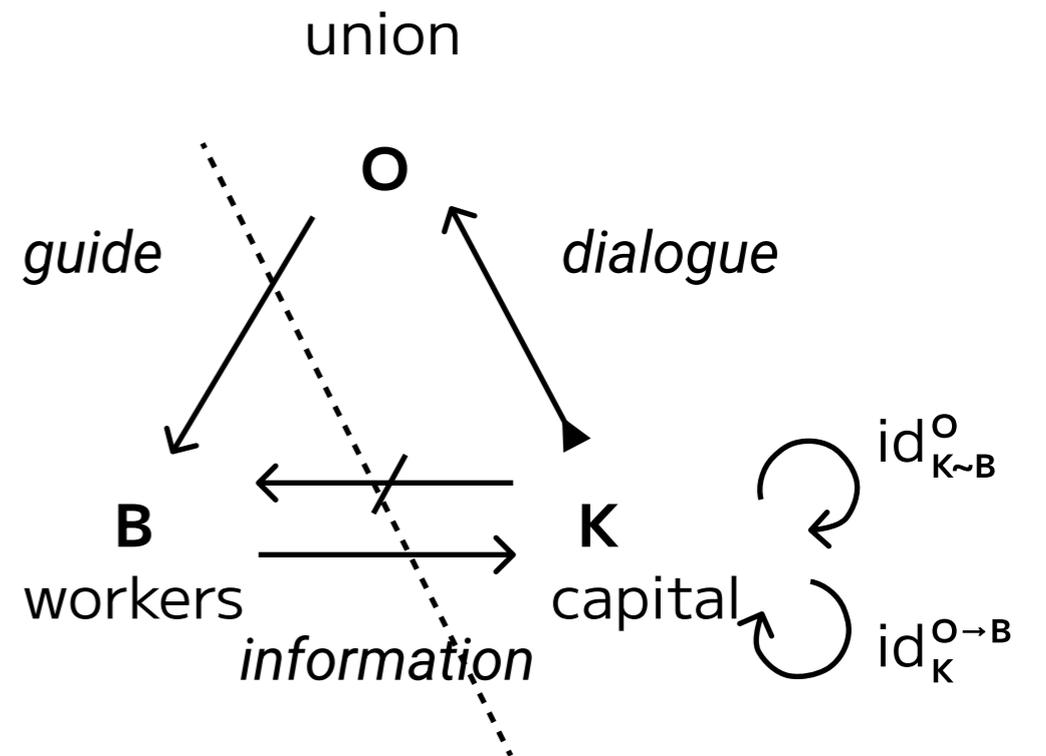


organ of the state

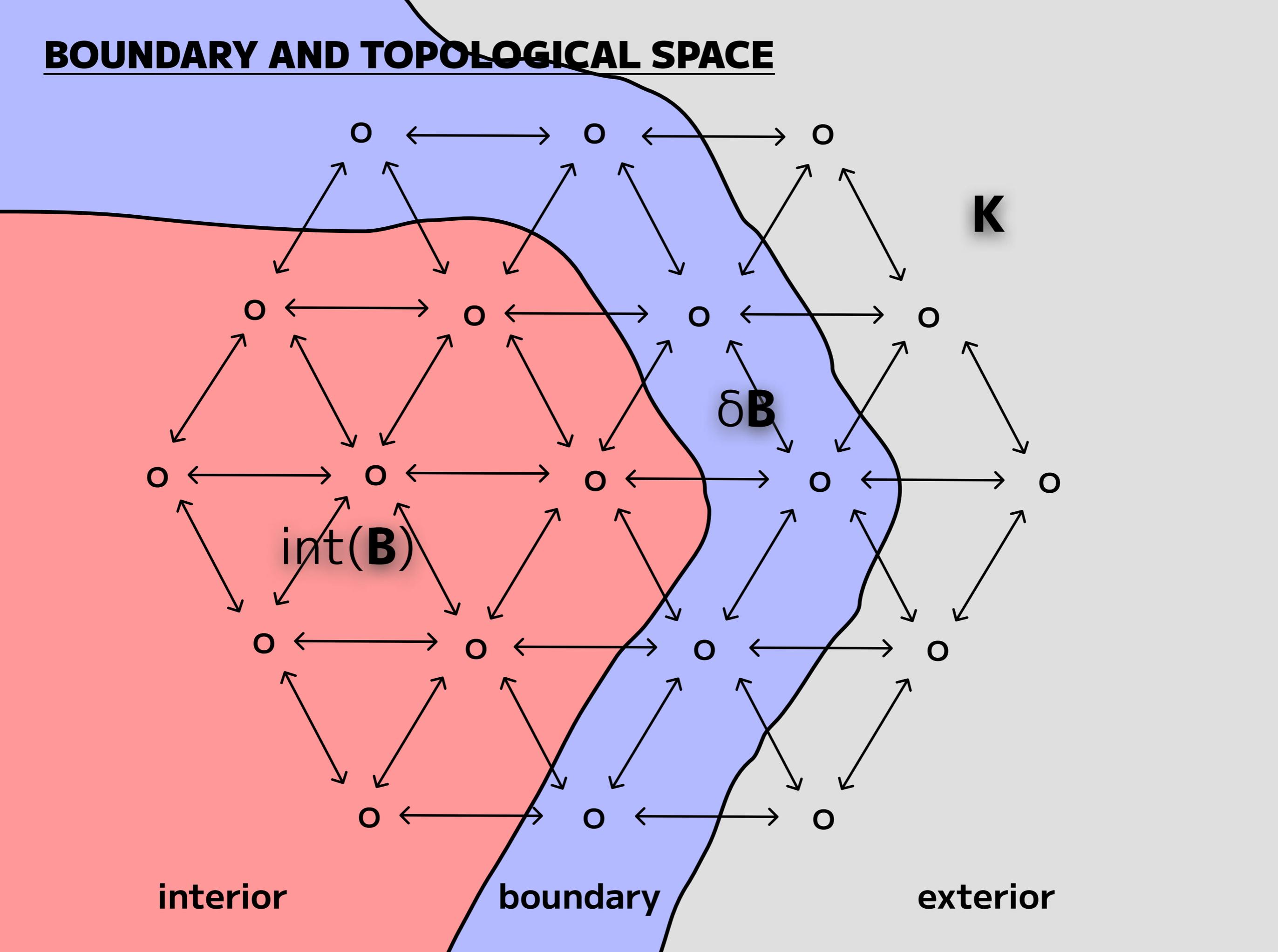
class of managers & extended state (João Bernardo)



organ of capital & space of recognition



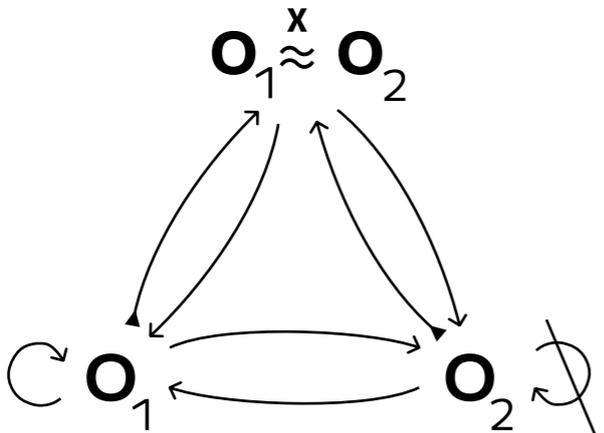
# BOUNDARY AND TOPOLOGICAL SPACE



# LOGICS OF INTERACTION

## afirmative dialectics

### common space



$$\mathbf{O}_1 \overset{\mathbf{X}}{\approx} \mathbf{O}_2 = \{\mathbf{X} : \text{id}_{\mathbf{O}_1}^{\mathbf{X} \rightarrow \mathbf{O}_2} \text{ and } \text{id}_{\mathbf{O}_2}^{\mathbf{X} \rightarrow \mathbf{O}_1} \text{ exist}\}$$

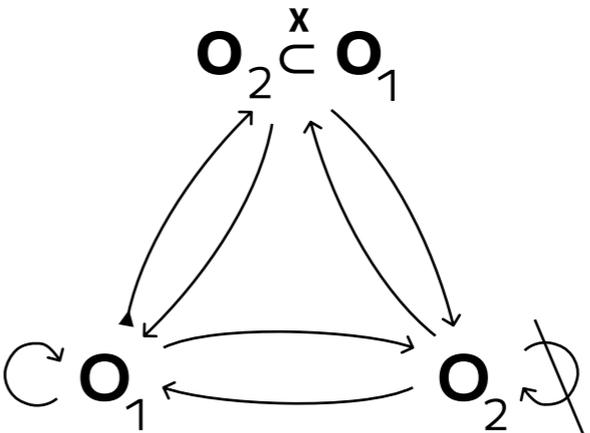
### zones of integration

$$\mathbf{O}_{1'}, \mathbf{O}_2 \subset \delta \mathbf{B}$$

### zones of cooperation

$$\mathbf{O}_{1'}, \mathbf{O}_2 \subset \text{int}(\mathbf{B})$$

### subtracted space



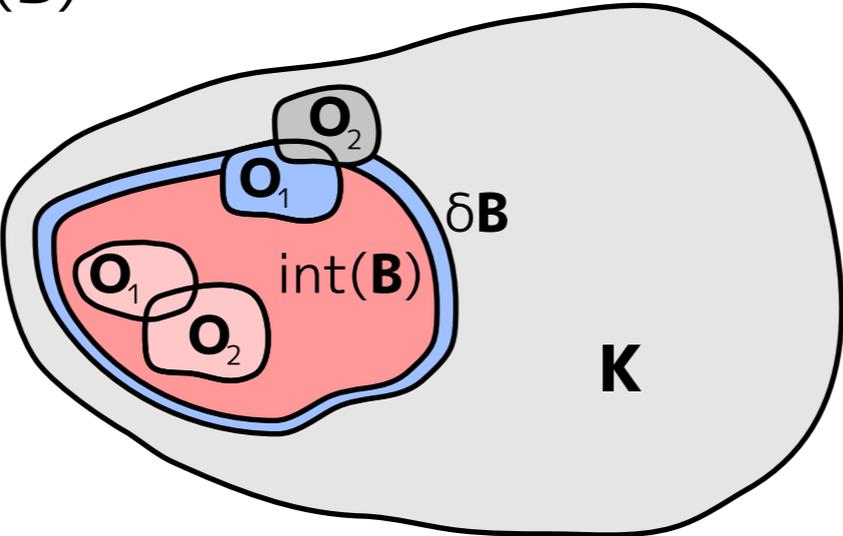
$$\mathbf{O}_2 \overset{\mathbf{X}}{\subset} \mathbf{O}_1 = \{\mathbf{X} : \text{id}_{\mathbf{O}_1}^{\mathbf{X} \rightarrow \mathbf{O}_2} \text{ exists and } \text{id}_{\mathbf{O}_2}^{\mathbf{X} \rightarrow \mathbf{O}_1} \text{ does not}\}$$

### zones of conflict

$$\mathbf{O}_{1'}, \mathbf{O}_2 \subset \delta \mathbf{B}$$

### zones of delegation

$$\mathbf{O}_{1'}, \mathbf{O}_2 \subset \text{int}(\mathbf{B})$$



# TOPOLOGICAL SPACES

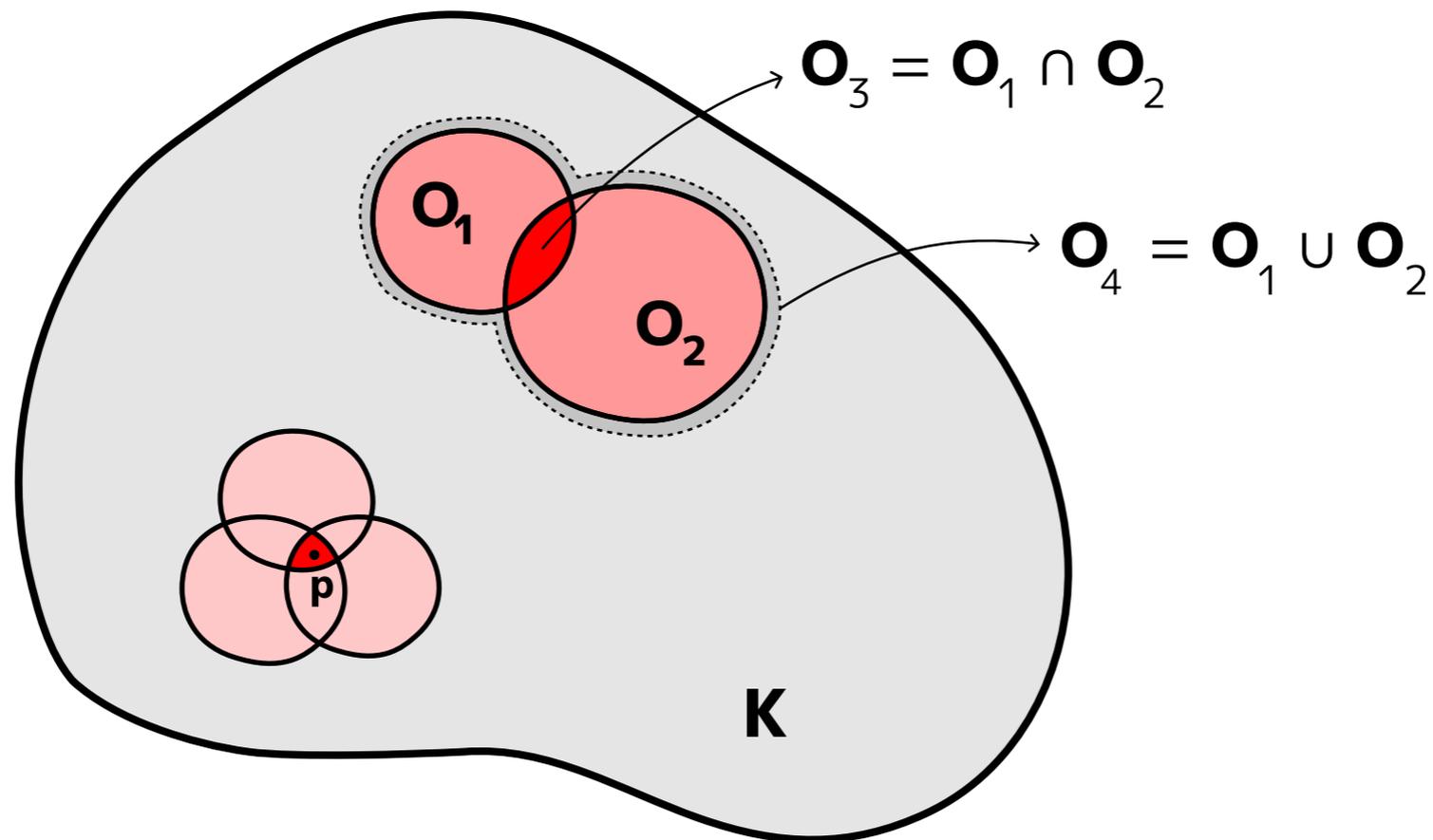
*or the power of localization*

A **topology** on a social world **K** is a collection  $\mathcal{T}$  of subsets of **K**, called open subsets, that satisfies:

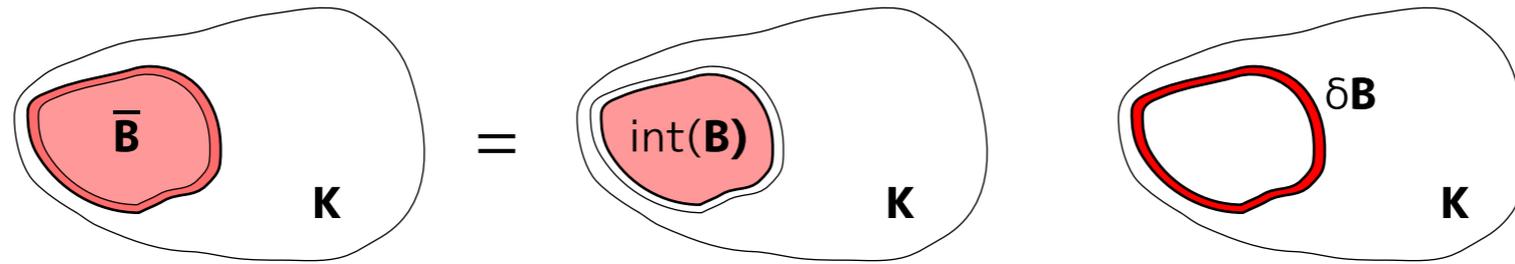
1.  $\emptyset \in \mathcal{T}$  and  $\mathbf{K} \in \mathcal{T}$

2.  $\mathcal{T}$  is closed under finite intersections. That is, any finite intersection of elements in  $\mathcal{T}$ ,  $\mathbf{O}_1 \cap \dots \cap \mathbf{O}_n$ , is also in  $\mathcal{T}$ .

2.  $\mathcal{T}$  is closed under arbitrary unions. That is, any union of elements of  $\mathcal{T}$ ,  $\bigcup \mathbf{O}_\alpha$ , is also in  $\mathcal{T}$ .



# TOPOLOGICAL SPACES



$$\bar{\mathbf{B}} = \text{int}(\mathbf{B}) + \delta\mathbf{B}$$

the **closure** of a political body  $\mathbf{B}$  (or any set in a topological space) is the set  $\mathbf{B}$  of points which are "close" to  $\mathbf{B}$ , in the sense that any neighbourhood around a point in  $\bar{\mathbf{B}}$  intersects with  $\mathbf{B}$  itself.

$$\bar{\mathbf{B}} = \{\mathbf{p} \in \mathbf{K} \mid \text{for any neighborhood } \mathbf{N}_p \text{ of } \mathbf{p}, \mathbf{N}_p \cap \mathbf{B} \neq \emptyset\}$$

the **interior** of a political body  $\mathbf{B}$  (or any set in a topological space) is the set  $\mathbf{B}$  of points which any neighbourhood around it is included in  $\mathbf{B}$ .

$$\text{int}(\mathbf{B}) = \{\mathbf{p} \in \mathbf{K} \mid \text{there is a neighborhood } \mathbf{N}_p \text{ of } \mathbf{p}, \mathbf{N}_p \subset \mathbf{B}\}$$

$$\mathbf{A} = \{x \in \mathbf{R} \mid 0 < x < 1\} = (0, 1) \quad \text{int}(\mathbf{A}) = \mathbf{A}$$

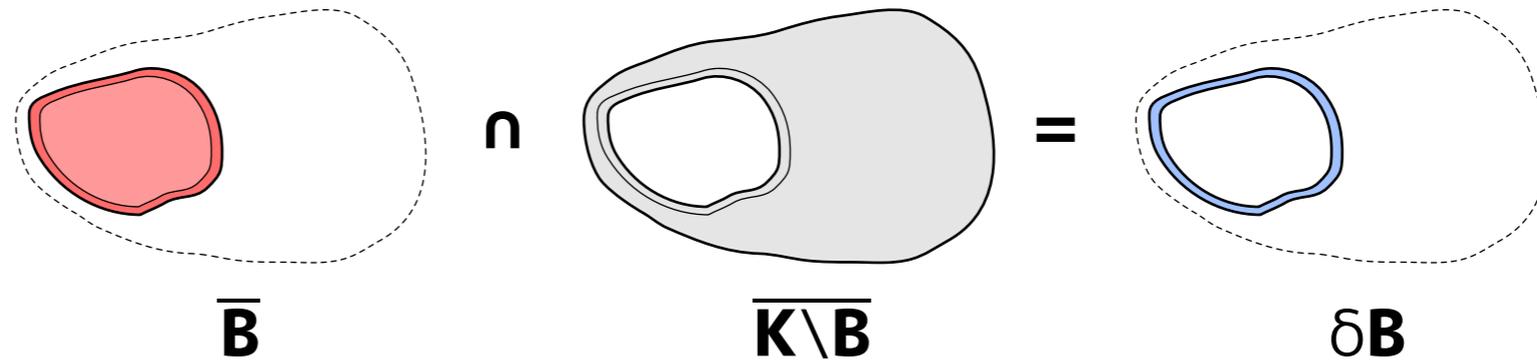
$$\bar{\mathbf{A}} = \{x \in \mathbf{R} \mid 0 \leq x \leq 1\} = [0, 1] \quad \text{int}(\bar{\mathbf{A}}) = \mathbf{A}$$

$$\delta\mathbf{A} = \{0, 1\} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---|---|---} \\ 0 \qquad \qquad 1 \end{array}$$

# THREE DEFINITIONS THE BOUNDARY OF A BODY

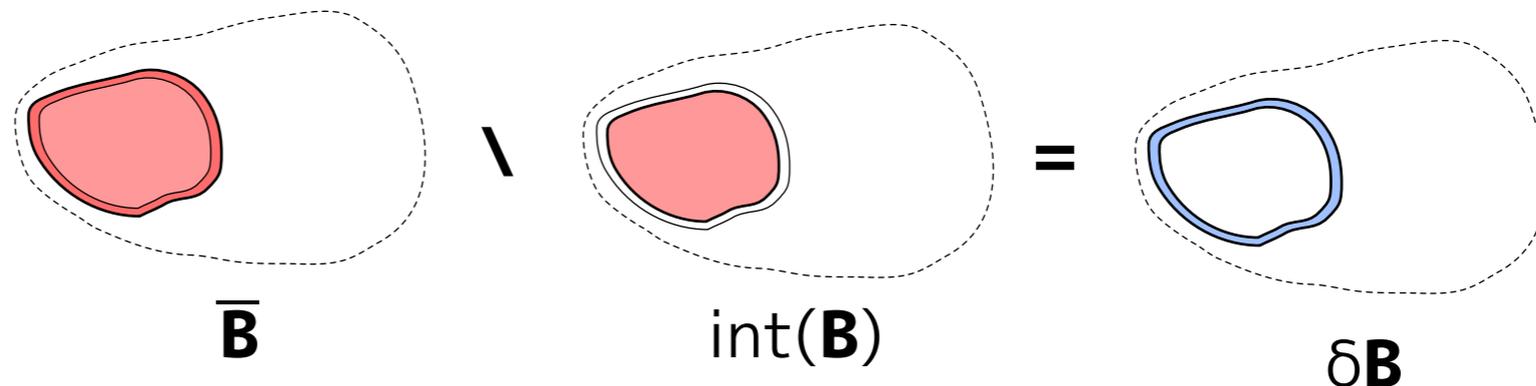
**I. boundary as the membrane of a political body:** the region of overlap between the political body and the social world overlap

$$\delta B = \bar{B} \cap \overline{K \setminus B}$$



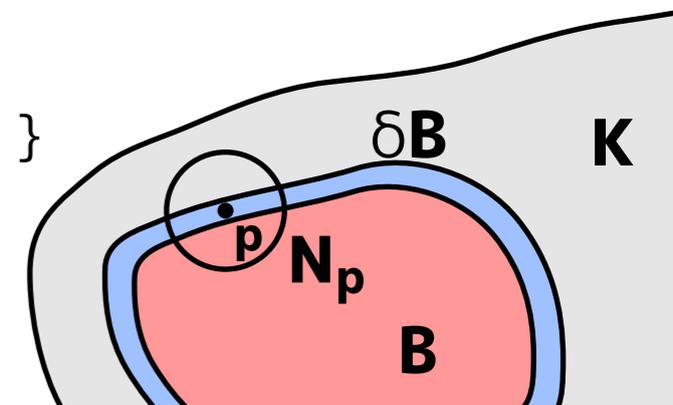
**II. boundary as the frontier of a political body:** the region of the political body which is not (yet) its interior

$$\delta B = \bar{B} \setminus \text{int}(B)$$

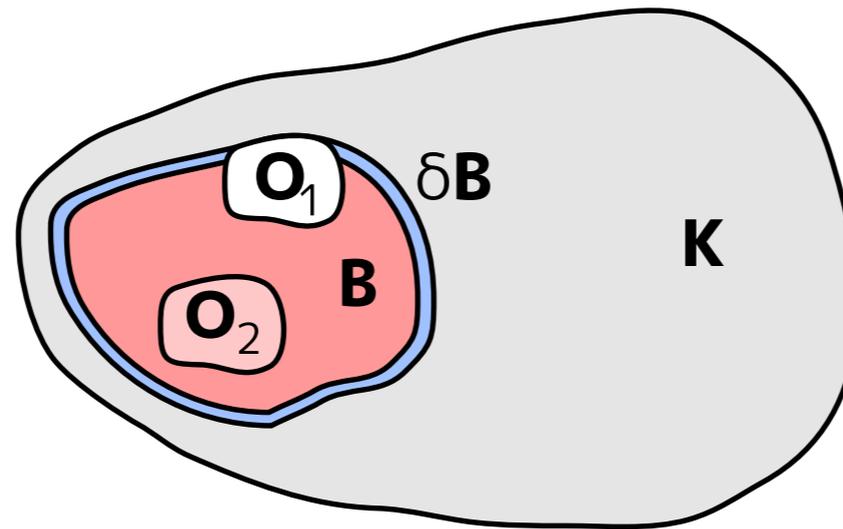


**III. boundary as the zone of dispute of a political body:** the point of the world which are close to both the political body and the social world

$$\delta B = \{ p \in K \mid \text{for all neighborhood } N_p \text{ of } p, N_p \cap B \neq \emptyset \text{ and } N_p \cap K \setminus B \neq \emptyset \}$$



# BOUNDARY AND TOPOLOGICAL SPACE



$$K \subset B \subset O \subset \emptyset$$

**dicotomy**

$$\bar{B} = \delta B + \text{int}(B)$$

**trichotomy**

$$K = \text{int}(B) + \delta B + \text{int}(K \setminus B)$$

## AXIOMS OF TOPOLOGY

**interior as primitive**

$\text{int}(B)$

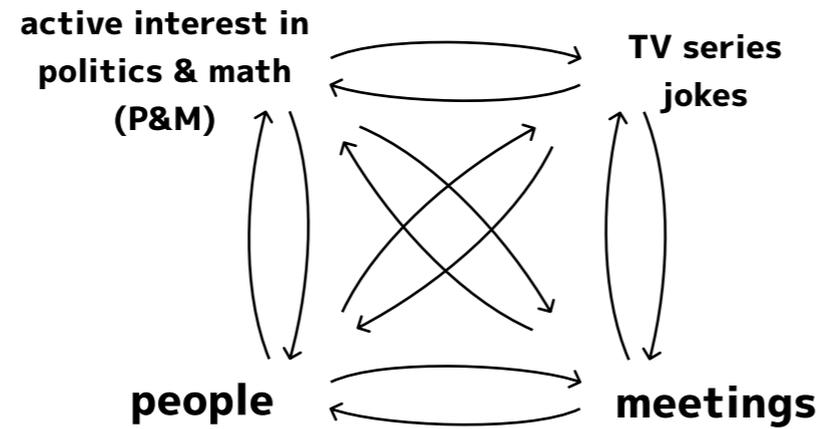
- I.  $\text{int}(B) = B$
- II.  $\text{int}(O) \subset O$
- III.  $\text{int}(O_1 \cap O_2) = \text{int}(O_1) \cap \text{int}(O_2)$
- IV.  $\text{int}(\text{int}(O)) = \text{int}(O)$

**boundary as primitive**

$\delta B$

- I.  $\delta(\emptyset) = \emptyset$
- II.  $\delta(B) = \delta(K \setminus B)$
- III.  $O_1 \cap O_2 \cap \delta(O_1 \cap O_2) = O_1 \cap O_2 \cap [\delta(O_1) \cup \delta(O_2)]$
- IVa.  $\delta(O \setminus \delta(O)) \subseteq \delta(O)$
- IVb.  $\delta(\delta(O)) \subseteq \delta(O)$

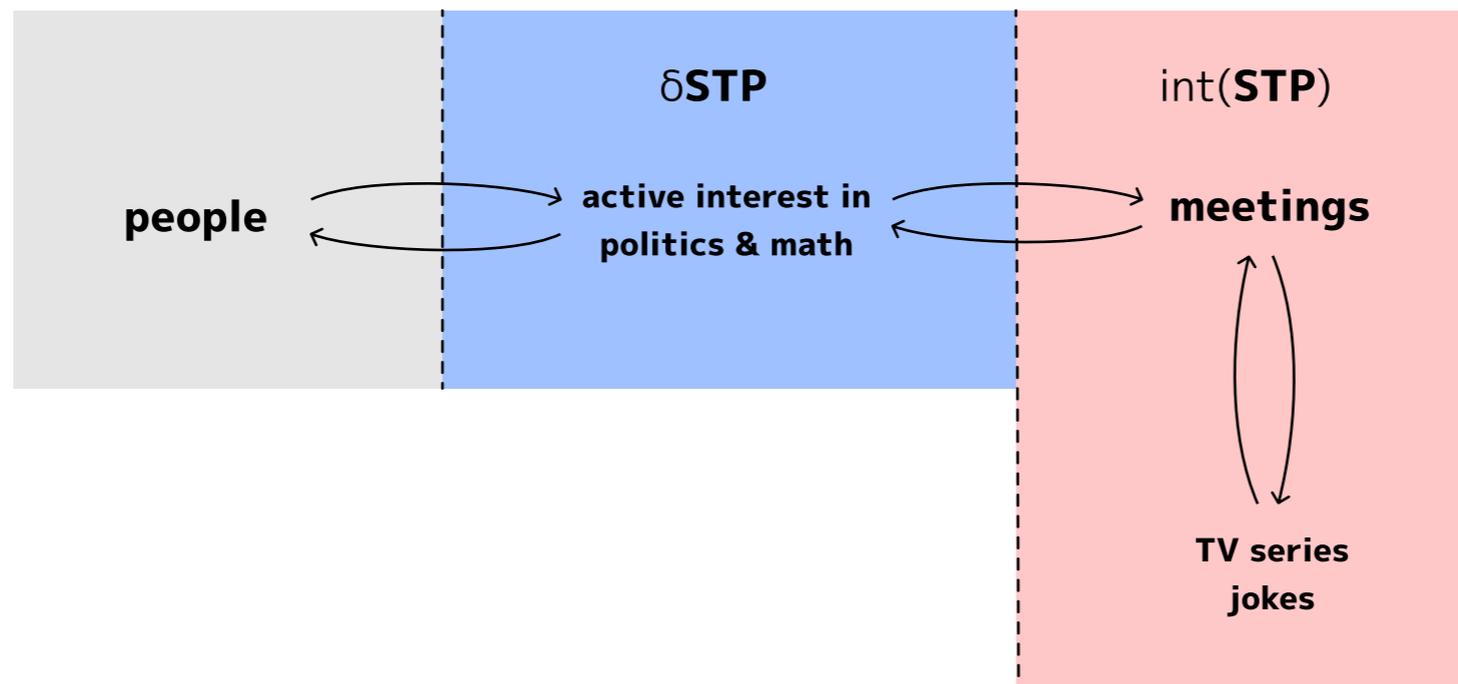
# EXAMPLE: SUBSET OF THEORETICAL PRACTICE



**members** are **people** such  
that  $\text{id}_{\text{P\&M} \rightarrow \text{meeting}}$   
 $\text{person} \in \text{people}$  exists

$\text{int}(\mathbf{STP}) = \{\text{meetings, TV series jokes}\}$

$\delta\mathbf{STP} = \{\text{interest in math \& politics}\}$



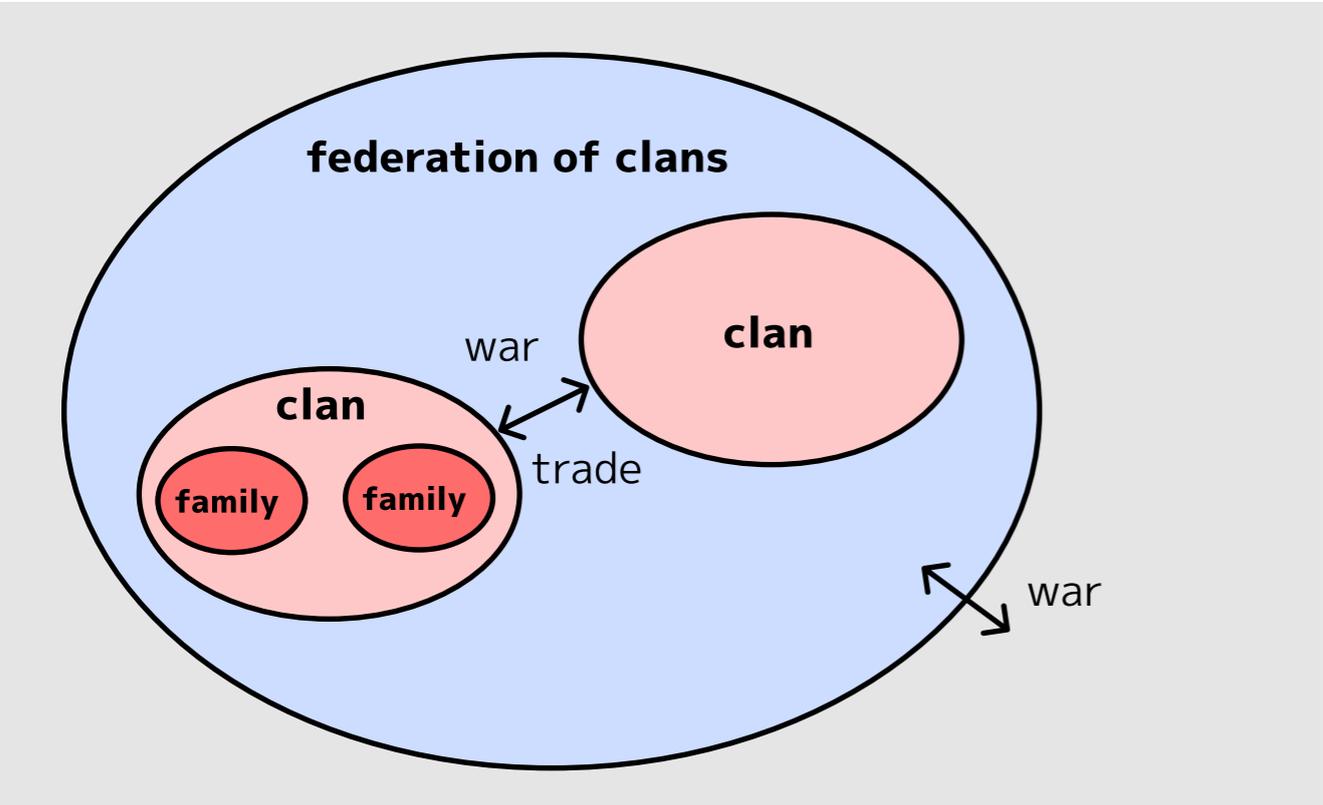
# EXAMPLES OF BOUNDARIES



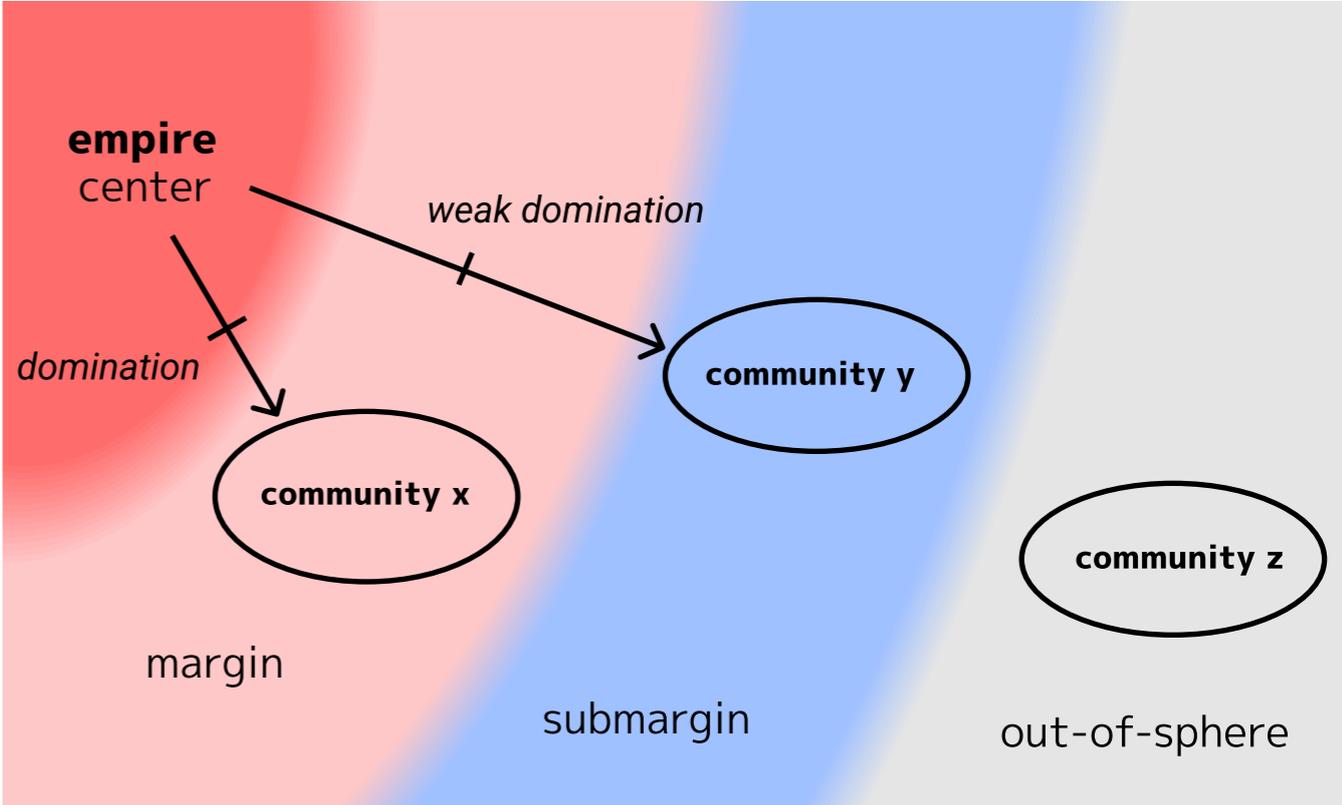
	hard core of theory	auxiliary hypothesis	competing theory	intra domain
<b>science</b>	theory	metaphysics	philosophy	inter domain
	axiomatized theory	$\emptyset$		no boundary (clopen sets)
	$\emptyset$	parascience		no interior
	form	content	world	
<b>art</b>	works	manifesto	politics	e.g. futurism, russian avant-garde
	$\emptyset$	propaganda	politics	
	non-figurative, ars gratia artis	$\emptyset$		
<b>love</b>	internal life and language of the couple	third element (e.g. work, trip, affair, friends, etc)		

# BOUNDARIES OF SOCIAL WORLDS

**MODE A**

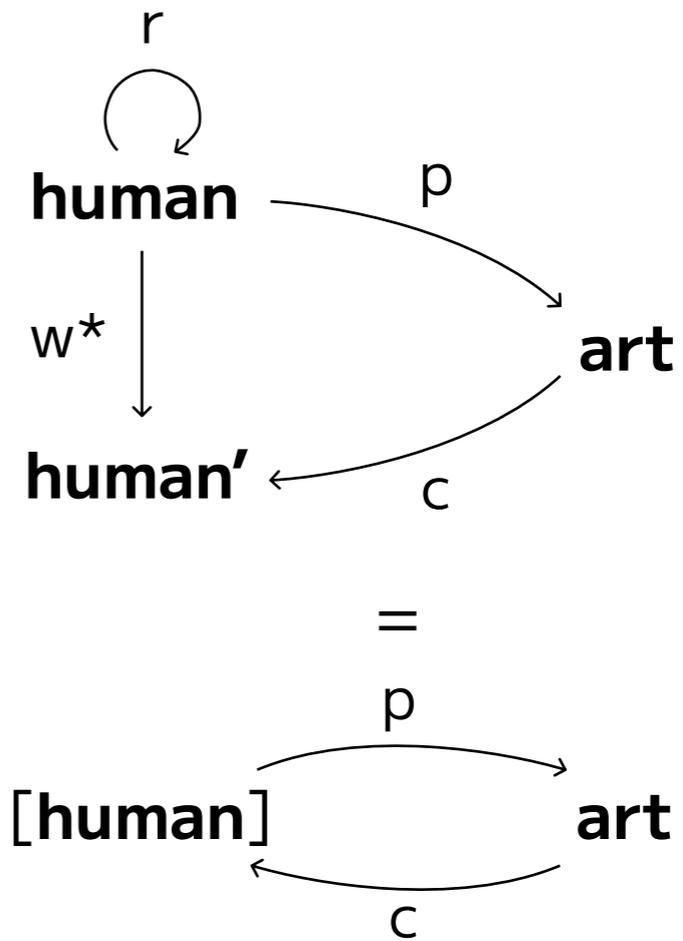
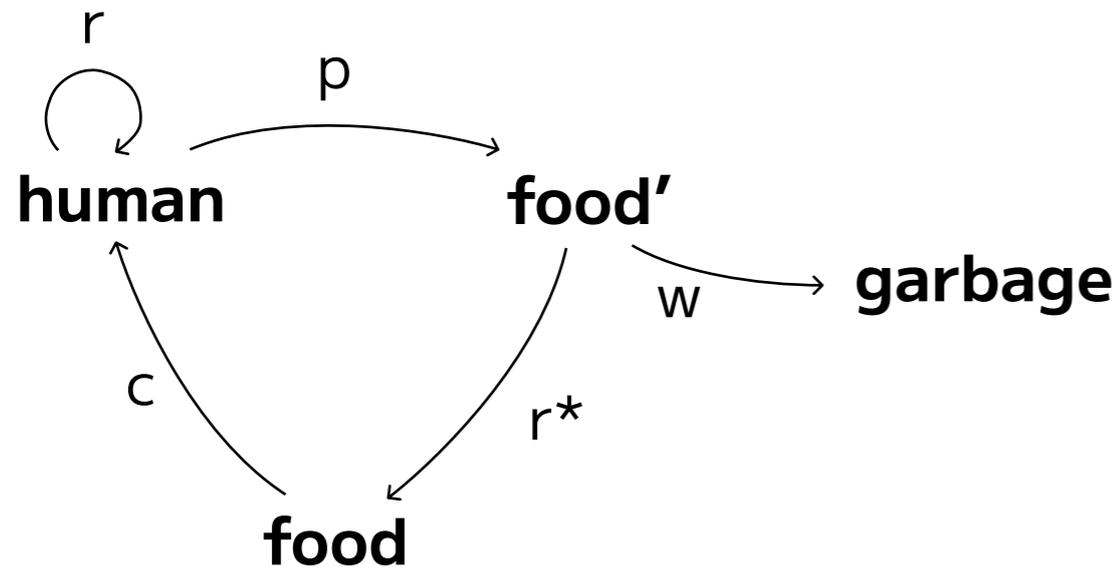


**MODE B**



# **III. REPRODUCTION**

# INTERACTION SPACES AS ECONOMIC REPRODUCTION



**production** ( $p: A \rightarrow B$ )

actions from A that reorganize the composition of B

**consumption** ( $c: A \rightarrow B$ )

effects were the composition of B is incorporated into A

**reproduction** ( $r: A \rightarrow A ; r = id_A$ )

transformations that act on the internal composition of A

**waste** ( $w: A \rightarrow \mathbf{1}$ )

actions which destroy part of internal composition of A

**work (or discipline)** ( $w^*: A \rightarrow A'$ )

actions which embed A into a larger space

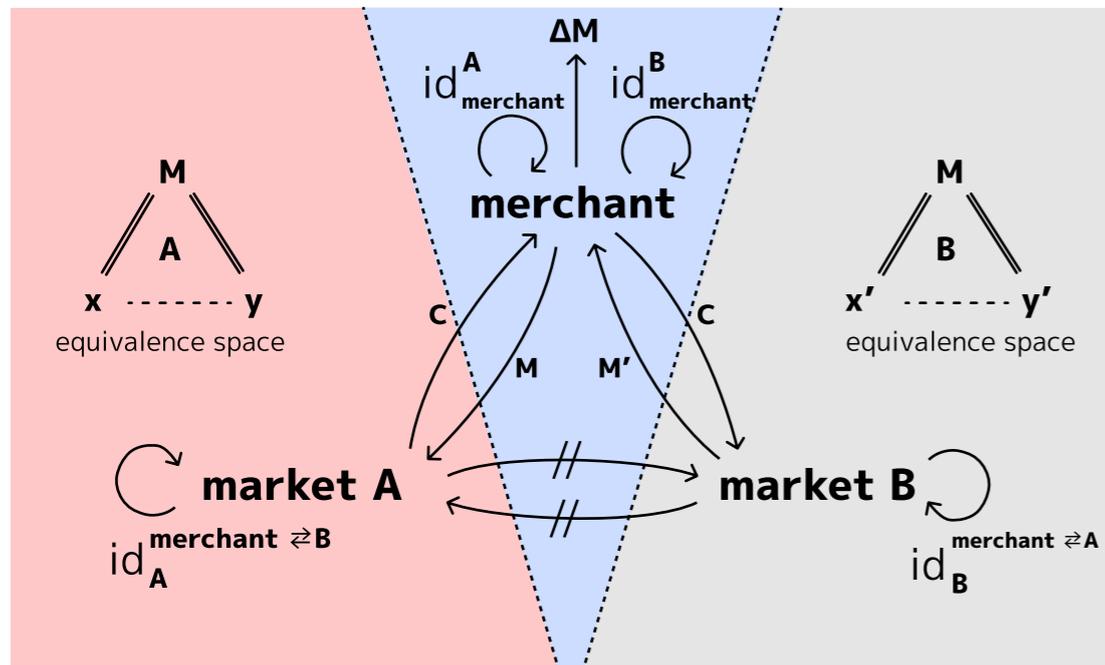
**reduction** ( $r^*: A' \rightarrow A$ )

actions which reduce  $A'$  into a smaller subspace of itself

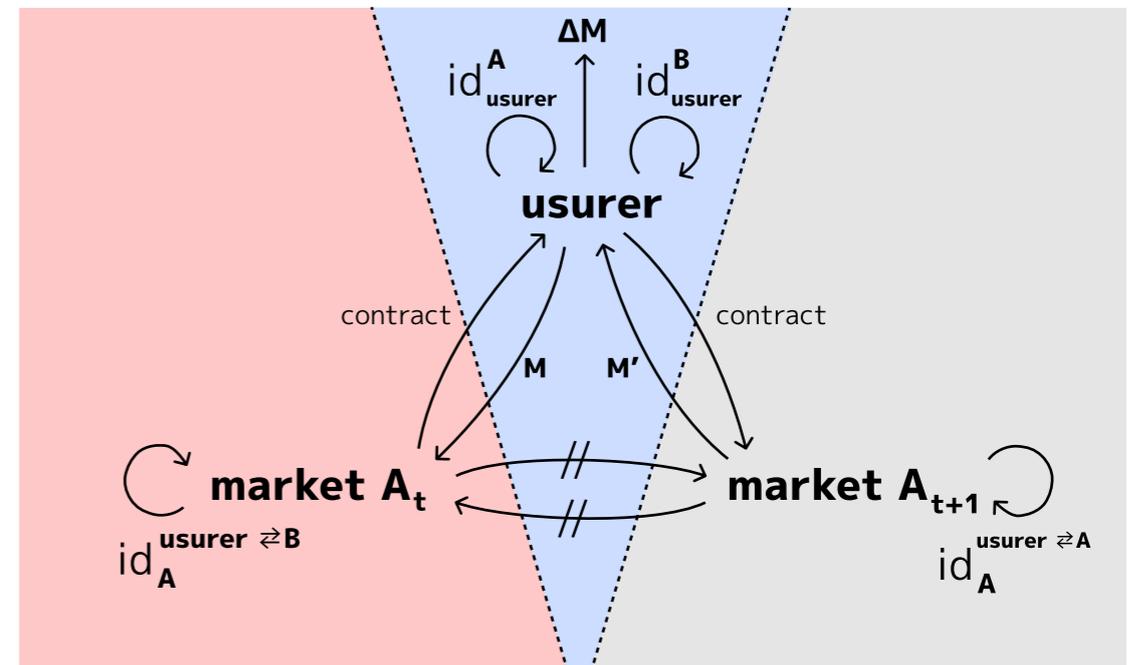
# THE REPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

## MODE C

**merchant capital**  
spatial differences

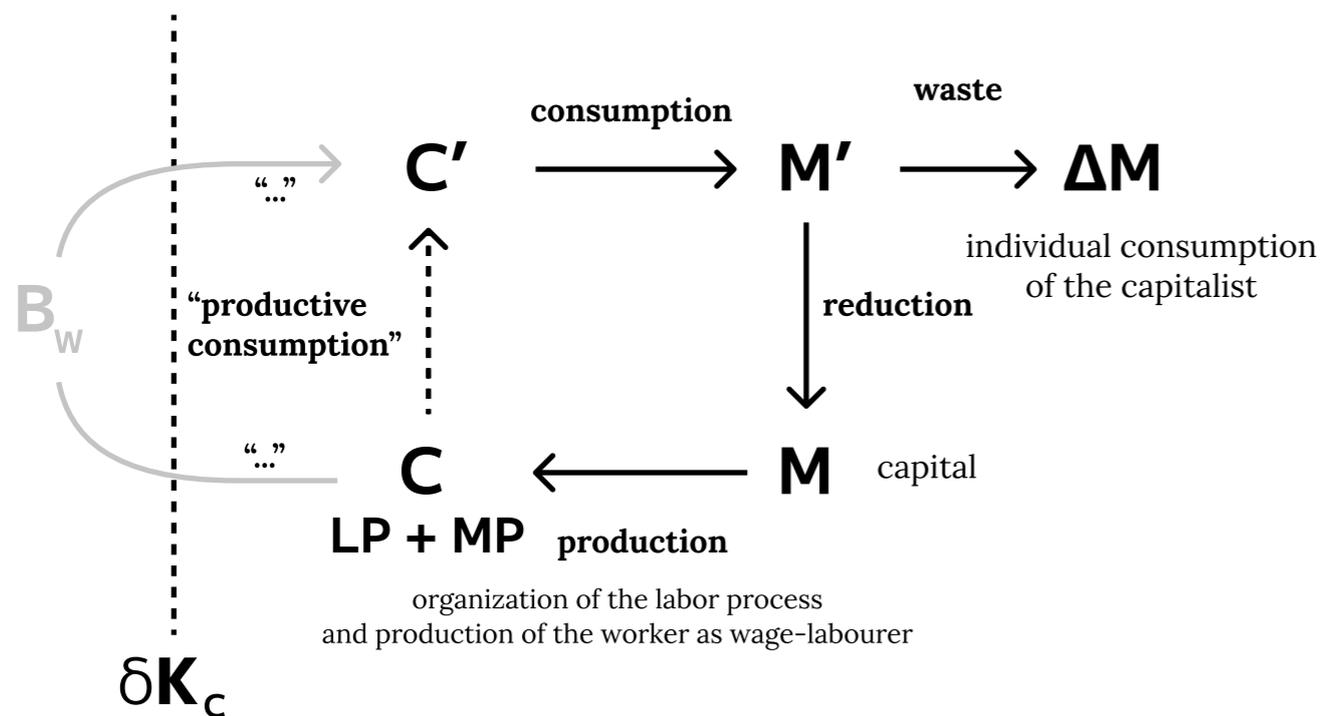


**usurer capital**  
temporal differences



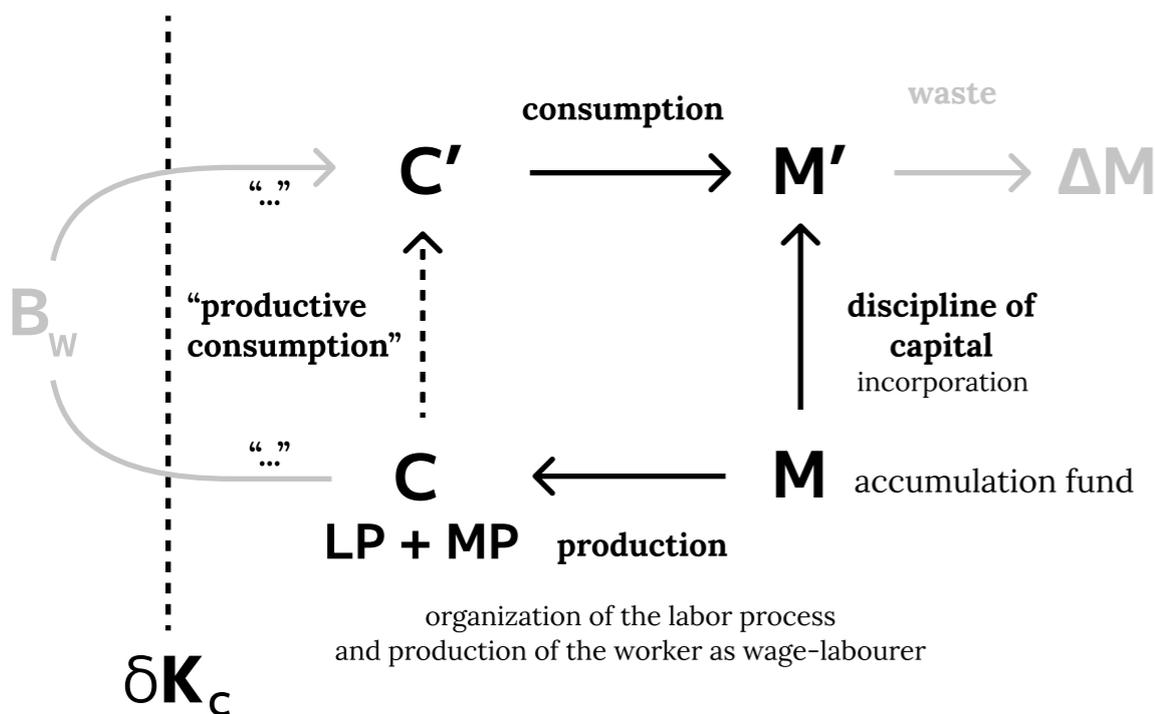
# THE REPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

## a. simple reproduction of capital



## b. extended reproduction of capital or the 'discipline' of capital

$$\boxed{M - C \dots P \dots C' - M'}$$



⇒

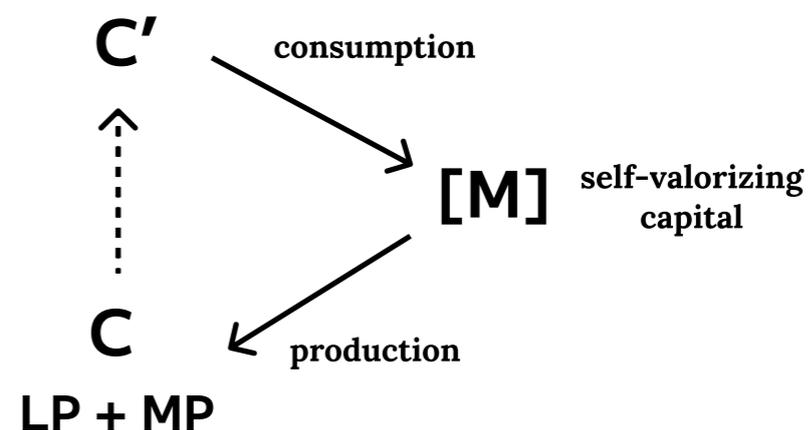
## self-valorizing capital & money

$$\textcircled{M'} \xrightarrow{\Delta M} \textcircled{M} = \textcircled{M} \text{id}_{[M]}$$

$$[M] = (M, M', M'', \dots)$$

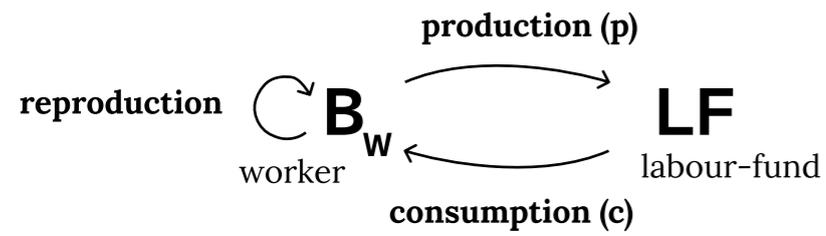
$$c \cdot p(M) = \text{id}_M(M) = k M'$$

equivalent up to a constant



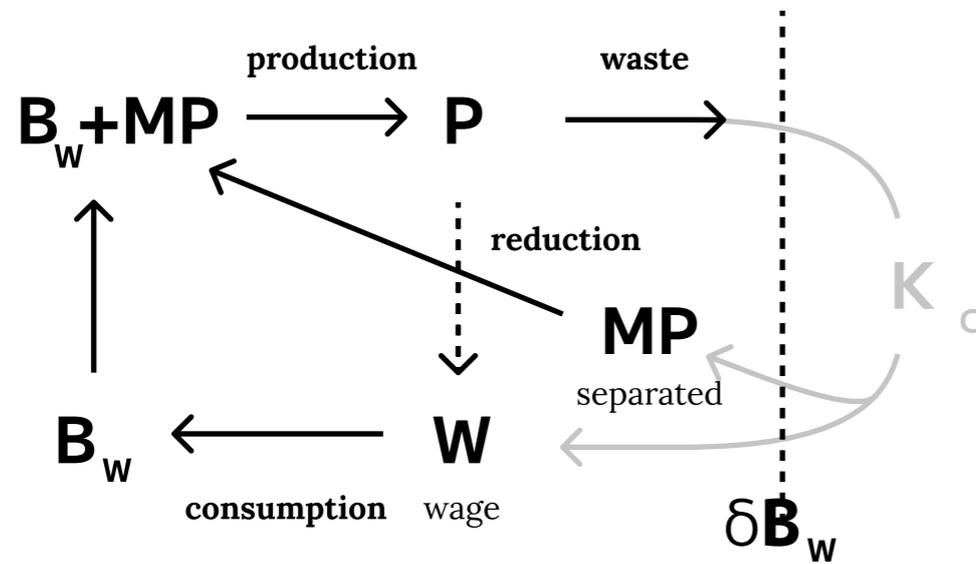
# THE REPRODUCTION OF THE WORKER

## a. general reproduction of worker

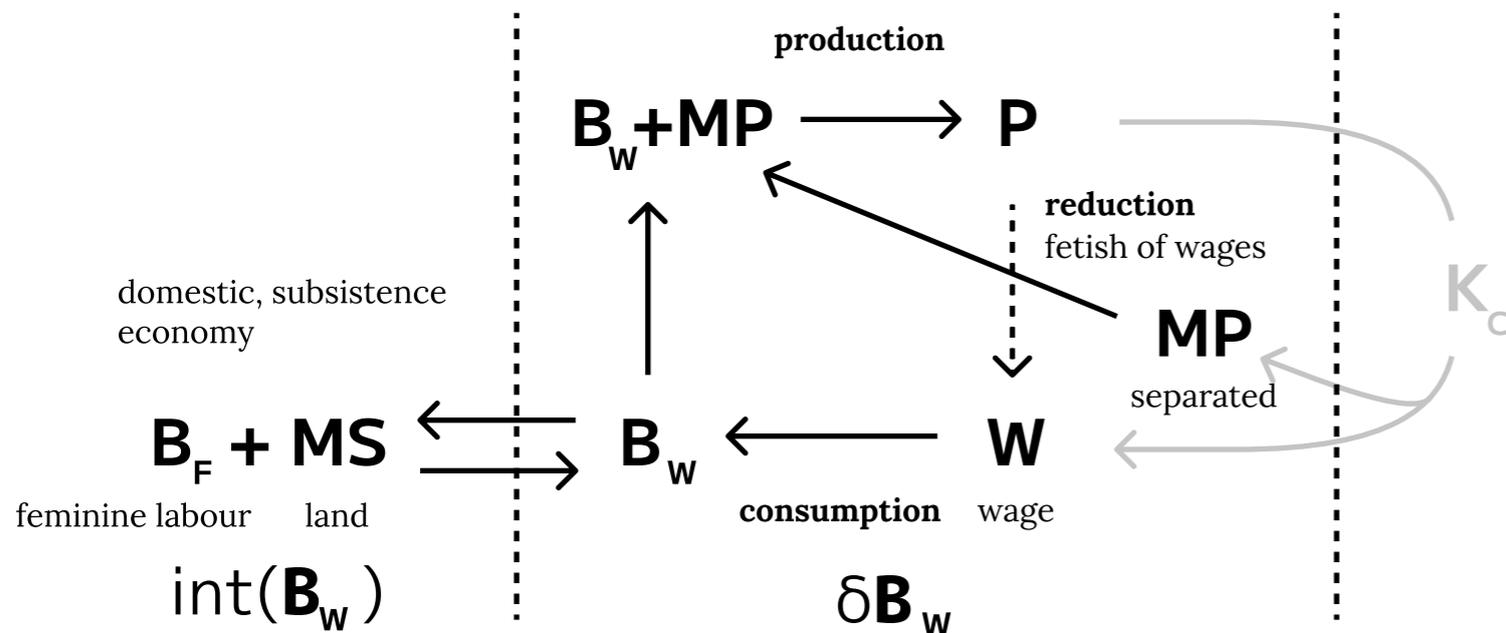


“Variable capital is therefore only a particular historical form of appearance of the fund for providing the necessities of life, or the **labour-fund** which the labourer requires for the maintenance of himself and family, and which, whatever be the system of social production, he must himself produce and reproduce.”  
(Marx, Capital Vol I, ch 23)

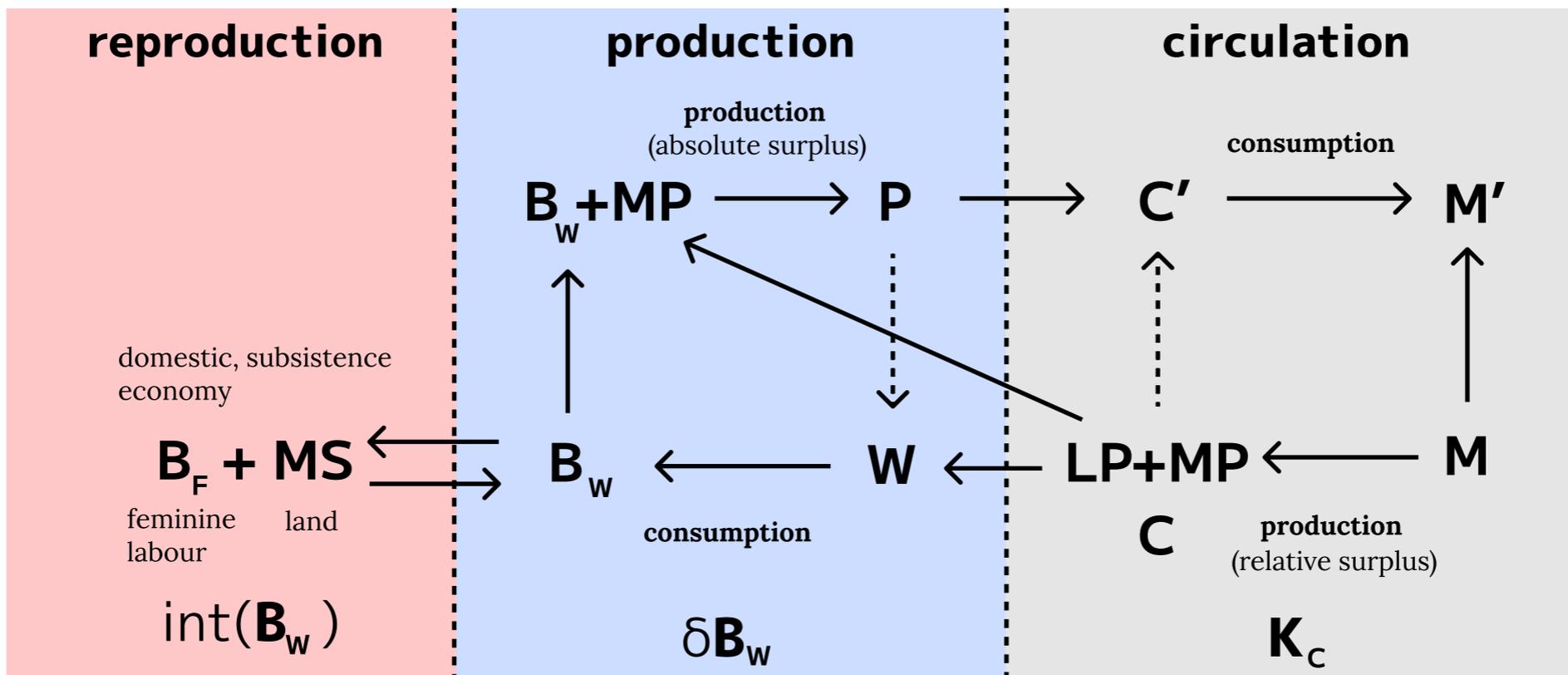
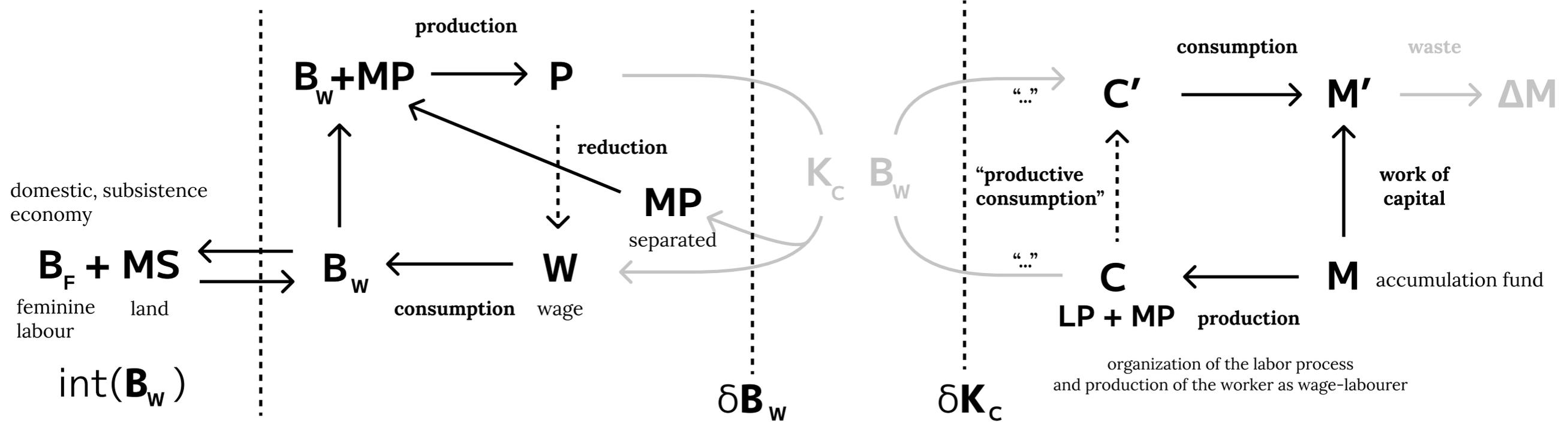
## b. reduced reproduction of worker



## c. doubled reproduction of worker



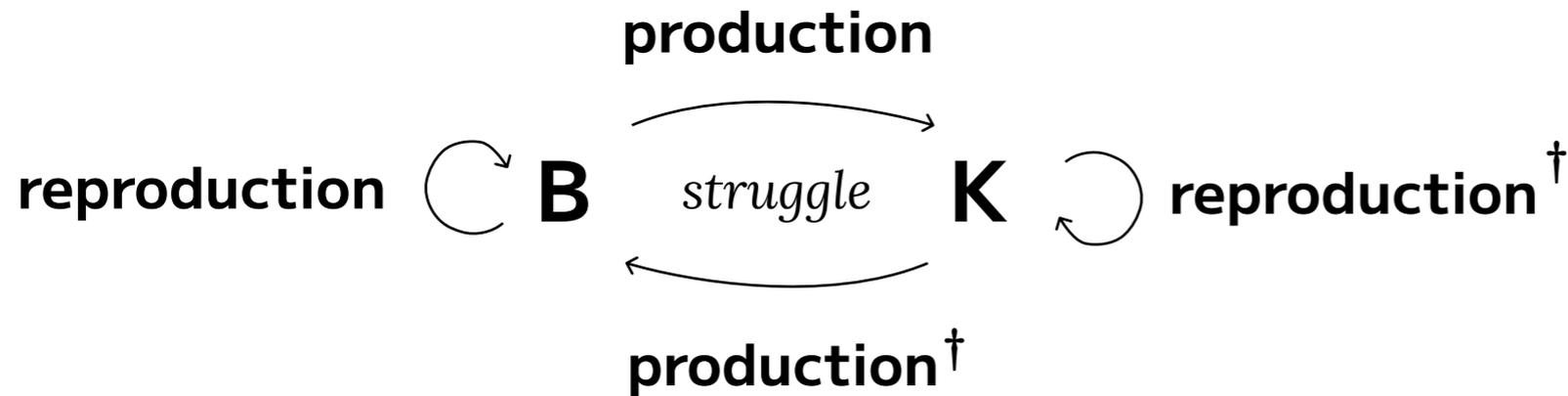
# THE REPRODUCTION OF WORKER & CAPITAL



“The labourer consumes in a two-fold way. While producing he consumes by his labour the means of production, and converts them into products with a higher value than that of the capital advanced. This is his **productive consumption**. It is at the same time consumption of his labour-power by the capitalist who bought it. On the other hand, the labourer turns the money paid to him for his labour-power, into means of subsistence: this is his **individual consumption**. The labourer’s productive consumption, and his individual consumption, are therefore totally distinct. In the former, he acts as the motive power of capital, and belongs to the capitalist. In the latter, he belongs to himself, and performs his necessary vital functions outside the process of production. The result of the one is, that the capitalist lives; of the other, that the labourer lives”. (Marx, Capital Vol I, ch 23)

# COMMUNIST REPRODUCTION?

## 1. dual production (dialectic as antagonism)



communist hypothesis

$$\text{id}_B > \text{id}_K$$

capitalist  
reproduction

$$\text{id}_K, \text{id}_K^B$$

communist  
reproduction

$$\text{id}_B, \text{id}_B^K$$

struggle

$$\left| \text{id}_B^K - \text{id}_K^B \right|$$

transition

$$\left| \text{id}_B - \text{id}_K \right|$$

## 2. double reproduction (dialectic as scission)

$$\bar{\mathbf{B}} = \text{int}(\mathbf{B}) + \delta\mathbf{B}$$

$\circlearrowright$ 
 $\circlearrowright$

communism      commoning      communization

commons

$$\mathbf{O} \in \text{int}(\mathbf{B})$$

commoning

$$\text{id}_B^{\mathbf{O} \in \text{int}(\mathbf{B})}$$

organs & objects

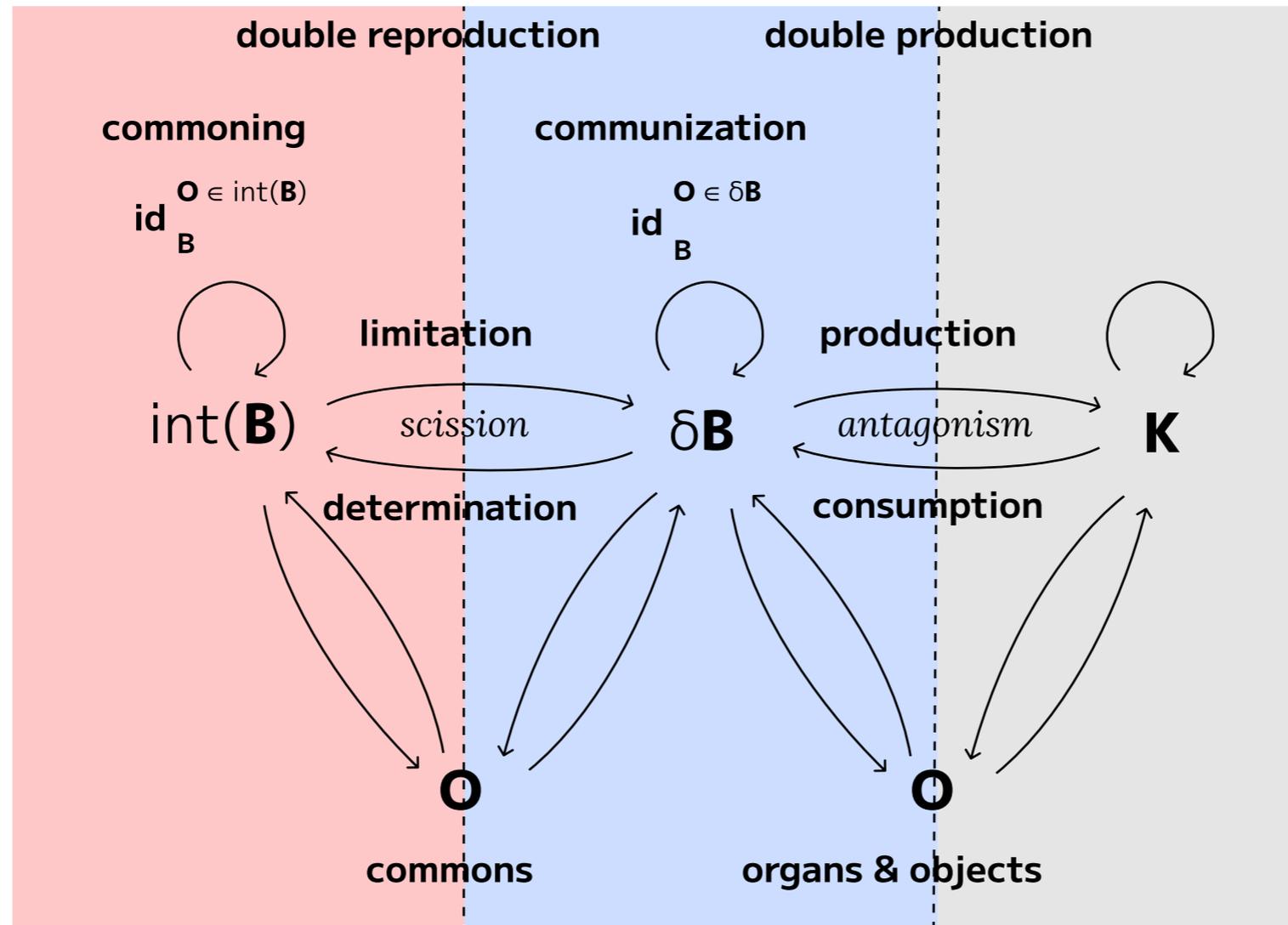
$$\mathbf{O} \in \delta\mathbf{B} \cup \text{int}(\mathbf{B})$$

communization

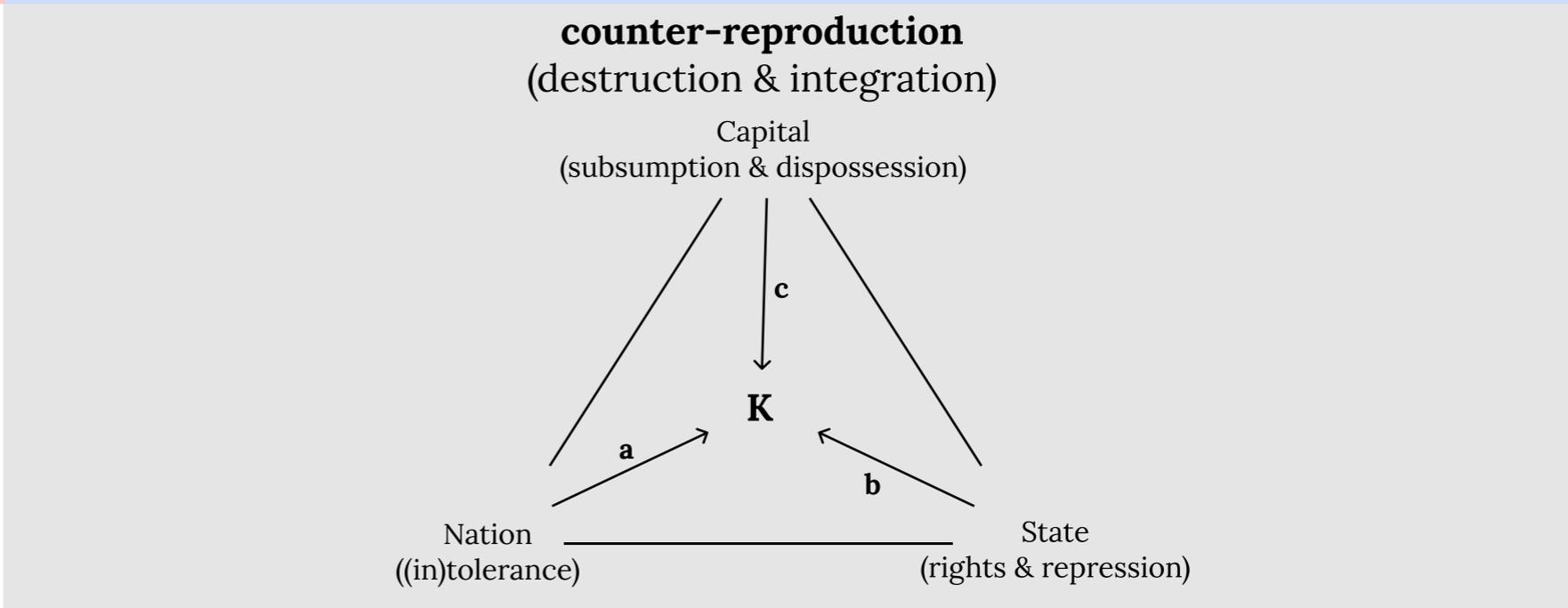
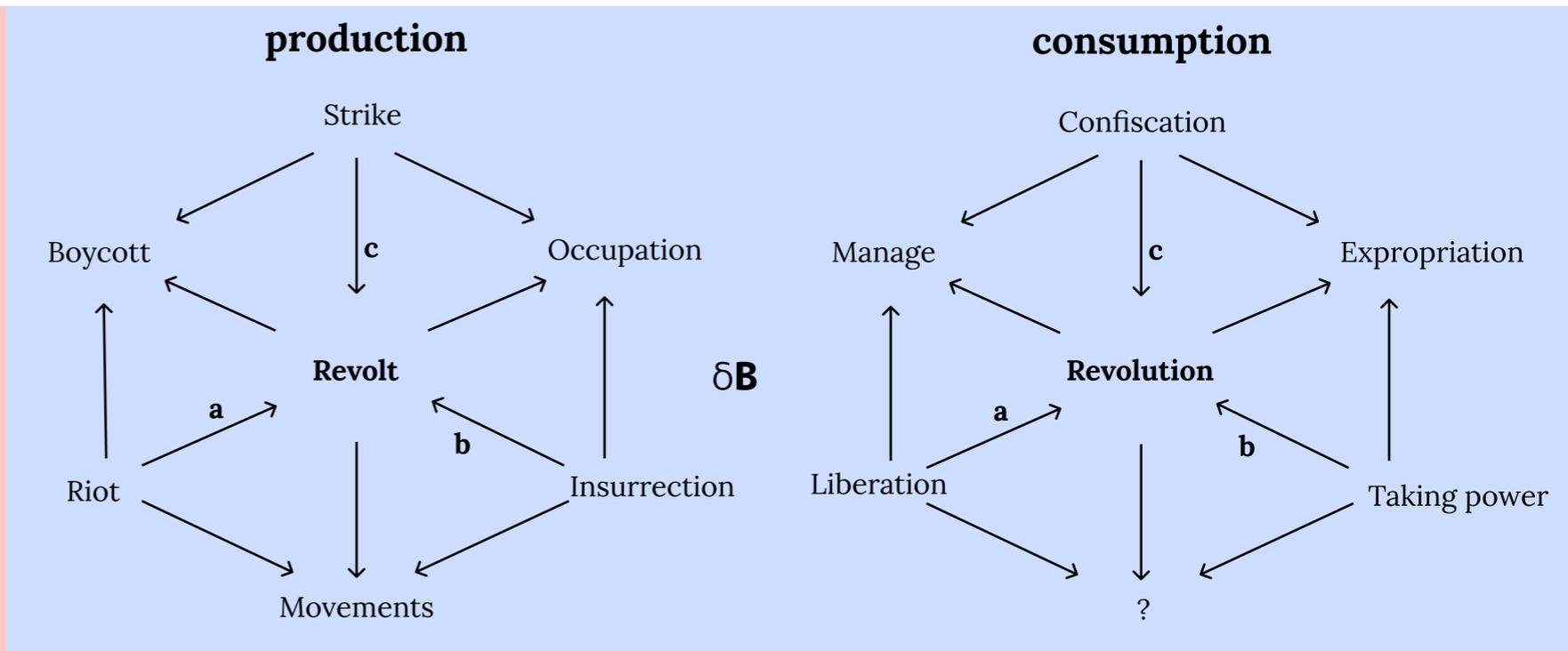
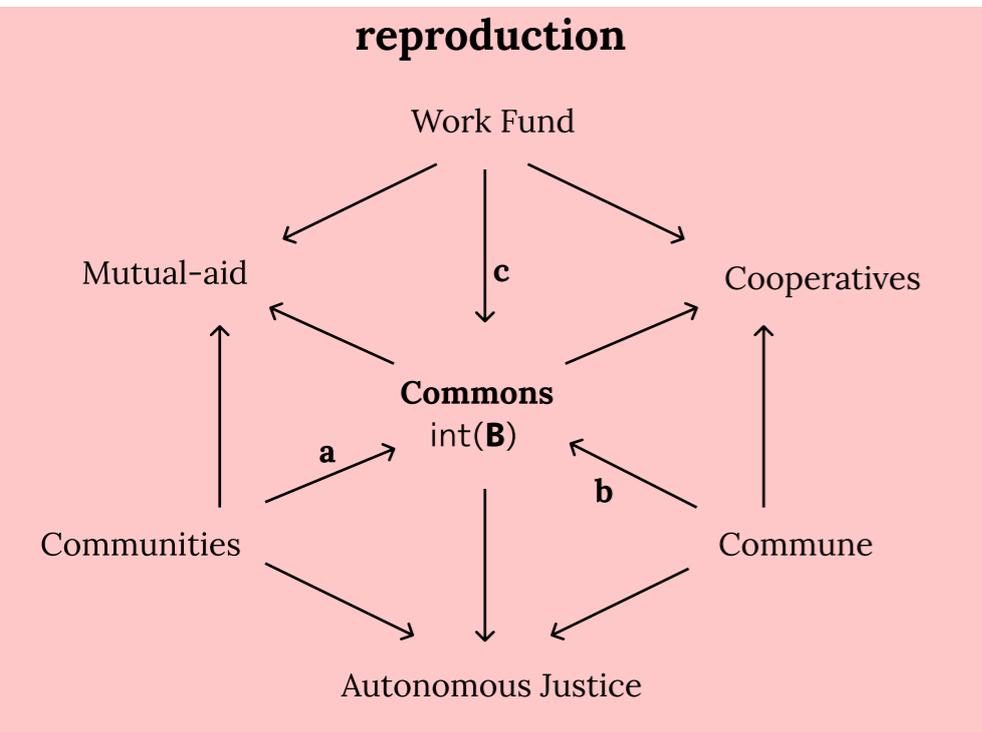
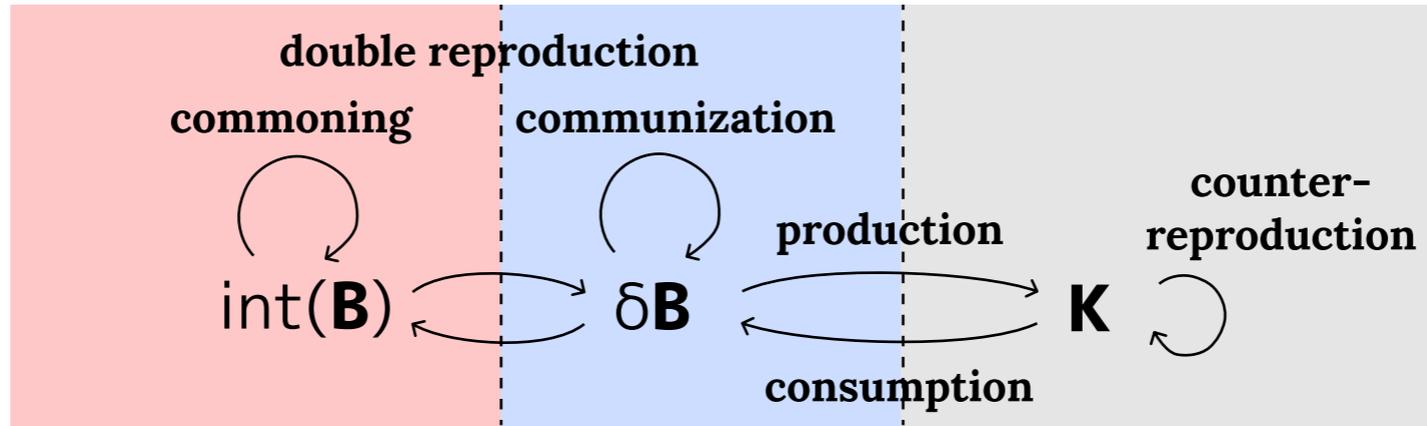
$$\text{id}_B^{\mathbf{O} \in \delta\mathbf{B}}$$

# POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNISM

*communism as real movement*



# POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNISM



# IV. RESIDUE

**For us, in the secondary school movement, it seems that we are always starting.** On one hand, starting our political action; on the other hand, starting or resuming from scratch the organization of our political spaces. A good part of those who participated in student councils had to dedicate themselves, first, to their (re)construction. **The rhythm imposed by the three-year high school cycle is hostile to the formation of lasting student organizations.**

Breaking the cycle of eternal (re)beginning characteristic of secondary school struggles and organizations, both inside and outside the schools, **requires keeping alive their previous and contemporary experiences, relating past, present, and future of the movement.** That is, to see them as part of the same history, tracing their historical meaning. Without formulated continuity, actions become meaningless and it is almost impossible to build a collective identity [31].

At the same time, the effort to intervene in these ephemeral irruptions produces a kind of "freelance militancy," which **reflects the fluidity and disintegration of the world around us: militant organization also disperses itself in the fog.**

Recognizing this condition of instability means **assuming our practice as "residue" and not "accumulation":** time to gather shards, elaborate the defeats, and keep on the lookout for the next tremors. Using names that come and go along with the struggles, we have endeavored to probe the terrain and formulate the impasse as a starting point for action and reflection.

The search for identity within oneself: a Polygremia of guilds  
Now, Polygremia - a union of the Latin Poli- to the Portuguese Grêmios - should, by definition, seek the point of convergence, the common sense between the experiences of these organizations. But establishing the relationship between them is not such a clear or simple task, and **it is easy to miss how absurd it is to look outside the experience of the guilds for a meaning for their unity.** In this way, **the Poligremia gets lost in an absence of identity, which returns cyclically in moments of ebb and demobilization.** This **identity void** was filled in early 2011 by the mobilizations against the raise. The involvement with a broader struggle and at first external to Poligremia temporarily provided the purpose that its actions lack.

**the 'Poligremia' experience (2012)**

<https://passapalavra.info/2012/06/60822/>

**"about"** a group of militants in the fog (2022)  
[neblina.xyz](http://neblina.xyz)

# RESIDUES

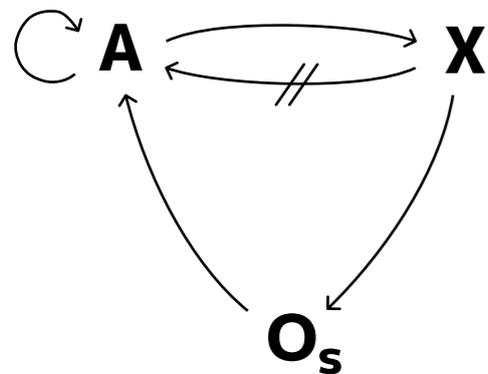
## problem of sensing

### limit object



making a difference,  
without sensing it

### sensor organ



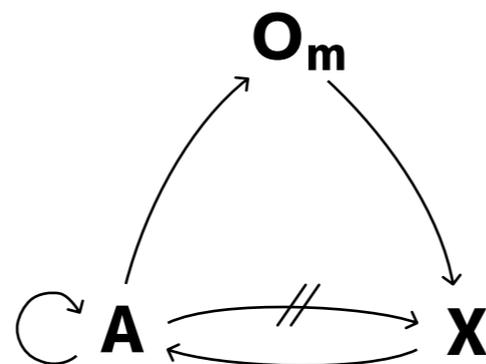
## problem of intervening

### petit object



sensing a difference,  
without making it

### actuator organ



gesture that makes a  
difference to what is  
sensed

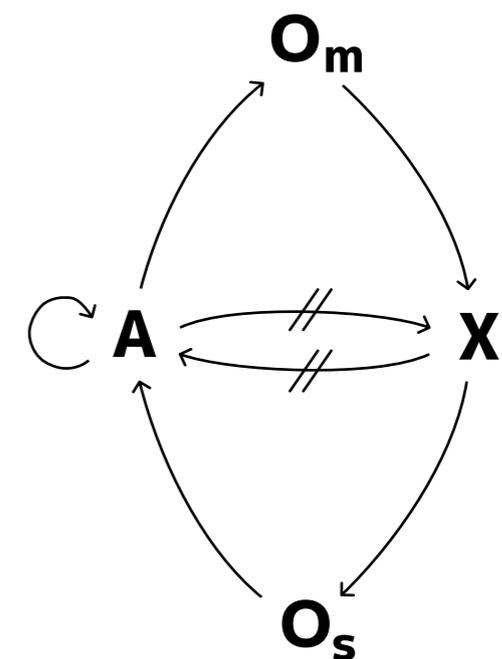
## problem of connecting

### isolate object



absence of difference  
making, object is  
disconnected

### organs



# POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS & INQUIRIES

## political experiment

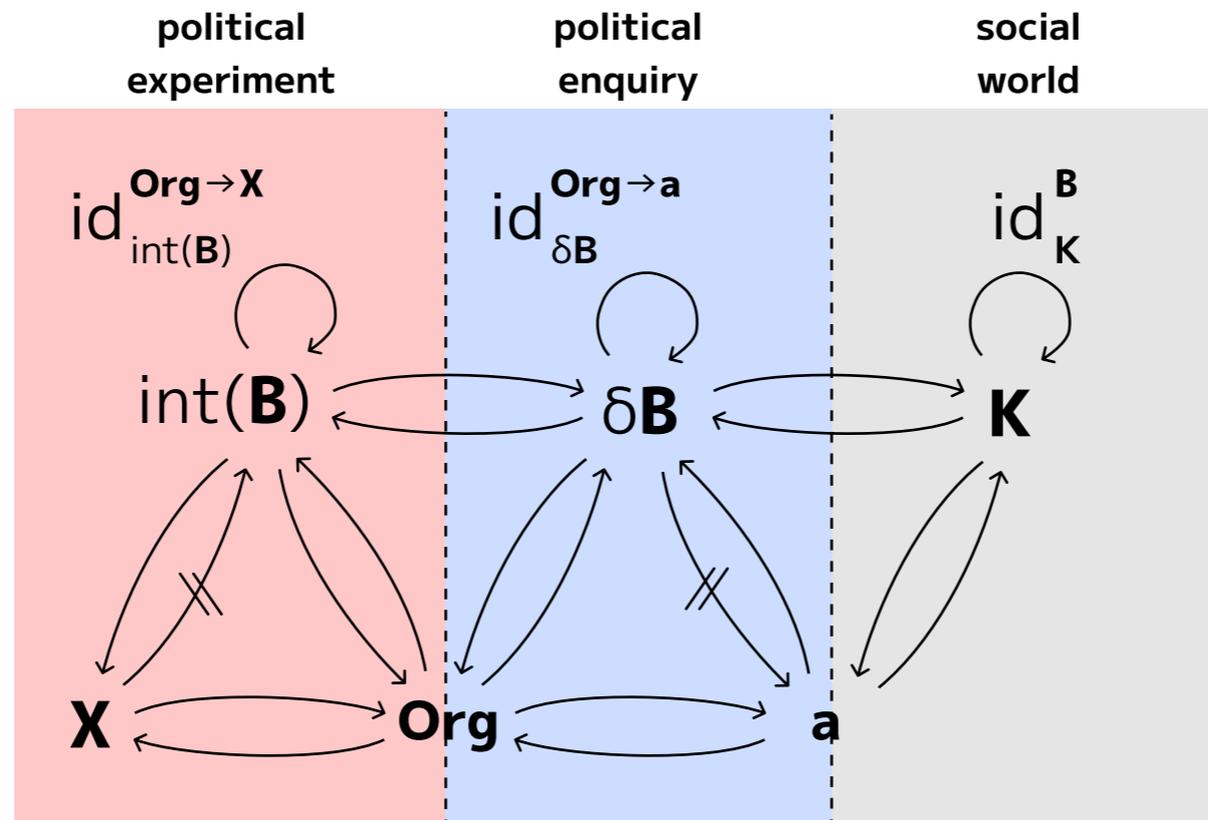
$$id_{int(B)}^{Org \rightarrow X}$$

the practices of experimenting with the internal composition of a political body stabilized by a boundary; of producing new phenomena that put the communist hypothesis to test, the hypothesis that the power of its internal composition under the trace can be greater than that of the social world

## political enquiries

$$id_{\delta B}^{Org \rightarrow a}$$

the practices of investigating and intervening on the composition of the social world, at the edge of a political boundary; of incorporating new material into its internal composition and debasing the social world by testing the connection social elements to political body under a trace



# FROM ACCUMULATION TO RESIDUES OF STRUGGLE

Residue Theorem: Suppose  $f(z)$  is a complex function with many singular points,  $z_1, z_2, \dots, z_n$ .

$$\oint_C f(z) dz = 2\pi i \sum_{j=1}^n b_{ij}$$

encloses these

By Cauchy's Theorem:

$$\oint_{C_1} f(z) dz = 0$$

Proof:

$z_1, z_2, z_3$  are singular points

path  $C_1$

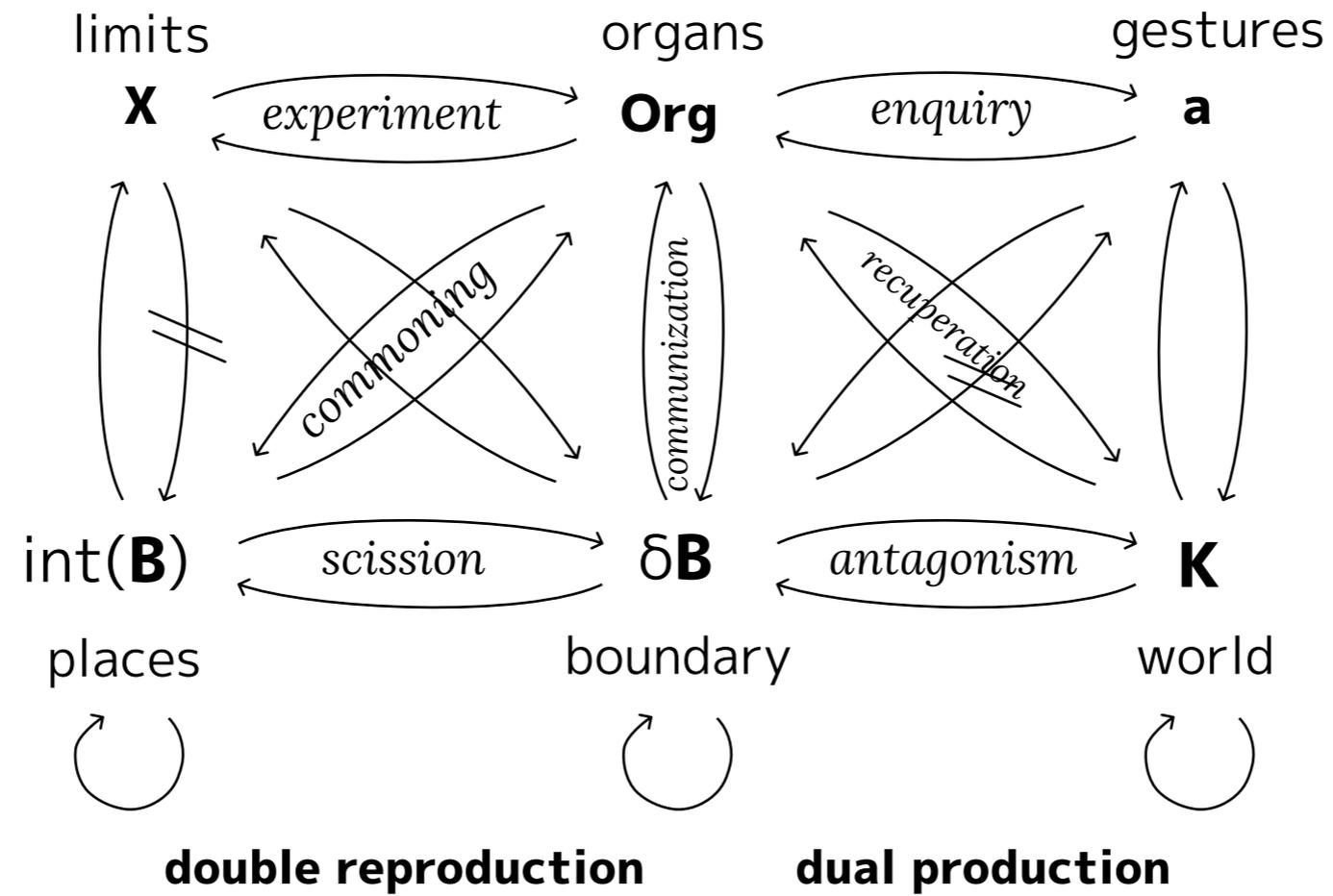
Re(z)

Im(z)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YWIseo5LwgQ>

to learn and mourn a failure is to encircle the body of a defeat and collect its residues

# SUMMARY



# SCHOOL OCCUPATIONS IN SÃO PAULO (2015-2016)

