# H M programme

# 2023 9-12 november



# the cost of life

oppression, exploitation and struggle in the time of monsters

#### historical materialism

# twentieth annual conference

# the cost of life: oppression, exploitation and struggle in the time of monsters

Whether the discussion is about reforming pension systems, overhauling health care or the sources of inflation, we are constantly reminded that life has a cost, a price to pay, a burden to bear. At the same time, we are also periodically reminded that not all lives are valued or priced in the same manner; some lives are cheaper and more expendable than others: from over-work and deteriorating living conditions for billions of 'essential workers' to police violence and incarceration; from sexual abuse and the denial of bodily autonomy to the socially determined vulnerability and 'susceptibility' during the pandemic; from the persistence of racialised exploitation and oppression to the many faces of neocolonialism; from militarised borders turned into kill zones to the ongoing climate disaster.

But there is also the struggle of life (and the struggle for a decent life). As the impressive UK strike wave, the French insurrection against Macron's aggressive neoliberalism, mass protests in Greece, farmers' strikes in India, the new wave of struggles in the Americas, and the continuous youth rebellion against a future of extinction show us, there is a multitude of resistances to exploitation, racism, systemic violence and ecological degradation; resistances that are facing the increasingly authoritarian mutation of contemporary capitalist states trying to cope with the hegemonic crisis of 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

These recent struggles pose important practical and theoretical questions. How can we articulate a reading of the conjuncture that can bring forward the common thread running through all these attacks on life, the common thread of capitalist social-property relations in their articulation with patriarchy, racialisation and imperialism? How can we bring together the collective aspirations, demands and desires in a manner that leads to a coherent strategy for emancipation? What can we learn from these struggles and how can we treat them as experimental terrains for new political practices? And how can critical Marxist theory, in all its necessary and welcome polyphony, contribute to such an endeavour, bridging the gap between radical theory and collective praxis? These are some of the questions we want to be discussed at the twentieth annual Historical Materialism Conference.

Historical Materialism aims to create an inclusive, equal, diverse space for everyone. We are aware that the structural inequalities of race, gender, class, ethnicity and disability are entrenched in the way we produce, communicate and institutionalise knowledge in academia and we are committed to supporting our delegates who might experience them. In case you encounter a form of harassment, sexual harassment, intimidation or similar, please email <a href="mailto:info@historicalmaterialism.org">info@historicalmaterialism.org</a> to get in touch and/or directly approach your conference organisers at the registration desk. We have a procedure in place to support you in every way we can.

We would like to remind participants that the Historical Materialism Conference is run essentially by the militant labour of the Historical Materialism Editorial Board and other comrades. We therefore expect that all participants treat the organisers and helpers with comradely respect and raise any problems or issues in a constructive manner.

We also remind you that the Historical Materialism Conference is a pluralistic and ecumenical space of Marxist debate. Robust disagreements are encouraged provided they remain within the bounds of comradely discourse; abusive, hectoring or ranting behaviour will not be tolerated. Speakers and those participating in the general discussion must respect the chairs of each session and not overrun their allotted time as this will encroach on other comrades' time and the general organisation of the Conference.

Historical Materialism would like to extend its gratitude to the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung in London and elsewhere for help in financing the travel of scholars from the Global South.

#### historical materialism

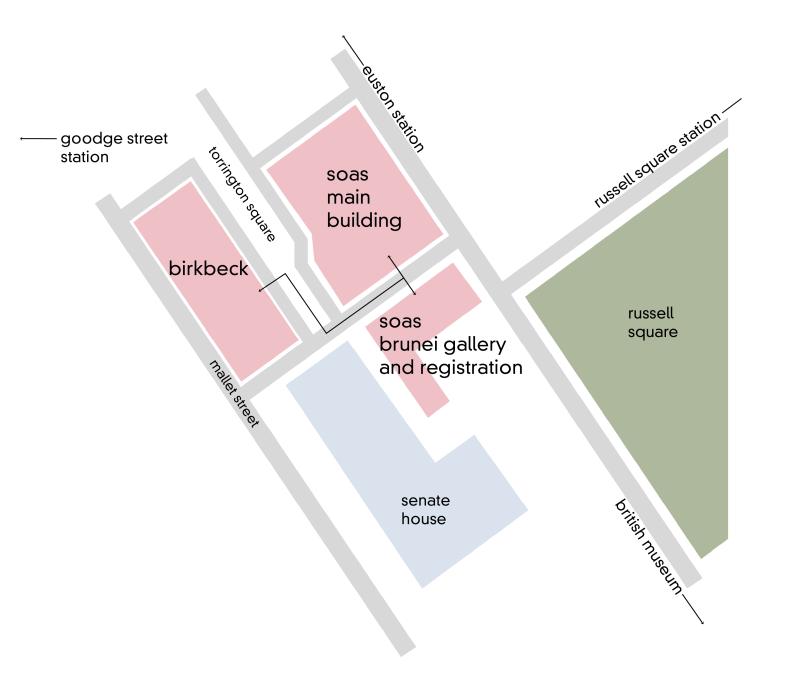
#### programme

# twentieth annual conference

soas and birkbeck			saturday 11 november		
	campus map and info	4		session nine	26
	campus guidance	5		session ten	28
thurs	day 9 november			session eleven	30
tilais	ady / november		session twelve plenary	session twelve	32
	session one	6			7.5
	session two	8		plenary	35
			sunda	unday 12 november	
	session three	10	session thirteen	36	
	session four	12		session uniteen	50
				session fourteen	38
friday	y 10 november			session fifteen	40
	session five	14		plenary	43
	session six	16		supplements	
	meet the hm editors	19	supp		
				hm istanbul	44
	session seven	20		hm cluj	45
	session eight	22		·	
	deutscher lecture	24		toledo fund appeal	46
	friday social	25		haymarket book club	47
				notes from below	48
				notes nom betow	40
				journal subscription	50

# soas and birkbeck campus map and key information





For those using navigation and travel apps, the address of the SOAS Main Building is: 10 Thornhaugh St, London WC1H 0XG, United Kingdom.

This year's conference is taking place in SOAS Main Building, Brunei Gallery and Birkbeck building. Registration for the conference and the publisher's stalls are in the Brunei Gallery, bg01 and bg02. The registration desk is your first port of call for any problems and is where up-to-date information is posted.

Wifi is available across the SOAS campus via eduroam.

Coffee, bars, cafés and restaurants can be found near Russell Square station and toward Goodge Street station. Food trucks are usually stationed on Torrington Square on Thurdsays and there is a SOAS canteen located in the basement of the Senate House building.

# soas and birkbeck campus guidance

Each room in use will have signage on it and directions to rooms will be placed around the buildings. In the absence of floorplans, please note the following brief guidance:

#### soas: main building

a3	Enter the SOAS main building – the room is on the left, the door nearest the main entrance

Enter the SOAS main building – the room is on the left, to the right of g3 dlt/g2

Enter the SOAS main building – follow the directions towards the library – turn left when you see the g51 and g51a library on the left and then right into a corridor – these rooms are classrooms along that corridor

Enter the SOAS main building - follow the directions to the library, go up the stairs/lift and r201 is the l r201

large classroom through the main doors and signposted

Enter the SOAS main building - follow the directions towards the library - rg01 is one of the first rg01

classrooms on the right

Enter the SOAS main building – follow the directions to the library, go down the stairs/lift and rb01 is rb01

the large classroom just off the main basement space leading to the basement lecture theatre (which

we are not using)

Enter the SOAS main building - turn right, through double doors and you will see the mezzanine soas where the shop and social seating is located. Go downstairs and you are straight into the bar (where bar/shop

the wine reception is held on Saturday)

#### soas: brunei gallery

bg01/02 Enter the Brunei Gallery building – bg01/02 are on the left. Toilets and lifts are before the registration area. In this area you can find: the registration and information desk – your first port of call for any problems and where up-to-date information is posted; bookstalls and desks requested by political

organisations; some space here to arrange meeting other delegates, but you also have SOAS bar

and its main building social area

bglt Enter the Brunei Gallery building – the balt is in the basement. The Brunel Gallery Lecture Theatre (labelled bglt in the pack) is the venue of a stream of sessions during the day and the plenaries on

Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Access to the balt is easiest through the stairway between the building

entrance and the registration area (bg02)

Enter the Brunei Gallery building – b103 and b104 are on the first floor. Access to b102, b103 and b104 b102, b103 and b104

is easiest through the stairway between the building entrance and the registration area (bg02)

#### birkbeck

mal g13, g14 Walk towards Mallet Street as if you were leaving the campus, Senate House should be on your left-hand side. About 30m from the SOAS buildings, turn right and take the stairs or accessible and g23 ramp onto Torrington Square. The Birkbeck Malet Street campus will be the first building on your left and has a glass-fronted entrance. The mal g13, mal g14 and mal g23 rooms are all on the ground floor

mal 354 and

Follow the above instructions to the Birkbeck Malet Street building. The mal 354 and mal 355 rooms are on the third floor and are accessible via the lifts



mal 355

# session one soas: main building



9 november 12:30 – 14:15

room: g3

workers' inquiry: operaismo

Ed Emery: Workers' Inquiry in the 1970s: Ford, FIAT, and the Social Factory

Francesca Ioannilli: On the Edge of Formation: Subjectivities Between Impoverishment and Enrichment

Chair and discussants: Notes from Below

room: dlt

cultural remembrance in class struggles: economies and dialectics of memory

Heather Watkins and Maria Urbina-Montana: The Forgotten Memory: Working Class Struggle versus Neoliberal Memories of Transformation

Gal Kirn: For Marxist Theory of Memory: Between Left-wing Melancholia and Emancipation

Daniel Palacios González: Towards an Economy of Cultural Memory: Defining Material Conditions for Remembrance

Chair: José Mª Durán Medraño

room: r201

Neil Warner: Asymmetric Mobilisation and the Defeat of Wage-earner Funds

Maja Breznik: Controversy Between Rights and Statuses at the Workplace

Matthew Cole: Automation and the Present of Work: Interrogating the

Chair: Juan Grigera

room: g51

not in use

room: rg01

studies in critical economic theory and history

marxism and work i

Carolina Alves: Joan Robinson in 1942, an Encounter between Marxian Economics and Macroeconomics

William Jefferies: The US Enterprise Rate of Profit 1994–2019

Janaína de Faria: The Specific Fetishist Character of Capitalist Appropriation

Daniel Gonzalez: The Financial Serial Killer: Adam Smith's 'Invisible Hand,' Necro-economics and the Role of Empathy in Capitalism

Chair: Rob Knox

room: g51a

not in use

room: rb01

marxism, struggle and the housing crisis

Nick Bano: Getting the Housing Crisis Right

Alva Gotby: Housing as Social Reproduction

Carla Rivera Blanco: Recovering the Marxist meaning of the Right to the

City: The Case of Barcelona Housing Struggles

Chair: Mary Robertson

## session one soas: brunei gallery

9 november 12:30 - 14:15

room: b102

denise ferreira da silva's unpayable debt room: b104

hmspen: international queer movements and marxism

Henrike Kohpeiss: The Logic of Negativation: Racial Submission and

Negative Value

Aida Parnia: Queer politics in Iran's Woman, Life, Freedom Movement:

**Beyond Politics of Recognition** 

Ghaleb Halasa's The Question (1979)

Sam Nimmrichter: Ciphers of Capital: Race, Value and the Labouring Body

Philip Raad: Sex, Authority and Politics in an Egyptian Serial Killer Novel:

Matthew James Milbourne: Blackness, Dialectics, Excess

Discussant: Alex Stoffel

Lama El Khatib: Thinking Against the 'Arrow of Time': On Intellectual Inheritance / Indebtedness

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Chair: Svenja Bromberg

room: b103

marxism and financialisation

room: balt

marxist history and trotsky

Tom Haines-Doran: The Financialisation of Car Consumption

James Meadway: An Unnatural Rate of Interest: The Emerging Ecological Dominance of Finance Capital

Elif Karacimen, Ahmet Hasim Kose: The Financialisation of Agro-Food Companies and Transfer Mechanisms: The Case of Turkey

Chair: Andreas Malm

Pierre Millet: Trotsky's Writings on Fascism

Stefan Guzvica: When the Comintern was Trotskyist: Permanent Revolution in the Third Period

Salvatore Tinè: Crisis and Fascisation of the State in the Komintern Analysis of the 1920s

Chair: Alex de Jona

## thursday session one birkbeck

9 november 12:30 - 14:15

room: mal a13

building anti-oligarchic futures: alternative forms of organisation & guerrilla democracy

on irish politics hosted by jacobin

Camila Vergara: The Anti-Oligarchic Swerve: Dynamic Materialism and Regenerative Politics

Peter Bloom: Viral Revolutions, Guerrilla Democracy, and the Contagious Commons

Rodrigo Nunes: Transition in Our Lifetime: How Can Past Debates on Transition Illuminate Our Present Condition?

Chair: Panagitois Sotiris

Brian O'Boyle: The Celtic Comeback: Myth and Reality

Geoffrey Bell: From the Edge of the Union to the End of the Union? Unionism, the British State and Irish Unity After Brexit

Daniel Finn: Sinn Féin and the Transformation of Irish Politics

Chair: Jacobin

room: mal a23

# session two soas: main building

9 november

14:30 - 16:15

room: g3

workers' inquiry: international inquiries

Alexandre Guelerman: A Cycle of Strike Action in Political Perspective: A Mixed-methods Approach to the Emergence and Limits of New forms of Workplace Resistance by Poor Workers in Brazil

François-Xavier Hutteau: On the Struggle Against Pension Reform in France and Beyond

Roser Espelt Alba: Class Power and the Validity of the Strike: The Basque and Catalan Cases

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

fascism and neo-fascism

room: r201

marxism and philosophy

Thomas Lambert: Is Neo-Fascism Inevitable?

Alberto Destasio The Will to Unification: A Comparison Between Italian Fascism and Neo-fascism

Eduardo Altheman Camargo Santos: Fascism Now and Then: Herbert Marcuse's Legacies for the Critique of Far-right Authoritarianism

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

Sarah Merchant: Spiritual Ontology and Political Liberation: 'Unity of Being' as an Articulation of Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Colonial Critique

Giannis Ninos: Multitude in the Face of Hegel's Logic: Epistemological Investigations of the Ontology of Contemporary Social Movements

Mikkel Flohr: Storming Heaven: Marx's Critique of Political Theology and the Possibility of "True Democracy"

Chair: Svenja Bromberg

room: g51

superexploitation and super-profit

room: rg01

marxist and critical cultural visions

Mateo Crossa: Debates on Unequal Exchange: Placing Superexploitation at the Centre of the Analysis

Janina Puder: Superexploitation in Global Capitalism: The Case of Labour

Andy Higginbottom: Imperialist Oil Rents from Surplus-Profit to Super-Profit

Chair: Mary Robertson

Florian Endres: On Seeing Dialectically: Photography and Abstraction

Ghada Waked: Contemporary Migrant and Refugee Image and the Spatial Fix: Exploring Narratives of Racism and Guilt

Liam Jackson Abellán: A Life No Longer Formed Blindly': Life/Form in Benjamin, the Soviet Avant-Garde and Beyond

Chair: Alex Stoffel

room: g51a

not in use

room: rb01

spatial dynamics of capitalism: uneven development and marginalisation in india, kuwait, lebanon, and the usa

Leah Montange: Capitalism Needs Unevenness, and Borders Enshrine It

Tania Bhattacharyya: Adenwalla: Merchant Capital, Self-fashioning and the Battle for Aden, 1917–1937

Diala Lteif: My way or the highway: On Infrastructure and Uneven Development in 1960s Beirut, Lebanon

Kanwal Hameed: Race, Space, Carbon Capitalism and Climate Change: Kuwait as Case Study

Chair: Mai Taha

# session two soas: brunei gallery

9 november

14:30 - 16:15

room: b102

developments in marxist theories of the state: legality, democracy and constitutionalism

room: b104

hmspen: marxism and sex work

Vincent Harting: Constitutionalising Workers' Political Power: A Defence

Fernando Quintana: Legality and Politics: Revolutionary Strategy Beyond Legal Fetishism

Dimitrios Kivotidis: A Socialist Constitutionalism for the Twenty-first century

Chair: Maïa Pal

Benison Kilby: Pornographic Work as Social Reproduction: The Marxist Feminism of Cosey Fanni Tutti's Magazine Actions

Theodora Becker: Prostitution and the Commodity Form

Robbie Warin: The Platformisation of Sex Work: Camming, OnlyFans and

Planetary Labour Markets

Chair: Paul Reynolds

room: b103

wither financial hegemony? a neo-regulationist exploration of the moving hierarchy of structural forms in europe since 2008 room: bglt

roundtable on now we are in power: the politics of passive revolution in twenty-first century bolivia

Simon Grothe

Cédric Durand

Ayoze Alfageme

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

Juan Grigera Camila Vergara

Angus McNelly

Chair: Pedro Mendes Loureiro

## thursday session two birkbeck

9 november 14:30 – 16:15

room: mal g13

raymond williams's the country and the city at 50 and vron ware's return of a native

room: mal g23

critical studies in marxist literature

Vron Ware

Daniel Hartley

Kai Heron

Chair: Daniel Hartley

Marcelo Ridenti: Mario Pedrosa: A Brazilian Marxist and the Congress for Cultural Freedom

Joséphine Haillot: Michel Houellebecq's Post-Capitalist Realism

Fintan Calpin: "I named it but I did not nail it": Catachresis & Separation in Peter Culley's Hammertown Trilogy

Chair: Esther Leslie

# session three soas: main building

9 november

16:30 - 18:15

room: g3

marxism and unionism

Ewan Kerr: Transformative Trade Union Environmentalism: Political Imaginaries and Repertoires of Action

Loreto Rojas Viver: Between and against feminism and trade unionism: the potentials and limits of the feminist trade unionism proposals from a Marxist perspective

Jens Aurich, Jeremiah Dittmar: Strikes and Innovation: The Political Economy Of Invention in the Industrial Revolution

Chair: Jamie Woodcock

room: dlt

thinking race and capital

room: r201

revisiting the proletarian standpoint

Bafta Sarbo: Black Power and Class Struggle: Marxism in Walter Rodney's

Life and Work

Mario Soares Neto: Race in Marx's Capital

Victor Chung: Ontology of Racial Capitalism

Ashok Kumar: Crisis and the Production of Difference

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

Eden Young: Which Standpoint?

Nathan Eisenberg: Radical Normativity: Proletarian Needs, Capitalist

Reproduction, and the Value of Labour-Power

Lotte List: Master/Slave, Bourgeois/Proletarian, Friend/Enemy

Chair: Alex de Jong

room: g51

philosophical radicalism

room: rg01

marxism, technology, power

Kenneth Novis: Spinoza: A Genealogy of Radicalism

Guilhem Mevel: The Power of Resilience: Praxis and Self-emancipation as Disalienating Forms of Struggle

Jirí Ružicka: Genealogy of Marxist Humanism(s)

Mahyar Mohaghegh Dolatabadi: Iran's Epistemological Aporia

Chair: Svenja Bromberg

Ellen Emilie Henriksen: For an Untimely Future

Les Levidow: Technology for Counter-hegemonic Agendas: Latin American Concepts and Practices

Daniele Puccio: Technologies of Antiradicalism and Racist Repression in the US and Germany

Irina Castro: [Cons]Science: Dissident Science and its Resistance

Chair: Jaice Titus

room: g51a

not in use

room: rb01

state, capital, history

Ottokar Luban: Left Socialist Networks for Peace in Germany during World War I

Mekhola Gomes: Rule through Blood: Kinship, Gender, Property, and Power in Precapitalist South Asia

Chair: Sebastian Budgen



# session three soas: brunei gallery

#### 9 november

16:30 - 18:15

room: b102

social reproduction: issues and debates

room: b104

hmspen: queer marxism

Marta Ill Raga: Rent Against Home, Rent Against Care

Pedro M Rey-Araujo: Temporal Domination as Entrainment

Eleonora Roldán Mendívil: Super-exploitation and Social Reproduction:

Situating Gender and 'Race' in Modern Capitalism

Murray Robertson: The Messy Life of Care

Bogdan Ovcharuk: Queer Revolutionary Defeatism: Articulating Transgression within Radical Modernity through the Lens of Genet Chair: Alex Stoffel

Chair: Holly Lewis

room: b103

book panel: with and against: the situationist international in the age of automation

Dominique Routhier

Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen

Louis Hartnoll

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

room: balt

eco-leninism and socialist strategy

Harry Holmes: Lenin Smash! The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Ecological Struggle

Isabelle Le Bourdais: Thinking Reification and Queer Politics with Monique

Wittig: Les Guérillères, Le Corps lesbien, and Virgile, non.

Kai Heron: The Eco-Leninist Wager

Charlotte Powell: What can be Done? Channelling Lenin for Climate

Struggle Today

Chair: Mary Robertson

## thursday session three birkbeck

9 november

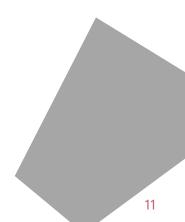
16:30 - 18:15

room: mal g13

not in use

room: mal g23

not in use



# thursday session four soas: main building

9 november

19:00 - 21:00

room: g3

workers' inquiry: the future of worker organising in higher education

Sahil Kumar, Garima Singh: A Workers' Inquiry in the Contemporary University: The Graduate Workers' Strike at the University of Michigan

Editors of Notes from Below

In conversation with a respondent from UCU

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

panel discussion: revolution: an intellectual history

room: r201

global political economy and china

Enzo Traverso

Matt Myers

Darren Roso

Michael Löwy

Chair and discussant: Sebastian Budgen

T 17" AN 1. 1. 11. C . 5

Luca Tausch, Jeffrey Althouse: Inter-and Intra-Country Ecologically Unequal Exchange: China's Role in a Multi-Tiered Hierarchy

Guido Weksler: China as a Break Within the Development Dynamics of East Asia: Specificity of Chinese Accumulation and Future Prospects.

Sean Starrs: The Remaking of Global Capitalism? China's Techno-Dependency and American Empire

Chair: Ashok Kumar

room: g51

marxism, labour and labour rights

Francesca Barp: The Historical Genesis and Current Mobilisation of Labour Rights on (Migrant) Domestic Work

Ismini Nikoleta Mathioudaki: The Digital Border and Invisibility as a Nonentrée Practice: The Case of Greece

Jacqueline Kalbermatter: Contested Migration Control: On the Relationship Between Utilisation and Social Reproduction of Migrant Labour Power in Swiss Logistics

Radhika Saraf: Violence, Sexuality and Caste in the 1938 Bombay Strike

Chair: Andreas Malm

room: rg01

book launch: red africa: reclaiming revolutionary black politics hosted by salvage

Annie Olaloku-Teriba

Kevin Okoth

Chair and discussant: Rosie Warren

room: g51a

not in use

room: rb01

marxism and eu law

Andrew Woodhouse: The De-Politicisation of Decarbonisation Through Climate Rent: A Marxist Critique of the EU Emissions Trading System

Dimitrios Kivotidis: E Pluribus Unum  $\dots$  Forum? A Marxist Approach to the EU's Democratic Deficit

Maria Tzanakpoulou: A Marxist discussion of the European constitutional project

Eva Nanopoulos: EU Common Foreign and Security Policy

Chair: Rob Knox

# session four soas: brunei gallery

#### 9 november

19:00 - 21:00

room: b102

Chair: Demet Dinler

studies in fascism

room: b104

marx: critical perspectives

Anita Zsurzsán: Making sense of Fascism Today: G.M. Tamás's Theory of Post-fascism

Conrad Hamilton: The Apostate Fascism of Alexander Dugin

Rafael Khachaturian: The Many Lives of Bonapartism: The Eighteenth

Brumaire as Method, Critique, and Conjuncture

Kevin Anderson: Temporalities and Geographies of Gender and Women's

Empowerment in the Late Marx

Vincent Berthelier: Shall we Praise Marx's Style?

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

room: b103

gaming the system: board games, climate and radical politics room: bglt book panel: robert linhart the sugar and the hunger an inquiry into the sugar regions of northeastern brazil

Matteo Menapace

Troy Vettese

(Please note, this is a participative/activity panel)

Luiz Renato Martins

Roberto Della Santa

Discussant: Panagiotis Sotiris

Chair: Paul Reynolds

## thursday session four birkbeck

9 november

19:00 - 21:00

room: mal g13

not in use

room: mal g23

not in use

#### friday

# session five soas: main building

10 november

09:30 - 11:15

room: g3

workers' inquiry:

Morshed Mannan, Nick Houde, Laura Lotti, Tara Merk: Web3 and Labour: A Workers' Inquiry into DAOs

Paolo Ruffino: Workers' Visibility and Union Organising in the UK Videogames Industry

Max Haiven: Worker as Futurist: Speculative Fiction Writing as Workers'

Inquiry

Austin Kelmore: Game Workers Branch of IWGB

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

authoritarian capitalism, violence and dual power

George Sotiropoulos, Gene Ray: Whose justice? Dual Power at a Time of Planetary Crisis and System-Failure(s)

Börries Nehe, Timo Dorsch: Authoritarian Neoliberalism and the Political Economy of Violence

Roberto Andrés Vargas Muñoz: Domination and Abstract Violence of Capital in Modernity: Notes on Marx and the Space Time of Capitalism

Chair: Rob Knox

room: r201

marxism and political theorising i

Fernando Lizarraga: Marxism and Absolute Hospitality

Heide Gerstenberger: What about the Basic Structures of Capitalism?

Tamara Caraus: The Workers had no Country - Now they are also 'Illegal'

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

room: g51

studies in labour and labour power

room: rg01

marxism, animals and the human

Eleni Papagiannaki: Labour as the Fusion of the Physical, the Digital and the Biological: Re(in)stating Labour and Labour Power within the Narrative of the 'Augmented Workforce'

Faisal Hamadah: Historical Roots of Kafala

Takashi Satoh: What do Proletarians Sell?: Beyond Commodification of Labour Power to Power over Labour

Nadia Hajal-Backleh: Narrating Labour Migration in Global China: Between Neoliberal and Socialist Paradigm

Chair: Juan Grigera

Billy Godfrey: Karl Marx, Animal Liberationist

Magnus Møller Ziegler: Cannibals and Animals of 'Capital': On Dehumanisation and the Capitalist Grotesque

Anna Sturman: Building Counter-hegemonic Projects through Climate Crises: Sharing Strategic Terrains of Socio-ecological Reproduction with

Hugo Lundberg: Non-Human Subjectivation and Legal Form

Chair: William Callison

room: g51a

degrowth and technological enhancement: theory and politics

tneory and pol

room: rb01

carceral capitalism

Ishay Landa: Marxist Ecology and the Critique of Degrowth

Amedeo Policante, Erica Borg Naturally-CoolTM Cattle? Metabolic Rifts, Climate Shifts and Genomic Fixes in the Global Factory Farm

Ekaitz Cancela: On Cybernetic Ecosocialism

Chair: Troy Vettese

Matteo Tiratelli: Three Regimes of Accumulation: A History of Prisons in England, 1900–2019

Pedro Mendes Loureiro: The Prison Consensus in Brazil: Neoliberalism, democracy and Inequality

Ashley Bohrer: Capitalist Reproduction and the Carcerality of Care

Chair: Maïa Pal



# friday

## session five soas: brunei gallery

10 november

09:30 - 11:15

room: b102

dispossession, migration, and modern hunger

room: b104

social reproduction: critical studies

Ana Paula Pacheco: Brazilian Novel and the Cost of Life: Artistic Experimentation in Barren Lives (1938), By Graciliano Ramos

Luiz Renato Martins: First Notes on the Contemporary Hell

Bruna Della Torre: Itamar Vieira Junior, Modernism, and Anthropophagy

Chair: Daniel Hartley

Melda Yaman: Social Reproduction as a Materialist Approach

Márcio Moneta: Can E. P. Thompson and Social-Reproduction Feminism Meet? On Gender, Capitalism and Materialism

FTC Manning: Two Sides of the Same Clipped Coin: On the Ontological Underpinnings of Social Reproduction and Real Abstraction

Talita Yaltırık: A Dialogue on Alienation: Marx, Psychoanalysis and Social Reproduction Theory

Chair: Alessandra Mezzadri

room: b103

subjectivation, ecology and grief

book launch: room: balt capitalism in the 21st century through the prism of value

Carlos Frade: Subjective Disorientation and World-Fleeing in the Environmental Movement: Figures of Subjectivation of the Nonhuman/

Posthuman Turn

Vesa Oittinen: 'Universal Human Interests' and Climate Crisis

Xinyue Liu: Towards a Cinema of Ecological Grief

Benoit Dillet, Sophia Hatzisavvidou: Overcoming the Sad Affects of

Transition Politics

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

Michael Roberts

Seongjin Jeong

Raquel Varela

Chair: Peter Thomas

friday session five birkbeck

10 november 09:30 - 11:15

room: mal g14

panel discussion on christian schmid, henri lefebvre and stefan kipfer, urban revolutions room: mal a23

monstrous futures i

Ayyaz Mallick

Gillian Hart

Kanishka Goonewardena

Christian Schmid

Stefan Kipfer

Alex Loftus

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

Sarah James: Unsettling Scores: Death by Water and Disaster Capitalism

Anselm Franke: Myth's Coinages Washing Ashore: The Cosmological Codes of the Capitalist Apocalypse

Tahani Nadim: On Being Done With

Chair: TJ Demos

# friday session six soas: main building

10 november 11:30 – 13:15

room: g3

workers' inquiry: delivery worker inquiries

Ignacio Elpidio Domínguez Ruiz, Fabiola Mancinelli, Olga Jubany: Legitimising Casual Labour Relationships Under Algocratic Governance: The Case of Spain's 'Rider Law'

Jorma Apelt: "We organise in under 10 minutes": Collective Labour Agency at the Grocery Delivery Company Gorillas

Nikos Charalampopoulos, Thodoris Varvaressos Drosos, and Giannis Sokkos: Exploring the Delivery Movement in Greece: Insights from Interviews with Delivery Drivers

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

100 years of the publication of georg lukacs' history and class consciousness

Michael Löwy

Bruna Della Torre

Esther Leslie

Andrew Feenberg

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

room: g51

trade unions, social struggle and climate change

Nicole Kleinheisterkamp González: Building Bridges: Industrial Trade Unions Under a Changing Climate

Damian McIlroy: Insurgent Interregnum: The détournement of Just Transition

Vincent Collins: Labour Union Experimentation for a Just Energy Transition

Feyzi Ismail: The Climate movement, the Suffragettes and the Meaning of Militancy

Chair: Liam Campling

. . .

room: r201

n: r201 transgendered politics

Grietje Baars: Greve! Blocage! Manif Sauvage! Gender Zbeul in the Law Factory and the Promise of a Trans Marxist Critique of Law

Charlie Bond: Logic of Gender or Logic of Cisness? Gender Normativity and the Commodity Fetish

Eli Pine, David Reznik: Gender Hegemony: A Political Economy of Anti-Trans\* Reaction

Ciara Cremin: Trans Woman Does Not Exist: Trans Otherness and the Class Struggle

Chair: Holly Lewis

room: rg01

marxism and racial politics

Christian Chun: Racism and capitalism in the U.S.: Longtime partners in crime

Michael Bray: The Modalities in which Solidarity is Lived: Race and Class "after" Black Lives Matter

Jill Poeggel, Manueala Peitz: Between Black Marxism and Black Radicalism: Tensions in debates about race and capitalism

Jesús Luzardo: Racial Capitalism and the Returns of White Supremacy

Chair: Ashok Kumar

room: g51a

not in use

room: rb01

marxist critiques: central and latin america

Kit Wainer: Neoliberal Reform and Political Transformation in Mexico, 1982–1988

Andres Cabrera: Echoes of a Failed Revolution Amidst the Crisis of Hegemony: Chile, 2019–23

Oliver Dodd: Marquetalia no Está Sola! The Origins of the FARC and the Colombian Civil War

Rafael Shimabukuro: The Other Path: Liberation in Peruvian Neoliberal Thought

Chair: Andreas Malm

## friday

# session six soas: brunei gallery

#### 10 november 11:30 - 13:15

room: b102

imperialism and the production of space

real abstraction and codification: marxian perspectives on the production of knowledge

Kanishka Goonewardena: State, Space and Capital in David Harvey's Conceptions of Imperialism

Lorenzo D'Auria: Codification from a Marxian Perspective

Gillian Hart: Transformations of US Imperialism in the 1980s

Roberto Finelli: Information is not interpretation: A Materialistic Critique of AI

Stefan Kipfer: Imperial Landscapes: Learning from Milton Santos

Pierluigi Marinucci: Comparison and Recomposition of Technique and Technology in Marxian Work: In Search of a Tool for the Analysis of Contemporary Capitalist Labour

Ayyaz Mallick: History, Structure, and Conjuncture: Pakistan and the Materiality of Imperialism

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Chair: Jana Tsoneva

room: b103

marxism and studies on communism

book launch: the negative of capital

Eugene Brennan: A Communism of Thought: On Dionys Mascolo and the

Notion of Intellectual Authority

Jake Orbison: The Totalitarianism of Origins: Wertkritik's 'Communist Individuals'

Owen Walsh: Class-struggle Cosmopolitanism: Black Communists and Migrant Labour Protest in 1930s California

Chelsey Ancliffe: Rethinking Utopia: Communist Desire, Environmental Collapse, and a Post-Capitalist Future

Chair: Peter Thomas

room: balt

room: b104

Jorge Grespan

Raquel Varela

Roberto della Santa

Michael Heinrich

Chair: Juan Grigera

## friday session six birkbeck

10 november 11:30 - 13:15

room: mal a14

Education

critical studies in the politics of education and health

room: mal a23

monstrous futures ii

Luis Arboledas-Lérida: Competitive Project-based Public Funding and the Commodification of Academic Research: A Marxist Analysis

Rejane Carolina Hoeveler: Social Policies in Brazil's Last Authoritarian Governments (2016–2022): The Imposition of the Free Market on Health and

Caio Antunes, Joana Alice de Freitas, Lênin Tomazett Garcia, Peterson Pessôa: Education in Mészáros

Alexander Giannakouras: From the Critique of Political Economy to the Critique of Public Health: Who Benefits from Health?

Chair: Maïa Pal

Rizvana Bradley: Unworlding, or the Monstrous Genealogy of Value

TJ Demos: Monstrous Anthropocene: Cop City and Counter-

Imani Jacqueline Brown: Beyond the Petrochemical-Plantation Horizon

Chair: Sarah James



#### friday lunch session



#### 10 november 13:30 – 14:00

room: bglt

meet the editors of historical materialism

With Sebastian Budgen, Kathrina Hunfeld, Panagiotis Sotiris

Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory is a Marxist journal, appearing four times a year, based in London. Founded in 1997, it asserts that, notwithstanding the variety of its practical and theoretical articulations, Marxism constitutes the most fertile conceptual framework for analysing social phenomena, with an eye to their overhaul. in our selection of materials, we do not favour any one tendency, tradition or variant. Marx demanded the 'merciless criticism of everything that exists': for us that includes Marxism itself. Details for submitting articles to the journal can be found here: <a href="https://www.historicalmaterialism.org/instructions-for-authors">https://www.historicalmaterialism.org/instructions-for-authors</a>.

Since 1997, the Editorial Board has extended its activities beyond the production of the journal. We contribute to producing the Historical Materialism Book Series published first in hardback by Brill followed by a paperback edition published by Haymarket. We organise the annual HM London conference in mid-November, now in its nineteenth year. Affiliated networks have organised conferences in Ankara, Athens, Beirut, Cluj, Delhi, Istanbul, Montreal, New York, Rome, Sydney and Toronto.

More information about the forthcoming conferences in Cluj and Istanbul and how to submit an abstract can be found at the back of the programme.



# friday

# session seven soas: main building

#### 10 november

14:15 - 16:00

room: g3

workers' inquiry: class composition in the britain

Pete Firmin: The 2022–23 Royal Mail Postal Workers' Dispute: The Pitfalls of Partnership

Clemence Fourton: Trade-union Strategies Under Neoliberalism or the British Strike Spiral of 2022–23

Jonas Marvin: The Breaking of the English Working Class: Oppression, Debt and Space at Empire's End

George Briley: Exploring the Labour Process of Centrally Managed Pubs and Bars

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

expanding transgender marxism: alienation, abjection and accumulation

Alex Adamson: Transgender Marxism in an Autonomous Frame of Reference: Marxist Humanism, Sylvia Wynter and Hi[r]storical Materialism

Alexis Davin: Femboys in the Factory: Trans Labour Beyond Abjection

Jules Gleeson: 'Hermaphrodites Speak Out': The Edgy Legacy of 1990s Intersex Advocacy

Chair: Alex Stoffel

room: r201

revisiting the mode of production debate

Andreas Bieler and Adam D. Morton: The Dialectical Matrix of Class, Gender, Race

Chris Hesketh: Finding Space in the Modes of Production Debate: The value of Latin America

Maïa Pal: How to Theorise Social Change from Pashukanis to Political Marxism

Alessandra Mezzadri: Forms of Exploitation and Social Reproduction: Notes on Labour, Value and Unfreedom

Chair: Demet Dinler

room: g51

marxism and political theorising ii

room: rg01

animals and the left i

Tom O'Shea: Socialist Republicanism and Abstract Domination

Davide Gallo Lassere: Counterpower – Dual Power – Counterpower

Helena Zohdi: Travelling Theory from Below: Revolutionary Socialists and the Theory and Political Practice of Marxism

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

Ted Benton: Biodiversity Loss, Why it Matters and What can be Done

Onur Alptekin: From Machine-Bodies to the Horsepower: Ungulate Labour in Industrial Production in the Atlantic World, 1560–1780

Francesco Aloe and Chiara Stefanoni: Animals in Capitalist Societies: Conceptualising the Anthropological Form

Mariska Jung and Jouke Huijzer: Animal Politics or Animal Police? Islamophobia and Animal Advocacy Politics

Chair: Troy Vettese

room: g51a

marxism on nature

room: rb01

marxism and crisis

Camilla Royle: Capitalism, Alienation and the Turn to Nature-based Solutions

Cannelle Gignoux: From Natural Limits to Capitalist Infinity

Ellen Kirkpatrick: Working Between Human and Non-human Nature: Using Labour as a Tool to Capture the Transformations of Planetary Life

Chair: Andreas Malm

Geoffrey McCormack: Canadian Capitalism in Crisis: A Classical Marxist Analysis

Will Berrington: Robert Brenner's 'Long Downturn' Meets Marxist Theories of Crisis

Lutti Mira: The Future of Crisis: On Marx's Ambiguous Relation to Utopia

Silvia Lopez: Crisis as Form: Rainha Lira by Roberto Schwarz

Chair: Peter Green



#### friday

# session seven soas: brunei gallery

#### 10 november

14:15 - 16:00

room: b102

concepts of totality, freedom, and revolution in the work of rosa luxemburg

room: b104

furio jesi: mythos, marxism, and the machine

Ankica Cakardic: Algebra of Revolution: Marxism and Hegelianism of Rosa Luxemburg

Sandra Rein: Freeing the Philosophy of Rosa Luxemburg?

Lori Turner: Images of Revolution in the Work of Rosa Luxemburg

Chair: Alex de Jong

Frank Engster: The Gifted Furio Jesi

Ester Van Ackere: Furio Jesi on Revolutionary Struggle, Sacrifice, and the

Exposure to Myth

Giorgio Chiappa: The Mythologist as a Reader: Furio Jesi's Writings on

Literature

room: balt

Chair: Riccardo Bellofiore

room: b103

art and property

marxism and india

Ciarán Finlayson: Every House Deserves a Happy Home: Curtis Cuffie between 'The Real Estate Show' and the 'African Village in America'

Jenny Nachtigall: Form, Property, and Art History's Wayward Vitalism

Stephanie Schwartz: How to Erase the Nation? Ownership and Emptiness in Native Land

Larne Abse Gogarty: 'Living the life you deserve': Aspiration and Property in Recent Art from London

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

Abhilasha Srivastava, Aseem Hasnain: Abjection, Caste, and Capital Accumulation: Sanitation Labour in India

Craig Brandist: Brahmanism: its relationship to class power and formative influence on the ideology of (post)colonialism

Suddhabrata Deb Roy: The Struggle for a Working-Class Identity: Wages, Social Interactions and Social Reproduction Work in India

Paromita Chakrabarti: Redefining Citizenship in India: State, Illegal Migrants and Public Protests

Chair: Ashok Kumar

## friday session seven birkbeck

10 november

14:15 - 16:00

room: mal g14

reading poetry for emancipation

room: mal g23

book panel: the eye of the master: a social history of artificial intelligence

Anderson Gonçalves da Silva

Betina Bischof

Laura Gagliardi

Natasha Belfort Palmeira

Chair: Esther Leslie

320 mm. max 920

Matteo Pasquinelli: The Labour Theory of Automation from Babbage to Al

Leonardo Impett: The Industrial Automation of Aesthetics in Machine Vision

Paolo Caffoni: Machine Translation as a Technology of Bordering

Senthil Babu: Measures of Labour and the Machinery of Calculation: Three Case Studies

Chair: Juan Grigera

# friday session eight soas: main building

10 november

16:15 - 18:00

room: g3

workers' inquiry: inquiries in education

Matthew Lee: Class Composition: Working in a South London School

Elia Alberici: Rethinking Self-Valorisation: Notes from a Students' Inquiry

Tom Cowin, Fez Sibanda, Nehaal Bajwa, Nicky Sharma, amy mcgourty Who is Sussex For? A Radical Exploration of Place, Belonging and resistance in the Neoliberal Financialised University

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

althusser in dialogue

room: r201

rethinking marxist philosophy

Geoff Pfeifer: Of Automobility and Authoritarian Desire: Althusser, Deleuze, Structural Causality, and Authoritarian Subjectivity in Climate Politics and Beyond

Thomas Carmichael: Althusser and Mass Movements: Encounter as Rectification

Chair and discussant: Panagiotis Sotiris

Mike Wilkinson, Marco Goldoni: The Material Constitution in the Marxist Tradition: Its Rise and Fall and Rise

Dimitrios Krassas: Alienation, Social Justice and Labour in Eastern Christianity and Marxism: A Historical and Theoretical Sketch

Andrzej Frelek: The Promise of Mastery over Mastery of Nature: Adorno's Critique of the Transhistorical Element in the Domination of Nature

Holly Lewis: There's Peace in the Uncanny Valley, But None for Us: Strange New Humanisms

Chair: Svenja Bromberg

room: g51

capitalism and agribusiness

room: rg01

animals and the left ii

Chitrangada Choudhury: Dismantling Agroecology: The Coming of the GM Cotton-Agrochemical Complex in an Indian Highland Frontier

Soledad Castro-Vargas, Marion Werner: Pesticides and Capital Accumulation: The Chemicalisation of Costa Rican Agriculture

Justin Paulson, Julie Tomiak: Trees into Capital: Forestry, Dispossession, and Accumulation in the Ottawa Valley

Chris Little: Agrarian Change and Labour Migration as Co-constitutive Factors in Uneven Development: A Labour Regimes Analysis Between Ontario and Guatemala

Chair: Liam Campling

100111. 190

Richie Nimmo: Animal Labour, Nature and Accumulation: Between Posthumanism and Value Theory

Virginia Magnaghi and Giovanni Tonolo: What's at Stake with the Fiorentina Steak?

Nicola McCartney: Animal Drag

Chair: Troy Vettese

room: g51a

marxism, feminism: theory and politics i

room: rb01

modernisms of the plantationocene

Lucely Ginani Bordon: The International Women's Strike and the Question of a Communist Strategy: Forging a Politics of Social Reproduction?

Shambhawi Vikram: Gender and Humanist Entrepreneurship: Feminism in the Age of Neoliberalism

Steve Hajiyianni: Golden Spindles: Automation and Gendered Abjection in the Chapter on Machinery and Large-Scale Industry

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

Christine Okoth: Cultivation as Liberation in the Global Black 1970s

Nick Lawrence: Revolution within the Revolution: Anticolonial Environmentalisms in the Long 1960s

Chair: Andreas Malm

#### friday

# session eight soas: brunei gallery

#### 10 november

16:15 - 18:00

room: b102

room: b104

marxism, bodies, affects, emotions

Alexander Billet: A Great Composer of Time: The Post/Anti/Humanist

Socialism of Jóhann Jóhannsson

Michael Beron: Work of the Monsters: (Post-)Work Imaginaries and the

Return of Class Struggle in Late Capitalist Television

Cathy Porter: Larisa Reisner and the Journalism of the Bolshevik Revolution

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

Søren Mau: Marxism and the Body

Tilbe Akan: Right to be Unhappy? A Marxist-Feminist Approach to the

Understanding of Capitalist Happiness

Nejc Kralj: New Age Ideology, the Belief-Market, and the Authoritarianism of

Self-Improvement

Key MacFarlane: Critique of the Lived: Marxist Phenomenology in a Time of

Chair: Paul Reynolds

room: b103

book launch: state capitalism and development

in east asia since 1945

cultural critique

romantic anti-capitalism and nature

Gareth Dale: State Capitalism in the East Asian Age

Owen Miller: The Implications of the Theory of State Capitalism for East Asian History and the Implications of East Asian History for the Theory of State Capitalism

Seongjin Jeong: State Capitalism and the Permanent War Economy in South Korea, 1950-72

Michael Haynes: Looking Backwards: Seeing the Historical Development of Capitalism from the Perspective of Japan, South Korea and China

Chair: Ashok Kumar

room: balt

Michael Löwy

Marcelo Ridenti

Esther Leslie

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

#### friday session eight birkbeck

10 november

16:15 - 18:00

room: mal a14

not in use

room: mal g23

not in use

#### friday deutscher lecture

10 november 19:00 – 21:00

room: bglt deutscher lecture

gabriel winant the baby and the bathwater: class analysis and class formation after deindustrialisation

The Deutscher Lecture is delivered by Gabriel Winant (University of Chicago), who received the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize 2022, awarded to work that exemplifies the best and most innovative new writing in or about the marxist tradition.

The prize was given to Winant for his The Next Shift: The Fall of Industry and the Rise of Health Care in Rust Belt America (Harvard University Press, 2021).

More information on the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize can be found here: <a href="https://www.deutscherprize.org.uk/wp/">https://www.deutscherprize.org.uk/wp/</a>.

Chairs: Esther Leslie and Rob Knox



The Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize committee is delighted to announce its 2023 shortlist for the prize. the four books on the shortlist are:

- Michael Chanan, From Printing to Streaming: Cultural Production Under Capitalism
- Nancy Fraser, Cannibal Capitalism: How our System is Devouring Democracy, Care, and the Planet and What We Can Do About It
- Christian Schmid, Henri Lefebvre and the Theory of the Production of Space
- Heide Gerstenberger, Market and Violence: The Functioning of Capitalism in History

Current members of the Deutscher Jury: Gilbert Achcar, Alex Callinicos, Alejandro Colas, Ben Fine, Rob Knox, Chun Lin, Esther Leslie, Alfredo Saad-Filho, Chris Wickham, and Lea Ypi.

#### friday ed emery with the soas ceilidh band

10 november 21:00+

room: jcr

a night of revolutionary madness

Songs of resistance, dissent and tasteless vulgarity presented by Ed Emery [Red Notes] with the SOAS Ceilidh Band.

You are invited to join us for an evening of song and music-making in the SOAS Bar. Feel free to bring your own songs. See the link below for our SOAS Guerrilla Choir Songbook.

Admission: Free and open to the general public

The SOAS Guerrilla Choir Songbook can be found here: http://www.geocities.ws/soasguerrillachoir/

Wild about song!



# saturday session nine soas: main building

11 november

09:00 - 10:45

room: g3

workers' inquiry: expanding workers' inquiry

Lorenzo Feltrin: The Challenge of Convergence between Workplaces and Communities: Working-Class Composition, Technological Development, and Ecological Politics

Sebastiaan Boersma: Black Study and the Workers' Inquiry: A Comparative Hermeneutic

Roberto della Santa, Raquel Varela: Workers' Inquiry: Rethinking Inequality **Among Working Classes** 

Ricardo Antunes: Drifting Icebergs: Uberisation of Labour in Pandemic Capitalism

Silvestre Gristina: Raniero Panzieri, a Marxian among Marxists: Peasants' Movement, Analysis of Technology and Workers' Inquiry at the Origins of Italian Operaismo

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

political marxist perspectives on state formation and geopolitics

Markus Hansen: Natural Law, Intra-Aristocratic Struggle, and Agrarian Reform: The Consolidation of Danish Absolutism in the 18th Century

Armando Van Rankin Anaya: The Peculiarity of Spain's 'Colonial Strategy' and the Making of Colonial Mexico

Samuel Parris: Merchants and the Colonial Origins of the American Revolution, 1624-1776

Benno Teschke: What is Geopolitical Marxism? Radical Historicism and International Politics in Marxist IR

Discussant: Maia Pal

Chair: Pedro Salgado

marxism and global politics i

Marlène Rosato: European Defence Policy and NATO: A Global History since 1989

Marija Radovanovic: Encoding the American Empire: Digital Management of War, Labour and Nature

Gautham Shiralagi: Planning for Finance: The Crisis of Capitalism and the Transformation of the State in the Indian 1970s

Chair: Ashok Kumar

room: r201

marxism and contemporary left politics

Vladimir Bortun: The Rise and Fall of the Neo-reformist Left: Lessons from Southern Europe

Ricard Munné: Totality, Social Democracy and Independent Power: A Critique of the Socialist Movement

Oisín Gilmore, David Landy: Anti-austerity and the Growth of the Irish Left Since 2008

Elliot C. Mason The Primacy of Struggle in Fred Moten and Judith Butler

Chair: Josep Maria Antentas

room: rq01

marxism, techno-politics and ai

Harry Halpin: Information Capitalism and the Tendency of the Rate of Profit

Jonas C. L. Valente (Not so) Artificial Intelligence: Towards a Critical Political Economy of the Work Behind AI Development

Chair: Juan Grigera

room: g51a

not in use

room: rb01

theorising class i

Gianmaria Brunazzi: Race, Gender, and the Question of Social Agency: A Return to Marxian Class Theory

Gerardo Otero, Efe Can Gürcan: Transcending Class and Identity Reductionisms: Towards a Collective Empowerment Theory

Arianna Introna: Dismodernising the Working Class: On Monstrous Anti-Capitalist Modes of Resistance and Solidarity

Jordan House: Working Class Decomposition and the Rise of the Canadian

Chair: Roberto Mozzachiodi



# session nine soas: brunei gallery

#### 11 november

09:00 - 10:45

room: b102

revolutionary strategy revisited

room: b104

marxism, feminism: theory and politics ii

Isabelle Garo Thinking with Marx about Contemporary Strategic Issues

Panagiotis Sotiris: On the (im)possibility of a 'Left Government': Some Strategic Questions Revisited

Moara Assis Crivelente "Bursting into history": The Strategies and Tactics of Contemporary National Liberation Struggles

Chair: Demet Dinler

Grace Whitfield: (A Labour Theory of) Valuing Care: Productive and Unproductive Labour in England's Social Care Sector

Eleri Fowler: The Role of Care in Revolutionary Change

Charlotte Nóra Szász: Marxist Feminist Stream: Master, Slave and the

Negative Power of the Unconscious

Chair: Holly Lewis

room: b103

roundtable on stephen maher and scott m. aquanno, the fall and rise of american finance: from j.p. morgan to blackrock

Stephen Maher

Scott Aquanno

Mary Robertson

Grace Blakeley Cedric Durand

David McNally

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

room: balt

on the italian edition of die wissenschaft vom wert: a discussion about the science of value with the author

Stefano Breda: The Science of Disenchantment: Michael Heinrich as a Theorist and as a Reader of Marx

Vittorio Morfino: The Symptomatic Reading between Althusser and Heinrich

Riccardo Bellofiore: A New Interpretation of Marx: A Dialogue with Michael

Heinrich

Discussant: Michael Heinrich

Chair: Frank Engster

#### saturday session nine birkbeck

11 november 09:00 - 10:45

room: mal 354

book launch: patrick eiden-offe. the poetry of class: romantic anti-capitalism and the invention of the proletariat room: mal 355

lukács

Patrick Eiden-Offe

Daniel Hartley

Gabriel Winant

Francesca Raimondi

Chair: Jacob Blumenfeld

Daniel De Nadai: The Category of Progress in Marx through the Lukácsian Perspective

Giorgio Cesarale Production, Reproduction, Crisis: Reinterpreting History and Class Consciousness Today

Daniel Badenhorst: The Young Hegel and the Nazis

Pascal Braun: 100 Years of History and Class Consciousness: A Look Back, a Look Forward

Chair: Cat Moir



# saturday session ten soas: main building

11 november

11:00 - 12:45

room: g3

theorising class ii

Pedro Meira Gava Ramos Barbosa: Marx and the Social Classes: Daniel Bensaïd's Reading

Kira Brenner: Class Composition and the State: An Autonomist Marxist Approach

Dave Beech: A Marxist Critique of the Exploitation Theory of Class

Alvaro Cabrera: Capitalism, Class, and Collective Action: A Multivariate

Approach

Chair: Alex Stoffel

room: dlt

political marxist perspectives on the transition to capitalism

perspectives on racial capitalism hosted by spectre: a marxist journal

Teddy Paikin: Liberalism and Capitalist Development: Outline for a Comparative Intellectual History of French and English Liberalism from a Social-Property Relations Perspective

Stephen Miller: The Physiocrats and Diderot on the Transition to Capitalism

Meriam Mabrouk: Political Marxism in Morocco: The Production of Sovereignty and the British North West African Company (1875–1895)

Danny Colligan: The Transition to Capitalism in Prussia

Discussant: Charlie Post

Chair: Pedro Salgado

room: r201

Zachary Levenson Gargi Bhattacharyya

David McNally

Chair: Spectre

room: g51

marxism and money

room: rq01

planning theory i

Edemilson Paraná, Maria de Lourdes Mollo: Money as a Social Relation: An Analysis of the Monetary Power of the State in the MMT

Laurent Baronian: Money and Capital: A Critique of Monetary Thought, the Dollar and Post-capitalism

Sam Salour, Raven Hetzler: The Value of Money: A Contribution to the Critique of Marx's Theory

Bill Dunn: Bitcoin, Blockchain and Beyond: A Cautionary Note about Writing on Cryptocurrency and about Writing off Cryptocurrency

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

Elena Hofflerberth: Planning Beyond Growth: The Case for Economic Democracy within Ecological Limits

Michael Albert: Building Global Ecosocialist Democracy: The Role of Citizens Assemblies in Planning a Just Transition

Marius Bickhardt: Capital's Law of Population and Ecological Planning: Wolfgang Harich's Theory of Communism Without Growth

Dougie Booth: Social Dividend Socialism: Labour Autonomy in a Participatory Planned Economy

Chair: Troy Vettese

room: g51a

against the cheapening of trans-species lives: animals and labour under capitalist abstraction and commodification

room: rb01

peace that feels like war: subjective and objective reality in the art of late capitalism

Dogukan Dere: Toward a More-than-Human Approach to Labour, Value, and Class: A Basis for a Trans-Species Solidarity and Liberation?

Deniz Diler: Abstraction and Real Subsumption within the Animal-Industrial Complex: Key Biotechnological Elements of Regulating Trans-Species Vitalities

Zeynep Gizem Haspolat: The Cost of Cheapened Lives: Live Cattle Imports in Turkey

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

Angeliki Roussou: Provable Realities and Leaps of Faith: Violence and Care in Bonnie Camplin's Military Industrial Complex (2014)

Angela Dimitrakaki: Depression Era: A Southern European Photography Collective and the Public Sphere

Rose-Anne Gush: Sacrificial Energy: Notes on Lithium and Art

Chair: Svenja Bromberg



# session ten soas: brunei gallery

#### 11 november

11:00 - 12:45

room: b102

re-imagining the emancipatory subject in arab radical politics post-1967

western marxism and the contribution of perry anderson

Samuel Carlshamre: Conceptualising the Radical Subject in Arab Marxist Discourse on Tradition Post-1967

Darren Roso: Some Comments on Anderson's 'Western Marxism'

George Souvlis: Perry Anderson's Antonio Gramsci: A Rereading

Natasha Gasparian: Preliminary Remarks on The New Sensibility Movement, 1967-1982

Stephan Hammel: What is Excluded by 'Western Marxism'

Ziad Kiblawi: Agents of Erosion: Frantz Fanon and Mahdi Amel on National Culture and the National Bourgeoisie

Chair: Paul Reynolds

room: b104

Discussant: Sami Khatib

room: b103

Chair: Cat Moir

what is social reproductive work?

room: balt book launch: marx's theory of value in chapter 1 of capital

Maud Perrier: From Stratified Childcare Labour Markets to Maternal Worker

Michael Heinrich

Winfried Schwarz

Sara Farris: Theories of Care and Social Reproduction

Fred Moseley

Sue Ferguson: Written on the Child's Body: Alienation, Play and Social Reproduction

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

Chair: Alan Sears

# saturday session ten birkbeck

11 november 11:00 - 12:45

room: mal 354

keywords for value and culture

room: mal 355

feminist political struggles

Thomas Waller

Sean O'Brien

Savannah Whaley

Sam Fisher

Harry Warwick

Harry Pitt-Scott

Chair: Daniel Hartley

Rhiannon Lindgren: Against the Couple-Form: Transforming Care in Family **Abolition** 

Fatima Gabriela Soares de Azevedo, Camila Carduz Rocha: Feminist Social Movements: Resistance and Theoretical Tools

Tal-Hi Bitton: Dialectics of Reproductive Struggle in Palestinian National Liberation

Chair: Holly Lewis

# session eleven soas: main building

room: g3

marxism, dependency, inequality

Lorenzo Fusaro: Rethinking Dependency

Isabelle Darmon: Equality, not Sufficiency! Critical Theoretical Perspectives

on the Inequality-Unsustainability Nexus

Tomas Rotta: Was Marx Right? Development and Exploitation in 43

Countries, 2000-2014

Krista Lillemets: Rethinking the Capital-Labour Relation from the Viewpoint

of the Periphery

Chair: Alex de Jong

room: dlt

political marxist perspectives on contemporary capitalism

Sam Salour: The Second Brenner Debate: A Reappraisal in Light of the Debate on Secular Stagnation

Samuel Knafo: Rentierism and the Eternal Return of the Political in Marxism

Maïa Pal: Historicising the Foundations of Digital Capitalism: Class Struggles, Legal Form, and Imperialist Infrastructure

Javier Moreno Zacarés: Capitalist Development, Housing Provision, and the Dilemmas of the State

Discussant: Sahil Dutta

Chair: Demet Dinler

room: g51

marxism and global politics iii

Arne Kušej: Constructing the New World Order: The Genesis, Structure, and Political Implications of Post-Cold War Anti-Communism

Fathima Shifana Mohamed Niyas: Politics of Piety and Global Capitalism

Bárbara Maçães Costa: Habitation vs. Improvement: Proletarian Islands in the Carnation Revolution

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

starts after a long lunch break to allow delegates to join the demonstration against international inaction over the bloodshed and

oppression in palestine

please note, this session

11 november

15:00 - 16:45

room: r201

marxism and techno-critiques

Vali Stan: Big Tech Rentiership and the Techno-Feudal Hypothesis

Andrea Comair: Trouble with ELIZA: The Libidinal Economy of Display Before the Digital Screen

Jonas Valente, Manoel Dourado Bastos, Helena Martins, Cesar R S Bolaño: Digitalised Productive Forces and Social Relations of Production: Towards a Marxist Approach to Digital Information and Communication Technologies and at Work

Marc-Antoine Pencolé: Surveillance as Technologically Mediated Reproduction of Contemporary Capitalism

Chair: Esther Leslie

room: rq01

neoliberal environmental thought

Isabel Oakes: A History of Green Ordoliberalism: The Theoretical Foundation of a Socio-Ecological Market Economy

Troy Vettese: Elinor Ostrom: Neoliberal Theorist of the Commons

Apolline Taillandier: Homesteading in Outer Spaces: Transhumanists and the Anarcho-Capitalist Critique of the State

Chair: Tatjana Söding

room: a51a

marxism, development and ecology

room: rb01

marxism, state and capital

Jackqueline Frost: Anti-nuclear Marxism and Caribbean Cold War Ecology

João Prates Ruivo: Soil Politics: Erosion, Resurgence, Resistance

Rabea Berfelde: Socialisation, Planned Economies and the Climate Crisis: Towards a Radical Democratic Theory of Needs

Chair: Jana Tsoneva

Ilias Alami: The Specter of State Capitalism

James Foley, Ewan Kerr, Gregor Clunie: COVID-19 and State Transformations: The Case of Scotland, Devolution and the UK

Michael McCarthy: All Politics Are Conjunctural: Emancipatory Theory and **Democratic Ruptures** 

Chair: Josep Maria Antentas



# session eleven soas: brunei gallery

11 november

15:00 - 16:45

room: b102

marxism and political theory

room: b104

foucault, poulantzas and marxism

Iván Alvarado Castro, Diego Parejo Pérez: Community Praxis as Subjectivation Process: A 'Long Revolution' Proposal (for Marxism)

Hedvig Lärka: Struggle to See: A Critique of Social Form Theory

Toni Prug: Public Wealth and Egalities: Historical Development of Social Forms in Public Production

Iker Jauregui Giráldez: The Cost of Human Capital's Life

Chair: Alex Stoffel

Matteo Polleri: Mapping Foucauldian Marxisms

Chris James Newlove: The Last Foucault: In and Beyond Neoliberal Logic

Gregor Clunie, James Foley, Ewan Kerr: Poulantzas, Politics and the Political

Practice: Re-Assessing State Transformation

Ignasi Bernat Molina: Poulantzas and the Crisis of Social-democracy in Spain

Chair: Paul Reynolds

room: b103

new directions in contemporary marxist art history

room: balt

social reproduction theory: urgent solidarities

hosted by spectre: a marxist journal

Luisa Lorenza Corna

Mark Crinson

Jacopo Galimberti

Nick Thoburn

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

Kade Griffiths: Sex/Gender, Reproduction and SRT

Sandow Sinai: Autistic Consciousness and the Commodity-Form

Noel Barrera

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

## saturday session eleven birkbeck

11 november

15:00 - 16:45

room: mal 354

climate change: strategic perspectives room: mal 355

regional deindustrialisation: crisis, competition and capital mobility in the us

Liam McLoughlin: A Gramscian Approach to Australian Climate Movement Strategy

Daniel Neofetou: Climate Activism and Ecological Leninism

Fraser Amos: Towards Proletarian-ecological Worldview Marxism

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

Dwjuan Frazier: The First Detroit Recovery: Manufacturing Decline and the Path of Redevelopment, 1970–1990

Charles Post: The Dynamics of Capital Mobility in the US Tire Industry, 1966-2008

Discussant: Kim Moody

Chair: Ashok Kumar

# session twelve soas: main building

11 november

17:00 - 18:45

room: g3

workers' inquiry: international inquiries

Danai Avgeri: In and Against the Workfare/Welfare State: Humanitarian Workers in Borderland Greece

Phethani Madzivhandila: Trade Unions and the Changing character of the Working Class

Benjamin Anderson, John Jenkinson: Building Autonomous Power: Solidarity Networks in Precarious Times

Chair: Notes from Below

room: dlt

the impossibility of consciousness:

room: r201

marxism, art and architecture

Richard Seymour

China Miéville

Ray Brassier

Chair: Rosie Warren

materialism at its limits hosted by salvage

Tobey Pan: Theorising (Art) Labour as a Marxist Feminist Approach to Art

Xavier Wrona: Anatole Kopp and Architecture as Communist Knowledge for Transforming the World Order

Carina Brand: Painting, Petroleum and Neoliberalism in 1980: The Energy Unconscious at Work in the 'New Spirit of Painting'

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

room: g51

marxist ecology: philosophical perspectives

room: rg01

planning theory ii

Isabel Jacobs: Evald Ilyenkov and Late Soviet Ecology

José Sarrión-Andaluz: The Reception of Ecologist Thought by Spanish Marxism

Alejandro Pedregal, Alberto García Molinero: The Ecopolitical Unconscious of Tricontinental (1967–1971): The Search for a Social Metabolic Sovereignty in the Third World

Giorgos Velegrakis, Antonis Faras: The Political Ecology of Technology Maintenance: Why it matters?

Chair: Andreas Malm

Max Grünberg: Automating away the Centre? Optimal Planning and the Menace of Bureaucratisation

Donal O Coisdealbha and Tom O'Brien: Revisiting Marx's Concept of Socialist Planning

Jacob Blumenfeld: Socialisation of Nature

Helmer Stoel: Democratising Production: Karl Polanyi's Socialist Planning with the Market

Chair: Troy Vettese

room: g51a

proletarian struggles

room: rb01

socialist strategy in the united states: the contribution of kim moody hosted by spectre: a marxist journal

Amir Fleischmann: The Sword and the Trowel: Workers Councils and the Rule of the Poor

Pedro Álvaro Hervalejo Sánchez: The End of the 'Catalan Process'? Looking Back at a Decade of Pro-independence Mobilisation (2009–2019)

Chair: Josep Maria Antentas

Charles Post

Katy Fox-Hodes

Ian Allison

Discussant: Kim Moody

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

# session twelve soas: brunei gallery

#### 11 november

17:00 - 18:45

room: b102

striving for transformation:

intersections of spinoza and marx in the interregnum

Jeremy Gilbert: The Limits of Freudo-Marxism

Jason Read: Finite Communism: Determination and Action Spinoza and

Marx

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

room: b104

book launch: the ruthless critique of everything existing: nature and revolution in marcuse's philosophy of praxis

Andrew Feenberg

Michael Löwy

Chair and discussant: Paul Reynolds

room: b103

revisiting the critique of political economy

room: bglt

issues in social reproduction

Patrick Murray, Jeanne Schuler: Three Pseudo-Concepts Generated by the "Bourgeois Horizon" that Obstruct Social Theory and Practice: Wealth-ingeneral, Utility, and Instrumental Action

Ksenia Arapko: Engels' Critique of Political Economy

Gabriele Schimmenti: Beyond the Symbol: Marx and the Sociality of

Hieroglyphics

Demet Dinler: Value, Real Abstraction and Post-Capitalism

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

3

Sahil Kumar: Social Reproduction and the Production of Value

C Saratchand, Navpreet Kaur:Value and Capitalist Social Reproduction: Theoretical and Empirical Considerations

Maria Georgouli Loupi: The reproduction of the Greek middle class: revisiting Social Reproduction Theory

Erik Hansson: The Begging Question: Sweden's Social Responses to the Roma Destitute

Chair: Ashok Kumar

## saturday session twelve birkbeck

11 november

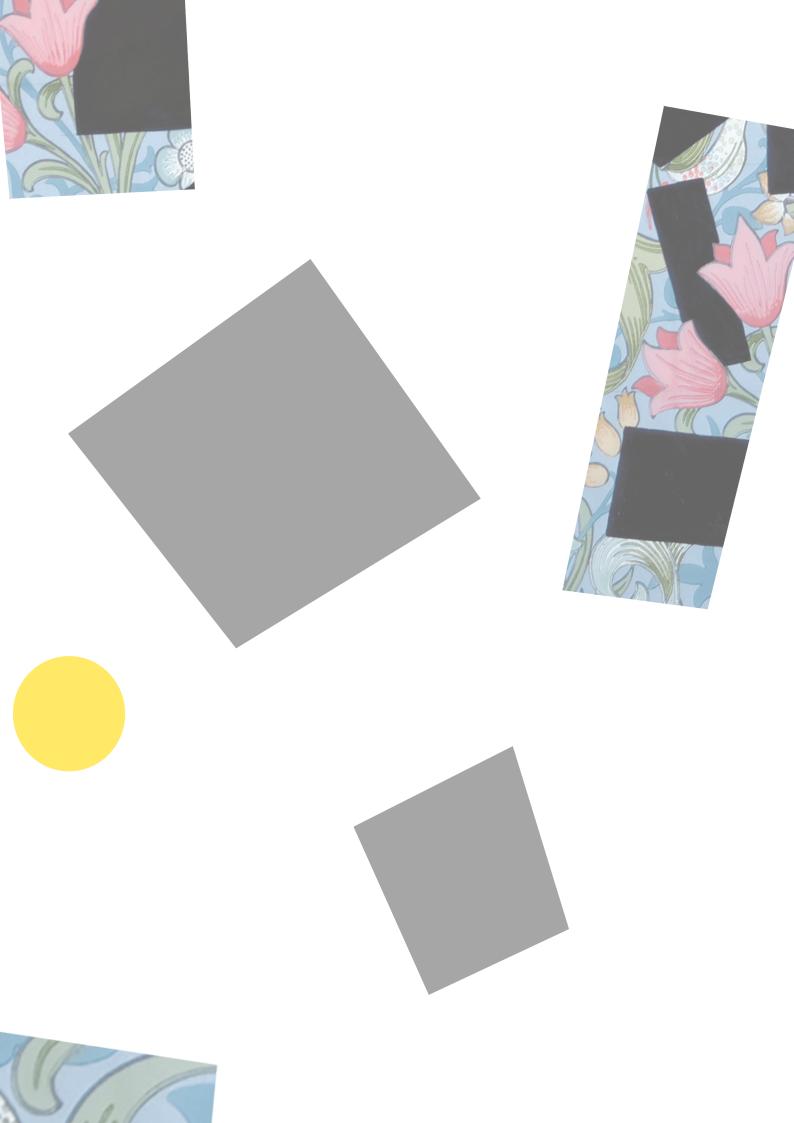
17:00 - 18:45

room: mal 354

not in use

room: mal 355

not in use



## saturday plenary

11 november 19:15 – 21:00

room: bglt

capitalism, the family, and personal life after 50 years: marxist-feminism, then and now

Eli Zaretsky published Capitalism, the Family, and Personal Life in 1973. An early New Left attempt to integrate feminist and Marxian theorising, the work criticised what came to known as 'dual systems theory': the view that Marxism's object was 'the economy' while feminism's was 'the family.' Articulating a picture of capitalist society as embracing (and dividing) both those realms, Zaretsky proposed an integrated framework that disclosed their coconstitution and interdependency. He also proposed a novel conception of 'personal life' as a historically specific societal institution that emerged as capitalism separated 'production' from 'reproduction.' Expressed first in the bourgeois family, then in bohemias and dissident youth and sexual subcultures, and still later in mass consumption, personal life was seen by Zaretsky as ambivalent: a locus both of emancipatory desires and of their mystification, insofar as 'the personal' is lived as disconnected from the social labour that makes it possible and is distorted by the imperatives of capital accumulation. He concluded that genuine personal emancipation requires transformation of the capitalist mode of production/reproduction through struggles that are at once socialist and feminist.

This roundtable would assess the cogency and relevance of a work that was originally hailed as a classic, then harshly criticised by feminists who read its call for integrated theorising as a threat to the autonomy of the Women's Liberation Movement, and thereafter largely forgotten, omitted from anthologies of socialist-feminism writing, but is now worth revisiting in light of the current interest in unitary theory.

Roundtable with Eli Zaretsky, Hilary Wainwright, Sue Ferguson and Ashley Bohrer

Chair: Nancy Fraser

The plenary will be followed by a Historical Materialism, Brill, Socialist Register and Merlin wine reception:

SOAS Bar 21:00 – until it's gone

#### sunday

# session thirteen soas: main building

12 november

10:00 - 12:00

room: g3

studies in critical theory i

Ed Graham: Adorno's Aesthetic Theory of Value-Form Separation

Vinsent Nollet: Freedom towards History: On Walter Benjamin's Metaphysical Anarchism in 'Critique of Violence'

Emanuel Kapfinger: Hans-Jürgen Krahl: The Practical Revolutionary Branch of Critical Theory

Chair: Cat Moir

room: dlt

legal and social struggle

room: r201

the struggle against fossil fuels

Sonja Buckel and Carolina Vestena: Transformation through Legal Mobilisation? A Social Theory Perspective on Legal Struggles

Tor Krever: Recovering the Radical Tradition in International Legal History

Lara Coleman: Struggles for the Human: Violent Legality and the Politics of Rights

Rigilis

Chair: Rob Knox

Alexandros Karagkounis: Shale Gas Development in the Usa: Impact on Climate Change and the Energy Transition as Grounds for Attempting to Form a Counter-Hegemonic Block and Evolution of the Movement

Leandro Vergara-Camus: The Race to Replace Fossil Fuels: Energy Transition, Renewable Energy, and rentier strategies of accumulation

David Schwartzman: How China Can Prevent Climate Catastrophe, Opportunity and Contingency

Sakari Säynäjoki: The Role of Fossil Energy in the Metabolic Rift: Towards a Synthesis of Ecological Marxism and Energy Studies

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

room: g51

studies on value

room: rq01

rethinking imperialism

Erwan Moysan: On the Current Push for Absolute Surplus-Value in the West

Raphaël Porcherot: Is there Value in the Non-market Sector? An Accounting and Unitary Interpretation.

Sibyl Pineda Salazar: The Migration of Central American Women: A Form of Violent Extraction of Surplus Value

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

David Jamieson: Imperialism and the Changing Middle East

John Smith: The Return of Inflation and the Crisis of the Imperialist System

Carlos Cruz Mosquera: Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism: The EU and Colombia's Sugar Plantations

Finn Mempel, Beatriz Rodriguez-Labajos, Esteve Corbera, Edward Challies: From Railroad Imperialism to Neoliberal Reprimarisation: Lessons from Regime Shifts in the Global Soybean Complex

Chair: Jana Tsoneva

room: g51a

culture and empire hosted by catalyst journal

room: rb01

marxism and brazilian politics i

Nivedita Majumdar: From Literary Internationalism to Postcolonial Theory

Bashir Abu Manneh, Edward Said and the Turn to Empire

Chair and discussant: Vivek Chibber

Amanda Nolasco: The Theater of the Oppressed Technique in the Brazilian Marxist Feminist Debate

Amelia Maciel: Corruption and the Repetition of Primitive Accumulation: A Case Study of Brazil's Operation Lava Jato

Camila Góes: The Enigma of Neoliberal (Post-)Hegemony: Developments From a Reading of Francisco de Oliveira

Chair: Peter Thomas



#### session thirteen soas: brunei gallery

#### 12 november

10:00 - 12:00

room: b102

the relevance of ernest mandel today

room: b104

hmspen: marxism and lgbtqi politics

Fred Leplat

Penelope Duggan

Alex de Jong

Chair: Alex de Jong

Colin Wilson: The Social Construction of Lesbian and Gay Male Identities in 1970s I ISA

Heather Brown: Marx, the LGBTQ+ Movement and the Contradictory State: Theorising Strategies for Overcoming Gender and Sexual Oppression

Alex Stoffel: Historicising the Politics of Sexual Desire

Chair: Paul Reynolds

room: b103

remembering jean-luc godard and jean-marie straub

room: balt

marxist-feminism, social reproduction and the politics of family

Alex Fletcher

Nicolas Helm-Grovas

Laura Lux

Chair: Louis Hartnoll

Mina Kozluca: 'Best suited for women and children': Crises of Social Reproduction and Child Labour Among Seasonal Migrant Workers in Turkey

Carolin Blauth: Birth in Times of Crisis: Working Conditions of Midwives From a Marxist Feminist Perspective

Di Bai: Marxist Feminism and its Chinese Encounter: Unraveling Crisis in Social Reproduction

Chair: Esther Leslie



#### sunday session thirteen birkbeck

12 november

10:00 - 12:00

room: mal g13

reading and writing for revolution: abolition and the conditions of the possible

room: mal g23

colonial and decolonial moments

Christopher Harris

Aviah Dav

Shanice McBean

Adam Elliot-Cooper

Chair: Demet Dinler

Nathan Norris: Monsters, Capital, and Genocide at the "Ends of the Earth"

Jonas Van Vossole: Marx and Schmitt on the Frontier Between the Democratic Republic and the Colonial Jungle

Scott Timcke, Shelene Gomes: The Fate of Humanity: CLR James and Claudia Jones on the Aspirations of Decolonial Caribbean Thought

Sebastián López Vergara: Mapuche Diaspora: Anticolonialism and Politics of Difference

Chair: Josep Maria Antentas

#### session fourteen soas: main building



#### 12 november

12:15 - 14:00

room: g3 on value theory

Anders Ekeland: The Heinrich-Moseley Debate

Peter Green: A Three-Dimensional Theory of Value Fred Moseley: Responding to Ekeland and Green

Chair: David McNally

room: dlt critical contemporary philosophical studies

Peter Hallward: The General and the Universal

Emile Ike: Stolen Time: Temporalities of Social Domination in Contemporary Capitalism

Mike Gonzalez: Jose Carlos Mariategui and Contemporary Marxism

Chair: Svenja Bromberg

room: r201 marxism and us politics

Tim Jelfs: Eurosocialism, USA?: European Social Democracy and the DSA in

Zachary Sell: Slavery's Factory: Manufacturing and Slavery Expansion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century United States

Alexander Scott: The Crises of Neoliberal Capital accumulation and Far-Right, Authoritarian Politics in Southern California

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

room: g51

ecology, politics and marxism

Luca Mandara, Adriana Manzoni: Capital, State and Ecological Transition

Daniel Vitkus: Theorising Eco-Marxism: Dialectic Beyond the New Materialism

Tamara Ortega Uribe: The Prefigurative Politics of Capital, Ideological Battles for Hegemony in the Green Conjuncture

Jana Tsoneva: Fossil socialism versus the European Green Deal: Labour Militancy, Energy Liberalisation and Climate Denialism in a Peripheral Country

Chair: Andreas Malm

room: g51a

marxism and law

room: rb01

marxism and brazilian politics ii

Matthew Dimick: How the Legal Form Distorts Public and Private Autonomy

Carl Wilén: Why Pashukanis was Right: Abstraction and Form in the General Theory of Law and Marxism

Robert Knox: Debt, Law and Race, on Imperialism's Abstractions

Neil Braganza: What Does a Marxist Critique of Legal Abstraction Require? On Pashukanis, Gillian Rose, and Proletarian Ethical Life

Chair: Maïa Pal

Dora Longo Bahia: Who is Afraid of the MST?

Flavio Roberto Batista: Class and Class Organisation in the New Services Subproletariat in Brazil

Amelia Maciel, Emanoel Olival Pereira Martins, Mirelly Pereira, Felipe Santana: The Calderião da Santa Cruz do Deserto: Peasant Resistance and Expropriation in Northeast Brazil

Chair: Jamie Woodcock

#### session fourteen soas: brunei gallery

#### 12 november

12:15 - 14:00

room: b102

critical political economy

room: b104

hmspen: marxism, sexuality and culture

Maitrayee Deka: The Intellectual Life of Marketplaces: Circulation, Politics, and Future

Keti Chukhrov: Can the Systems Method be Dialectical? Yuk Hui, Vygotsky, Mamardashvili, Marx

Chair: Jaice Titus

Amy De'Ath: Two Substantialisms: On Value and Sexual Difference

Bruno Monfort: The critique of value as critique of identity: toward a valueform approach to queerness

Alan Sears: Alienation and the Regime of Sexual Liberalism

Paul Reynolds: Marxism, Sexual Ethics and Sexual Literacy

Chair: Alex Stoffel

room: b103

marxism and cultural theory and practice

a historical materialist analysis of the new international room: balt

Marco Cerotto: Neo-Capitalism and Marxist Culture

Ivana Hanacek: Rethinking the legacy of Revolutionary Art in 1930s Croatia Through the Lens of Lukács and Brecht Realism Debates

Geo Britto Lopes: The School of Popular Theatre-ETP, in search of a Critical Marxist, Revolutionary and Anti-fascist Theatre

Chair: Roberto Mozzachiodi

economic order initiative

hosted in cooperation with the historical critical dictionary of marxism (institute for critical theory, berlin

Patrick Neveling

Paul Stubbs

Chair: Alex de Jong

#### sunday session fourteen birkbeck

12 november 12:15 - 14:00

room: mal a13

marxism and literature i

room: mal a23

marxism and rent

Christian Nagler: The Singularity, Speculative Subjectivity, and Science Fictional Capital

Robert Stolz: The Lizard Brain at the End of the World: The Horror of Shin Gojira (2016)

Jessica Copley: Forms of War: Capitalism, Representation and the State in Post-9/11 Literatures from France, Japan, and the United States

Andy Perluzzo: Longing for Home: Building Commons in Sarah Mathew Thankam's All This Could Be Different

Chair: Esther Leslie

André Novas Otero: Rent and the Critique of Capitalist Political Ecology and Economy

Jordi González Guzmán: Tenant Contentious Politics Against Corporate Landlords: The Geneaology of the Tenant Movement in Barcelona

Faye Harvey: Logistics-Rent-Finance: From Imperial Flagships to Neoliberal Utopias

Chair: Ashok Kumar

# session fifteen soas: main building

#### 12 november

14:45 - 16:30

room: g3

marxism, digital worlds and cyberspace

Cecilia Rikap: Big Tech and Core States in the Making of Artificial Intelligence

Kathleen Hughes: Microwork, Gamification, and the New 'Mechanical Turk'

Alan Diaz: Abjection and Formlessness: Value, Digitality, and the Differential Allocation of Form

Catherine Comyn: Crypto Futures: Realising the Commons or the Community of Capital?

Chair: Jamie Woodcock

room: dlt

marxism-feminism and violence

room: r201

studies in critical theory ii

Elyssa Khoury: All Men's Rea: The Burden of Awareness on Women's Fear of

Scott Ritchie: A Socialist Critique of Patriarchal Violence: The Counter-Revolutionary Nature of Mainstream Violence Prevention Efforts

Jacob Sloan: 'Secular' Crisis: Literary Realism, Proletarian Narrative, and Capital's Everyday Violence

Mario I. Aguilar: Liberation Theology, Marxism, and Local Imperialism: An Infrastructural Analysis of the Yezidi Genocide in Iraq

Chair: Esther Leslie

Paul Ingram: Fromm, Marcuse, Adorno: Models of Social Pathology Critique

Katherina Kinzel, Jan Overwijk: Sohn-Rethel and the Failure of Transcendental Marxism

Emily Dyson: From Critical Theory to Critical Therapy: A Fanonian Intervention into the Fromm-Marcuse Debate

Chair: Cat Moir

room: g51

marxism and turkish politics

room: rq01

struggles against extractivism

lida Käyhkö: Learning from Kurdish Freedom Struggle: Resisting Criminalisation and Special Warfare

Mehmet Erman Erol: Making Sense of Turkey's 2023 Elections Through the Lens of Critical Political Economy: A Tale of Two Development Paradigms?

Xavier Gaillard: The Turkish Directorate of Communications and the Maintenance of Hegemony: a Critical Analysis of Functions and Discursive Ontologies

Demet Evrenosoglu, Thibault Biscahie: Crises of Social Reproduction and Boundary Struggles in Turkey and France: Comparing the Gezi Park Uprising and Yellow Vests Movement

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

Shane Boyle: Arts of Extractivism: On the Political Ecology of Sand in Contemporary Performance

Kennedy Manduna: Exploring Governance in the Margins of the State: The Spatial and Temporal Realities of Illegal Mining in South Africa during the Era

Nessie Nankivell: Extracting Indigeneity Through Consultation in Ontario's Ring of Fire

Mirko van Pampus: Accumulation by Decarbonisation. Neoliberal lithium extraction in South America.

Chair: Andreas Malm

room: g51a

climate change, politics and law

room: rb01

marxism and work ii

Andrea Gentili: Climate Change and Jurisprudence: A New Strategy for **Ecological Practice?** 

Jakub Bokes: Conservation as Enclosure: A Marxist Critique of Nature

Cagri Idiman: Making of a Sugar Island: Class, Climate, and Crisis in Late Medieval Cyprus

Chair: William Callison

Ingrid Hanon: Value breakdown and Its Counter-narratives

of Neoliberal Extractivism and Authoritarian Neoliberalism

Manuel Disegni: 'No admittance except on business': On the Idolatry of

Thijs Keulen: Freedom From or Freedom in Work? Post-Work Proposals and Political Freedom

Chair: Roberto Mozzacchiodi



#### session fifteen soas: brunei gallery

#### 12 november

14:45 - 16:30

room: b102

lenin: catastrophe and revolution room: b104

book launch: radical politics: on the causes of contemporary emancipation

Paul Le Blanc

Josep Maria Antentas

Pepijn Brandon

Rida Vaquas

Chair: Alex de Jong

**Peter Thomas** 

Discussants: Paul Reynolds and Panagiotis Sotiris

Chair and discussant: Demet Dinler

room: b103

marxism and conflict

room: bglt

three face of labour: uncovering the hidden ties among gender, race, and class

Ingar Solty, Bradley A Bauerly: The War in Ukraine, the New Bloc Confrontation, and the Structural Convergence of Class, Climate and Peace Issues

Francesco Marchesi: Political Conflict: A Marxian-Machiavellian Approach

Andrea Coveri, Dario Guarascio, Claudio Cozza: Blurring Boundaries: An Analysis of the Digital Platforms-Military Nexus

Chair: Rob Knox

Nancy Fraser

Gargi Bhattacharyya

Lillian Cicherchia

Chair: Ashok Kumar

#### sunday session fifteen birkbeck

12 november

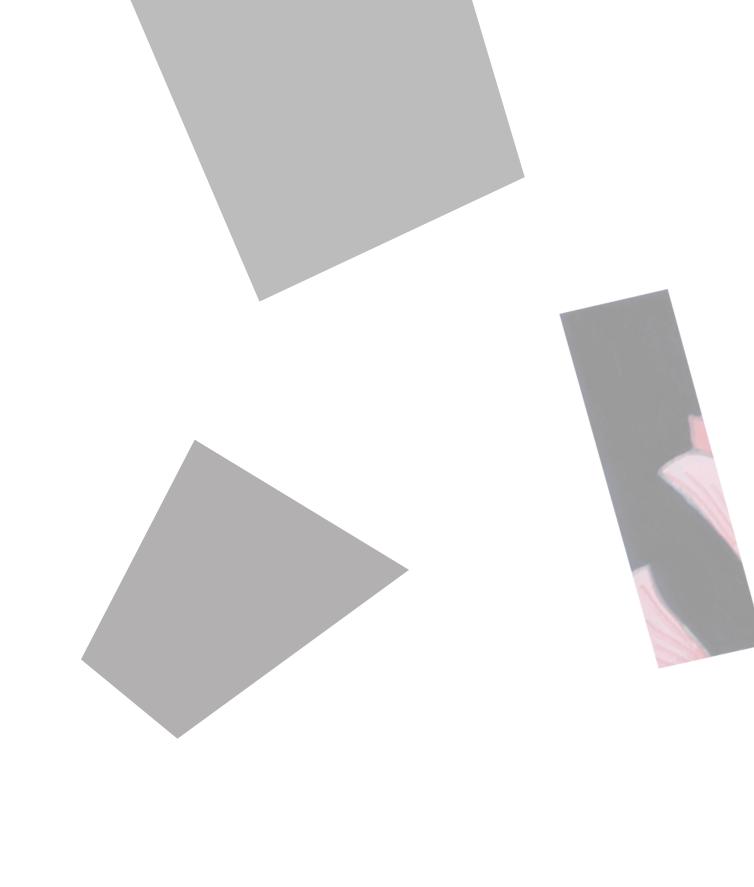
14:45 - 16:30

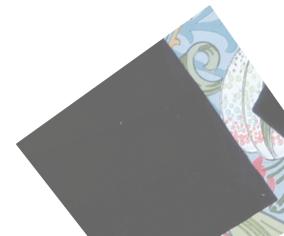
room: mal g13

not in use

room: mal g23

not in use





#### sunday plenary



12 november 17:00 – 19:45

room: bglt

palestine: resistance, solidarity, liberation

The ongoing genocidal assault waged by Israel against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip, is mobilising millions around the world. Mass demonstrations calling for a ceasefire and an end to the genocide have rocked cities across the world, while more targeted occupations, pickets, sit-ins, and industrial actions are attempting to put a break on western governments' continued support for Israel as well as the continued arms production and delivery to their ally in the Middle East.

Israel's military violence, western complicity, and mass popular resistance to both – in Palestine and internationally – have brought questions of settler colonialism, imperialism, and Palestinian liberation back to the centre of political analysis and debate. Simultaneously the issue of agency in the face of such formidable and terrible odds is being posed anew.

This panel aims to discuss these issues, place them in wider historical, regional, and global contexts, and point to ways in which we can not only understand the present, but, crucially, act to transform the future.

Speakers: Bashir Abu Manneh, Rafeef Ziadah and Riya Al Sanah

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris



#### historical materialism istanbul 5–7 april 2024

#### call for papers

historical materialism in association with praksis journal turkish social sciences association sosyal arastırmalar vakfı and mülkiyeliler birligi

rethinking rationalities and irrationalities within the times of crises and radical transformations

After four decades of neo-liberal global hegemony, the last few years have witnessed overlapping crises of neo-liberal capitalism, marked by environmental destruction, economic stagnation, and the breakdown of the liberal consensus at the centre of the political spectrum. Mike Davis in one of his final writings diagnosed a "brain tumour' in the hegemony of the ruling class with morbid symptoms of inability "to achieve any coherent understanding the global change as a basis for defining common interests and formulating large-scale strategies.' Indeed, historical materialist tradition would argue that this diagnosis is a reflection of the bourgeois irrationality which is an intrinsic aspect of capitalism deeply embedded within it structures.

Globally, this trend is palpable manifested itself from the ways in which different capitalist states attempted to respond to the symptoms of crises ranging from economic, ecological and social reproduction of the system where classes of labour bear the brunt of these irrationalities. While these attempts seem to fail to address the crises in the core countries, the reactionary-right wave have expanding its strength in several countries within and beyond Europe. We witness the same pattern: the rise of right-wing governments, quite successful in arming themselves with "populist" irrational discourses but still unable to reproduce consent for their ideological hegemony. The erosion of bourgeois democracy and persistence of finance-led accumulation could be perceived as both causes and symptoms of capitalist system's inability to deal with its irrationalities, yet deepening the crises of capitalism.

While the inherited system is struggling, the left-wing alternative capable of enacting political change is yet to be born. At this juncture, it's imperative to consider a range of alternatives, sparking discussions about the present nature of societal transitions, impeding shifts within late capitalism along with its various global forms, and the alternative 'rationalities' driving radical transformations. With the prominence of ecological and climate politics, and the challenges of managing transitions, questions regarding alternative rationalities in statecraft and economics have resurfaced.

This is why it is imperative to contemplate about the ways in which capitalism with its irrational survival endeavors might lead to social and ecological disasters detrimental for the fate of species. It is equally salient to begin envisioning potential paths of transforming capitalism. In that milieu, we invite you to Istanbul in April to discuss the irrationality of the right-wing attempts to overcome the crises confronting contemporary capitalism but also to envisage the potential rationalities driving radical transitions within and beyond capitalism.

Whilst we encourage papers and panels that address these themes, as always, the Historical Materialism Istanbul Conference seeks to provide a space for critical Marxist theory and research across the globe and a range of disciplines and interests. Other papers and panels that enrich Marxist understandings – historical and contemporary – of theory and philosophy, culture, politics, political economy and societies under modern capitalism are also welcome.

For full details see: https://historicalmaterialismistanbul2024.net/

#### historical materialism

# cluj-napoca 29–31 august 2024

#### advance notice

historical materialism in association with babes bolyai university (janovics center for screen and performative arts; philosophy in polycrisis research group) and tranzit.ro/cluj

#### polycrisis across divides

That we live in a state of permanent polycrisis is a well-established truth: ecological crisis, economic depressions, political failure, social breakdown, wars, and pandemics have all been piling up, intersecting and escalating one another in implacable ways. What is less clear is the way in which this complex global polycrisis is articulated and manifesting in the various sub-components of the world system, across the divides of this multipolar and multi-imperialist world capitalist formation. Particularly, but not exclusively, this first Historical Materialism conference in Eastern Europe will be interested in the specific place of the region in today's polycritical world: what is the role of the old "Second World" in today's global context dominated by a still hegemonic and expanding (while also retreating) First World and a fragmented, dominated, yet increasingly assertive Global South? But also, what is the place and meaning of the former socialist bloc in the global history of Marxism, critical theory and social movements? Which of its legacies are worth rediscovering, resurrecting, or instead should be discontinued?

Besides the streams covering problematics pertaining to Eastern Europe, the conference welcomes presentations and panels on all the traditional themes and topics of the Historical Materialism series, as well as discussions on the most pressing and critical aspects of today's world, with a particular emphasis on materialist readings of recent developments in media, technology & popular culture.

Whilst we encourage papers and panels that address these themes, the Historical Materialism Cluj Conference seeks to provide a space for critical Marxist theory and research across the globe and the range of disciplines and interests. Other papers and panels that enrich Marxist understandings – historical and contemporary – of theory and philosophy, culture, politics, political economy and societies under modern capitalism are also welcome.

Indicative themes may include, but are not limited to:

- i. East/West, South/North, East-South: overriding divides, overruling (anti)imperialisms
- ii. Eastern European Marxist and Socialist Traditions
- iii. Eastern Europe: contemporary politics, society and economy
- iv. Ecosocialism and Ecological Crisis
- v. Feminism: Theory, Practice, Politics, and Debates
- vi. Care Work and Post-labor
- vii. The new 'technical-scientific revolution': prospects, hopes & threats
- viii. Migrants, refugees, police states
- ix. Updates and debates in Marxist Theory
- x. Critical Theory today
- xi. Film and Media: New Perspectives from the Left
- xii. World literature in Eastern perspectives

The call for papers will be officially opened in early 2024.

The organisational committee of Historical Materialism Cluj 2024 can be reached at HMCluj@gmail.com

# bernhard h. bayerlein (ed.) crowdfunding the german october 1923: call a revolutionary plan and its failure

#### hans hautmann history of the austrian council movement 1918–24

We are seeking support for two significant projects focusing on the history of the 'German October 1923' and the Austrian workers' movement. We kindly ask you to look at our two crowdfunding campaigns and consider whether you are able and willing to contribute:

i. The German October 1923: A Revolutionary Plan and Its Failure edited by Bernhard H. Bayerlein, Leonid G. Babitshenko, Fridrich I. Firsov, and Aleksandr Ju. Vatlin

https://www.toledotranslationfund.org/german\_october\_bayerlein

We are planning a long overdue translation of this edited volume into English. The work represents the first truly comprehensive and meticulously researched documentation of the 'German October'. It will finally bridge a significant research gap that has persisted in Anglophone countries since the 'archival revolution'. Originally published in German, The German October 1923 contains explosive documents sourced from previously undisclosed Russian archives.

ii. History of the Austrian Council Movement 1919–24 by Hans Hautmann

https://www.toledotranslationfund.org/hans hautmann s 1987 volume history of the austrian council movement 1918 24

The other important project involves the late Hans Hautmann's definitive account of the most important grassroots movement and mass organisation of the Austrian interwar period: the workers' and soldiers' councils. These councils, despite being less recognised and studied in the Anglophone world, lasted longer than their German counterparts, which have received extensive attention in academic literature.



brill

#### historical materialism book series

The Historical Materialism Book Series is a major publishing initiative of the radical left. The capitalist crisis of the twenty-first century has been met by a resurgence of interest in critical Marxist theory. At the same time, the publishing institutions committed to Marxism have contracted markedly since the high point of the 1970s. The Historical Materialism Book Series is dedicated to addressing this situation by making available important works of Marxist theory. The aim of the series is to publish important theoretical contributions as the basis for vigorous intellectual debate and exchange on the left. We are convinced that a project of this kind can make an important contribution to the revitalisation of critical politics and intellectual culture.

The peer-reviewed series publishes original monographs, translated texts and reprints of 'classics' across the bounds of academic disciplinary agendas, and across the divisions of the left. The series is particularly concerned to encourage the internationalisation of Marxist debate, and aims to translate significant studies from beyond the English speaking world. We have previously published important studies of Marxist thinkers, key collections of sources from the socialist movement, works of philosophy, history and literary criticism, as well as political and economic studies. Future publication plans include texts in the fields of cultural and aesthetic theory, sociology and geography.

The Historical Materialism Book Series will expand significantly over the coming years with substantial and important books in all areas of Marxist theory. We are undertaking a project of publishing previously untranslated texts by Marx, long unavailable debates from the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and English editions of important studies from the post war period. Equally significantly, we also aim to publish the work of the emerging generation of Marxist scholars and theorists. The Historical Materialism Book Series intends to be at the forefront of radical publishing for the coming period with a commitment to rigorous intellectual work produced within the many Marxist traditions.

Recently published and forthcoming titles include:

- Benjamin Noys, Crisis and Criticism: Literary, Cultural and Political Essays, 2009–2021
- Alexander Amberger, Dissident Marxism and Utopian Eco-Socialism in the German Democratic Republic: The Intellectual Legacies of Rudolf Bahro, Wolfgang Harich, and Robert Havemann
- Patrick Eiden-Offe, The Poetry of Class: Romantic Anti-Capitalism and the Invention of the Proletariat (trans. Jacob Blumenfeld)
- Luca Basso, Inventing the New: History and Politics in Jean-Paul Sartre (trans. Dave Mesing)
- Darren Roso, Daniel Bensaïd: From the Actuality of the Revolution to the Melancholic Wager
- Cathy Porter and Richard Chappell, Writings of Larisa Reisner
- John Roberts, Art and Emancipation
- Henk de Berg and Cat Moir (eds.), Rethinking Ernst Bloch
- Nathaniel Barron, Language in Ernst Bloch's Speculative Materialism
- Lars T. Lih, What Was Bolshevism?
- Nicolás Grinberg, Transformations in the Brazilian and Korean Processes of Capitalist Development between the Early 1950s and the Mid-2010s: From Global Capital Accumulation to Late Industrialisation

#### haymarket

#### historical materialism book club

#### What is the Haymarket Book Club?

We're glad you asked! Members of our Book Club support our publishing mission by giving us a reliable stream of income in exchange for every book we publish. For rates starting at \$30 per month you will receive regular shipments that can include as many as 40 books per year or more. We hope you'll join the hundreds of other members of our book club in helping to ensure our financial health by signing up today.

#### How do I change my address or payment information?

If you are logged in to our website, just click the button at the top right that says 'Book Club'. That will take you to a page where you can update your credit/debit card, change your address, or deactivate your subscription.

#### When can I expect the next Book Club shipment?

Soon! We send new releases as they are published, which often means 3 or 4 books at a time. New books are sent every 4–8 weeks, on average. It's in the nature of our work that some months we will release many books, and others relatively few.

For \$25 per month, this subscription gets you every new title from the Historical Materialism series when it is released (as long as your subscription remains active) plus a 50% discount on \*all\* Haymarket books titles via our website. Print books are mailed out in batches every 1–4 months. Note that electronic editions are not available for titles in the HM series and are not included in this subscription. Non-US subscribers will be charged an extra \$20/month for international shipping.

For more information, please visit: <a href="https://www.haymarketbooks.org/books/894-haymarket-book-club-historical-materialism-series">https://www.haymarketbooks.org/books/894-haymarket-book-club-historical-materialism-series</a>.





#### notes from below

# subscription information

Notes from Below organises the 'Workers' Inquiry' stream each year at the Historical Materialism London conference. Notes from Below is a socialist journal written for and by workplace militants. We believe that when workers come together to fight for their own interests, they don't just improve their conditions at work, but initiate a confrontation between workers and bosses that can only be finally resolved by a revolutionary transformation of society. The journal aims to actively contribute to the struggle of the working class against capitalism: an economic system that exploits us to make the rich richer and is willing to drive us toward total ecological collapse in order to do it.

Our publishing model is only possible because of the help of our subscribers. Our model is simple:

- £5 subscribers receive three print editions of Notes from Below a year;
- £10 subscribers also receive free copies of all the books we publish (or international postage for the issues).

But the key part is that every single issue sent to a subscriber will also finance at least two free copies of Notes from Below for workers in struggle.

Ready to subscribe? Head to <u>notesfrombelow.org/supporter</u> or scan the code below:



notesfrombelow.org editors@notesfrombelow.org ISSN 2631-9284 (Online)



# Historical Materialism

#### Research in Critical Marxist Theory

Editorial Board: Josep Maria Antentas, Svenja Bromberg, Sebastian Budgen, Demet Şahende Dinler, Sai Englert, Juan Grigera, Katharina Hunfeld, Alex de Jong, Robert Knox, Ashok Kumar, Esther Leslie, Andreas Malm, Cat Moir, Roberto Mozzachiodi, Maïa Pal, Paul Reynolds, Panagiotis Sotiris, Alexander Stoffel, Peter Thomas, Alberto Toscano, Jamie Woodcock

Historical Materialism is an interdisciplinary journal dedicated to exploring and developing the critical and explanatory potential of Marxist theory. The journal started as a project at the London School of Economics from 1995 to 1998. The advisory editorial board comprises many leading Marxists, including Robert Brenner, Maurice Godelier, Michael Lebowitz, Justin Rosenberg and others.

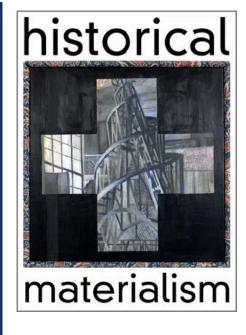
Marxism has manifested itself in the late 1990s from the pages of the *Financial Times* to new work by Fredric Jameson, Terry Eagleton and David Harvey. Unburdened by pre-1989 ideological baggage, *Historical Materialism* stands at the edge of a vibrant intellectual current, publishing a new generation of Marxist thinkers and scholars.

2022 Impact Factor: 0.6 5-Year Impact Factor: 0.7

For questions please contact the Editors at historicalmaterialism@soas.ac.uk.

Individuals are eligible for a 25% discount on subscriptions with action code 70997.
Orders should be sent to customerservices@brill.com, mentioning the code.

Corresponding Editors: Alex Anievas, Samantha Ashman, Liam Campling, Giorgio Cesarale, Gail Day, Dae-oup Chang, Angela Dimitrakaki, Steve Edwards, Adam Fabry, Sara Farris, Harrison Fluss, James Furner, Giorgos Galanis, Owen Hatherley, Paul Heideman, Dhruv Jain, Jim Kincaid, Gal Kirn, Alex Levant, Grant Mandarino, Geoff Mann, Thomas Marois, Søren Mau, China Miéville, Benjamin Noys, Chris O'Kane, Edemilson Paraná, Nicole Pepperell, Gonzalo Pozo-Martin, Alfredo Saad-Filho, Guido Starosta, Sara Salem, Richard Seymour, Greg Sharzer, Lukas Slothuus, Mike Wayne, Lea Ypi



ISSN: 1465-4466 E-ISSN: 1569-206X

brill.com/hima

Subject Areas Social Sciences

Article Submissions
Articles for publication in
Historical Materialism can
be submitted through:
www.editorialmanager.com/
hima

Order from customerservices@brill.com

2023: Volume 31 EUR 83 / US\$ 101 2024\*: Volume 32 EUR 125 / US\$ 152

\*Volume 32: page increase

