14th Annual Historical Materialism Conference

Revolutions Against Capital, Capital Against Revolutions?

SOAS University of London
10 Thornhaugh Street
Russell Square
London WC1H 0XG

http://www.historicalmaterialism.org
historicalmaterialism@soas.ac.uk

9-12th November 2017
One hundred years ago, hailing the Russian Revolution, Antonio Gramsci characterised the Bolsheviks’ success as a “revolution against Capital.” As against the interpretations of mechanical “Marxism,” the Russian Revolution was the “crucial proof” that revolution need not be postponed until the “proper” historical developments had occurred.

2017 will witness both the 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the 150th anniversary of the first publication of Marx’s Capital. Fittingly, the journal Historical Materialism will celebrate its own twentieth anniversary.

In his time, Gramsci qualified his title by arguing that his criticism was directed at those who use “the Master’s works to draw up a superficial interpretation, dictatorial statements which cannot be disputed,” by contrast, he argues, the Bolsheviks “live out Marxist thought.” From its inception, Historical Materialism has been committed to a project of collective research in critical Marxist theory which actively counters any mechanical application of Marxism qua doctrine. How the Russian Revolution was eventually lived out — with all of its aftershocks, reversals, counter-revolutions, and ultimate defeat — also calls not just for a work of memory but for one of theorisation.

We might view the alignment of these anniversaries, then, as disclosing the changing fates of the Marxist tradition and its continued attempt to analyse and transform the world. Especially once it is read against the grain of the mechanical and determinist image affixed to it by many of the official Marxisms of the 20th Century, and animated by the liberation movements that followed in its wake, the work-in-progress that was Capital seems vitally relevant to an understanding of the forces at work in our crisis-ridden present. The Russian Revolution, on the contrary, risks appearing as a museum-piece or lifeless talisman. By retrieving Gramsci’s provocation, we wish to unsettle the facile gesture that would praise Marxian theory all the better to bury Marxist politics.

Gramsci also remarks that Marx “predicted the predictable” but could not predict the particular leaps and bounds human society would take. Surveying today’s political landscape that seems especially true. Since 2008, we have witnessed a continuing crisis of capitalism, contradictory revolutionary upsurges — and brutal counterrevolutions — across the Middle East and North Africa and a resurgent ‘populist’ right represented by Trump, the right-wing elements of the Brexit campaign, the authoritarian turn in central Europe and populist right wing politics in France; the power of Putin’s Russia and authoritarian state power in Turkey, Israel, Egypt and India. Even the “pink tide” of Latin America appears to be turning. Disturbingly, we seem to face a wave of reaction, and in some domains a rerudescence of fascism, much greater in scope and intensity than the revolutionary impetus that preceded and sometimes occasioned it. There is a new virulence to the politics of revanchist nationalism, ethno-racial supremacy, and aggressive patriarchy, but its articulation to the imperatives of capital accumulation or the politics of class remains a matter of much (necessary) debate.

This year’s Historical Materialism Conference seeks to use the “three anniversaries” as an opportunity to reflect on the history of the Marxist tradition and its continued relevance to our historical moment. We welcomed papers which unpack the complex and under-appreciated legacies of Marx’s Capital and the Russian Revolution, exploring their global scope, their impact on the racial and gendered histories of capitalism and anti-capitalism, investigating their limits and sounding out their yet-untapped potentialities. We also wish to apply the lessons of these anniversaries to our current perilous state affairs: dissecting its political and economic dynamics and tracing its possible revolutionary potentials.
Utopias
Critique of Political Economy and Civil Society
Marco Vanzulli
Civil Society and ‘Molecular’ Transformation
Robert Jackson
Marxist Theory, Egalitarianism and Edward Bellamy’s Utopia
Fernando Lizarraga
Chair: Svenja Bromberg

Old and New Forms of Exploitation
Revolutionising Exploitation? Labour and Valorisation in the Digital Age
Matthew Cole
Capital Transfer and the Transformation Problem
Heesang Jeon
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

Renewing Historical Materialism
There is Only a Constituting Movement: Marx and Engels as Pioneers in the Study of Complex Adaptive Systems
Julian Wells
Escaping Reductionism: Renewing Historical Materialism and Multi-Systems Theory
Jeremiah Gaster
Chair: Andreas Malm

Marxism Feminism Stream 1
Marxist Feminism, Revolution and Representation
Notes on the Role of Women in Soviet Posters from the Second World War
Rebecca De Oliveira Freitas
Gendered Legacy of 1956: Revolution and Female Resistance in Hungary After 1956
Dorottya Tamás
Chair: Tithi Bhattacharya

1917, Violence and Revolution
Trotsky as Historian – The Nature and Role of Violence in the Revolution in Russia in 1917 and Beyond
Mike Haynes
“How Can One Make a Revolution Without Firing Squads?” Understanding the Bolsheviks’ “Red Terror,” 1918-1921
Jeff Goodwin
Subsumption and Violence
Andres Saenz De Sicilia
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

BOOK LAUNCH
‘Art and Production’ by Boris Arvatov
Alexei Penzin
John Roberts
Maria Chehonadskih
Chair: Steve Edwards

The Historical Materialism conference is not a conventional academic conference but rather a space for discussion, debate and the launching of collective projects.

We therefore discourage ‘cameo appearances’ and encourage speakers to participate in the whole of the conference. We also strongly urge all speakers to take out personal subscriptions to the journal.

Organised in collaboration with the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Committee and Socialist Register
B: THURSDAY 15.45-17.30

➤ B104
Peter Linebaugh: Charter of the Forests – A Discussion

Peter Linebugh
Discussant: Grant Mandarino
Chair and Discussant: Steve Edwards

➤ 563
BOOK EVENT
Struggle or Starve
Sean Mitchell
Discussant: Geoffrey Bell, author, Hesitant Comrades: The Irish Revolution and the British Labour Movement
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

➤ B202
Eco-Socialist Transitions as Alternatives to Capitalism
Eco-Socialist Perspective on Role of the Individual in the Ecological Crisis
Alan Thornett
Can Ecosocialist Praxis be a Real Alternative?
Gordon Peters
Where are the Girls? Age and Gender in Eco-Marxism
Judith Watson
Capitalist Agriculture and the Ecological Catastrophe of Groundwater Depletion in Punjab (India)
R.S Mann
Chair: Pritam Singh

➤ SG32
Issues in British Socialist and Revolutionary Politics
Contemporary British Trotskyism: Party, Sect and Social Movement
John Kelly
The Two Souls of Labour - Integrative and Transformative
Simon Hannah
The New Breaks Into the Old: Towards an Understanding of the Socialist New
Joe Davidson, Simon Hannah
Chair: Ashok Kumar

➤ B111
Marxism Feminism Stream 2
Ongoing Struggles
Struggles for a Dignified Life: Collectivisation in Chile 1970s
Valentina Alvarez Lopez
'Sovereignty, Women and Revolution in the 'Periphery': Towards a Feminist Historical Sociology of Morocco'
Meriam Mabrouk
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

➤ FGO1
Antiquity and Modernity of Soviet Marxism. Presentation of Special Issue of the Journal Stasis (2, 2017)
Alexei Penzin
Keti Chukhrov
Maria Chehonadsikh
Evgeni V. Pavlov
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

➤ B104
Roundtable Discussion
The Labour Party and Momentum – a Marxist Assessment:
Richard Seymour
Huda Elmi
Paul Reynolds
Chair: Juan Grigera

C: 18.00-20.00

➤ B111
Roundtable for the Marxist Feminist Stream
Marxist Feminism Today: Revolution, Reproduction and Resistance
Tithi Bhattacharya
Angela Dimitrakaki
Sara Salem
Sara Farris
Chair: Svenja Bromberg

➤ FG01
Legacies of the Russian Revolution
György Lukacs and the Russian Revolution
Michael Löwy
'Golden Toilets: 1917, Land Nationalisation and Architecture'
Owen Hatherley
Discussant: Daniel Lopez
Chair: Esther Leslie

VERSOS invites you to a drinks reception on the evening of the Historical Materialism Conference 2017.
On Thursday, 9 November from 8.30pm in the SOAS bar
D: FRIDAY 9.15-11.00

**S211**
Colonial and Postcolonial Aesthetics
Decolonizing Aesthetics: French Surrealism vs Colonialism
Sophie Coudray, Selim Nadi
Caliban, Cuba, and the Caribbean Poetic-Political Tradition
Andrea Penman-Lomeli
Wayuu Contemporary Poetics and Latin American Marxism
Laura Lema Silva
Chair: Maia Pal

**S320**
Althusser and Lukács on the October Revolution and Lenin: (Missed) Encounters Towards a New Approach to Political Practice
Political Practice and the Creation of History: Questions of Determinism and Contingency in the Work of Lukács and Althusser
Konstantinos Gousis
Understanding and Changing the World: From October Revolution to May ’68
Dimitra Alifieraki
Lukács’ Leninism or Revolutionary Realpolitik as a Way Out of the ‘Grand Hotel Abyss’ and the Left Tina Trap
Alexander Minotakis
Chair and Discussant: Panagiotis Sotiris

**G51**
Student Power Against Capital? The University, Class Struggle and Student Insurgency.
Incorporating the Book Launch for *Student Revolt: Voices of the Austerity Generation*, Pluto 2017
Matt Myers
Generation Debut: The Student Movement, Apathy and Neo-Liberalism
Zoe Salanintro
Students as a Class?: The University’s Role in Class Struggle
Connor Woodman
Chair: Colin Barker

**S314**
Artistic Legacies of the Russian Revolution
The Look of Class: Communist Graphic Satire After 1917
Grant Mandarino
Proximities and Distance: 3 Encounters with the Art of Revolution
Paul Wood
‘Every Day, Something Happens to Us’: Realism at the Crossroads
Gail Day
Chair: Steve Edwards

**B111**
Marxism Feminism Stream 3
Gendered Labour: Situated Perspectives and Case Studies -
The Role of the State and Conservative Politics in Flexibilisation of Female Labour in Turkey
Ayse Arslan
Beyond the Gendered Division of Labour: Third Space Feminism
Magally A. Miranda-Alcazar
The Ends of Soviet Communism: Emancipatory Politics in the East of Europe
Saygun Gükariksel
Chair: Sara Farris

**B104**
Radical Approaches to the Body
Testicular Work: Constructions of Men’s Labour in Reproduction
Frank Karioris
Prosthetic Capital: On the Fungibility and Rebellion of Bodies
Sam Dolbear and Hannah Proctor
Rethinking "Trans" Trajectories and Historical Method: The Processes and Positionings of Pepa in Puebla
Vek Lewis
Chair: Paul Reynolds
<table>
<thead>
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F: FRIDAY 14.00-15.45

=> B111

Race and Class 1
Black Power in America
Racial Liberalism and its Discontents: “Postracialism,” Black Power, & Mental Labour
Michael Bray
Racial Anticapitalism: Detroit 1967
Joshua Clover
Dubois’s Marxisit Mentor: Will Herberg and the Making of Black Reconstruction in America
Matt Nichter
Chair: Rob Knox

=> S314

Dual Power
Strategic Imagination, Party and Revolution
Josep Maria Antentas
#1917. Rethinking Dual Power to Take Back the Power
Emmanuel Barot
Rethinking Dual Power
Panagiotis Sotiris
Chair: Demet Dinler

=> S211

Red Wedge Panel: Re-Creating 1917
The Three Crosses
David Mabb
Affirming the New: Art of the Mexican and Russian Revolutions
Crystal Stella Becerril
Lukacs, Greenberg, and the Spectre of Trotsky
Neil Davidson
Chair: Alexander Billet

=> G51

Revisiting Brasilia as a Counter-Revolutions Weapon
White Out, Black Stay: Permanent Revolution or Just a Cultural Bomb?
Ana Paula Pacheco
‘Architecture Or Revolution’, the Brazilian Way
Luiz Renato Martins
A Discussion of a Short Film on the Slaughter of Workers in the Building of Brasilia by Clara Ianni
Chair: Juan Grigera

=> 4426

Marxism, Cultural Politics and Anarchism
Working Class Strategy of Reproduction: Reevaluation of Italian Autonomist Marxism
Eliasz Robakiewicz
Romano Alquati and the Hyper-Communist Hypothesis
Gian Luca Pittavino
Ploughed Fields and Virgin Forests: Bogdanov versus Trotsky on Preclass Culture
Evgeni Pavlov
Chair: Felix Boggio

=> G51a

The Russian Revolution on South Asia
Translating Russian Revolution: A Narrative of Vernacular Marxism from Late Colonial Kerala
Arda Neelakandan Girija
Anti-Caste Movements and Bolshevik Revolution - Possible Routes to Socialism
Nachiket Kulkarni
People of Java! The Russian Revolution has Lessons for You Too! – Henk Sneevliet and Early Communist Anti-Colonialism
Alex De Jong
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

=> S311

Technology, Work, Leisure and Capitalism
Technological Change in Contemporary Capitalism: A Symptom of Disease Rather than a Cure
Tony Smith
Chronopolitics of Leisure
Sarah Stein Lubrano
Laboratory of Resistance: An Interim Assessment of Union Organising at Global E-Commerce Leader Amazon in Germany and Europe
Joern Boewe, Johannes Schulten
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

=> 227

Marxism and Ecology 1
Transcending Dualisms: Marx’s Theory of Nature and Labour
Heather Brown
Ecologically Unequal Exchange: Sketches of a Harveyan Theoretical Framework
Rikard Warlenius
The Money-Energy-Technology Complex: Machines as Fetishized Relations of Exploitation
Alf Hornborg
Chair: Andreas Malm

=> B104

HMSPEN
Critical Questions in Queer and Marxist-Feminist Politics
A Dialogue Between Social Reproduction Feminism and French Materialist Feminism.
From Domestic Labour to Social Reproduction and (dialectically) Back Again
Elsa Boulet
The Work of Werk: Queer Identity, the Family and Social Reproduction
Kate Doyle Griffiths
Chair: Paul Reynolds

=> FG01

Marxism and Revolutions
Hungary 1956, Lessons of a Forgotten Revolution
Philippe Alcoy
Ambivalent Views from Central Europe: Rudolf Hilferding, Otto Bauer, and the Russian Revolutions of 1917
William Smaldone
Spontaneity and its Slippages: Lenin, Luxemburg and Beyond
Gareth Dale
Chair: David Broder

=> S320

HM BOOK ROUNDTABLE
The Politics of Style: Towards a Marxist Poetics
Daniel Hartley
Matthew Beaumont
Caroline Edwards
Chair: Esther Leslie

=> 273

Weimar Communism as Mass Movement 1918-1933
On the KPD Before 1923 - the Building of a Mass Party
Florian Wilde
From Heading the Hamburg Left to Becoming ‘Stalin’s German’, Ernst Thälmann C. 1918-1929
Normal Laporte
Beyond Party and Class? Willi Münzenberg, Media and the KPD
Fredrik Petersson
Chair: Ralf Hoffrogge
G: FRIDAY 16.15-18.00

agogi, Ashok Kumar

g, Black Marxism and the Colonial World in Daniel Guérin’s Political Thought
Selim Nadi
K: 16.40-18.15
ac Marxism and the Colonial World in Daniel Guérin’s Political Thought
Selim Nadi
Reflections on C.L.R. James’s World Revolution, 1917-1936
Christian Hogsbjerg
Chair: Ashok Kumar

B: 17.45-19.15

AD: 18.15-19.45

H: 18.30-20.00

Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture
Chair: Alex Colas
In Wildness is the Liberation of the World: On Maroon Ecology and Partisan Nature
Andreas Malm
I: SATURDAY 9.15-11.00

**G51**

US, the Left and Late Capitalism
From Nixon to Trump: Metastases of Cultural Power
Carl Freedman
Cuban Breach: State, Revolution, and the Historical Novel of Late Capitalism
Thomas William, Lynn Travers
Assimilating the Russian Revolution: Earl Browder’s Struggle to Americanise Communism
Laura Browder
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

**G51a**

Marxism and Ecology 2
The Centrality of Labour in Emerging Green Capitalist Economies
Rocio Hiraldo
Value, Struggle, and the Production of Nature
Luis Andueza
Commodification of the Labour of Nature
Sanjay V Lanka
Chair: Andreas Malm

**B101**

BOOK LAUNCH
Ralf Hoffrogge: A Jewish Communist in Weimar Germany. The Life of Werner Scholern (1895 – 1940)
Ralf Hoffrogge
Loren Balhorn
Sami Khatib
Chair: Grant Mandarino

**DLT**

Getting Our Understanding of Capitalism Wrong and its Implications for Historical Understanding
The New History of Capitalism: The Problem of U.S. Slavery
Charles Post
The Non-Capitalist Economics and Politics of Post-Revolutionary France
Xavier Lafrance
The Non-Capitalist Character of Economic Growth in the Qing and Why it Matters
Christopher Issett
Discussant: Neil Davidson
Chair: Maia Pal

**KLT**

Race and Class 3
Race and Capital History, Race and Politics: Reading Marx’s Ethnological Notebooks
Emanuela Conversano
Marx the Eurocentrist? Capital Volume 1 and the So-called English Road
Chris Newlove
Kinnmaking Against Racemaking? Elisions in Resurgent Anti-Natalism
Sophie Anne Lewis
Chair: Rob Knox

**B102**

Organising Today’s Workforce
Class Consciousness, Group Consciousness, Work Organisation and Unionisation
Ian Allinson
Beyond “the Gig Economy”: Trade Union Insurgents Against Super-Exploitation
Joe Haynes
Theorising the Power of Rail Workers in Britain Since Privatisation
Tom Haines-Doran
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

**B111**

Marxism Feminism Stream 6
Revolutions Past: Critical Legacies
Reevaluating Inessa Armand and Judy Cox
Women in the Revolutionary Party & Process: Class/Gender Debates & Strategy
Rupi Minhas
Women & Labour in the 17th Century: Social Reproduction Theory & Political Marxism
Joana Perrone
Chair: Sara Salem

**B104**

HM BOOK LAUNCH PANEL
‘Marxism and Art History’
Andrew Hemingway
Luiz Martins
Respondents: Alex Potts, Gail Day
Chair: Steve Edwards

**G3**

Workers’ Movements and Politics
Workers’ Movements and Self-Organization Against Trade Unions and the State
Luciana Zorzoli
Work, Resistance and Development: Two Case Studies from Argentina
Adam Fishwick
The Relevance of the Central Obrera Boliviana Today: The Labour Bureaucracy and Mass Labour Officidalm
Angus Mcnelly
Chair: Felix Boggio

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**BEHIND THE INDIAN BOOM**

*Inequality and Resistance at the heart of economic growth*

For the last quarter of a century the Indian economy has been booming. But what does this growth mean for the people on whose land and labour it is based? BEHIND THE INDIAN BOOM travels across the country to meet its Dalits and Adivasis – its low caste and tribal communities – historically stigmatised as ‘untouchable’ and ‘wild’. Accounting for one in twenty-five people in the world, their situation reveals insights into the conditions of oppressed people across the globe. Despite India’s significant economic growth, they remain at the bottom of its social and economic hierarchies. They are a source of cheap labour from which much of the world economy benefits. BEHIND THE INDIAN BOOM explores the precarious conditions of work and everyday struggles of Adivasis and Dalits. Importantly, it also highlights their fight back against the situations they find themselves in.

**Brunei Gallery Room**

Time: 10:30-17:00

Until 16 December 2017

BEHIND THE INDIAN BOOM is based on an ERC and ESRC funded Programme of Research on Inequality and Poverty based in the Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics, led by Alpa Shah and Jens Lerche, and involves the work of several researchers, journalists and activists.
J: SATURDAY 11.30-13.15

G51
The Political Economy of Money
The Civilization of Capital: How Empire Pervaded the Epistemology of Emerging Marginalist Economics
Mischa Suter
Derivatives Market - Extraction and Distribution of Surplus Value Through Risk Management
Tomasz Plominski
The Money Form as an Agent of Revolution Against Capital, or Capital Against Revolution? The De Brunhoff/Lerti Debate
Rebecca Carson
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

G51a
Race and Class 4
‘Epistemic Revolution’ and Counterrevolution. A Marxist Critique of Decolonial Reason
Alexandru Cîsteceanu
Viewing the Myth of the Lazy Malay Through Neoliberal Lens: the Professional-Managerial Class in Malaysia
Jonathan Yong Tiexh
Capitalism as Postcolonial: Rewriting European Citizenships
Ilaria Bertazzi
Chair: Ashok Kumar

B101
Latin American Marxism
Crisis as Method: Zavaleta Mercado and the Making of a ‘Morley’ Marxism
Felipe A. Lagos
The Other Marx: Philosophy and Critical Theory in Latin America
Bruno Bosteels
José Carlos Mariátegui on the Russian Revolution
Nicolas Lema Habash
Chair: Svenja Bromberg

B102
Analysing Work: Reproducing Labour-Power Inside and Outside of the Market
HMS-PEN
Sexual Politics - Backward and Forward
The Bolsheviks and Sexuality: The Importance of Historical Context
Colin Wilson
Looking Forward, Looking Back – What Can we Learn from Gay Liberation/Lesbian Feminism (1969-1976) for the Current Struggle Against the Neoliberal Queer?
Gary Kinsman
Sexual Politics, 1917/2017: Proletarian Morality – and Beyond?
Peter Drucker
Chair: Paul Reynolds

B104
Marx’s Capital and Contemporary Art
What’s Made When Art’s Made, and What’s it Worth?
Bryan Parkerhurst
Art Meets Capital
Stewart Martin
Digital Cultural Commodities vs Marx’s Capital
Dave Beech
Chair: Steve Edwards

B111
Value Theory
The Commodity Spectrum
Patrick Murray and Jeanne Anne Schulver
The Power of Capital: On Value and Class
Soren Mau
What’s Value Got to Do With the Critique of Political Economy? The Multiple Meanings of Value Theory in Marx
Riccardo Bellofatto
Marx’s Capital, Surplus-Value and Labour Super-Exploitation
Andy Higginbottom
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

G3
Disputing Concepts
Calumny Fetishism: The Origins and Obscurantism of the Concept of “Vulgar Marxism”
David Sockol
Death and Life in Marx’s Capital: An Ethical Investigation
Ted Stolze
October 1917, Marxism and the Beginnings of Soviet Oriental Studies
Craig Brandist
Chair: Giorgio Cesarelli

DLS
Marxism Feminism Stream 7
Revisions and Departures
Rosa Luxemburg & the ‘Woman Question’: From the Theory of Accumulation to Social Reproduction Theory
Ankica Cakarda
Rethinking Patriarchy in Relation to Social Reproduction
Hester Eisenstein
A Critical Analysis of Social Reproductive Labour of Women in the Context of Neoliberal/Rural Dispossessions: The Turkish Case
Ozlem Tüzek
Chair: Jamie Allinson

KLT
Socialist Register/Red Pepper Roundtable
Rethinking Labour: Inside and Outside the Party
Beth Foster-Ogg, Momentum Organizer
Andrew Murray, Chief of Staff, Unite
Michael Calderbank, Red Pepper
Alex Nunns, author, The Candidate: Jeremy Corbyn’s Improbable Path to Power
James Foley, co-author, What is Scottish Independence For?
Hilary Wainwright, Author, Reflections of the Future of the Left
Leo Panitch, Chair, Co-Author, The End of Parliamentary Socialism
**K: SATURDAY 14.00-15.45**

**S118**
Marxism and Ecology 4
Take Back Control
Alex Richardson-Price
Alternative Responses to the Diabolic Crisis: Austerity, Keynesianism or Ecologicalism
Ståle Holgersen
Eco-Austerity
Troy Vettese
Chair: Andreas Malm

**G3**
Transition to Capitalism, Race and Underdevelopment
Colonialism(s), Race, and the Transition to Capitalism In Canada
Jessica Evans
Capital’s First Colony? A ‘Political Marxist’ Engagement with the Historiography of Irish Underdevelopment
Tiarnan O’Mulleoir
Blacking Out: Ralph Ellison’s Invisible Man and the Historicity of Anti-Blackness
Sean O’Brien
Chair: Maia Pal

**B101**
Land, Law and Capital
The Role of Law and the State in the Emancipatory Process
Dimitrios Kivotidis, Natalia Delgado
The Myth of Primary Accumulation and the Myth Land-Apropiarion
Nikolaos Tzanakis-Papadakis
Repetition of Primitive Accumulation and Legal Violence: New Approaches to the Critical Sociology of Law
Guilherme Leite Goncalves
Chair: Rob Knox

**B102**
Analysing Digital Work: Platforming, Dashboards, and the Gig Economy
Labour, Resistance, and Organisation in the Online Gig Economy
Jamie Woodcock
Slaves to the Algorithm? Class (de/re)Composition in Computationally-Dependent Workplaces
Craig Gent
Organising Against the Odds: Gig Economy Couriers’ Mobilisation in Italy and the UK
Arianna Tassinari, Vincenzo Maccarrone
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

**B104**
Marx’s Capital and Contemporary Art 2
The Substance of Symbolic Value: Museums, Collections, and the Appearance of Value in Art
Nizan Shaked
Anomaly and Autonomy: On the Currency of the Exception in the Value Relations of Contemporary Art
Marina Vishmidt
Performance and Abstract Labour
Josefine Wikstrom
Chair: Steve Edwards

**G51a**
The Accumulation of Debt: New Perspectives on Profit, Crisis, and Inequality
Debt Accumulation and the Capital Circuit
Niko Block
English Debt Accumulation and the Making of Capitalist Money
Sune Sandbeck
Credit, Financial Regulation, and the Canadian State
Greg Albo
Chair: Felix Boggio

**B111**
Queer Marxism?
Queer Marxism and the Problem of Internationalism
Holly Lewis
Sexualities in Permanent Revolution
Alan Sears
The Contours of a Queer Materialism
Paul Reynolds
Chair: Peter Drucker

**G51**
Latin American Politics
Rebeca Jasso-Aguilar, Jean Pierre Reed
Labour Against Capital: The Revolution in Latin America
Ricardo Antunes
Posthegemony: Grammars of the Multitude and Latin America
Peter Baker
Chair: Juan Grigera

**S63**
Launching the Socialist Register 2018!
Rethinking Democracy: Legacies, Impasses, Prospects
The Struggle Over Actually Existing Democracy
Denis Pilon
Women: Linking Lives With Democracy
Sheila Rowbotham
From Hayek To Trump: The Logic of Neoliberal Democracy
Martijn Konings
Barcelona En Comu: Urban Democracy and the Common Good
Greig Charnock, Ramon Ribera Fumaz
New Agrarian Democracies? The Pink Tide’s Lost Opportunity
Leandro Vergara-Camus
Chair: Leo Panitch, Socialist Register

**G3**
Defend the “Other”: A Discussion On and Beyond the Current Refugee Movement – Insights From Greece’s Solidarity Spaces and the Formation of Political Subjectivities
‘Everyone Who is Here is From Here’ – Rethinking Political Subjectivities Within, Beyond and Against the Juridical Definitions of the Citizenship, in the Centennial of the Russian Revolution
Anastacia Matsouka, Konstantinos Gousis
Solidarity and Resistance Spaces of the Refugees: (Trans)forming Political Consciousness and Engagement
Giorgos Velegakis, Erin Gaitanou
Articulations of Migration and Crisis in Mainstream Discourses and Policies
Laftani Olga
Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris
B102
Inside the Black Box: Workers’ Inquiries into the Automation of Management at Deliveroo and Sainsbury's.
A Predict A Deliver-Riot: Findings of a Workers Inquiry at Deliveroo.
Callum Cant
A Workers’ Inquiry at Deliveroo: An Account and Analysis of Delivery Work in London.
Facility Waters
Lost Dreams and Unpaid Rent: An Inquiry Into Supermarket Work.
Bill Golding
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

B101
The ‘German October’ of 1923: A Reassessment.
Built on Sand: The Hyperinflationary Economics of the German Revolution 1923.
Sean Larson
1923: The Summer of National Bolshevism?
Ralf Hoffrogge
Chair: Grant Mandarino

B104
Revolution against Capital
Five Explicit and Implicit Notions of Revolution in Capital.
Kevin B. Anderson
What Revolution in the Context of Capital?
Marcelo Badaró Mattos
Daniel Bensaid’s Reading of Capital.
Darren Roso
Chair: Svenja Bromberg

G51
Revolution, Imperialism and International Law
Imperialism, International Law and Race in the Haitian Revolution.
Robert Knox
The origins of enmity in international law
Tor Krever
The Gift of Scottish Backwardness: ‘Revolutions from Above’ and the Geopolitics of Post-Napoleonic British International Legal Argument.
Eric Loefflad
Chair: Maia Pal

G3
Marxism and Ecology
New Developments in Eco-Marxism.
Jim Kincaid
Bogdanov’s Return and Contemporary Marxist Critique of Global Political Economy.
Mehmet Cursan Senalp,
Orsan Senalp
Degrowth-Related Thinking in Russian and Soviet Thought.
Ekaterina Chertkovskaya,
Chair: Andreas Malm

B111
HMSPEN
Queer Politics
We Need To Talk About Milo: Queer Marxism and the Alt Right.
Alex Dymock
Queer Movements and Class Politics in New York City.
Michelle Esther O’Brien
(Gender) Policing the Poor: Capitalism, Sexuality, and Carcerality in the 21st Century.
Ashley Bohrer
Chair: Ashok Kumar

DLT
Critiques of Political Economy
Marxism Without Class: A Critique of Postone’s Interpretation of Marx.
Mozart Silvano Pereira
The Architecture of Capital.
Jorge Grespan
Notes On Competition, Credit System and World Economy.
Janaina De Faria
Chair: Ashok Kumar

KLT
Launching Socialist Register 2018 II: Rethinking Democracy: Revolutionizing the Media?
Fake Democracy, Bad News.
Ralph Mandarino
Democracy and Public Broadcasting.
Michelle Esther O’Brien
Digital Democracy?
Nina Power
Chair: Greg Albo, Socialist Register

KLT
The Demise of the Pink Tide in Brazil.
On the Place of Brazilian Corruption in the Reproduction of Capitalism.
Amélia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel
Contradictions and Limits of Neo-Developmentalism in Brazil: The Brazilian Working-Class, Unions and the Impeachment Process.
Lara Khattab
The Neo-Development of Underdevelopment: Brazil and the Political Economy of South American Integration Under PT.
Fabio Luis Barbosa Dos Santos
“Crisis of Praxis.” Explaining the Fragmentation of the Brazilian Left.
Sabrina Fernandes
Chair: Felix Boggio

SOAS STUDENT BAR
20:00
Historical Materialism Wine Reception
Sponsored by Brill Academic Publishers and with the contribution of Socialist Register and Merlin Press.
**G51**

**Affect and Consciousness**

Why Don’t We Get Indignant? Reflection on the Revolution and its Obstacles from an Affective Point of View

Arthur Duhe

Capitalist Neurons? Mindfulness, Neoliberal Affect and the Human Brain

António Carvalho

What of the Subjective Factor in the Struggle: Species-Being, the Cathartic Moment, Aesthetic Consciousness?

John Eustice O’Brien

Chair: Maia Pal

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**B102**

**Revolution and History**

Ancient Multitudes and Modern Revolution

Marcus Bajema

Michael Lebowitz’s Critique of Vanguard Marxism

Paul Raekstad

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

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**G51a**

**Rosa Luxemburg’s Concept of Revolution**

Rosa Luxemburg’s Writings on the 1906-06 Russian Revolution and its Lessons for the 1917 Revolution

Holger Politt

Paul Levi: Ohne Einen Tropfen Lakeienblut

Jörn Schüttrumpf

The Importance of Rosa Luxemburg Today, Especially Her Understanding of Revolution

Evelin Wittich

Chair: Juan Grigera

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**DLT**

**Marxism Feminism Stream 8**

The (mis)uses of Women’s Rights: A Panel on Sara Farris’s In the Name of Women’s Rights

Lisa Tilley

Rafeef Ziadah

Akanksha Mehta

Ashley Bohrer

Nayda Ali

Sara Farris

Chair: Sara Salem

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**B111**

**Western Philosophy and Marxism 1**

Aleatory Materialism and Theoretical Practice: The Logic of Struggle in the Later Althusser

Thomas Carmichael

On (Non-)Contemporaneity

Daniel Kashi

Lenny’s Idea of Dialectics

Vesa Oittinen

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

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**B101**

**Marxism-Feminist Stream 9**

Marxism, Women, Ireland

Rediscovering the Legacy of Revolutions for Marxist Feminists: A Focus On Ireland

Penelope Elizabeth Duggan

The Legacy of Alice Milligan: Protestant, Feminist, Modernist and Unrepentant Fenian

Ruth Taillon

Chair: Esther Leslie

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**B104**

**Rethinking Contemporary Art and the Politics of Aesthetics**

Gaze, Address, Interpellation: Rethinking Contemporary Theatre Production

Sophie Coudray

For an Independent Revolutionary Art

Dora Longo Bahia

Chair: Alberto Toscano

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**116**

**Reading Marx**

Marx-Biographies as Political Interventions

Michael Heinrich

Marxism and the Abuse of the Enlightenment

Aaron Jaffe

The Concept of the Political in Marx’s Concept of Crisis

Jonas Van Vosselo

Chair: Svenja Bromberg

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**G3**

**Populist Politics and Right-Wing Responses**

Horizontalism, Popular Assemblies, and Imagining a Democratic Transition to Socialism in the 21st Century?

Sarah Mason

The Boomerang Effect. Colonial Genealogies of Fascism

Eleni Varikas

Chair: David Broder
O: SUNDAY 12.15-14.00

**B102**
Marxism and Islam
The Nature and Dynamics of Islamic Fundamentalist Movements
Joseph Daher

The Meaning of Wahhabism: Origins, Afterlives and Alternative Explanations
Safia Albaiti

The Contradictions of Neoliberal Islam in Turkey
Sabine Dreher

Chair: Sara Salem

**B101**
Cinema Against Capital
Barthes, Tel Quel, and the Genesis of Third Meaning
Ian Peter Stone

Forging an Anti-Capitalist Film Culture: Ken Loach and The Debate About Naturalism in Britain
Marcos Soares

Chair: Luisa Lorena Corna

**B104**
The Dissemination of Marx's Capital in the World (1867-2017)
Dissemination and Reception of Capital in the United States, Britain, and Canada
Babak Amini

Capital in Nordic Countries
Paula Rauhala and Jussi Silvenen

Capital in Bulgaria
Stanimir Panayotov

Capital in Romania
Alex Cistelecan

Chair: Paula Rauhala

**DLT**
Marxism Feminism Stream 10
Resistance Routes
Wages For Housework & the Future of Social Reproduction
Alva Gotby

Abortion as Strike, Abortion as Riot
Eleanor Penny

Transcending Cultural Feminism: Towards a Militant and Marxist Chicanism
Crystal Stella Becerril

Chair: Sara Farris

**G51**
Marxism, Protest and Resistance
Explaining the Absence of Anti-Austerity Mobilization in Cyprus: Class Struggle and the “National Question”
Leandros Fischer

Hong Kong’s “Umbrella Revolution” as a Leaderless Movement: Lessons from Trotsky and Mao
Wai Kit Choi

The Old is Dying and the New Cannot Be Born - Now is the Time to Organize
Sarah Nagel and Christina Kaindl

The Antiswar and the War Veterans Movements in Greece 1920-26
Kostas Skordoulis

Chair: David Broder

**B111**
Disaster, Desire and the Representation of Revolution
The Music of Destruction: Trotsky, Blok, Mayakovsky
Alberto Toscano

Lenin, the Body in Memorials and the Ecstatic Sexuality in Eisenstein’s the General Line
Esther Leslie

The Role of ‘Sexual Revolutions’ in the Films of Zhelimir Zhilnik
Matthias Meindi

Chair: Paul Reynolds

**G51a**
Migration and Labour in Contemporary Barbarism
Immigrant Labour in Japan: Class, Gender and Ethnicity
Mariana Shonihara Roncato

On Syrian Refugees, Berlin, and Soap
Zuher Jazmati

Calais: Border, Labour, Life
Roberto Mozzachiodi

Chair: Maia Pal

**G3**
Let us Free Ireland
Revolutionary Ireland: From Insurrection to Reaction
Shaun Harkin

The Fight Against Water Charges and Class Struggle in Modern Ireland
Paul O’connell

The Struggle for Women’s Liberation in Ireland: 1916 to Today
Maev McDaid

Chair: Ashok Kumar

**116**
Marxism, the Carceral and Processes of Subjectivation
Carceral Infrastructures and Settler Colonial Technologies: Primitive Accumulation Through Electronic Monitoring
Elise Thorburn, Kamilla Petrick

Capital Crimes: Incarceration and Confinement in Capitalist Modernity
Ashley Bohrer

Processes of Subjectivation Through the Lens of Coloniality of Gender
Marie Moise

Chair: Andreas Malm
Sub Saharan African Politics
The BRICs Face Anti-Subimperial Resistances
Patrick Bond
The National Democraction Revolution and Capitalism in South Africa
Nyiko Floyd Shivambu
Kevin Ochieng Okoth
Chair: Andreas Malm

Western Philosophy and Marxism 2
Three Dialectics of Barbarism: Luxemburg, Benjamin, Adorno
Geoffrey Wildanger
Right-Nietzscheanism, Left-Nietzscheanism: A Historical and Conceptual Perspective
Ishay Landa
Human Nature and Social Arrangements
William Dixon
Chair: Sara Salem

Subtle Revolutions: Resistance as Seen in the Development of Female Mobilization and Socially Collaborative Art Practices in Cyprus
Evanthia Tselika
Encounters Between and Between: Contemporary Art Curatorial Performances and the Left in the Republic of Cyprus
Despina Pasia
Chair: Demet Dinler

Totality, Defeat and Marxism
The Politics of the Concept of Totality
Kanishka Goonewardena
The Experience of Defeat: On Max Horkheimer’s Concept of Critique
Stathis Kouvelakis
Walter Benjamin’s Concept of ‘Anthropological Materialism’ As Critique of Soviet Marxism in His Essay „Moscow“ (1926-27)
Caroline Adler
Chair: Svenja Bromberg

Migration and Class in the Right-Wing Populist Moment
Migrant Workers’ Self-Organisation, Labour Unions and the Management of Migration
Mark Bergfeld
Border Anxiety: White Nationalism and the Capitalist State
Niko Block
Chair/Discussant: Mostafa Henawy
Chair: Steve Edwards

Revolutions and European Perspectives
Sweden Between Revolutions 1917-20
Kjell Östberg, Håkan Blomqvist
Italy 1919: Nationalism and Revolution
Megan Trudell
The Riddle of the Revolution: Between Truth and Totality
Lea Kuhar
Chair: David Broder

Socialist Development Strategies in the 21st Century
The Last Day of Oppression, and the First Day of the Same: The Politics and Economics of the New Latin American Left
Jeffrey R Webber
Social Sciences for an Other Politics: Women Theorising Without Parachutes
Ana Dinerstein
The Struggle for Development
Benjamin Selwyn
Chair: Demet Dinler

Final Plenary:
Race, Migration and the Left
Nadya Ali
Satnam Virdee
John Narayan
Sara Farris
Chair: Sara Salem
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