
12th Annual Historical Materialism Conference

The old is dying and
the new cannot be
born: states, strategies,
socialisms

School of Oriental & African Studies
University of London
Thornhaugh Street,
Russell Square,
London

5-8th November 2015

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The old is dying and the new cannot be born: states, strategies, socialisms

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As austerity tightens its grip around the throats of the peoples of Europe, but also rears its ugly head in Brazil and elsewhere, we are forced to recognize that it is not the mere byproduct of the *economic crisis* but a political project in its own right, one whose aim is to deepen and consolidate the most uncompromising forms of neoliberal capitalism.

It cannot be said that this project has hitherto been met with passivity, even if social movements of resistance have been mostly far from strong enough to halt its advance. Yet something is perhaps beginning to change, namely the emergence of counter-austerity projects that have pitched themselves at a political - even electoral or governmental - level.

With all their weaknesses, hesitations and contradictions, the chinks of light in Southern Europe, amongst others, should compel Marxists to pose a whole series of 'old' strategic and theoretical problems in new garbs and new configurations, but perhaps also to retire some of our dear fetishes and shibboleths, and to experiment with forms and strategies adequate to our present.

Among the themes that have returned to the agenda are: the relationship of movements and parties of the radical Left to states and governments; the need for a political response to how class power is enmeshed with forms of domination that have gender, race, imperialism or sexuality as their axes; possible *socialist* futures and the *transitional* mediations implied by them; the guiding dichotomies of left thought: reform and revolution, revolution and revolt, state and movement, parties classes and masses; the link between the limits to capital and the limits of politics.

A

4429

Book discussion
Marxism and
Weberian Legacies

Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

Sara Farris – Max Weber's
Theory of Personality

Jan Rehmann –
Modernisation as Passive
Revolution

Victor Strazzeri –
Discussant

4426

The Political Economy
of the Eurozone
and its Critique

Chair: **Maia Pal**

Miguel García Duch –
Eurozone: the Avant-Garde of
Postfordism

**John Kannankulam, Fabian
Georgi** – Relationships of
Forces in the Eurozone-crisis.
A Class Analysis of Conflict
Dynamics in Germany

**Etienne Schneider, Sune
Sandbeck** – Between
Sovereignty and Dependency:
Monetary Integration in the
Eurozone and Leftist Political
Strategy

FG01

Cultural Politics and the
New Left in the UK

Chair: **Alexander Billet**

Jordy Cummings –
Counterrevolutionary Rock:
The Rise of Conservative Rock
Music and the Limitations of
the New Left

Toby Manning – Le Carré,
the 1960s and the New Left

Matthew Caygill – The
Beatles and the Left

L67

*Latin American Marxism:
Renewals, Transformations,
Provocations, Panel 1*

Autonomy and Dual
Power: between
Social Mobilisation
and the State

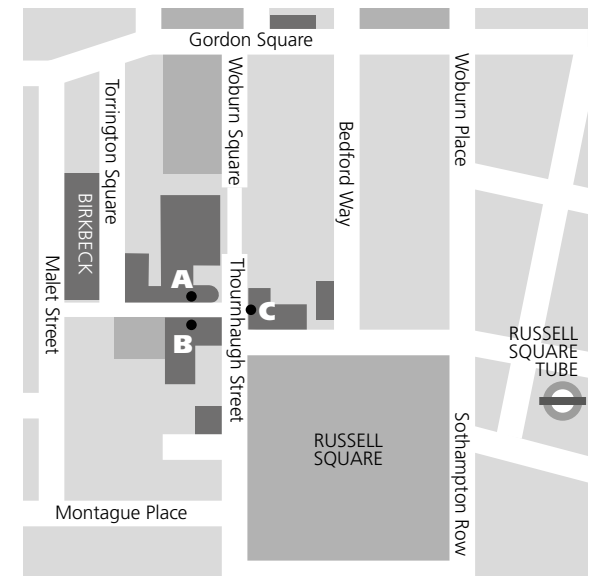
Chair: **Pedro Mendes
Loureiro**

Colin Moors – Latin
America: autonomy or dual
power?

Horacio Legras – Latin
America in the Age of Riots

Mike Geddes – Statism

ROOM GUIDE



A SOAS Main College Buildings

Rooms
without a prefix (e.g. **4467**: fourth floor)
starting with 'G' are on the ground floor
starting with 'L' are on the lower ground floor
KLT is the Khalili Lecture Theatre, lower ground floor

B Brunei Gallery

Rooms
starting with 'B' (e.g. **B101**: first floor)

C Faber Building 23-24 Russell Square

Rooms
starting with 'F' (e.g. **FG01**: ground floor)

G51

Interrogating
Populism I

Chair: **Giorgos Galanis**

**Justin Paulson and Sabrina
Fernandes** – 'Post-political'
Protest, Populism, and the
Right

L. Larry Liu – The Decline of
Centrist Mass Parties and the
Rise of Right-Wing Populism
(RWP) in Europe: Case
Studies of Neoliberal Reform
and Immigration in the UK,
Germany and Austria

**Vedi Hadiz, Richard
Robison** – Competing
Nationalist and Islamic
Populisms in Indonesia

G51a

Between Reformism
and Revolution

Chair: **Thomas Marois**

Colin Barker – Getting Rid
of the Muck of Ages: The
Continuing Relevance of
Socialist Revolution for Social
Movements

Joao Nunes – Alvaro Cunhal
as Left Eurocommunist

**Dr Daniel Duarte and
Andrea Simonassi Lyon** –
Capitalist crisis and reformist
policies in Argentina's
educational system (1990-
2015)

B101

Financialisation and
Built Environment:
A Response to or a
Cause of Crisis?

Chair: **Özlem Çelik**

Galip Yalman – Class,
Crisis and Hegemony: A
Comparative Analysis of
Forms of Resistance to
Neoliberalism

Aylin Topal – Changes of
Built Environment in Ankara:
From Cooperatives to
Exclusionary Regeneration

Çağrı Çarıkçı – The Ravages
of Mega-Projects in Istanbul:
Class, Capital and the State
in Turkey

B

4429

Nietzsche Contra Marx

Chair: **Harrison Fluss**

Ishay Landa – The Social Individual and the Last Man: Marx and Nietzsche Agree to Disagree

Geoffrey Waite – Rethinking Marx with Nietzsche on Terrorism

Stefano G. Azzarà – Left-Wing Nietzscheanism in Italy: Gianni Vattimo

4426

Debates in Marxist Political Economy: Inequality, Money and the State

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

Ozlem Tezcek – Neoliberal Economic Policies in the Turkish Energy Sector: The State, Capitals and Think Tanks

Paula Rauhala – The East-German debate concerning money-commodity relations

Carolina Alves – Revisiting the credit system in Marx from the perspective of fictitious capital

FG01

Ecological Crisis: Strategies and Alternatives

Chair: **Thomas Marois**

Nadia Singh, Pritam Singh – Bioenergy responses to the Capitalist Energy Crisis: An Eco-Socialist Critique

Les Levidow – Green Economy agendas: NGOs' divergent alliances around natural capital and justice

Giorgos Velegrakis and Rita Calvario – From crisis to alternatives: The question of socio-ecological movements' transition strategies

L67

Capitalism and Culture

Chair: **Alberto Toscano**

Nizan Shaked – The Value Form of Art: Art's Monetised Market and the Nonprofit Institution

Robert Spencer – Late Capitalism and Late Style

Louis Bayman – Flog it: Fetishism, Performance Anxiety and Abuse in Contemporary Hollywood Entertainment

G51

Interrogating Populism II

Chair: **Maia Pal**

Angelos Chrysosgelos – Greek Populism between the State and the Nation

Paolo Gerbaudo – What is "new" in Mediterranean neo-populism? The relationship between the movements of the squares, Podemos and Syriza and the centrality of the politics of citizenship

Michael Bray – What if 'the Party' is Populist? Thoughts on Parliamentary Cretinism and Socialist Strategy

G51a

The Legacies of the 1905 Revolution: Beyond the Dress Rehearsal

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

Peter Hudis – Soviets, Party, and Organization in the 1905 Revolution

Ottokar Luban – Rosa Luxemburg's Evaluation of the 1905/06 Russian Revolution and its Traces in her crucial writings of the following years

Wiktór Marzec – The 1905 Revolution and the Fear of the Masses

B101

China and East Asia Today: Economy, State Power and Geopolitics

Chair: **Adam Hanieh**

Charlie Hore – Party, State and Opposition in China

Kim Eo Jin – The Strategy of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism in East Asia

Robert Pauls – Contradictions and crises of capitalist accumulation in China

C

L67

Social Reproduction Theory and the Insistence of Integrative Theorizing

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

Tithi Bhattacharya – Ontology of a 'Unique' Commodity: Rethinking Labor Power and Laboring

Alan Sears – Sexual Liberation and the Social Reproduction Frame

Hester Eisenstein – Feminism and Social Reproduction: The Politics of Women's Emancipation

Kate Davison – 'Counting Dead Women': Sexual and Non Sexual Domestic Violence under Capitalism

D

B102

Social Reproduction:
Theories and Practices

Chair: **Alan Sears**

Andres Saenz De Sicilia – Materialism and social reproduction

Thonette Myking – Social reproductive work today and in the future

Serap Saritas – Financialisation of Social Reproduction: Pension Reforms

L67

Developments in
the Critique of
Political Economy

Chair: **Mary Robertson**

Jim Kincaid – Faltering Accumulation in the Global Economy: the Marxist Controversy

Riccardo Bellofiore – Is there life on Marx? The value theory of labour as a theory of exploitation and as a theory of crisis

Michael Roberts – Is inequality the cause of crises?

G3

Capitalism in the Novel

Chair: **Alberto Toscano**

Caroline Edwards – Petrocapitalism and the Post-Oil Novel: Unearthing the Energy Unconscious in Apocalyptic Fiction

Thomas Travers – An Aesthetic “Strategy of Refusal”: Representations of Unemployment in the Fiction of Don DeLillo

Marcial Gonzalez – Salvador Plascencia’s *The People of Paper: A Farm Worker Critique of Capitalism*

B111

Rosa Luxemburg and
‘Luxemburgism’: A
Tale of Two Legacies

Chair: **Peter Hudis**

Jörn Schütrumpf – ‘Luxemburgism’ versus Rosa Luxemburg

Holger Politt – Conclusions Drawn by Luxemburg from the 1905 Russian Revolution

Evelin Wittich – International (Political) Responses to Rosa Luxemburg

Marion Schütrumpf – How Rosa Luxemburg’s Life is Presented in English

B104

Marx, Engels and
the Critique of
Politics and Law

Tim Fiske – Is there a Marxist theory of sovereignty?

Susan Dianne Brophy – Law, Dialectics, and Uneven and Combined Development

Jill Poeggel and Helge Petersen – “The Rule of Law and Its Other” Some Reflections on State Power and Exclusion based on Racism and (Non-)Citizenship

4429

Egypt: From Revolution
to Counter-Revolution

Chair: **Brecht De Smet**

Philip Marfleet – Egypt: Counter-revolution and the Left

Sameh Naguib – Understanding Counter-Revolution in Egypt

Anne Alexander – Journalists and the Generals: Media and Counter-Revolution in Egypt

4426

Geographies of
Dispossession:
Gentrification,
Migration, Deportation

Chair: **Adam Hanieh**

Cory Hansson – Just Writing on the Wall? Rethinking the Relationship Between Stigmatization and Gentrification in Neukölln, Berlin

Parastou Saberi – Rethinking Urban Policy and Working-Class Struggles: State Intervention and the ‘Immigrant’ Problematic in Toronto

G51

*Histories of Communism
and Socialism 1*

M.N. Roy and
Mahdi Amel

Chair: **David Broder**

Maria-Daniela Pomohaci – M.N. Roy and the Beginning of the Communist Movement in India

Hicham Safieddine – The Dialectics of Sectarianism and the State in the Marxist Thought of Mahdi Amel

Nadia Bou Ali – Mahdi Amel and the Temporalities of Capitalism

G51a

Class Struggles and
Class Projects

Chair: **Giorgos Galanis**

Ricardo Antunes – Labour, the New Proletariat of Services (Infoproletariat) and Value Today

Jonah Birch – Working Time Reduction and Class Struggle in France

Ana Podvršič – Spatialization Accumulation Strategies of Slovene State and their embeddedness in the EU class project

FG01

Concerning the
Gravediggers:
Contemporary
Challenges for
Theory and Practice

Chair: **Matt Cole**

Simon Joyce – Why Are There So Few Strikes?

Raymond Morrell – Can we rebuild workplace power?'

Charlotte Bence – (Not So) Pale, Male & Stale: Organising Precarious Workers



B102

Documentary Histories

Chair: **Steve Edwards****Duncan Forbes** – Japanese Protest Books**Simon Constantine** – The Camera is Not A Machine Gun**Trevor Stark** – Alienation and Autonomy in the Cinétracts

L67

Queer Marxism and the Problem of the Desire

Chair: **Alan Sears****Morgane Merteuil** – From desire to radical needs: saving desire from itself**Paul Reynolds** – From Identity to Practice: The Roots of Queer Marxism**Holly Lewis** – Marxism and the Normative Turn: A Queer Reading of Christoph Henning's Philosophy After Marx

G3

Book discussion

The Politics of Transindividuality

Chair: **Alberto Toscano****Emma Dowling****Jeremy Gilbert****Caroline Williams****Jason Read** – Respondent

B111

Islamophobia, Secularism and Feminism

Chair: **Tithi Bhattacharya****Ian Birchall** – From the Schoolroom to the Trenches: Laïcité and its Critics**Narzanin Massoumi, David Miller, Tom Mills, Hilary Aked** – Contesting racialisation: Islamophobic social movements and the battle of ideas**Nancy Lindisfarne** – Gendering Islamophobia: Or how and why 'protecting women' hides class relations so very well

B104

Left, Ultraleft and the United Front: Werner Scholem and the factional struggles in German Communism 1921-1928

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**The panel features a premiere of the documentary "*Utopia and Counter-Revolution: the Lives of Werner & Emmy Scholem*", directed by Niels Bolbrinker, Berlin 2014, 20 min, German with English subtitles.**Ralf Hoffrogge** – Werner Scholem and the origins of the KPD-Ultraleft in 1921**Florian Wilde** – The united front and its protagonists in German Communism 1922-1928

4429

Greece and Spain Between Social Movements and the Party-Form

Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros, Christina Maria Kontogiannis – Between incorporation and relative autonomy: organisational and political reflections of the "Squares' movement"**Silvia L. López** – ElectiveAffinities: Artistic communities of sense and new forms of politics in Latin America and Spain

4426

Latin American Marxism: Renewals, Transformations, Provocations, Panel 2

Populism, Hegemony, and Integral State in the 'Pink Tide' Conjuncture

Chair: **Peter Thomas****Samuelle Mazzolini** – Populism and Hegemony: the Latin American lesson to Europe**Michela Russo** – Contingent hegemonies**Angus McNelly** – Limits of Gramscian Theory: Lessons from the Bolivian Conjuncture

G51

Biology, Ecology, Anthropology: Marxist Encounters

Chair: **Harrison Fluss****Kohei Saito** – The MEGA and New Insights into Marx's Ecology**Paul Guillibert** – Materialism against constructivism: proposal for a Marxist critic of Descola's Anthropology of Nature**Raji Steineck** – Nature: The Shadow of Capital**Andreas Malm** – Discussant

G51a

Book discussion

Persistent Inequalities

Chair: **Paul Heideman****Howard Botwinick****Charles Post****Kim Moody**

FG01

Alternative Strategies for the Left Today in the Light of Past Theoretical Debates

Chair: **Matthew Caygill****Pete Green** – The Use and Abuse of Gramsci by Theorists Who Have Influenced Podemos**Ed Rooksby** – Andre Gorz, Nicos Poulantzas and the question of 'structural reform'**Susan Pashkoff** – The Debate Over Alternative Economic Strategies and Persistent Unemployment in Capitalism

273

Urban Marxism and the Neoliberal City

Chair: **Mary Robertson****Marco Marques Pestana** – Rio de Janeiro's favelas in the neoliberal city: expropriation and precariousness in working class life**Ståle Holgersen** – A Marxist theory of urban planning?**Paul Watt** – Clearing Paths for Urban Accumulation: Council Housing Estates, Regeneration and State-Led Gentrification in London

279

Commodifying Reproductive Bodies in the Neoliberal Bio-Economy

Chair: **Siggie Vertommen****Adi Moreno** – Surrogacy Between Biopolitics and Micropolitics**Michal Nahman** – The Repro-politics of Migrant Romanian Egg 'Donors'**Vincenzo Pavone** – Egg Donation in Spain: Economic Compensation as a Catalyzer**Verena Namberger** – Unravelling the South African Economy of Egg Donation

F

B102

Feminist Debates

Chair: **Tithi Bhattacharya****Shruti Iyer** – Taking a Break from the State: Indian feminists and legal reform**Ankica Cakardic** – The “transition to capitalism” and feminist unitary theory**Crystal Stella Becerril** – Beyond Capital: Towards a Marxist Xicanisma

L67

Race, Class, Gender and Nation: Challenges for Critical Marxist Theory

Chair: **Alberto Toscano****Benjamin Mabie** – The Making of America’s Lumpenproletariat: Class Composition and the Strategic Legacy of the Black Panther Party**Brendan McGeever and Satnam Virdee** – The Breakup of Britain: Race, Class and Nation in Scotland and England**Sharon Smith** – Intersectionality and Marxism

G3

Marxism in Art and Culture

Chair: **Mike Wayne****David Mabb** – “We are Fucking Angry”: Protest Paintings and History Lessons**Warren Carter** – Jack Levine and the Reorientation of Social Realism in the 1950s**Andrew Witt** – Prefiguring Disaster: The Case of Mike Mandel And Larry Sultan

B111

Greek Strategies of Exit

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen****Stavros Mavroudeas** – Alternative Strategies for exiting the Greek crisis**Nikos Stravelakis** – The Economic Policy of GREXIT**Papageorgiou Theofanis, Roussopoulos Iason, Koskoletos Sotiris** – IMF in Greece: Between Default and Suffocation

B104

Marxism and Theology

Chair: **Félix Boggio****Jan Rehmann** – Fine-Tuning a Marxist Critique of Religion**Harrison Fluss** – What is Pelagianism? A Contribution to Marxist Heresiology**Roland Boer** – Marxism and Transcendence

4429

Problems in Marxist Theory

Chair and discussant: **Jason Read****Giorgos Kalampokas** – Towards a New Practice of Politics**Ted Stolze** – Marxism and Human Happiness**Sami Khatib** – The ‘Tradition of the Oppressed’ and its Discontents: Benjamin, Palestine, and the Non-Place of Radical Thought

4426

Between States and Markets

Chair: **Jonah Birch****Craig Brandist** – Stalinism, Neoliberalism and the Origins of New Public Management**Paul Heideman** – Business and the Politics of Education Reform in the United States**Michael Albert** – Towards a Marxist Security Theory

G51

Latin American Marxism: Renewals, Transformations, Provocations, Panel 3

Challenging the Canon: Indigenous, Subalternity and Intellectual Production

Chair: **Peter Baker****Irina Feldman** – Marxist and Indianist Horizons: redefinition of the intellectual canon in Bolivia**Felipe Lagos** – Along with Lenin and Sorel: Mariátegui’s conception of uneven development, imperialism, and temporalities**Isabelle Gribomont** – Literariness as Decolonial Subversion in the Zapatista Discourse

G51a

Facets of Imperialism

Chair: **Giorgos Galanis****Ella Wind** – The American Push for Industrial Planning in Turkey: Unpacking the Black Box**Zeno Leoni** – “Pivot to Asia”: uneven geographical development and values of territory in Obama’s foreign policy towards China**Tony Norfield** – Shifting Tectonic Plates: the West and the Rest

FG01

Digital Labour

Chair: **Christina Grammatikopoulou****Moritz Altenried** – The Container and the Algorithm: Labour and the Production of Space in Digitised Logistics**Nick Dyer-Witford** – The Cybernetic Vortex and the Global Proletariat**Jamie Woodcock** – Crowdsourcing: understanding the implications, from citizen science to microwork

KLT

The Militant Image: Documentary in the 1970s

Chair: **Steve Edwards****Jorge Ribalta** – Not yet. On the Reinvention of Documentary and the Critique of Modernism**Kodwo Eshun** – Voyages: When Cinema tracks Photojournalism**Doreen Mende** – Dedocumenting Economics

273

The Politics of History

Chair: **Alex Anievas****Jonathan Stafford** – Toward a Marxist Aetiology of Global Capital Flows: The introduction of steam power to nineteenth century imperial shipping**Samuel Knafo** – The Challenge of Historicism**Kenneth Surin** – Producing Solidarity: Contrasting Raymond Williams and Raúl Zibechi to Historicising Capitalism

279

Studies in Political Economy

Chair: **Mary Robertson****Thomas Haines-Doran** – The Political Economy of Rail Privatisation in Britain**Tomas Rotta** – Unproductive Accumulation in the United States: A New Analytical Framework**Elif Karacimen, Ahmet Hasim Kose** – Financialisation of Non-Financial Corporations and the Role of the State: The Case of Turkey



B102

Climate crisis and counter-austerity

Chair: **Andreas Malm****Patrick Bond** – The BRICS join climate-crisis capitalism amidst competition in emissions laxity**James Anderson and Eoin Flaherty** – Climate Crisis: Beyond Growth/No Growth to Eco-Socialism**Heikki Patomaki** – Reflexive Self-Regulation on a Planetary Scale: From Privatisation of the Atmosphere to Global Taxes and Common Good**James Goodman** – Political dynamics of climate crisis: beyond the Paris agenda

L67

Strategy and Ruination: A Salvage Panel

Chair: **Alberto Toscano****Jamie Allinson** – Don't Mourn, Accelerate**Rosie Warren** – Pessimism, Hope and the Necessity of Salvage**Richard Seymour** – Why the Right Succeeds

G3

Marxism, Materialism and Form: From Lukács to Jameson

Chair: **Mike Wayne****Daniel Hartley** – Marxist Poetics: Form and Political Organization in Gramsci, Lukács and Rancière**Julia Podziemska** – Jameson, Lukács and sensation**Alexander Galloway** – Old and New Materialism: Fredric Jameson Today

B111

Global Neoliberalism

Chair: **Mary Robertson****Mariano Félix** – Transformations in Argentina's capitalist development since the neoliberal age: Limits and possibilities of a peripheral development strategy**Al Campbell** – Neoliberalism's Lower Rate of Capital Accumulation**Ricardo Noronha** – This little piggy went to market - Southern Europe between two crises (1973-2008)

B104

Ernst Bloch in Perspective: Politics, Philosophy and Pedagogy

Chair: **Paul Reynolds****Cat Moir** – Heimat and the Politics of Bloch's Utopia**Nathaniel Barron** – Essence, the Old, the New: The Significance for Marxism of Ernst Bloch's Doctrine of Essence**Yazhi Li** – Hurdling the Ravine: The Depth of Meta-religion by Ernst Bloch

4429

Life in Crisis: Social Reproduction and Social Movements

Chair: **Alan Sears****Georgios Nikolaidis** – The predictable impact of crisis in health and welfare in Greece**Chris Giovanopoulos** – The self-organized solidarity movement in Greece: Transcending the dichotomy between political struggle and social movements

4426

Strategies for Labour in the Twenty-First Century

Chair: **Matt Cole****David Ravensbergen** – The Limits to Work: Degrowth as a Strategy for Labour?**Jeff Goodwin, Jane McAlevey** – Preemptive Class Struggle 'from Above': Union-Avoidance Practices by U.S. Corporations**Win Windisch** – The dialogics of work place activism. Leadership and participation skills in a retail store

273

The Dark Side of Knowledge: Neoliberalism, Academic Labour and Crime

Jana Bacevic – Neoliberalism from nowhere? On the use(fulness) of the term in understanding the transformation of knowledge production in East-Central Europe**Krystian Szadkowski** – Unpacking the "transnational association of capitals". Rankings and subsumption of academic labour under academic publishing capital in peripheral Poland**Stratos Georgoulas, Aimilia Voulvoulis** – White Collar Crime in Greek Academia

G51a

Brazil: History and Contemporaneity

Chair: **Juan Grigera****Pedro Salgado** – The Making of Brazil: the historical process of Portuguese colonialism between the 16th and 18th centuries**Bernhard Leubolt, Wagner de Melo Romão** – Multiple Crises in Brazil and a Rebellious Middle Class**Victor Strazzeri** – A Third Way for the tropics: the path of Brazil's Worker's Party from "Eurocommunism" to Austerity

FG01

Class Formations and Political Movements

Chair: **Alex Anievas****Ayse Arslan** – Turkish Nationalism, The "Terrorism" Label And The Organization Of The Working Class: The Case Of Tuzla Shipyard Workers In Turkey**John E. O'Brien** – Amid India's Parties, Classes and Masses: Why Delhi's Turn Left in a Country that Just Turned Right?**Mark Bergfeld** – Beyond in/stability: Power and Polarisation in German Trade Unions

KLT

Book discussion
Bad New DaysChair: **Gail Day****Hal Foster****Alex Potts****Kodwo Eshun****Julian Stallabrass**

18.15-20.00, Khalili Lecture Theatre

Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize Lecture

Chair: **Gilbert Achcar**Marxism, Religion and the Taiping Revolution
Roland Boer

2015 Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize Committee shortlist

Dave Beech, *Art and Value*, Brill 2015**Tamás Krausz**, *Reconstructing Lenin: An Intellectual Biography*, Monthly Review Press, 2015**Lucia Pradella**, *Globalization and the Critique of Political Economy: New Insights from Marx's Writings*, Routledge, 2014**David Roediger**, *Seizing Freedom, Slave Emancipation and Liberty for All*, Verso, 2014
The winner of the 2015 prize will be announced at the start of the Lecture.



B102

Surplus Populations: History, Theory, Analysis

Chair: **Alberto Toscano**

Stuart Elden – Foucault, Porshnev and the Revolt of the Nu-pieds

Aaron Benanav – Surplus Populations in the Global Economy

L67

Against Fate: Feminist Figures, Feminist Practices, Feminist Aesthetics

Chair: **Gail Day**

Christina Chalmers – Feminist Reconstructions

Rose-Anne Gush – Fate in Elfriede Jelinek's Women as Lovers, or, Against Fate

Hanna Proctor – Corday's Skull/Meinhof's Brain: Gender, Pathology and Political Violence

Josefine Wikström – The Materiality of the Social? The Body, Performance and Materiality in Contemporary Art

G3

Althusserian Variations

Chair: **Jason Smith**

Dimitris Papafotiou, Panagiotis Sotiris – 'Reading Capital' as a contribution to the debates on Marx's theory of value and the value-form

Sam Carlshamre – Althusser, Marxism and the historicity of Islamic philosophy

Thomas Carmichael – Aleatory Materialism and Speculative Realism: Althusser and the Speculative Turn

B111

How To be a Marxian: The Legacy of Suzanne de Brunhoff for Critical Political Economy

Chair: **Adam Hanieh**

Riccardo Bellofiore – How To be a Marxian: The Legacy of Suzanne de Brunhoff for Critical Political Economy

Maria Ivanova – On de Brunhoff's Reading of Marx's Theory of Money

Martha Campbell – The Importance of Method in Reconstructing Marx's Theory of Money: Suzanne de Brunhoff's Marx on Money

B104

Contradictions of Liberalism: Past, Present, Future

Chair: **Richard Seymour**

Mike Hill – Adam's Divisions of Knowledge: Philosophy, Imagination, Multitude

Andrew Pendakis – In the Middle of Things Towards a Critique of Centrist Reason

William Dixon – Money, philosophy, economics and moral competence

4429

The Adventures of Value

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

Toni Prug – Social and economic form-determination of wealth and its production processes

Patrick Murray, Jeanne Schuler – Of the Kinds of Sociality Involved in Value: Two Meanings of 'Purely Social'

4426

Latin American Marxism: Renewals, Transformations, Provocations, Panel 4

Conceptualizing the Left from Latin America

Chair: **Mike Geddes**

Peter Baker – Álvaro García Linera and the Question of What's Left

Kristin Ciupa – Venezuelan Oil Development and Regional Responses to Neoliberalism

Jeffery R. Webber – Andean Labyrinth: The New Left in Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela

G51

Histories of Communism and Socialism 2:

Imperialism, Gender and Class Struggle

Chair: **David Broder**

Selim Nadi, Leandros Fischer – A history of German anti-imperialism after 1945

Gregory Bekhtari – Bringing black women to the fore: Claudia Jones's Marxist agenda

Lucas Poy – Between the strike and the ballot box. The Socialist Party of Argentina as a case study of the politics of the Second International in Latin America (1890-1914)

G51a

Spaces of Dispossession 1

Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

Vasna Ramasar – Inherited futures: Race and class in water struggles in South Africa

Sanjay Lanka, Steffen Böhm – Accumulation by dispossession: The agrarian crisis in India

Jonathan Beacham – Back to the land ethic: spatialities and moralities of food in the age of austerity

Nevra Akdemir – Accumulation, Crises and Spatial Fix: The Case of Tuzla and Yalova Shipyard Regions

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Austerity and Socialist Strategies

Chair: **Maia Pal**

Brian O' Boyle, Sean Mitchell – Socialist Strategy on the Island of Ireland

Loren Balhorn – Strategic impasse in Europe's core: Die LINKE 10 years on

James Meadway – Returning Chartism: zero-sum capitalism and the re-emergence of populist politics

559

Insurgent Politics

Martin Bak Jørgensen – 'A goat that is already dead is no longer afraid of knives' – politics of (necessary) interference in Hamburg

Brecht De Smet – Mighty Oaks From Little Acorns Grow (Unless They Rot in the Ground) A Vygotskian Critique of Anarchist Prefigurative Politics

563

Class Struggles in Europe

Chair: **Clement Petitjean Sylvain Laurens** – The political role of EU bureaucrats in class struggles in Europe

Yiorgos Vassalos – Consolidation of autocratic rule in the EU and opposition to it: the parallel processes of the Troika's emergence and the economic governance reforms and how could they be overthrown

Christakis Georgiou – The eurozone crisis: a sign of the terminal crisis of the 'European project' or a catalyst for the next step in European unification?

B102

Questioning Intersectionality I

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

Peter Drucker – Applying Marxist intersectionality to sex: neoliberalism, homonormativity, homonationalism

Lise Vogel – Social Reproduction and Intersectionality

Heather Brown – Marx, Class and Gender: Toward a Marxist Theory of Intersecting Oppressions

L67

Launching Socialist Register 2016

The Politics of the Right

Chair: **Greg Albo**

Liz Fekete – Neoliberalism and popular racism: the shifting shape of the European right

Richard Seymour – UKIP and the crisis of Britain

Richard Saul – Capitalism and the politics of the far right

Avishai Ehrlich – Israel's hegemonic right

G3

Critical Perspectives on French Politics Today

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

Olivier Besancenot – The Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste: The Old and the New

Mathieu Bonzom – The poverty of voluntarism? Making sense of resistance to strategic theory and practice

Ugo Palheta – Right-wing populism or neo-fascism? Theses on the Front National and the (resistible) rise of fascism in France

B111

Book discussion

Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1864-65 (Marx's Original Draft of Volume 3 of Capital)

Chair: **Steve Edwards**

Andrew Brown

Jorge Grespan

Michael Kraetke

Fred Moseley

B104

Psychoanalysis and Critique of Political Economy: The Case of Jacques Lacan

Chair: **Peter Thomas**

Samo Tomsic – How to do things with Lacan

Andreja Zevnik – Politics beyond Oedipus

Nathaniel Boyd – Capitalism and the unconscious

4429

Spaces of Dispossession 2

Chair: **Alex Anievas**

Giorgos Velegarakis, Olga Balaoura – Spatial insights of land dispossession in crisis-ridden Greece

Carmen Teeple Hopkins – Precarious Women Workers and the City: Thinking through the New Urban Working Class

Baraneh Emadian – Strategies of Primary Accumulation of Capital in Contemporary Iran

4426

Realism, Feminism and the Documentary Impulse

Chair: **Amy Charlesworth**

Rehana Zaman – Documentary, Feminism and Working Together

Siona Wilson – Putting Jo Spence Back in the Picture: Notes on the Digital Traffic in Photographs'

Marina Vishmidt – Discussant

G51

Feminism, Politics and the Aesthetics of Social Reproduction

Chair: **Alan Sears**

Maya Weeks – You Don't Need Anti-Surveillance Makeup When You're Carrying a Ton of Bricks

Christina Grammatikopoulou – Exiting digital utopia: Gender, labour and visual culture in the Internet Era

G51a

'Who Stole the Soul?' Understanding Cultural Exchange Under Neoliberalism

Chair: **Shanice McBean**

Crystal Stella Becerril – Beyond(cé) Postcolonial: A Marxist Understanding of Cultural Production & Exchange

Nikeeta Slade – Beyond Appropriation: Towards a Radical Cosmopolitanism

Bill Crane – Reflections on Migration, Cosmopolitanism and the Formation of Culture

Alexander Billet – Race, Class and Musical Expression in Uneven (Under) Development

559

Histories of Communism and Socialism 3

Germany, Europe and the US

Chair: **David Broder**

Sean Larson – The Free Trade Unions in the German Revolution 1918-23

Suzi Weissman – Portrait of Stalin's Master Spy Marc Zborowski, aka Etienne, Charged with dividing, discrediting and destroying the International Left Opposition in Europe and the US.

Ralf Hoffrogge – Discussant

563

The Housing Question Today

Chair: **Mary Robertson**

Diana O'Dwyer – The Housing Crisis in Ireland: A Class Analysis

Mary Robertson – Housing-in-political-economy in the era of financialised capitalism

Özlem Çelik – Financialisation of Housing: An Emerging Form of Housing Provision in Istanbul

13.00-13.45

B102

Lunchtime meeting with Editorial Board members



B102

Launching Socialist Register 2016

Lessons from the Left in Government: From the PT to Syriza

Chair: **Hilary Wainwright**

Andreas Karitzis *Nicos Poulantzas Institute, former Syriza Central Committee member*

Michael Spourdalakis, *Political Science, Athens University, Syriza Pireaus*

Alfredo Saad Filho – Brazil: Lula, Dilma, and the Débâcle of the PT

L67

Rethinking the Politics and Economy of Crisis

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

Robert Brenner – Finance, the Real Economy, and Crisis

Stathis Kouvelakis – Lessons of the Greek Crisis

G3

Allan Sekula and the Reinvention of Documentary

Chair: **Stephanie Schwartz Edward Dimendberg**

– Allan Sekula and the Prehistory of Social Documentary Photography in Los Angeles

Gail Day & Steve Edwards – Combined and Uneven temporalities in the work of Allan Sekula

B111

Questioning Intersectionality II

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

Sara Salem – Critiquing Intersectionality: Marxist Feminism and the case of Egypt

Ashley Bohrer – Towards an Intersectional Marxist Feminism

Elmar Flatschart – Intersectionality and the ‘Taboo of Abstraction’ in Feminist Theory: How the value- dissociation-theorem can help us to delineate foundational mechanism of oppression

B104

The End of Homo Sacer: Assessments and Prospects

Chair: **Peter Thomas**

Jason E. Smith – Mode of Production, Form-of-Life

Jessica Whyte – ‘how many mosquitoes are born and die?’ Collateral Damage and Surplus Populations in Agamben and Marx

Alberto Toscano – Images of State and Stasis: The Frontispiece of the Leviathan in Agamben, Ginzburg and Bredekamp

4429

Late Marx

Chair: **Harrison Fluss**

Tomonaga Tairako – A Turning Point in Marx’s Theory on Precapitalist Societies- Marx’s Excerpt Notebooks on Maurer in MEGA IV/18

Kevin B. Anderson – Late Marx and the Prospects for Revolution Outside the “Developed” World

Luca Basso – “Transition” and “Communism” in the late Marx

4426

Latin American Marxism: Renewals, Transformations, Provocations, Panel 5

Force and Consent: Primitive Accumulation and the Production of Nature and Culture

Chair: **Irina Feldman**

Luis Andueza – Nature, Power, and Primitive Accumulation: the contested production of nature in south central Chile

Pedro Mendes Loureiro– Reformism, Class Conciliation and the Pink Tide

Adriana Johnson – Infrastructures

G51

Book discussion

Southern Insurgency: The Coming of the Global Working Class

Chair: **David Shulman**

Amanda Latimer

Maurizio Atzeni

Tim Pringle

Immanuel Ness – Respondent

G51a

Dilemmas and Contradictions of Leftist Praxis

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

Emmanuel Barot – From Zimmerwald to the Migration Crisis Passing Through Greece: Which National Struggles for Which Internationalism?

Loren Goldner – Four Studies in Revolution, Defeat and Theoretical Underdevelopment: Russia, Turkey, Spain, Bolivia

Giorgos Kalampokas – Dual Power Revisited

467

Book discussion

How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism

Chair: **Andreas Malm**

Neil Davidson – Western Supremacy in the Longue Durée of Uneven and Combined Development

Maia Pal – ‘My Capitalism is Bigger than Yours’: Early-Modern Legal Sovereignities and Uneven and Combined Development’s Theoretical Delusions

Charles Post– Explaining the Origins of Capitalism: A Critique of Anievas and Nisancioglu

Discussants – Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nisancioglu

559

Neoliberalism, kleptocracy, war, and the vice of capitalist imperialism in Ukraine

Chair: **Simon Pirani** – Capitals Clashing: The Ukrainian Energy Sector in Wartime

Yuliya Yurchenko – Social Forces in the Making of Contemporary Ukraine: Capitalist Rivalries and the Dispossessed

Christopher Ford – The Recurrent Ukrainian National Question and Retrogression on the Left

563

Manuel Sacristán: Critical Perspectives

Chair and Discussant – **Jules Townsend**

Renzo Llorente – The Philosophical-Political Legacy of Manuel Sacristán

Daniel Mourenza – Manuel Sacristán on Marx and the Ecological Question

José Sarrión Andaluz – Marxism and Science in Manuel Sacristán



B102

Journal issue launch and discussion

Endnotes

Chair: **Jason Smith**

Aaron Benanav

John Clegg

Maya Gonzalez

Rob Lucas

Zoe Sutherland

L67

Socialist Register

Beyond Parliamentary Socialism? Corbyn's Labour Party

Chair: **Leo Panitch**

Seamus Milne

Andrew Murray

Hilary Wainwright

G3

Realism, Feminism and the Documentary Impulse

Amy Charlesworth and **Marina Vishmidt**

A selected film programme co-curated with Madeleine Bernstorff

B111

Poulantzas Now

Chair: **Richard Seymour**

Cédric Durand, Tristan

Auvray – Is there a European Capital? The Mandel-Poulantzas debate revisited

Sebnem Oguz – After the June Elections: The Rising Tide of Fascism in Turkey

B104

Podemos: Past, Present and Future

Chair: **Alberto Toscano**

Josep Maria Antentas

– Podemos: strategy, power, elections and self-organisation

Juan Domingo Sanchez

Estop – The Under-Theorization of Podemos

Jaime Pastor – Spain: The crisis, Podemos and the search of an alternative project

4429

Writing the 1926 General Strike: Literature, Culture, Politics

Chair: **Mike Wayne**

Dougal McNeill

Elinor Taylor

Jamie Allinson

4426

Historical Explorations

Chair: **Maia Pal**

Christina Petterson – In search of a Marxist Approach to Historical Archives

Andrew Murray – The Mourners of Philip the Bold's tomb and the Ideology of the Common Good

Martin Platais – 'Locke supplanted Habakkuk': Bourgeois Revolution and the Problem of Genre in 'Paradise Lost'

Sven-Eric Liedman – Marx and Engels: intellectual twins or "a tragic deception"?

G51

Book discussion

Warped: Gay Normality and Queer Anti-Capitalism

Chair and Discussant: **Paul Reynolds**

Alan Sears

Peter Drucker

Holly Lewis

G51a

Cultures of Uneven and Combined Development

Chair: **Alex Anievas**

Michael Niblett – Peripheral Irrealisms: Water-Spirits, World-Ecology, and Uneven Development

James Christie – Fredric Jameson and World Literature: From World Systems Theory to Uneven and Combined Development

559

Geography and Political Economy of Resource Conflicts

Chair: **Adam Hanieh**

Rogério Fae, Steffen Bohm – Global geographies of extractivism: The social and environmental costs of Brazil's role in the global economy

Brian Parkin and Jonny Jones – Petrocide: Oil in the context of imperialism, resource conflict and environmental crisis

563

Crisis Situations: The Roots of Neoliberalism

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

Luiz Renato Martins

– The Contribution of Eurocommunism to Neoliberalism

Jorge Grespan – Crisis and the Monstrous Representations of Capital

18.00-19.45

Khalili Lecture Theatre

Plenary

Austerity and Socialist Strategy in Southern Europe

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

Panagiotis Sotiris – The Realism of Audacity: Rethinking Revolutionary Strategy Today

Isidro Lopez and Emmanuel Rodriguez – The Long Transition and the Rise of Podemos

Mariana Mortágua – The (Complex) Political Situation in Portugal: Building Alternatives to Austerity

Stathis Kouvelakis – Discussant



B102

Scotland's Social Movement, Britain's Crisis State

Chair: **Mary Robertson**

Jamie Allinson – The Unmaking of the Scottish Ruling Class

Cat Boyd – Radical Scotland and the Neoliberal Centre

Neil Davidson – Scotland and the Actually Existing Crisis of the British State

L67

Book discussion
Fossil Capital

Chair: **Esther Leslie**

Kate Soper

Alberto Toscano

Bhaskar Sunkara

Andreas Malm – Respondent

G3

Art's convulsions: Revolution and the Long Avant-Garde

Dave Beech – Revolution, Art and Labour

Kim Charnley – Institutional Critique and Revolutionary Marxism: Art&Language, New York, 1975-76

Ben Fitton – In Advance of a Broken Attestant

Mark Hutchinson – The Negation of Art: Dada 1917

B111

New Perspectives on Rosa Luxemburg's Writings on the 1905 Revolution

Chair: **Peter Hudis**

Henry Holland – Civil servants, peasants, soldiers, anarchists and prets: Rosa Luxemburg on the various groups contesting the Russian Revolution in 1905-1906

Rory Castle – Revolutionary Honour, Sacrifice and Death: Rosa Luxemburg and the Revolutions of 1905 and 1918/19

Bill Pelz – Luxemburg's Mass Strike: Historical Document or Relevant today?

Axel Fair-Schulz – In Very Good Hands: The Revolution of 1905 as a Catalyst for Rosa Luxemburg's Evolving Concept of Socialist Democracy

B104

Debates in Marxist Political Economy: Transformation and Super-Exploitation

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

Geert Reuten – The redundant transformation to prices of production: a Marx-immanent critique and reconstruction

Andy Higginbottom – A fresh look at the transformation problem, super-exploitation and capitalist underdevelopment

Juan Grigera – Revisiting *Dialéctica de la dependencia*

Life in Crisis: Social Reproduction and Social Movements

Chair: **Alan Sears**

Georgios Nikolaidis – The predictable impact of crisis in health and welfare in Greece

Chris Giovanopoulos – The self-organized solidarity movement in Greece: Transcending the dichotomy between political struggle and social movements

4429

Peasants, Left-wing Governments, and Neo-Developmentalism in Latin America

Leandro Vergara-Camus – Peasants, Left-wing Governments, and Neo-Developmentalism in Latin America: Exploring the Contradictions

Pablo Lapegna – The National and Subnational Political Economy of HM Soybeans in Argentina

Salvador Marti i Puig – TBA

Jeffery Webber – Discussant

4426

Marx and Philosophy Society Panel

Rethinking Fetishism: Alienation, Collective Action and Neo-Liberalism

Chair: **Jan Derry**

Sean Sayers – The Theme of Alienation in Marx's Economic Thought

Andrew Chitty – Collective Action, Social Relations Action, and Fetishism

Robert Cannon – Contesting Money's Capacity to Conduct Value-Judgment

G51

Portugal in Crisis: Social Relations in Times of Austerity, European Integration, and Lessons from the Revolution of 1974

Chair: **Victoria Stadheim**

Miguel Perez – The Portuguese labour movement from social revolution to general strike (1974-1982)

Ricardo Noronha – The Portuguese road to neoliberalism (1976-1989)

Victoria Stadheim – Phases of crisis management: the shift from expansionary policies to austerity in the case of Portugal

Mariana Mortágua – Espírito Santo - Fraud and family, two elements of capital accumulation in Portugal

G51a

'Leninism', Philosophy and the Primacy of Politics

Chair: **David Broder**

Alexandre Feron – The Philosophical Reading of Lenin by Merleau-Ponty

Alex de Jong – Pannekoek's criticism of 'Leninism' and its afterlives

Darren Roso – Can we break the hellish cycle of the commodity? Daniel Bensaïd – the primacy of politics

273

Ireland, the Crisis and Neoliberalism

Chair: **Shaun Harkin**

Colin Coulter – Ireland Under Austerity: Neoliberal Crisis, Neoliberal Solutions

Angela Nagle – Ireland and the New Economy

Sinéad Kennedy – Ireland's Perfect Storm: Crisis, Capitalism and Democracy



B102

Whither the Greek Left?

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen****Savas Michael-Matsas** – Greece: The Broken Link**Kostas Skordoulis** – The Greek Anticapitalist Left (Antarsya) and the challenge for revolutionary strategy**Kevin Ovenden** – The primacy of which politics: Lenin's, Gramsci's and the Greek crisis

L67

Book discussion

Money and Totality: A Macro-Monetary Interpretation of Marx's Logic in Capital and the End of the 'Transformation Problem'

Chair: **Mary Robertson****Anders Ekeland****Simon Mohun****Alfredo Saad-Filho****John Weeks****Fred Moseley** – Respondent

G3

New Approaches to Documentary

Chair: **Steve Edwards****Werker magazine****Active Stills****Doreen Mende - Discussant**

B111

Competitive Accumulation in the Oceans

Chair: **Maia Pal****Katy Fox-Hodess** – Capital, Labour and States in the Global Maritime Industry**Liam Campling** and **Alex Colas** – Territoriality, sovereignty and accumulation strategies in the global ocean**Alastair Couper** and **Azmath Jaleel** – Global Enclosures, Corporate Power and Fishers

B104

Life, Libidinal Economy and Social Reproduction

Chair **Paul Reynolds****Catarina Príncipe** – We can't labor without our lives**Cassandra Troyan, Maya****Andrea Gonzalez** – Disavowed Intimacy: The Abject Labor of Sex Work in the Libidinal Economy**Nat Raha** – Queer Social and Capital Reproduction

4429

Concepts in Marxist Political Economy

Chair: **Matt Cole****Jeremy Valentine** – Rent and Marxism in Contemporary Capitalism**Elena Louisa Lange** – What's pure about theory? On Uno Kōzō's method in light of 'Capital'**Juha Koivisto, Olli****Herranen** – Keynesian and Marxist Approaches on Capitalist Social Relations

4426

Caesarism, Nationalism, Counter-Insurgency: Marxist Perspectives

Guillaume Fondu – Marxism and the national question from an epistemological point of view**Francesca Antonini** – Caesarism, Passive Revolution and Hegemony in Gramsci's Prison Notebooks**Ryan Toews** – Gramsci, Mao, and American Counterinsurgency Doctrine

G51

Book discussion

Crisis and Contradiction: Marxist Perspectives on Latin America in the Global Political Economy

Chair: **Juan Grigera****Leandro Vergara-Camus****Susan Spronk****Jeffery R. Webbe**

G51a

Revisiting 1960s Italian Marxism

Chair: **Alberto Toscano****Giorgio Cesarale** – Marxism and Subjectivity: Sartre and the Italian Marxists at the Gramsci Institute in 1961**Félix Boggio** – Political economy and revolutionary politics: Insights from Italian workerism on strategy**Andrea Cengia** – A new critique of capitalist rationality thanks to the thought of the Marxist heretic Raniero Panzieri

273

Labour, Class and State

Chair: **Jamie Woodcock****Raji Singh Soni, Ralph Callebert** – Claims of labor: post-national citizenship and the culture of the state**Anu Sabhlok** – The New Public Sector Labour Geographies in India**Miris Meryem Kurtulmus, Kurtar Tanyilmaz** – A Critical Assessment of the Global Production Chains Approaches and Their Implications for Labour: The Case of the Automotive Industry in Turkey

N

B102

Cinema: Crisis and Form

Chair: **Alberto Toscano**

Nicolas Vieillescazes – The Horror Film as Social Form: A Theoretical Proposal

Roberto Mozzachiodi – Underthe Skin: Alienating Social Realism

Jeremy Spencer – The Representation of Political Crisis in Godard's Counter-Cinema

L67

Struggles in South Africa

Chair: **Thomas Marois**

Jasper Finkeldey and Steffen Böhm – Lessons from Marikana? South Africa's sub-imperialism and the rise of Blockadia

Michael Neocosmos – Lessons from the South? The antinomies of nationalism and national consciousness in South Africa

Peter Alexander, Carin Runciman and Trevor Ngwane – Triangulating and explaining South Africa's Rebellion of the Poor

G3

The Aesthetics of Uneven and Combined Development

Chair: **Steve Edwards**

Nick Lawrence – Uneven and Combined Development: Culture and World-Ecology

Wendy Knepper – Margaret Atwood's Recycled Futures: Uneven and Combined Developmental Horizons

Nesrin Degirmencioglu – Allegory and Fantasy: Reshaping the Contours of Aesthetics in a Neoliberal Era

B111

Directions in Critical Theory

Chair: **Esther Leslie**

Mauro Farnesi Camellone – Knowing and Changing. Bloch's cut of Marx's Eleven Theses on Feuerbach

Jacob Bard-Rosenberg – Angelic Satire: Benjamin and Marx on Movement and Standstill

Magda Schumkalla – Gestures from places that never were: Adorno, art and post-communism

B104

Theorising Austerity, Financialisation and Neoliberalism

Chair: **Matt Cole**

Patrick Neveling – Financialisation or Capitalism? Sovereign Default, Structural Adjustment, and Capitalist Accumulation

Alan Bradshaw/Jacob Ostberg – Commodity Fetishism During European Austerity

Jaswinder Blackwell-Pal – The Theatre is a Factory: Acting out Neoliberalism

4429

Dependency Theory Revisited

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

Viviane de Souza Rodrigues – Brazil and the Question of Dependency

Juliana Rodrigues de Senna – From subimperialism to sub-hegemony: the role of ideology on semi-peripheral international insertion

Victor Hugo Tonin – Marxist Dependency Theory: origins and conflicts

4426

Histories of Communism and Socialism 4:

Italy, Ireland

Chair: **David Broder**

David Broder – "Quando verrà Baffone...": Italian communism and the cult of Stalin

Michael Di Benedetto – Palmiro Togliatti, socialist strategy and the "Catholic Question"

Shaun Harkin – James Connolly and World War I: Striking A Blow Against Empire

G51

Neoliberalism, Sexuality and Social Reproduction

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

Qian Zhu – The Neoliberal Subject of Feminism in Contemporary China: Case Studies

Ozgur Genc – Women in Communes and Collectivising Social Reproduction

Colin Wilson – The Left, Women and Sexuality in Weimar Germany – Practice and Theory

Katharina Hajek – The Biopolitics of the Family: Social Reproduction, Gendered Subjectivation and the Renegotiation of the Public-Private Divide in Germany

G51a

In the Tracks of Western Marxism

Chair: **Harrison Fluss**

Robert Jackson – Lukács, Rupture and Phenomenology

Baraneh Emadian – Nietzsche and Lukács: The Legacy of Romantic anti-Capitalism

Katarzyna Bielińska-Kowalewska – The Yugoslav Praxis-Philosophy: A New Approach

273

Figures of Radical Thought

Itai Farhi – Logics of Representation: State, World and Capital

Jai Bentley-Payne – Contract, Capital and Event

Ben Fulman – Adorno and Horkheimer on Hatred of Utopian Groups

17.00-19.00

Closing Plenary

Race, Mobility and the State

Chair: **Maia Pal**

Marcus Rediker – Capitalism, Unfree Labor, and the Atlantic Class Struggle over Mobility

Amrit Wilson – 'The Mercy and Wisdom of a Government' - Race, violence against women and the British state

Rafeef Ziadah – Discussant

Historical Materialism

Research in Critical Marxist Theory

Historical Materialism 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.

The task of the Marxist critic is to offer a self-reflexive account of historical differentiations between areas of knowledge – without naturalising them or reifying their separation. To this end – the journal opposes the compartmentalisation of knowledge. Given the pressures of careers and the institutionalisation of researchers – this is no easy task. Historical Materialism welcomes contributions that cut across disciplines and evade academic jargon.

Historical Materialism has published enough grey-beards in the past and will continue to do so. We are – however – optimistic that our diagnosis of real-existing world conditions – with the recurrent upsurge of class antagonisms and the continual exertions of imperial violence – produce ever new Marxist constituencies. Their hither-to unheard voices are welcome in our journal. Furthermore – Historical Materialism – as proper to a Marxist forum – cultivates international contacts – giving room to analysts from across the world – including non-Anglophone countries. We attempt to host a worldwide scrutiny as our contribution to a denunciation of capitalism worldwide.

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12th Annual Historical Materialism Conference **The old is dying and the new cannot be born: states, strategies, socialisms** 5-8th November 2015

THURSDAY	13.30-15.15 A	4429 Marxism and Weberian Legacies	4426 The Political Economy of the Eurozone and its Critique	FG01 Cultural Politics and the New Left in the UK	L67 Autonomy and Dual Power: Mobilisation and the State	G3	G51 Interrogating Populism I	G51a Between Reformism and Revolution	B101 Financialisation and Built Environment Cause of Crisis?	B102	B104	B111	273	279	467	559	563	KLT
	15.45-17.30 B	Nietzsche Contra Marx	Inequality, Money and the State	Ecological Crisis: Strategies and Alternatives	Capitalism and Culture		Interrogating Populism II	The Legacies of the 1905 Revolution:	China and East Asia Today									
	18.15-20.00 C				Social Reproduction Theory and the Insistence of Integrative Theorizing													
FRIDAY	9.45-11.30 D	4429 Egypt: From Revolution to Counter-Revolution	4426 Geographies of Dispossession: Gentrification, Migration, Deportation	FG01 Concerning the Gravediggers: Challenges for Theory and Practice	L67 Developments in the Critique of Political Economy	G3 Capitalism in the Novel	G51 <i>Histories of Communism 1</i> M.N. Roy and Mahdi Amel	G51a Class Struggles and Class Projects	B101	B102 Social Reproduction: Theories and Practices	B104 Marx, Engels and the Critique of Politics and Law	B111 Rosa Luxemburg and 'Luxemburgism': A Tale of Two Legacies	273	279	467	559	563	KLT
	11.45-13.30 E	Greece and Spain Between Social Movements and the Party-Form	<i>Latin American Marxism: Panel 2</i> Populism, Hegemony, and Integral State	Alternative Strategies for the Left Today in the Light of Past Debates	Queer Marxism and the Problem of the Desire	<i>Book discussion</i> The Politics of Trans-individuality	Biology, Ecology, Anthropology: Marxist Encounters	<i>Book discussion</i> Persistent Inequalities		Documentary Histories	Left, Ultraleft and the United Front: German Communism 1921-1928	Islamophobia, Secularism and Feminism	Urban Marxism and the Neoliberal City	Commodifying Reproductive Bodies in the Neoliberal Bio-Economy				
	14.15-16.00 F	Problems in Marxist Theory	Between States and Markets	Digital Labour	Race, Class, Gender: Challenges for Critical Marxist Theory	Marxism in Art and Culture	<i>Latin American Marxism: Panel 3</i> Challenging the Canon	Facets of Imperialism		Feminist Debates	Marxism and Theology	Greek Strategies of Exit	The Politics of History	Studies in Political Economy				The Militant Image: Documentary in the 1970s
	16.15-18.00 G	Life in Crisis: Social Reproduction and Social Movements	Strategies for Labour in the Twenty-First Century	Class Formations and Political Movements	Strategy and Ruination: A Salvage Panel	Marxism, Materialism and Form: From Lukács to Jameson	Neoliberalism, Academic Labour and Crime	Brazil: History and Contemporaneity		Climate crisis and counter-austerity	Ernst Bloch in Perspective: Politics, Philosophy and Pedagogy	Global Neoliberalism						<i>Book discussion</i> Bad New Days
	18.15-20.00	KLT: Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize Lecture Marxism, Religion and the Taiping Revolution																
SATURDAY	9.15-11.00 H	4429 The Adventures of Value	<i>Latin American Marxism: Panel 4</i> Conceptualizing the Left	FG01	L67 Against Fate: Feminist Figures, Practices, Aesthetics	G3 Althusserian Variations	G51 <i>Histories of Communism 2</i> Imperialism, Gender and Class Struggle	G51a Spaces of Dispossession 1	B101	B102 Surplus Populations: History, Theory, Analysis	B104 Contradictions of Liberalism: Past, Present, Future	B111 How To be a Marxian: The Legacy of Suzanne de Brunhoff	273	279	467 Austerity and Socialist Strategies	559 Insurgent Politics	563 Class Struggles in Europe	KLT
	11.15-13.00 I	Spaces of Dispossession 2	Realism, Feminism & the Documentary Impulse		<i>Launching Socialist Register 2016</i> The Politics of the Right	Critical Perspectives on French Politics Today	Feminism, Politics and the Aesthetics of Reproduction	'Who Stole the Soul?' Cultural Aesthetics Under Neoliberalism		Questioning Intersectionality I	Psychoanalysis: The Case of Jacques Lacan	<i>Book discussion</i> Marx's Original Draft of Volume 3 of Capital				<i>Histories of Communism 3</i> Germany, Europe & US	The Housing Question Today	
	13.45-15.30 J	Late Marx	<i>Latin American Marxism: Panel 5</i> Force and Consent		Rethinking the Politics and Economy of Crisis	Allan Sekula and the Reinvention of Documentary	<i>Book discussion</i> Southern Insurgency	Dilemmas and Contradictions of Leftist Praxis		<i>Launching Socialist Register 2016</i> Lessons from the Left in Government	The End of Homo Sacer: Assessments and Prospects	Questioning Intersectionality II			<i>Book discussion</i> How the West Came to Rule	Neoliberalism, kleptocracy, war, imperialism in Ukraine	Manuel Sacristán: Critical Perspectives	
	15.45-17.30 K	Writing the 1926 General Strike	Historical Explorations		<i>Socialist Register</i> Corbyn's Labour Party	Realism, Feminism & the Documentary Impulse	<i>Book discussion</i> Warped: Gay Normality & Anti-Capitalism	Cultures of Uneven and Combined Development		<i>Journal issue launch and discussion</i> Endnotes	Podemos: Past, Present and Future	Poulantzas Now				Geography and Political Economy of Resource Conflicts	Crisis Situations: The Roots of Neoliberalism	
18.00-19.45	KLT: Plenary Austerity and Socialist Strategy in Southern Europe																	
SUNDAY	10.00-11.45 L	4429 Peasants, Left-wing Governments... in Latin America	4426 <i>Marx and Philosophy Society Panel</i> Rethinking Fetishism	FG01	L67 <i>Book discussion</i> Fossil Capital	G3 Art's convulsions: Revolution and the Long Avant-Garde	G51 Portugal in Crisis	G51a 'Leninism', Philosophy and the Primacy of Politics	B101	B102 Scotland's Social Movement, Britain's Crisis State	B104 Marxist Political Economy: Transformation & Super-Exploitation	B111 Rosa Luxemburg's Writings on the 1905 Revolution	273 Ireland, the Crisis and Neoliberalism	279	467	559	563	KLT
	12.00-13.45 M	Concepts in Marxist Political Economy	Caesarism, Nationalism, Counter-Insurgency		<i>Book discussion</i> Money and Totality	New Approaches to Documentary	<i>Book discussion</i> Marxist Perspectives on Latin America	Revisiting 1960s Italian Marxism		Whither the Greek Left?	Life, Libidinal Economy and Social Reproduction	Competitive Accumulation in the Oceans	Labour, Class and State					
	14.30-16.15 N	Dependency Theory Revisited	<i>Histories of Communism 4:</i> Italy, Ireland		Struggles in South Africa	The Aesthetics of Uneven and Combined Development	Neoliberalism, Sexuality and Social Reproduction	In the Tracks of Western Marxism		Cinema: Crisis and Form	Theorising Austerity, Financialisation and Neoliberalism	Directions in Critical Theory	Figures of Radical Thought					
17.00-19.95	KLT: Closing Plenary Race, Mobility and the State																	