



**Reformation, Revolution and Crisis  
in European History, Culture and  
Political Thought**

**International Conference, the University of  
Sydney,**

**29 November to 1 December 2017**

**New Law Building, 100**



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**SYDNEY**

**Day One: November 29**

**6pm**

Keynote Address

*Luther and Dreams*

Lyndal Roper

Chair: Peter Morgan

Discussant: Cat Moir

Location: Law School Foyer, Level 2

**Day Two: November 30**

**9.15am**

Sign-In

Location: New Law School, Room100

**9.30am**

Welcome to Country, Organisers' Welcome

**9.45am**

The Reformation and its Discontents

Chair: Roland Boer

*The New World and the Reformation*

Giacomo Bianchino

*Reform, Revolution and German Exceptionalism in Ernst Bloch and Hugo Ball*

Cat Moir

*The Economic Effects of Catholic Church Censorship During the Counter-Reformation*

Jordi Vidal-Robert

**11.15am**

Morning Tea

**11.30am**

The French Revolution and its Aftermath

Chair: Roger Markwick

*The Role of the Spectator in the French Revolution*

Felicity Nanda Jarosz

*The Science of Proof: Forensic Medicine in France 1789-1900*

Claire Cage

**12.30pm**

Lunch

**1.15pm**

Keynote Address

*The Russian Revolution as a Transformatory Event.*

Graeme Gill

**2pm**

On the Russian Revolution

Chair: Bronwyn Winter

*Violence, Emancipation and the 1917 Russian Revolutions*

Roger Markwick

*The Bolshevik Revolution as Seen by Vladimir Nabokov and His Father, and its Afterlife in His Work*

David Potter

**3pm**

Afternoon Tea

**3.15pm**

Remaking the Human in the Interwar Years

Chair: Elizabeth Rechniewski

*Surrealism, Gender and Revolutionary Subjectivity*

Rory Dufficy

*A Revolutionary Approach to Physical Culture?: Communists, Democrats, and Fascists Across National Boundaries in Interwar Europe*

Keith Rathbone

**4.15pm**

Short Break

**4.30pm**

Linguistic And Political Decolonisation

Chair: Robert Aldrich

*1947: Madagascar, Reform or Revolution*

Elizabeth Rechniewski

*La Langue de nos maîtres : Présence Africaine and the Question of Language at the End of French Empire*

Sarah Claire-Dunstan

**6.30pm**

Conference Dinner

Glebe Point Diner

Location: 407 Glebe Point Road, Glebe

**Day Three: December 1**

**9.30am**

Logics of Revolutionary Change

Chair: Robert Boncardo

*The Logical Necessity of the Weakest Link, or, Why Successful Socialist Revolutions Took Place Outside Europe*

Roland Boer

*Of the Duality of Crises – the 2008 Financial Crisis as Economics and Ideology in the British Context*

Clémence Fourton

*Whig History and the Politics of Crisis*

Charles Richardson

**11am**

Morning Tea

**11.15am**

Revolutionary Communities, Religious Communities

Chair: Cat Moir

*Reading the Signs of the Times: The Moravian Brethren's Quiet Revolution*

Christina Petterson

*Missionary Texts: Authority, Masculinity, and Reform*

Maria Veber

**12.15pm**

Lunch

**1pm**

French Maoism

Chair: Rory Dufficy

*Courage and Escape in Post-War France: The Fallout of May '68 in the Works of Alain Badiou and Maurice Blanchot*

Peter Korotaev

*The Shanghai Commune and French Maoism*

Robert Boncardo

**2pm**

Short Break

**2.10pm**

The Making of Modern Europe

Chair: Cat Moir

*The Congress of Berlin: mapping the Balkans 140 years on*

Nina Markovic

*The Right to Asylum: One of the Great Contradictions of Modern European History*

Bronwyn Winter

*Is There a Philosophical Europeanism?*

Mark Kelly

**3.40pm**

Afternoon Tea

**4pm**

Conference Round-Up

*The legacy of reform and revolution in Europe*

Chair: Vrasidas Karalis

Discussants: Bronwyn Winter, Lyndal Roper, Cat Moir, Graeme Gill

**4.30pm**

Conference Close

## **Abstracts**

*Luther and Dreams*

Lyndal Roper

Luther regularly labelled superstition, Catholic dogma, and the beliefs of the Turks and the Jews, as 'dreams'. 'Lauter somnia', pure dreams, was one of his favourite insults, and he liked nothing better than to debunk them. Yet Luther was also fascinated by signs and portents, and though he often joked about dreams, he too noted important dreams. Dreams also happened to be recorded at key turning points of the Reformation, and they give rare insight into Luther's deepest anxieties and feelings. Discussed collectively, Luther and his followers used dream interpretations to communicate concerns they did not discuss explicitly. This lecture explores how historians can make use of dreams to understand the subjectivity of people in the past.

*The New World and the Reformation*

Giacomo Bianchino

Hegel's somewhat confused fidelity to the Reformation (perhaps the Badiouian Event par-excellence) shows that even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its political meaning was still in the process of being created. He defines the new Lutheranism as precondition of a newly reflective subjectivism. It is also, however, the herald of a movement towards tolerance and universalism. Hegel anchors these two Protestant reflections to a third term, decidedly historical. This is the discovery and settlement of America. In *Homo Sacer*, Agamben quotes Locke's position that "In the beginning, all the world was America." The New World represented a State of Exception that not only formed part of the logic of European sovereignty, but became lodged at the foundation of its redefinition. The facticity of America demands the inauguration of the 'European Idea.' In discovering a limit-situation, Europe is forced inwards. The Reformation, then, appears as the mediating term between the age of discovery and European idealism. The Protestant turn to *innerlichkeit* was a manner of coping with the expansion of content for the "human" concept. In discovering the limits of the external within the internal, Protestantism gives birth to its two chief sciences: Critical Philosophy and Anthropology. This paper seeks to plot the Reformation on a diagonal between the discovery of the New World and the critical invention of the *Ius Publicum Europaeum*. It argues that the Protestant tautology between inner and

outer that defined the attempts to reconceive the human across subsequent centuries. Such a struggle to equate the self with the other continues, indeed, to inform the “cultural” struggles with the New World in Europe today.

*Reform, Revolution and German Exceptionalism in Ernst Bloch and Hugo Ball*  
Cat Moir

The legacy of the Reformation has been often invoked to explain moments of crisis in Europe. Perhaps the most famous example is the ‘Luther-to-Hitler’ thesis put forward by some historians after the Second World War to argue that Luther stood at the origin of a cult of authority in German history, which eventually made fertile ground for the growth of National Socialism. This paper reconsiders the role the Reformation has played in framing the question of German exceptionalism by examining comparatively the contributions of two Weimar authors to these debates. In the aftermath of the First World War, and the Russian October (1917) and German November (1918-19) revolutions, Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) and Hugo Ball (1886-1927) both looked to the past in search of explanations for the crises of their own time. Concerned to understand why Germany had embraced the prospect of war so enthusiastically, and why its revolution had failed where the Russian was perceived to have in some sense succeeded, they invoked a narrative of German exceptionalism which they traced back to Martin Luther’s defeat of the radical Reformation led by Thomas Münzer. Yet while for Bloch Münzer became a class-hero ante rem and the herald of a collectivist future, for Ball he was the cipher of what Anson Rabinbach has called an ‘inverted nationalism’ that also included anti-Semitic racism. By exposing these differential receptions of Reformation history, the paper seeks to shed light on the complex ways in which this past has been used to understand Germany’s role in crises of European (not to say global) proportions

*The Economic Effects of Catholic Church Censorship During the Counter-Reformation*  
Jordi Vidal-Robert

We present a new database of the population of books censored by the Catholic Church during the Counter-Reformation period (16th and beginning of 17th centuries) containing information on titles, authors, georeferenced

printing places and printers. We identify censored books by topic (religion, sciences, social sciences and arts), languages, countries where books were prohibited, and describe patterns of censorship across political entities in Europe over time, using the index produced in Rome (starting in 1564) as well as local indexes of prohibited books such as the Index of Louvain and the Index of the Spanish Inquisition. We then test the effects of censorship on the number of printed books, on the location of thinkers, on the spread of Protestantism and ultimately on city growth. Preliminary results suggest that Catholic censorship did have an impact on the publication of books and, therefore, on the diffusion of knowledge.

*The Role of the Spectator in the French Revolution*  
Felicity Nanda Jarosz

In “An Old Question” (1798) Kant describes the manifestation of a universal disinterested sympathy beheld in the eye of the spectator of the French Revolution. This has been alternatively criticised as an apparent contradiction of his own categorical imperative test, (Neiman, 1994, Reiss, 1956) or for the moral depth of such a perspective of enthusiasm (Clewis, 2009). Therefore, Kant’s views on the French Revolution remain problematic for an appraisal of his moral philosophy. How is it possible to be enthusiastic of the implication of violence to seek resolution in revolutionary ends? However, an investigation into the feeling of enthusiasm speaks to a significant landmark of crisis in which Kant frames the distinction between, “history not as a species according to the *generic concept* (singulorum), but as the totality of human beings united socially on earth and apportioned into peoples (universorum)” (Kant, 1798). My paper will comment on this division to analyse the comparative particularity and generality of humanity’s moral history in the face of crisis.

*The Science of Proof: Forensic Medicine in France 1789-1900*  
Claire Cage

Among the profound changes wrought by the French Revolution was the transformation of the relationship between law, medicine, and society. A broad range of actors with different stakes came to confront, contest, and ultimately accept new forms of medical and scientific knowledge that were

pioneered in France and were applied to legal problems and the administration of justice. This paper analyzes how medical and scientific knowledge was constructed in relation to transformations in the legal and penal systems, shifting political configurations, and new social dynamics from the French Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century. It focuses on how malingering, or feigning physical or mental disorders, became a pressing concern in response to the introduction of conscription during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Medico-legal experts took seriously their duties to detect and expose malingerers. They went to great lengths to do so by using deceit, coercion, painful procedures, and altered states of consciousness as diagnostic tools. Doctors justified the far-reaching tactics used in adversarial contests with suspected malingerers in the name of public good, and these encounters served to enhance the public relevance of their profession. Examining the social construction of medico-legal expertise from the perspective of its subjects as well as its practitioners reveals how the field was shaped by and shaped the lives of ordinary persons. Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary changes in medicine, science, and the law shaped a lasting legacy for the complicated relationship between these fields in modern France and beyond.

*The Russian Revolution as a Transformatory Event*  
Graeme Gill

The Russian revolution was the most important political event of the twentieth century. It led to the transformation of Russia along lines that would have been unlikely had the Bolsheviks not come to power in 1917, and to the structuring of international relations for most of the century. It also contributed substantially to the way life within Western societies was structured in the post-war period. Its ramifications are still being felt today.

*Violence, Emancipation and the 1917 Russian Revolutions*  
Roger Markwick

From their inception, the 1917 Russian revolutions, culminating in the October Revolution, have been synonymous with violence: Bolshevik violence in particular. In the course of the last century, whatever the sympathies of historians, politicians, or commentators, almost all have believed that violence was inherent in the Russian revolutions and

revolutions generally, exemplified by Russia's ensuing savage civil war (1918-1920). But such views have often been polemical and judgemental rather than analytical, especially during the Cold War. A more considered examination of the 1917 revolutions, including that of October, suggests violence was not their defining feature. But their violent reputations have overshadowed the emancipatory roots and thrust of the 1917 revolutions.

*The Bolshevik Revolution as Seen by Vladimir Nabokov and His Father, and its Afterlife in His Work*  
David Potter

Vladimir Nabokov came of age in a turbulent political climate, witnessing the abdication of Tsar Nicolas II, the formation of the Provisional Government, and finally the Bolshevik Revolution before fleeing, via Crimea, to mainland Europe. His father was V. D. Nabokov, an extraordinary man and political figure for his time and place. Neither a tsarist nor a revolutionary, V. D. Nabokov was a decent moderate politician caught in complicated times: he was a key player both in unseating Tsar Nicolas II and establishing the Provisional Government afterwards. Even apart from the writings of his soon-to-be-famous son, Nabokov's father is an interesting figure in his own right, and in the first part of this presentation will provide an invaluable alternative lens for viewing a period of political tension whose tellings are sometimes atrophied by habit and ideology. While young Vladimir remained aloof and disinterested in politics, he still managed (perhaps unconsciously) to internalise his father's values. And as can be expected, once it struck him at home, the tumult of the Bolshevik Revolution and the trauma of his family's exile left an indelible mark on Nabokov. That he went on to become one of the century's greatest writers is almost a stroke of luck for our purposes, and his work includes some nuanced, idiosyncratic, and quietly melancholic renderings of this period. We will examine some of these in the second half of this presentation, with our sources sampling from both his fictional and autobiographical writings (including, though probably not limited to, *Invitation to a Beheading*, *Bend Sinister*, and *Speak, Memory*).

*Surrealism, Gender and Revolutionary Subjectivity*  
Rory Dufficy

This year marks the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Apollinaire's program notes for Diaghilev's ballet *Parade*, the first time the term 'Surrealism' appeared in print. In the *Manifesto of Surrealism*, seven years later, Breton tells the story, 'according to which Saint-Pol-Roux, in times gone by, used to have a notice posted on the door of his manor house in Camaret, every evening before he went to sleep, which read: THE POET IS WORKING'. This, for Breton, was of course merely the jocular confirmation of the central thesis of the manifesto – he desires an avant-garde that would *work* towards 'the future resolution of these two states, dream and reality, which are seemingly so contradictory, into a kind of absolute reality, a *surreality*'. At the outset of Surrealism, then, is the assertion of a proud minority assured in its knowledge of its own future generalisation – an insurgent subjectivity, and with a clear understanding of the material through which the revolution will occur – the universal dream-life of 'mankind'. In this paper I wish to fill out our understanding of that revolutionary subjectivity, focussing on the work of Breton. I will contend that far from being the nebulous figure implied by the *Manifesto*, Surrealism's revolutionary program is founded on the (implicitly male) industrial worker, standing in for the proletariat as a whole. I will suggest that this understanding allows for a new interpretation of the gender politics of Surrealism that, while not absolving them of sexism, seeks to integrate their approach within a broader understanding of the gendered revolutionary subject in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

*A Revolutionary Approach to Physical Culture?: Communists, Democrats, and Fascists Across National Boundaries in Interwar Europe*  
Keith Rathbone

Historians interested in sports culture in interwar Europe typically examine state sponsored physical cultural programs within one nation and as a consequence they have identified troves of 'fascist athletes,' 'socialist/communist athletes' and 'democratic athletes,' each trope laden with its own deeply contradictory ideas about athleticism. Incisive works have even suggested that fascist states mobilized war in a revolutionary manner. Victoria de Grazia's *How Fascism Ruled Women* and Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi's *Fascist Spectacle*, emphasize the radical links forged between athleticism, militarism, and fascism in Italy and Germany and emphasize the ways in which interwar fascists mobilized popular images of the body in order to masculinize men, feminize women, and strengthen the

body politic in preparation for war. In my paper, "A Revolutionary approach to physical culture," I aim to challenge this historiography that privileges athleticism within fascist states and sets it out as particularly coercive and militant. My work will instead illustrate commonalities between communist, democratic, and fascist states athletic regimes and suggest a pan-European new wave of bio- politically driven physical cultural programming throughout the interwar period. Through a close examination of the transnational physical cultural politics of 1930s France, Germany, and the Soviet Union, I will unpack the ways in which these three politically divergent states borrowed from each other even as they combated one other on athletics fields. In addition, I will show that while each state promoted their own national politics of sport around questions of civic virtue, gender, health, work, and duty these concerns emerged out of similar worries about eugenics and heredity, labor capacity, and military preparedness.

*1947: Madagascar, Reform or Revolution*  
Elizabeth Rechniewski

After the Brazzaville conference and the promise of reform in the French colonies, the *Mouvement démocratique de rénovation malgache* (MDRM) was founded in Madagascar to campaign for peaceful "democratic renovation". The island had been colonised by general Gallieni after a particularly brutal campaign (1896-1905) that had led to perhaps a hundred thousand dead in a population of three million. Madagascar, like other French colonies, was subjected to the *code de l'indigénat* and forced labour. During the Second World War the island was governed by Vichy until 1943 when, reconquered by British troops, it was transferred to Free French control. The hopes raised by the Brazzaville conference were soon dashed, as post-war, in the face of serious economic crisis, intensified forms of labour exploitation were imposed. Unrest began almost immediately with a major outbreak on the night of 29-30 March 1947. In the following 20 months, French troops, including thousands of *tirailleurs sénégalais* –Indigenous troops from African colonies – waged a brutal war against the rebels, leading, on official French figures, to 89,000 dead. The leaders of the MDRM were tried and condemned to death for fomenting the rebellion even though they had attempted to stem the violence. This paper explores the failure of reform by examining the motivations of the main actors: the Socialist ministers of the Fourth Republic; the PCF, member of the Tripartite coalition, and the MDRM, in the context of

the start of the Cold War and post-war French ambitions. It includes a postscript on the memory of these events that lingers even today on the island.

*La Langue de nos maîtres : Présence Africaine and the Question of Language at the End of French Empire*

Sarah Claire Dunstan

'We may speak the same tongue as François Mauriac, use the same vocabulary as Hemingway. But we no longer speak the same language as them. The truth is that we speak Malagasy, Arabic, Wolof, Bantu in the tongue of our masters' (Jacques Rabemananjara, 'Compte-rendu analytique du rapport de Jacques Rabemananjara', MS411 Horace Mann Bond Papers, University of Massachusetts Amherst, March 1959, 1-2). Jacques Rabemananjara, Malagasy poet, journalist and politician, is best known for his contributions to the négritude movement and for his political career in the turbulent politics of French colonial Madagascar. These meditations on the link between language and racial identity, however, point to his broader participation in the African diaspora. More specifically, they gesture to the dialogue that occurred between francophone black intellectuals and their counterparts in the United States over the linguistic problematics posed by the project of decolonization. In two Congresses held in Paris in 1956 and in Rome in 1959 and organized by the committee behind the publishing house and journal *Présence Africaine*, the question of language and its imperial dimensions became a hotly contested subject. Was it possible to inflect and reshape the French language so as to overcome the racism that had underpinned the imperial project? In this paper I will chart the ways that these different black intellectuals understood their use of the French language vis-à-vis the de-colonizing project and the fight for black civil rights in the United States.

*The Logical Necessity of the Weakest Link, or, Why Successful Socialist Revolutions Took Place Outside Europe*

Roland Boer

This paper begins with Igor Diakonoff's observation that (Western) European history is an anomaly in terms of global patterns, but that it became normalised during the relatively brief period of European dominance. It then

focuses on Lenin's theory of the 'weakest link' in the capitalist chain, rather than the orthodox Marxist view of 'strongest link', as to where socialist revolutions would take place. These links were outside Europe, or at least in semi-colonial and colonial areas – from Russia through to Asia, Africa and Latin America. This remains a historical point, with relevance for today in terms of China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and even the DPRK. However, is there a logic within Marxism for such a development. Perhaps it can be found in Ernst Bloch's notion of the 'non-contemporaneity' (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*) of the present, in which the revolutionary impulse of the present, which emerges from class struggle and generates expectations of a 'prevented future' and the unleashing of the forces of production, gains 'additional revolutionary force precisely from the *incomplete* wealth of the past'. Drawing on work for a current project (based in China) concerning socialism in power, I develop the argument not merely to understand the logical necessity of socialist revolutions outside the North Atlantic, but also for the realities of life after the revolution. Perhaps Marx himself, 150 years after the publication of *Capital*, was more of a non-European thinker than he realised.

*Of the Duality of Crises – the 2008 Financial Crisis as Economics and Ideology in the British Context*

Clémence Fourton

In September 2008, the American banking system collapsed, followed closely by the British one, leading to a global recession. But such a crisis cannot be reduced to a series of events, nor be encapsulated in its economics (Hall 2011); it is also a discursive and semiotic process. Actors produce competing crisis interpretations, which unravel both in the intellectual and political fields: Marxists read the 2008 crisis as one in a series of systemic failures of the capitalist economy (Bensaïd 2009), while reformists promoted the narrative of a crisis of the British growth model (Green et al 2015). These interpretations are not just retrospective rationalizations: they are contemporary of the critical events and constitute instances of description as ideology (Renault 2008), which limit the scope of legitimized political responses to the crisis (Hay 2001). These two dimensions of the crisis need to be thought of jointly, yielding neither to economic functionalism nor to what we may call discursivism, with a particular focus on the relationship between them. This paper will do so by addressing the interpretations of the 2008 crisis in the UK by contemporary actors, focusing on two operations:

the choice and use of the macroeconomic indicators that described the crisis, and the mechanisms and effects of the debt rhetoric used by British Conservative governments (Blyth 2013, Fourton 2017 [forthcoming]). This will help specify the dialectical relationship between the functional and ideological components of economic crises and progress on their epistemology.

*Whig History and the Politics of Crisis*

Charles Richardson

This paper explores the way in which political systems, and more specifically party systems, respond to crises. Its starting point is the "Whig interpretation of history", which depicted English history from the Reformation onwards as the triumph of Protestantism and parliamentary government: the two things being more or less self-consciously linked. Whether this linkage is real and significant depends on how one interprets the English constitutional conflicts of the seventeenth century. I approach this long-standing question by looking at other instances in which the development of party differences has been influenced by external shocks, including the American and French revolutions and the two World Wars. The record suggests that it is such external shocks, more than domestic crises, that are liable to produce a genuine party realignment. This supports an interpretation of the English civil wars that situates them in the international context rather than focusing on purely domestic social or religious conflict. It may therefore be argued that the essentials of the English party system, which has since propagated itself over much of the democratic world, are founded in differing responses to the Reformation and the era of religious war in Europe.

*Reading the Signs of the Times: The Moravian Brethren's Quiet Revolution*

Christina Petterson

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine was regarded as a radical 'schwärmerische' Sect, which was trying to dissolve social norms and structures. The particular reasons for this popular opinion was their emphasis on the piety of the individual as the true conversion, their evocative theology focused on the blood and wounds of Jesus, and the organisation of the community into groups according to sex, age, and marital status. In this paper I will argue that all of these features participated not only

in the breakdown of traditional forms of society, namely community, guilds, and family, but also partook in building the civil society and its distinction between public and private.

*Missionary Texts: Authority, Masculinity, and Reform*

Maria Veber

The first Lutheran missionaries in South Australia, Christian Gottlob Teichelmann and Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann, arrived in Adelaide in October 1838, sent from Germany by the Dresden Mission Society. Their lasting - and regenerative - legacy in South Australia was to provide the groundwork that has enabled the reclamation of the Kurna language. In contrast, their evangelising mission to the "heathens" enjoyed no lasting success. I will discuss definitions and understandings of the Dresden Lutheran missionary project, and their enactment, as expressed in the journals and correspondence of the two missionaries. Subject to the authority of the Dresden Mission Society, and expressly forbidden to marry, the missionaries brief is to establish a religious community in which they serve as authority figures and role models for exemplary family life to the Indigenous people they are to instruct and convert. With reference to notions of masculinity and authority within the Lutheran "holy family", and with particular attention to the implications of the prohibition on marriage, I look at aspects of the missionaries' negotiation of this twofold role.

*Courage and Escape in Post-War France: The Fallout of May '68 in the Works of Alain Badiou and Maurice Blanchot*

Peter Korotaev

Badiou and Blanchot can be read as representative of two directly opposing philosophical currents regarding the exigencies of the political in post-war France. The works of these two authors which most directly address this exigency, *Théorie du Sujet* in 1981, and *La Communauté Inavouable* in 1984, in large part emerge from the same event – that of May 68. It is tempting to interpret Badiou's political vision as one that prioritizes violent revolutionary praxis over the preservation of individual difference, and Blanchot's as one that irresponsibly evades the political in a retreat into the inner experience of ecstasy. I would like to focus on three points of contact between these works – the role of the anxiety of insufficiency in finding political agency; the

political work of art; and the ethics of political commitment. At each of these points, I would like to linger over the seeming opposition between the two ethical perspectives that legitimate both projects: Blanchot's Bataillean Levinasianism, and Badiou's Maoism. The aim of this paper is to move away from such a simplistic opposition, and reveal Blanchot's relevance to Badiou's politics of infinitude. In the attempt to have fidelity to the promises of 68, and indeed to the question of a European community itself, these two texts offer insights that must be read as informing each other.

*The Shanghai Commune and French Maoism*  
Robert Boncardo

French Maoism has long been the subject of controversy, with scholars wavering between a sense of incredulity when considering it, to treating it as the most significant political movement on the French left in the post-War years. In this paper, I will approach the topic of French Maoism by way of a consideration of the role played by an early and short-lived episode in the Cultural Revolution, the Shanghai Commune of 1967, in the political imaginary of the philosopher and erstwhile Maoist, Alain Badiou. How did Badiou and his Maoist group, the UCFML, translate the events of the Shanghai Commune into the post-May '68 context in France? How did it serve them as a means of marking out their distinct kind of French Maoism, one opposed to the other dominant currents represented by the PCMLF and the GP? Finally, what is at stake when episodes such as the Shanghai Commune become models or ideals for political agents operating in very distinct contexts?

*The Congress of Berlin: mapping the Balkans 140 years on*  
Nina Markovic

The Congress of Berlin in 1878 brought together major powers of that time (Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and the Ottoman Empire) with an aim to settle international affairs in Southeast Europe immediately following a devastating Russo-Turkish war. This conflict which significantly weakened both the Russian and Ottoman Empires, drew support from different cornerstones of European diplomacy, with Berlin supporting Russia and London and Paris the remaining Ottoman territorial and political influence on Europe's fringes. It was a landmark in European history, and Germany's first Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, convened an

international summit to settle the question of external leadership by great powers in Southeast Europe and to prevent further conflict amongst them. The summit was an opportunity for newly formed states, Italy and Germany, to get involved in major diplomatic bargaining. The significance of the Congress of Berlin is still being debated amongst scholars, as some believe that it planted the seed for further conflict in Southeast Europe, including the sparks of localised nationalism which eventually set off the First World War. At that time, nation-states in Southeast Europe were a relatively new phenomenon, with the main ideas about 'nation', 'nationality' and 'statehood' being borrowed from Western European political discourses. This paper will discuss the importance of the Congress of Berlin for European political history, and countries in the Balkans more specifically 140 years on, where Russia and Turkey are actively offering attractive foreign policy alternatives to the Brussels leadership in Southeast Europe.

*The Right to Asylum: One of the Great Contradictions of Modern European History*  
Bronwyn Winter

'Never have we rejected so many asylum seekers but never has humanitarian discourse been so widely spread with such an ease of conscience.' French historian of immigration Gérard Noiriel wrote these words, not in 2017 but in 1993. One might respond today: *plus ça change*. Yet, historically, Europe has indeed been a *terre d'asile*, not the least because it was also a *terre de conflits*—but even more importantly, because it invented the sovereign nation-state, that asylum-granting authority of our modern times that took over where the Church left off (or was forced to do so). The development of the notion of political asylum in positive (inter)national law also has a historical 'landmark' relationship with the Reformation. The first group to be named 'refugees' in political discourse—and thus the first overt political application of that aspect of Westphalian territorial sovereignty principles—was a group of Protestants. The French Huguenots were so named by the British monarch when they crossed the Channel in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to flee renewed persecutions at the hands of the French one. Thus was born an English neologism, borrowed from a French past participle. The flight and refuge of the Huguenots is emblematic of the way in which European attitudes and laws on political asylum were to develop. They have always been bound up with national self-interest and transnational conflicts and

rivalries, dictating which refugees are 'welcome' and which are not. The current 'refugee crisis' besetting the EU is no exception, and political asylum remains one of the great contradictions of modern European history.

### *Is There a Philosophical Europeanism?*

Mark Kelly

Philosophical political orientations towards Europe – as opposed to purely pragmatic attachments – typically stem either from a left-wing supranationalism that takes Europe as its particular vehicle, or a right-wing valorisation of the specificity of Europe. An alternative form of left Europeanism has however been articulated for more than two decades by Étienne Balibar, who takes Europe as a specific horizon for politics within Europe, determined by a need to transcend the nation state without the possibility of entirely transcending our geographical and historical context. In this paper, I examine Balibar's position, its development and philosophical bases, but conclude that Balibar's 'realistic utopia' is an unstable and unnecessary compromise formation, driven by a need to replace the figure of the Soviet Union in his thought, leaving commitment to Europe ultimately as a deeply uncertain matter of pragmatic orientation in the current conjuncture.

## **Biographies**

Lyndal Roper

Professor Lyndal Roper is Regius Professor of History, Oriel College, University of Oxford, and one of the world's most renowned historians of early modern times. She is the first woman, and the first Australian, to hold the Regius Chair, and in 2016 she received the prestigious Gerda Henkel prize for her 'trailblazing' work on social, gender, and psychological history in the age of the Reformation. Her latest book, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (2016), is the first historical biography of Luther to be published in English for many decades. She is now writing a history of the German Peasants' War (1524-5), the greatest uprising in western Europe before the French Revolution. Professor Roper is a Fellow of the British Academy, the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and the Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Graeme Gill

Professor Gill is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. He joined the Department of Government and Public Administration in 1981, accepting a Chair in 1990. He has been Associate Dean of the Faculty of Economics, Deputy Chair of the Academic Board, Acting Pro Vice-Chancellor (Research), and Head of the School of Economics and Political Science. He has held visiting positions in various universities including in Moscow, St Petersburg, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. His main work has been on the development of the Soviet system and on post-Soviet Russia. Among his most recent books are 'Building an Authoritarian Polity: Russia in Post-Soviet Times' (2015); 'Symbols and Legitimacy in Soviet Politics' (2011); 'Symbolism and Regime Change in Russia' (2013); and 'The Nature and Development of the modern State' (2016).

Giacomo Bianchino

Giacomo Bianchino is a student of English at UNSW. He is currently working to complete a Master's dissertation on Kierkegaard's theory of the exception. He has presented on Kierkegaard and Badiou at the ASCP 2016 and on the social psychology of internet meme culture at ANZCA 2017. He has published

work on reading Kierkegaard in *Kierkegaard In Process*, the international Kierkegaard student journal. He has also written for *Overland*, *New Matilda* and *The Saturday Paper*, published poetry and performed music across Australia.

Roland Boer

Roland Boer is Xin Ao Distinguished Overseas Professor at Renmin University of China, Beijing, and Research Professor in the School of Humanities and Social Science, at the University of Newcastle, Australia. Among numerous publications, the most recent monographs are *Time of Troubles* (2017, with Christina Petterson) and *Stalin: From Theology to the Philosophy of Socialism in Power* (2017).

Robert Boncardo

I completed my PhD in 2015 at Sydney University and Aix-Marseille University. Since then I have published, with Christian R. Gelder, *Mallarmé: Rancière, Milner, Badiou* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), and *Mallarmé and the Politics of Literature: Sartre, Kristeva, Badiou, Rancière* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018). I am also currently translating Pierre-François Moreau's work *Spinoza: L'Expérience et l'éternité* for Edinburgh University Press.

Clare Cage

Claire Cage is Assistant Professor of History at the University of South Alabama. She received her Ph.D. in 2012 from Johns Hopkins University. She is a specialist in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French history and the history of gender and sexuality. Her first book, *Unnatural Frenchmen: The Politics of Priestly Celibacy and Marriage, 1720-1815*, was published by the University of Virginia Press in 2015 and was awarded the Baker-Burton Prize (for the best first book on European History published between 2013-17) from the European History Section of the Southern Historical Association. She is currently working on her second book on forensic medicine in nineteenth-century France.

Rory Dufficy

Rory Dufficy is a Junior Research Fellow at Ormond College, University of Melbourne. He is currently working on a manuscript entitled *An Epoch of Possibility: The Avant-Garde and the Twentieth Century*.

Sarah Claire Dunstan

Sarah Dunstan is an ARC Postdoctoral Fellow with the International History Laureate at the University of Sydney. She has just submitted a doctoral thesis entitled 'A Tale of Two Republics: Race, Rights and Revolution, 1919-1963' through the University of Sydney. She was a Postgraduate Fulbright Scholar at Columbia University, New York in 2014 to 2015 and a Visiting Postgraduate Scholar at Reid Hall Columbia Global Center in Paris in semester one 2016. For 2017 she was a Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Postgraduate Teaching Fellow. Her publications have appeared in the *Australasian Journal of American Studies* and *Callaloo*, a journal of the African diaspora. She is also an Editor of the Journal of the History of Ideas website.

Clémence Fourton

Clémence Fourton is in the final year of her PhD in English Studies at Poitiers University, France. Her research focuses on the social and political effects of the 2008 crisis in the UK. She is a graduate of the Ecole Normale Supérieure.

Mark Kelly

Mark G. E. Kelly is Associate Professor and ARC Future Fellow in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts at Western Sydney University. He is the author of three books on the thought of Michel Foucault, as well as *of Biopolitical Imperialism* (Zero, 2015) and *For Foucault: Against Normative Political Theory* (SUNY, 2018).

Peter Korotaev

I have been studying literature at the University of Melbourne. My chief interest is in philosophical appropriations of literature for instrumental purposes, and literary appropriations of philosophy for messianic purposes. Lately I have become particularly interested in the consequences of various Romantic knottings of aesthetics with political emancipation, particularly

under the guise of phenomenology. Alain Badiou and contemporary European rationalisms guide my attempts at thinking these problematics.

Nina Markovic

Dr Nina Markovic Khaze holds a PhD in Political Science from the Australian National University, where she is also a Visiting Fellow. Dr Markovic Khaze has recently taught International Relations at the University of New South Wales. She previously worked as Senior Researcher for Europe and Middle East for Parliamentary Research Service in Canberra. Her current research interests include Russia, China and the transforming EU.

Roger Markwick

Roger Markwick is Professor of Modern European History, The University of Newcastle, Australia. Among his publications are 'Violence to Velvet: Revolutions—1917 to 2017', *Slavic Review*, special issue on the Russian Revolution; *Soviet Women on the Frontline in the Second World War* (co-authored), shortlisted for the 2013 NSW Premier's History Awards, and *Rewriting History in Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography in the Soviet Union, 1956-1974*, which won the 2003 Alexander Nove Prize. He is currently writing up an ARC Discovery Project on Soviet women on the home front during the Second World War.

Felicity Nanda Jarosz

Jarosz is a PhD candidate in the International and Comparative Literary Studies program at The University of Sydney. Her research is focused on communication theories of literary studies and revolves around eighteenth-century works on aesthetics and rhetoric. Her thesis is on the Kantian sublime and uses an interpretation of examples in both the *Analytic of the Sublime*, in the *Third Critique* (1790), and in Kant's earlier *Observation* (1763), to examine the possibility of poetic representations of sublimity. She holds a Masters of Comparative Studies in English, Polish and French from the Sorbonne IV in Paris.

Christina Petterson

Christina Petterson is Gerda Henkel Research Fellow at the College of Arts and Social Sciences, ANU. She holds a background in Theology from Copenhagen University, and a PhD in Cultural Studies from Macquarie University in Sydney. Her works explore the intersection between Christianity and socio-economic change, particularly in the first 4 centuries C.E., colonial contexts, and eighteenth century Europe.

David Potter

David is working towards an MPhil in English at the University of Sydney which explores authorship and artifice in several of Nabokov's English-language works – he is supervised by Dr. Bruce Gardiner. He has previously presented some of his original research at the Vladimir Nabokov Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Keith Rathbone

Keith Rathbone (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 2015) researches twentieth century French social and cultural history. His manuscript, entitled *A Nation in Play: Physical Culture, the State, and Society during France's Dark Years, 1932-1948*, examines physical education and sports in order to better understand civic life under the dual authoritarian systems of the German Occupation and the Vichy Regime. In investigating physical culture, he addresses historiographic issues such as the continuity between the Third Republic and the Vichy Regime, the gendered ideology of Vichy sports programs, and the development of collaboration and resistance. Keith arrives at Macquarie University after previous positions as a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Nicholas D. Chabreja Center for Historical Studies at Northwestern University and as a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the College of Wooster. He has also lectured at the Sciences politiques de Paris and Indiana University Northwest.

Elizabeth Rechniewski

Elizabeth Rechniewski is honorary Senior Lecturer at the University of Sydney in the School of Languages and Cultures. She has published widely on remembrance of twentieth century war and colonial war in Australia, France, Cameroon and New Caledonia, including the commemoration of the role of

Indigenous soldiers from these countries. She has contributed to French and Australian government agencies on these topics and was awarded the *palme académique* in 2009. Recent publications include “Remembering the Black Diggers: from the ‘great silence’ to an ‘excess of commemoration’?” in *War Memories* (McGill, 2017); “*Resénégalisation* and the Representation of Black African Troops during World War One” in *Commemorating Race and Empire* (Liverpool University Press, 2017); “Why the War in Cameroon Never Took Place” in *Seeking Meaning, Seeking Justice in the Post-Cold War World* (Brill, forthcoming 2018).

Charles Richardson

Charles Richardson earned his PhD from Rutgers University, specialising in ethical theory and political philosophy. He worked as a ministerial adviser in the Victorian government, and later as editorial manager at the Centre for Independent Studies in Sydney. He has been a regular writer for the electronic journal Crikey since 2002, specialising in elections and political topics; his work has appeared in numerous other publications and he has been featured as a commentator in newspapers, radio and television. He is currently an independent scholar based in Melbourne; his research interests include the history of liberal democratic structures and the comparative study of European party systems. He also does periodic consulting work on electoral matters.

Maria Veber

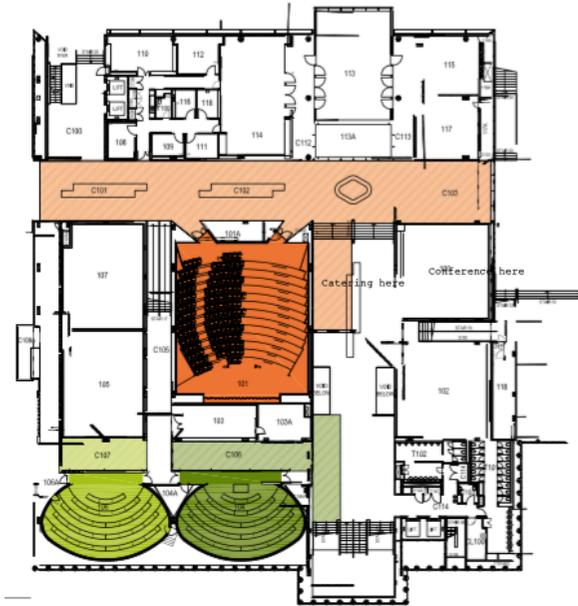
Maria Veber teaches in Germanic Studies at the University of Sydney. German Lutheran mission in Australia is a key focus of her research, which includes the first Neuendettelsau missionaries in South Australia, and the Hermannsburg mission near Alice Springs.

Jordi Vidal-Robert

I recently was appointed as an Early Career Development Fellow at the School of Economics at University of Sydney. I am an economic historian specialising in the study of historical institutions and their effects and legacy on economic growth, economic, cultural and political outcomes. In particular, my interests focus on early modern Europe and my research covers topics

such as the motivations and consequences of the Spanish Inquisition, internal conflicts in the Papal States and, more recently, the consequences of catholic censorship during the counter-reformation.

Location: New Law Building, First Floor, Room 100



Camperdown, Sydney

