



PROGRAM BOOK

Historical Materialism Conference in East and Southeast Asia

**The Asian Capitalist Conjuncture:
Contradictions and Critiques**

| 2023

Program Book of the Historical Materialism Conference in East and
Southeast Asia in 2023

Editors:

Diatyka Widya Permata Yasih

Inaya Rakhmani

Nur Rafiza Putri

Layout:

Indrawan Prasetyo

Published in Indonesia in 2023 by
Asia Research Centre, Universitas Indonesia

Ruang Cendekia Multiguna Jakob Oetama
Gedung H, Lantai 6
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik (FISIP)
Universitas Indonesia
Depok, Jawa Barat 16424
INDONESIA

arc.ui.ac.id



Foreword

The Asia Research Centre, Universitas Indonesia (ARC UI) was established in 2020 as an inter-disciplinary research centre that aims to strengthen governance and social resilience, at global, regional, national and local level. Specifically, our vision is to be a hub between disciplines, faculties and universities advancing critical social sciences through an interdisciplinary endeavour in Indonesia and across Asia.

Closer to our third anniversary, in 2023, the ARC UI hosted the very first Historical Materialism (HM) Conference to take place in Southeast Asia. The conference was part of the broader HM project, including the journal, the book series and the global network of the HM conference.

The theme of the conference is the Asian Capitalist Conjuncture: Contradictions and Critiques, which was held from 25 to 26 August 2023, in a hybrid format. The in-person meeting took place at Auditorium Komunikasi, Faculty of Social and political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia.

The conference was made possible by the ARC UI's collaboration with IndoPROGRESS (IP) and Asian Labour Review (ALR). IndoPROGRESS is a media collective based on scientific principles committed to promoting class-based social movements in Indonesia. Asian Labour Review is a journal for labour movements across Asia.

The organisers agreed to keep the conference small, attended by up to 45 participants, to facilitate deeper engagement and discussions among attendees. We aimed for the conference to be both an academic exchange and a step towards creating communities of research and practical action in East and Southeast Asia.

Finally, we would like to express our deep thanks to those who have worked so hard to make the conference a reality.

Hosts and Brief Schedule

Date:

25 - 26 August 2023

Venue:

Auditorium Komunikasi, Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences Universitas Indonesia (FISIP
UI), Depok, West Java 16424, INDONESIA

Organisers:

Asia Research Centre,
Universitas Indonesia

Asian Labour Review
Indoprogress

Date & Schedule

25 August 2023

Opening remarks, conference panels 1-2, keynote speech 1, conference panels 3-4, conference dinner

26 August 2023

Keynote speech 2, conference panels 5-6, closing remarks, general reflection

Topic and Panel Sessions

Panel 1: Activist Internationalism and Critique of Capitalism

Panel 2 : Counterrevolutionary and Revisionist Ideologies in Modern Indonesia

Keynote speech 1: Imperial War and Reproduction

Panel 3: Worker Organising Under Shrinking Civic Space, Authoritarian, Military, and Restrictive Rule

Panel 4: Roundtable Discussion: Contemporary Leftist Organising and Networking in Asia

Keynote speech 2: Conjunctures of Turbulence: Reflection on Nation and Militarism, the Nature of the So Called "Malari"

Panel 5: Feminism and Social Reproduction of Labour

Panel 6: Roundtable Discussion: Nationalist Movement and Intersectionality

Table of Contents

SCHEDULE

8/ DAY 1 - 25 AUGUST 2023

10/ DAY 2 - 26 AUGUST 2023

ABSTRACTS

12/ **Keynote Speech**

13/ **Panel 1:** Activist Internationalism and Critique of Capitalism

15/ **Panel 2:** Counterrevolutionary and Revisionist Ideologies in Modern Indonesia

18 **Panel 3:** Worker Organising under Shrinking Civic Space, Authoritarian, Military, and Restrictive Rule

21/ **Panel 4:** Roundtable Discussion: Contemporary Leftist Organising and Networking in Asia

22/ **Panel 5:** Feminism and Social Reproduction of Labour

24/ **Panel 6:** Roundtable Discussion: Nationalist Movement and Intersectionality

SCHEDULE

Schedule

Day 1 - 25 August 2023

8:30 - 9:00 am	Registration
9:00 - 9:10 am	Opening address
9:10 - 10:25 am	<p>Panel 1: Activist Internationalism and Critique of Capitalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Myanmar Radical Tradition: Revolutionary Struggle in and against the Imperial World Order, Then and Now Geoffrey Aung Postdoctoral Research and Teaching Associate, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna• Solidarity as Abstraction in Taiwan: The Nation-State as the Master Narrative for Solidarity? Brian Hioe Founding Editor, <i>New Bloom</i>, Taipei• Southeast Asian Revolution in the Making: The CPI's Regional Internationalism during the Confrontation with Malaysia Thiti Jamkajornkeiat Assistant Professor, Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Victoria
10:25 - 10:40 am	Break
10:40 am - 12:00 pm	<p>Panel 2: Counterrevolutionary and Revisionist Ideologies in Modern Indonesia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Revolutionary Origins of Economic Conservatism in New Order Indonesia Iqra Anugrah Research Fellow, International Institute for Asian Studies/IIAS, Leiden University• Revisionist Origins of Indonesian Liberalism Windu Jusuf PhD Candidate, Leiden Institute for Area Studies/LIAS, Leiden University• Material Politics as Class Politics: The Case of the Indonesian Labor Party, 2021-2023 Muhammad Ridha PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University <p>Discussants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Shofwan Al-Banna Choiruzzad Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia• Airlangga Pribadi Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Airlangga University

Day 1 - 25 August 2023

12:00 - 1:30 pm	Lunch and Friday prayer
1:30 - 3 pm	<p>Keynote Speech: Imperial War and Reproduction Neferti X.M. Tadiar Professor of Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies at Barnard College, Columbia University</p>
3:00 - 3:15 pm	Break
3:15 - 4:30 pm	<p>Panel 3: Worker Organising Under Shrinking Civic Space, Authoritarian, Military, and Restrictive Rule</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Enigma of China's Labour Movement 1990s-2010s Kevin Lin Visiting Fellow, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University Worker Organising Under Military Rule: Labour Struggles in Post-Coup Myanmar Stephen Campbell Assistant Professor in the School of Social Sciences and Nanyang Technological University Rethinking Asian Labour Movements in the Age of Decaying Neoliberalism Daeoup Chang Professor of Global Korean Studies at Sogang University Erosion of Civic Space in Asia Fahmi Panimbang Editor, Asian Labour Review
4:30 - 4:40 pm	Break
4:40 - 6:00 pm	<p>Panel 4 - Roundtable Discussion: Contemporary Leftist Organizing and Networking in Asia</p> <p>Moderator Inaya Rakhmani Director of Asia Research Centre, Universitas Indonesia</p> <p>Participants: Brian Hioe Founding Editor, New Bloom, Taipei Muhammad Ridha IndoProgress James Christopher Woodcock Senior Lecturer, University of Essex; and Editorial Board, Historical Materialism Myungkyo Hong Founding Member, Platform C</p>

Schedule

Day 2 - 26 August 2023

12:00 - 1:30 pm	Lunch and Friday prayer
1:30 - 3 pm	<p>Keynote speech: Conjunctures of Turbulence: Reflections on Militarism, Nation, and Capital</p> <p>Sylvia Tiwon Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, Berkeley University of California</p>
3:00 - 3:15 pm	Break
3:15 - 4:30 pm	<p>Panel 5: Feminism and Social Reproduction of Labor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Workers in Indonesian social media based online store (SMBOS) businesses are often seen as just "helping out", "playing on their phones," or engaging in "extra activities." <p>Fathimah Fildzah Izzati PhD Candidate - SOAS, University of London</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Communist subjectivity and the nascent kromo women's movement in 1920s <p>Rianne Subijanto Assistant Professor of Communication, Baruch College, The City University of New York (CUNY)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">What If Social Reproduction Is Focused on Women Socially Reproducing The Struggle For National Liberation? <p>Sarah Raymundo Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines-Diliman</p>
4:30 - 4:40 pm	Break
4:40 - 6:00 pm	<p>Panel 6 - Roundtable Discussion: Nationalist Movement and Intersectionality (discussing Andi Achdian's race, class, and nation)</p> <p>Participants:</p> <p>Andi Achdian Assistant Professor, Sociology, Universitas Nasional</p> <p>John Roosa Professor at History Department, University of British Columbia</p>
2:00 - 2:15 pm	Break
2:15 - 4:00 pm	General reflection

ABSTRACTS

Keynote speech

Imperial War and Reproduction

Neferti X.M. Tadiar | *Professor of Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies at Barnard College, Columbia University*

In this talk, Prof. Tadiar shares and elaborates on a few key tenets on imperial war and reproduction as these are concretized in the case of the Philippines and in the historical context of Southeast Asia more broadly. In this way, she hopes to contribute an anti-colonial feminist framework to ongoing struggles against capitalism and for social, economic, and planetary climate justice.

Conjunctures of Turbulence: Reflections on Nation, Militarism, and Capitalism in the So-Called "Malari" Incident in Indonesia

Sylvia Tiwon | *Associate Professor, Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, Berkeley University of California*

In 1974, Prime Minister of Japan, Kakuei Tanaka's official visit to Southeast Asia ignited a chain of protests across Southeast Asian countries—many led by university students—that appeared to focus anger on the Japanese and particularly on their rapid rise to perceived dominance in foreign investment. Much of this was attributed by the western and Japanese media as stemming from a kind of ingrained inferiority complex among Southeast Asian nations on the one hand, and ignorance of local cultures on the part of the Japanese on the other. Though emerging only seven years after the violent establishment of the militarist-authoritarian "New Order," Malari remains a murky period riddled through with gaps and silences. By contrast, the events in Thailand have been subjected to more in-depth study. The occasion of this conference offers a moment for the critical reflection through published memoirs and first-hand experiences that places this hidden incident squarely at the intersection of capitalism and militarism to tease out some competing local and global interests and interventions whose impacts continue to shape the political culture of Indonesia today.

Panel 1: Activist Internationalism and Critique of Capitalism

This panel interrogates internationalist strategies and tactics of activists across East and Southeast Asia in combating capitalism, authoritarianism, and other forms of oppression.

The Myanmar Radical Tradition: Revolutionary Struggle in and against the Imperial World Order, Then and Now

Geoffrey Aung | *Postdoctoral Research and Teaching Associate, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna*

The revolutionary upsurge that followed the 2021 military coup in Myanmar has reignited long-standing debates over theory and practice on Myanmar's radical left. Armed groups, newly formed left organizations, militant sections of student and trade unions, and an emergent left media ecology have returned to and re-examined concerns that animated leftist discourse at key junctures in Myanmar's twentieth century, from the anticolonial struggle to decolonization and from Communist insurgency to ethnic rebellion. Questions about the mass strike and peasant insurgency; class structure and political leadership; the national question and communal attachments; and shifts in imperial power have all returned to prominence in an openly revolutionary present. Mapping this resurgent leftist landscape, I argue that it is indebted to—while in tension with—what I conceptualize as the Myanmar radical tradition: an anti-authoritarian leftist tradition in which capitalism, empire, and the militarized state apparatus demand outright abolition. This paper places Myanmar's revolutionary past and present in conversation with radical traditions elsewhere, from calls for unconditional decolonization in the Philippines to the Marxism of the Black radical tradition. It also reads Myanmar's ongoing revolution as a temporal provocation. Here, an array of political subjects recombine and rework multiple temporal scales, not least by rethinking historicity and historical memory in relation to Marxism's past. This (re)making of a revolutionary timescape suggests a need to move beyond the long shadows of 20th century revolutionary failure, which find their echoes in recent discourses of disenchantment and melancholia.

Solidarity as Abstraction in Taiwan: The Nation-State as the Master Narrative for Solidarity?

Brian Hioe | *Founding Editor, New Bloom, Taipei*

Taiwan fits oddly into the puzzle of solidarity. As Taiwan's place in the world is contested, ultimately the "China factor" casts a large shadow over what social movements that Taiwan has sought to stand in solidarity with in past years. The causes that Taiwan has chosen to show support for range from the 2019 Hong Kong protests, Ukraine after the Russian invasion, the Milk Tea Alliance, and the A4 Revolution in China. Yet these are largely causes that Taiwan can project the specter of China onto in some way. How, then, can we move beyond projection, to seek solidarity that does not merely see the world in terms of a binary between democratic movements and authoritarian states, but which can stand in solidarity with struggles against transnational capitalism?

Southeast Asian Revolution in the Making: The CPI's Regional Internationalism during the Confrontation with Malaysia

Thiti Jamkajornkeiat | *Assistant Professor, Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Victoria*

This presentation interrogates Southeast Asian left internationalism emerging from a specific conjuncture of the Communist Party Indonesia's (CPI) anti-revisionism, decolonization from left chauvinism, and the Malaysian confrontation in 1963-66. It shows that there were three leftist components constituting the CPI's articulation of its people's regional internationalism including 1) the political economic linkage between imperialism and capitalism, 2) left third-worldism, and 3) inter-Asian or inter-Malayan cooperation.

Panel 2: Counterrevolutionary and Revisionist Ideologies in Modern Indonesia

Critical scholarship on political economy, emancipatory subjects, ideas, and reactionary politics often overlooks deviations from and challenges to the orthodox scientific socialist project. This intellectual and political neglect, if not outright aversion, comes at a cost: a missed chance to learn more about the revolutionary potentials of revisionist experiments and their mistakes and the savvy maneuvering of counterrevolutionary opponents. By examining the development of counterrevolutionary and revisionist ideologies in modern Indonesia across historical periods - the early independence years, the heydays of Sukarno's Guided Democracy, the Cold War authoritarian era, and the post-1998 bourgeois democratic period - this panel seeks to provoke discussions and debates on counterrevolutionary and revisionist ideas on socialism, capitalist development, and political agency.

The Revolutionary Origins of Economic Conservatism in New Order Indonesia

Iqra Anugrah | *Research Fellow, International Institute for Asian Studies/IIAS, Leiden University*

Contemporary economic conservatism, especially in post-1945 Western world, is often associated with the free market orthodoxy in economic philosophy and policy. This paradigm manifests in key policies such as macroeconomic stability, consistent growth, fiscal discipline, free trade, and deregulation with a dose of hostility toward the postwar Keynesian/welfarist consensus. The rise of economic conservatism in Cold War Indonesia, however, emerged out of a different background and pursued a different path. Disillusioned by the perceived disastrous autarkic statism of Sukarno and the revolutionary fervor of the communists and the masses, the Berkeley Mafia of US-trained Indonesian economists saw market economy as a rational solution for Indonesia's underdevelopment and implemented the authoritarian New Order regime's brand of capitalist reforms under their aegis.

However, a major inspiration for the economic technocrats, unlike Western conservatives, was not neoliberal oracles such as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, or James M. Buchanan but an eclectic mixture of ideas and experiences. This ideological cocktail was a pragmatic combo of Keynesianism, non-Communist bourgeois socialism, developmentalist dirigisme, and modern economics methods. Their participation in and enthusiasm for the Indonesian national revolution also emboldened their pragmatism.

The intellectual somersault that the bourgeois technocrats employed allowed them to launch an Indonesian version of economic conservatism – a cultivation of stable, open capitalist economy with state intervention, vibrant entrepreneurs, limited social subsidies, and a balanced budget. Despite the inevitable march toward economic liberalization, culminated in the deregulation decades of the 1980s, and the increasingly corrupt and cronyistic rule of Suharto, the élan vital of the technocrats' vision was conservative, rooted in the fear of destructive “ideological” mobilization and, in contrast, faith in the “rationality” of capitalist planning. Economics, for the technocrats, became a tool to exorcise the specter of inflationary anti-growth statism, revolutionize capitalist development, and defend a stable, boring politics.

Keywords: Economic conservatism, Berkeley Mafia, Indonesian revolution, Pragmatism

Revisionist Origins of Indonesian Liberalism

Windu Jusuf | *PhD Candidate, Leiden Institute for Area Studies/LIAS, Leiden University*

This paper looks at the continuity between contemporary liberalism in Indonesia and Marxist revisionism through the history of Indonesian Socialist Party (Partai Sosialis Indonesia/PSI, 1948-1960) and its extended networks of intellectuals (since 1960s). It situates both the party and its organizational heirs as a singular element instrumental in the trajectory of liberalism as well as its foremost custodian. In doing so, this paper would delve into the key ideas emerging among the socialist intellectuals in the transformation to liberalism and subsequently map their networks.

Keywords: Marxist revisionism, Indonesian socialism, liberalism

Material Politics as Class Politics: The Case of the Indonesian Labor Party, 2021-2023

Muhammad Ridha | *PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University*

This paper aims to shed light on the class politics of the Indonesian Labor Party (ILP) in 2021-2023 as a form of material politics. The argument is based on the understanding that the nature of class may vary depending on the specific historical and institutional conditions of capitalist modern development.

By reinterpreting Riley and Brenner's (2023) concept of "material politics" within Lenin's framework (1902) of class politics in *What is to Be Done*, I argue that the politics exhibited by the ILP can still be considered as class politics, although its form may differ from the conventional understanding. Due to the historically specific labor-capital relations that have emerged in Indonesia, the ILP has been successful in establishing a politically independent working-class identity against the ruling class. However, they may not explicitly articulate a systemic anti-capitalist agenda. This ambiguity in their politics in relation to the ruling class raises the question of whether the ILP's goal of bringing about fundamental political change contradicts the interests of the ruling class. While their political practices do not preclude the possibility of class collaboration with the ruling class, the ILP's material politics remain contested and open to anti-capitalist engagements.

Keywords: Material politics, class politics, Indonesian Labor Party, anti-capitalism

Discussants

- **Shofwan Al-Banna Choiruzzad** | *Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia*
- **Airlangga Pribadi** | *Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Airlangga University*

Panel 3: Worker Organising Under Shrinking Civic Space/Authoritarian/Military/Restrictive Rule

The shrinking of civil society space that threatens Asia's labour movements is caused not only by autocratic Asian rulers or Asia's immutable affinity for authoritarianism but also by the decaying neoliberalism. Neoliberalism emerged in the 1970s as a project to restore elite power in Atlantic economies. Asia played a crucial role in this development, attracting investment from and generating profits for global elites. The 2007-2008 financial crisis exposed the risks of neoliberal economies, and Asia's elites turned to a mix of authoritarian statism and neoliberal reforms to sustain growth-centred development. By the mid-2010s, full or semi-authoritarian regimes had emerged in Asia. This shift has significant implications for labour movements. This panel discussed the challenges and contradictions facing labour movements in Asia, and interrogate the social dynamics of, and potential for, worker mobilising in highly restrictive situations. We draw on the experience of labour organising in Myanmar, China, Korea, Indonesia and beyond.

The Enigma of China's Labour Movement 1990s-2010s

Kevin Lin | *Visiting Fellow, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University*

This study is focused on a three-decade period, or a cycle of industrial working-class formation and struggle in China from 1990 to 2020. Despite the intense industrial workers' struggles, and recognising it succeeded in forcing capital to raise wages and compelled the state to legislate workers' rights, why did the Chinese working class not constitute itself into a more organised form of social and political force – either in the shape of a trade union movement, mass movement organisations, or political parties?

Worker Organising Under Military Rule: Labour Struggles in Post-Coup Myanmar

Stephen Campbell | Assistant Professor in the School of Social Sciences and Nanyang Technological University

A large body of scholarly work since the 1980s has conceptualised the social formations regulating labour in particular times and places as factory regimes, labour regimes, labour control regimes, dormitory labour regimes, and the like. Among the insights of this scholarship has been that specific regulatory ensembles are conducive to, and even stimulate, particular forms of worker organising and struggle. That is, the very regulatory arrangements that curtail certain labour organising tactics simultaneously enable and motivate alternative forms of struggle. This insight is important for grasping the social dynamics of, and potential for, worker mobilising in highly restrictive situations. To explore this relationship between labour regimes and workers' struggles under repressive conditions, I turn to the struggles of workers in Myanmar following the country's 2021 military coup. Following the coup, military authorities declared a nationwide state of emergency, violently cracked down on worker-led anti-coup protests, and increased police surveillance of suburban industrial zones. By early 2023, military authorities had killed some 3,000 civilians and arrested over 20,000 others in response to what began as street protests, but which has since expanded into a nationwide anti-military uprising. Throughout this time, workers in Myanmar have continued to organise in their workplaces for improved wages and working conditions, while many have actively supported the armed revolution against military rule. The case of worker organising in post-coup Myanmar thus illuminates the limits and contradictions of highly repressive labour regimes.

Rethinking Asian Labour Movements in the Age of Decaying Neoliberalism

Dae-oup Chang | *Professor of Global Korean Studies at Sogang University*

The shrinking of civil society space that threatens Asia's labour movements is caused not by autocratic Asian rulers or Asia's immutable affinity for authoritarianism but by the decaying neoliberalism. Neoliberalism emerged in the 1970s as a project to restore elite power in Atlantic economies.

It faced numerous challenges before becoming a global doctrine. Broken promises of Third World development, the Asian economic crisis in the late 1990s, and anti-globalisation movements paved the way for the formation of global neoliberalism—a temporary and awkward alliance between global elites, relying on China's hyper-economic growth and American rhetoric of freedom, democracy, and good governance. Asia played a crucial role in this development, attracting investment from and generating profits for global elites. However, this growth in Asia was accompanied by a "labour paradox" – the emergence of a large new workforce without the formation of a cohesive working class capable of improving labour conditions and welfare. The 2007-2008 financial crisis exposed the risks of debt-fueled consumption and China's investment-led growth, ultimately leading to China's expansionism, US protectionism and the downfall of global neoliberalism. During this transition, Asia's elites turned to a mix of authoritarian statism and neoliberal reforms to sustain growth-centred development. By the mid-2010s, full or semi-authoritarian regimes had emerged in Asia. This shift has significant implications for labour movements, as they face not only neoliberal market competition but also rising authoritarianism, clashes between neoliberal economies, and imperialist confrontations. In light of these challenges, labour movements in Asia are required to reconsider their constituency, forms of solidarity, and existing means to improve workers' welfare.

Erosion of Civic Space in Asia

Fahmi Panimbang | *Editor, Asian Labour Review*

A spatial political economy is one of the approaches we use to analyze the space we live in, and to identify the factors that shape our economic and political situation. It is to understand the relationship between social forces. Using this lens in analyzing how Asia is understood as a mediation between State-civil society relation, we consider the need of supporting civil society organizations in the region to have counter-spatial imaginations to reclaim their spaces and improve the civic conditions.

Panel 4 - Roundtable Discussion: Contemporary Leftist Organizing and Networking in Asia

What are the possibilities and challenges for building inter-Asian critical leftist networks in the present? How might existing critical leftist networks in Asia be connected and extended? And how can future Historical Materialism conferences in Asia facilitate further critical leftist networking across the continent? This roundtable addressed these and related questions.

Participants

Brian Hioe | *Founding Editor, New Bloom, Taipei*

Muhammad Ridha | *IndoProgress*

Jamie Woodcock | *Senior Lecturer, University of Essex & Editorial Board, Historical Materialism*

Myungkyo Hong | *Founding Member, Platform C*

Moderator

Inaya Rakhmani | *Director of Asia Research Centre, Universitas Indonesia*

Panel 5: Feminism and Social Reproduction of Labor

Neoliberalism's hijack of feminism had and continues to push the latter away from the grounding insight of historical materialism. This historical materialist insight is also the founding idea of critical scholarships and revolutionary movements: It is our engagement in labor or work that positions us in conscious relating with people and the natural world; and it is this very social process that determines the conditions in which we labor. This panel addresses the interlocking oppressions that shape women's lives and labor, offers an expansive critique of such oppressions and a discussion of how movements in the global South offer an alternative feminist vision that cannot be divorced from the perspective and wager of historical materialism.

Workers in Indonesian social media based online store (SMBOS) businesses are often seen as just "helping out", "playing on their phones," or engaging in "extra activities."

Fathimah Fildzah Izzati | *PhD Candidate - SOAS, University of London*

This paper analyses the working conditions and employment relations of social media-based online store (SMBOS) businesses in Indonesia. The study involved in-depth interviews with 20 research participants from six cities in Indonesia. Three key findings emerged from the research. Firstly, women are increasingly involved in SMBOS businesses due to their significant role as principal contributors to social reproduction in capitalism and the flexibility offered by platform capitalism. Secondly, the work done by working-class women in SMBOS is frequently dismissed or trivialised as not being a real job. Finally, social reproduction, flexibility, and the feminisation of work in capitalism shape the employment relations and conditions within the SMBOS.

Keywords: online store, platform capitalism, social reproduction, working-class women, Indonesia.

Communist subjectivity and the nascent kromo women's movement in 1920s

Rianne Subijanto | *Assistant Professor of Communication, Baruch College, The City University of New York (CUNY)*

In this paper, I discuss my research on the Indonesian communist movement by looking closely into the story of communist women in 1920s who have not been written previously before.

I especially analyze the relationship between the development of feminist thoughts and politics and the communist women's specific roles as producers of revolutionary communication, i.e. as newspaper editors, as speakers and organizers of assembly and public meetings, and as teachers in communist schools. I ask how producing revolutionary communication enabled these women to articulate their unique conditions of oppression/repression as women and the hope for liberation and emancipation from these conditions. In reading closely the archival sources, I address the following questions: how did these women view the place of women's struggles in communist (anticolonial and anti-capitalist) struggles, and vice versa? How did they formulate their relationship with the upper class Javanese (aristocrat) women, and with both upper class and lower class men? What were the conditions of oppressions and repressions that they struggled against? And, how did they view an emancipated future?

What If Social Reproduction Is Focused on Women Socially Reproducing The Struggle For National Liberation?

Sarah Raymundo | *Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines-Diliman*

The role of militant women in building the broad united front against fascism was vibrant, powerful and crucial to the ouster of the United States-sponsored dictator Marcos (1964-1986). The impacts of this broad and deep organizing goes beyond Martial Law. Thus, this presentation focuses on women's organizations in the Philippines from the sectors of urban poor working women and rural women from the peasant sector. Contemporary women's organizations in the Philippines were started during Martial Law and immediately after in order to organize and consolidate women against the dictatorship and their massive participation in the post People Power uprising that ousted President Marcos. Using in-depth interviews and storytelling as methods of research, this paper highlights 1) the experiences of women in various spheres: families, organizations and sectors; 2) the organizational form in which women are involved in building national democracy through the peasant-worker alliance; 3) the approaches, tactics and strategies in building the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist broad united front from the practice of women's organizations within the framework of the peasant-worker alliance.

Sarah Raymundo is an Assistant Professor at the Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines-Diliman. She is part of the National Executive Board of BAYAN (Bagong Alyansang Makabayan, New Patriotic Alliance), an alliance of Philippine national democratic organizations. She is a columnist for the progressive online platform bulatlat.com.

Panel 6 - Roundtable Discussion: Nationalist Movement and Intersectionality (Discussing Andi Achdian's Race, Class, and Nation)

Race was an important category in the colonial society of the Dutch Netherlands Indie that shaped the pattern of social relations and government administration. The legal division of Europeans, Foreign Orientals, and the Native—envisioned to ease the colonial administration in a multiracial society—has in fact become the basis for the racial superiority of Europeans against other racial groups. By focusing on the colonial city of Surabaya as the center of capitalist development in the colony at the time, this book explores how the anticolonial politics, both radicals and moderates as well as cooperation and non-cooperative must since the very beginning deal with race problems in the colonial society.

The city has provided the environment where the politics of Indonesian nationalism—which put the struggle of colored people against white domination at the forefront—must accommodate the racial mixture of colonial society in which Europeans, Indo-Europeans, Arab, Chinese, and the Native took part in this struggle. Hence, the politics of Indonesian nationalism was not an exclusive representation of the idea of a nation but intersected with other issues of race and class that constituted the realities of colonial society at the time.

Participants

Andi Achdian | *Assistant Professor, Sociology,
Universitas Nasional*

John Roosa | *Professor at History Department,
University of British Columbia*

We aimed for the conference to be both academic exchange and a step towards creating communities of research and practical action in East and Southeast Asia.





**Ruang Cendekia Multiguna Jakob Oetama
Gedung H, Lantai 6
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik (FISIP)
Universitas Indonesia
Depok, Jawa Barat 16424
INDONESIA**



**www.arc.ui.ac.id
Instagram: @arc.ui**