16th Annual Historical Materialism Conference

Claps of Thunder: Disaster Communism, Extinction Capitalism and How to Survive Tomorrow

7-10th November 2019
Humanity faces an unprecedented crisis in the conditions for its long-term survival. The planet has warmed before, but never this fast. Mass extinction is a regular geological event, but it is now happening faster than at any time since the Cretaceous-Paleogene extinction: a megaphase crisis in microphase time. And humanity has never before faced the comprehensive exhaustion of top-soil fecundity.

The emerging forms of authoritarian reaction are characteristically denialist about this catastrophe, from Trump’s Sinophobic conspiracism to Bolsonaro’s efforts to extirpate the landless workers’ movement. But the dominant response of fossil fuel giants is that of the majority of capitalist sectors and liberal states: to embrace ‘green’ capitalism, carbon markets, carbon taxes, and green technologies, whose total effect is to lock in carbon emissions. The Pentagon positions itself as an ally against climate change while securing the conditions for the efficient exploitation of oil and gas concealed under thawing Arctic ice. Environmental movements have coalesced and dispersed since the Seventies, but have hitherto lacked the structural, disruptive capacity, and perhaps also the strategy, to achieve the depth and scale of social transformation necessary to slam on the brakes of the crisis.

The roots of this ongoing disaster are social. The very evolution of fossil fuel use is linked a growth paradigm based upon the imperatives of capitalist accumulation ever since the beginning of the ‘industrial revolution.’ Advocates of ‘green capitalism’ have failed to offer a plausible solution to a catastrophe that is more imminent than ever. Any attempt to avert climate change requires a mobilisation of resources and a profound change in production and consumption forms that are incompatible with capitalist social relations of production. But even if such an attempt is launched tomorrow, we are likely to face a long-lasting legacy of damages to the earth system.

How does communism fare in a world thus despoiled? What alternatives to the various miserable endgames mapped out for us by capital can Marxists envision? What new configurations of agency, strategy and vision are necessary for human emancipation and survival? Beyond denialism, how do we avert the potential for new climate-driven security regimes, eco-Malthusian crackdowns on the poor, and murderous eco-fascism?

This is the overarching theme for this year’s Historical Materialism Conference.
**ROOM GUIDE**

**A: THURSDAY 12.30-14.15**

**FG01**
Anarchism and Marxism in Spain from the Russian Revolution to the New Left
Anarchism and Marxism in Spain
Maggie Torres
To the Authentic Revolutionaries':
The CNT and Dissident Communism in Spain, 1936-1937
Danny Evans
'Bending the Bars': Anarchism, Anti-Francoism and the Spring of the New Left, 1950-1975
Jessica Thorne
Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

**RG01**
Workers and Subaltern Resistance
De-centring the Revolution: Class, Space, Gender and Race in the Making and Defeat of the Bavarian Council Republic
Simon Schapp
Uncovering the Self-Perspective of Lower Class Resisters: A Case Study of the 'Erenfeld Group'
Imogen Pare
Subaltern Sounds: Music, Racism, and Reclamation of the Commons
Alex Billet
Bringing Back "The Class" In Turkish Politics - Constituting The Class By A Program Of Decommmodifying The Labour
Mert Büyükakaracak
Chair: Alkisti Prepis

**B104**
Towards a Marxism of the Feminised
Gender as Real Abstraction and Its Possibilities for a Trans Critique
Joni Alizah Cohen
'This is not an environmental theme, it's a social theme':
Contemporary Trans Politics and the Marxian Concept of Nature
Laurel Uziell
The Horizon of Gay Communism in the queer Present
Sophie Monk
Chair: Jules Joanne Gleeson

**B101**
Marxism and Art
Theatre as Praxis. Jana Sanskriti and the Redistribution of Theatre's Means of Production
Sophie Coudray
'Dada ist politisch': Afterlives of Dada
Paul Ingram
Red Light – Yugoslav Partisan Photography and Social Movement 1941–1945
Davor Konjikus
Latin American Communists and Mass Culture during the Cold War
Marcelo Ridenti
Chair: Giorgos Souvlis

**B201**
Political Economy: Theoretical Debates
Those who Defend Limits are not Malthusians
Giorgio Kallis
Crisis Tendencies, Stagnationist Tendencies and the Institutional Regulation of Capitalism
Matt Vidal
The Reproduction Schemes and the TPP: An Agent-Based Approach
Veronese Passarella
Exploitation
Andrea Coveri
Chair: Ashok Kumar

**FG05**
Marxist Feminism
Ecology and Feminist Struggle.
The GMO Shall Not be Refused: Talking back to the Technoscience
Annelene Kenis, Barbara Van Dyck, Andrew Stirling
'I want you to panic' – Lessons from the Metabolic Rift for an Environmental Care Ethic
Sophie Silverstein
Left Perspectives on Climate Policy in Germany: A feminist Reading
Judith Daniel
Chair: Esther Leslie

**FG08**
Left Ecology
The Transition Away from Fossil Fuels: Power, Labour and Technology
Getting Away from Fossil Fuels: Why History Matters
Simon Pirani
A Green Industrial Revolution and the UK Labour Party
Mika Minio-Paluello
A Just Transition for Who?
Samantha Mason
Chair: Greg Mitchitt

**FG09**
Left Ecology
Actually Existing Climate Movements
Thinking with Environmental Justice Movements in the Face of Today’s Ecological Crisis
Terry Moon
Freedom is an Endless Climate Camp: A Comparison between the Ideological Tenets and their Temporal Development in Reclaim the Power, Ende Gelaende and Extinction Rebellion
Alice Swift
Extinction Rebellion and the Commodification of Environmental Protest
Francesca Kilpatrick
Extinction Politics
James Trafford
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

**286**
Utopia and Post Capitalism
Utopia in Architecture and Cinema
Thinking with Environmental Justice Movements in the Face of Today’s Ecological Crisis
Terry Moon
Freedom is an Endless Climate Camp: A Comparison between the Ideological Tenets and their Temporal Development in Reclaim the Power, Ende Gelaende and Extinction Rebellion
Alice Swift
Extinction Rebellion and the Commodification of Environmental Protest
Francesca Kilpatrick
Extinction Politics
James Trafford
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

**R201**
Readings of History of the Communist Movement
The Italian Communist Party and the Krestintsent: Agrarian and Regional Alliances
Derek Boothman
The Molecular Organisation of Theories and Imaginaries as an Emancipatory Practice: Some Notes at the Centenary of the Factory Councils Movement in Turin (1919-1920)
Pietermarco Piu
Trotsky's Lessons of October: A Historiographical Disaster
Lar T Lih
Broué, the Communist International and the Millennium
Gareth Jenkins
Chair: Panagiota Sotiropoulou

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**SOAS Main College Buildings**
Rooms without a prefix (e.g. 4467 fourth floor); starting with 'G' are on the ground floor; 'L' are on the lower ground floor; all rooms begin with 'R'.
KLT Khalili Lecture Theatre, lower ground floor; DLT (Kamran) Djam Lecture Theatre, ground floor
Steps to main entrance. There is a z-shaped ramp to the right as one faces the building.

**Brunei Gallery**
Rooms starting with 'B' (e.g. B101: first floor)
BGLT Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, lower ground floor
Entrance has steps but to the right, about 5 metres, is a ramp to a side entrance.

**Paul Webley Wing (Senate House North Block)**
Rooms starting with 'S' (e.g. S118 ground floor)
SALT is the Alumni Lecture Theatre
SWLT is the Wolfson Lecture Theatre
The main entrance has two short, shallow ramps from the pavements.

**Faber Building**
Rooms starting with 'F'
Steps to the entrance; to the left there is a ramp to an alternative entrance.

**Birkbeck Building**
Rooms starting with 'MAL' are located at the main Birkbeck building on Torrington Square. 'B' indicates a basement room and 'G' indicates a ground floor room. Accessible at ground floor level using the doors (push-button).
B: THURSDAY 14.30-16.15

**FG05**
Marxist Feminism
Feminism for the 99%
Revisiting Feminism Seduced
Hester Eisenstein
International Women’s Strike - Anticapitalist Feminist Movement for the 99%
Dimitra Dermitzaki
Within Yet Against the State: Women’s Struggles in Late Socialist Bulgaria
Nikolay Karkov
Chair: Miriyam Aouragh

**FG09**
Rethinking Sovereignty
Questioning Sovereignty
The ‘Non-Sovereignty’ of Communist Politics
William Seary
Threshold of the Political: Shifting Sand Dunies of Sovereignty
Avantika Tewari
Agrarian Class Struggle, Sovereign Power and State Formation in South Asia: Evidence from northwestern Pakistan
Noaman Ali
From the National Question to Imperialism: Rosa Luxemburg and the World Economy
Antonio Mota Filho
Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

**FG08**
Left Ecology
The Ecological Crisis and the Ecosocialist Response
Facing the Apocalypse: Arguments for Ecosocialism
Alan Thornett
The Contribution of Indigenous Struggles and Ecofeminism as a Key Part of the Fight for Ecosocialism
Terry Conway
Just Transition/ Green New Deal and Cognitive Dissonance: Creating a New Narrative
Sean Thompson
Spaces of Hope: Urban Struggles for the Environmental Commons in Poznań
Mateusz Nowacki
Chair: Pritam Singh

**RG01**
Workers Inquiry
Worker Ownership
The Ivy House Community Pub
Human Agency, Workers’ Inquiry and Hope
Kieron Smith
Dead-end of the Polish Way to Socialism: The Consequences of a Failed Workers’ Democracy Reform
Maciej Duklewski, Karolina Grzegorczyk
Humanitarianism, the Workfare Regime and the Limits of Liberal Capitalism: The Example of the Governing of EU Migrant Workers in Munich and the Struggles Against it
Jonathan Schmidt-Dominé
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

**B201**
Dialectics Today
Marxist Dialectics in the Times of Computational Mind
Keti Chukhrov
Rediscovering Lenin: Dialectics of Revolution and Metaphysics of Domination
Michael Brie
Dialectics In Spinoza – And What it Means for Marxist Philosophy
Vesa Gittinen
Marx was Never Feuerbachian. Criticism of the ‘two Marx’s’ Theory
Marco Vanzulli
Chair: Paul Reynolds
Chair: Frank Engst

**445**
‘A good-humoured fellow’: Irony and Comedy as Critique in Hegel
Laughing at Capital: Hegel and Marx cum Brecht
Patrick Eiden-Offe
Grabbing Oneself by the Nothing: The Comedy of Negative Self-Reference and Resistance with Hegel and Marx
Rachel Aumiller
Eternal Irony – Critique as the Feminine?
Charlotte Szsá
Chair: Maia Pal

**RG08**
Left Ecology
The Unity of the Capitalist Economy and State
A Systematic-Dialectical Exposition of the Capitalist System
(Historical Materialism Book Series; Brill 2019)
Geert Reuten (author)
Discussants: Riccardo Bellofiori, Tony Smith, Peter Thomas
Chair: Soren Mau

**B104**
Marxism, Tragedy and Fascism
Nietzsche, Tragedy and the Paris Commune
Jason Barker
Tragedy and the Dialectic
Alberto Toscano
Furio Jesi’s “Cultura di destra”: Deconstructing Fascist Mythology Through Literary Analysis
Giorgio Chiappa
Chair: Maia Pal

**FG01**
Utopia and Post-Capitalism
From Socialist Calculation to Cyber-Communism
Revisiting Socialist Calculation Debate
Dan Greenwood
Socialist Calculation Machines and Algorithms
William Paul Cockshott
Optimal Planning with Consumer Feedback: A Simulation of a Socialist Economy
Jan Philipp Dapprich
Chair: Demet Dinler

#HMLDN2019
B104
Imperialism Today
Lenin’s Labour Theory of Monopoly and Marx’s Labour Theory of Value
Samuel Thomas King
Ground Rent Appropriation and Political Cycle in South America: A Critique on Marxists Dependency and Extractivism Theories
Juan Kornblihtt
Trade War – Trade Peace?
Benjamin Bürbaumer
Financialization of Agriculture as a Spatio-Temporal Fix to Over-Accumulation: The Role of the Super-Rich in Promoting Foreign Direct Investments and Agricultural Expansion in the Global South
Michele Graziano Ceddia
Chair: Amedeo Policante

286
Rethinking Sovereignty
Sovereignty, Borders, Imperialism
De-Endosures: Undoing the Break with Nature and the Role of Centralized States
Michael Zmolek
Containing Capital’s Outcasts: Situating Migrant ‘Illegality’ within the Urban Political Economy of Mauritania
Hasan Duld Moctar
Frozen Politics On A Thawing Continent: A Political Ecology Approach to Understanding Science and its Relationship to Necropolitical and Capitalist Processes in Antarctica
Manon Katrina Burbidge
Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

FG01
Bolsonaro’s Brazil
The Politics of the Cave: Bolsonaro and the Counter-revolution in Brazil
Ricardo Antunes
Brazilian Women under Bolsonaro’s Government – a Social Reproduction view about the Consequences of the Authoritarian Neoliberalism
Fatima Gabriela Soares de Azevedo
The Plasticity of the Rule of Law: The Brazilian Legal Coup as Capitalist Expropriation
Keir Milburn
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

RG01
Workers’ Inquiry
Social Composition
Neighbourhood Inquiries and Feminist Class Politics
Rabea Berfelde
Workers’ Inquiry into the ‘Anxiety Epidemic’: What are the Radical Prospects for the Postfinancialized Subject?
Aris Komporozos-Athanasiou
Max Haiven
Thinking Generations and Class Composition Together
Keir Milburn
Chair: Jackie Woodcock

FG05
MENA: Zionism and Anti-Zionism
Abraham Serfaty: Arab Judaism, Antizionism and Marxism-Leninism in Morocco
Selim Nadi
Messianic Zionist Colonisers Breeding a Red Heifer
Moshé Machover
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

B101
Reading Transition: Crisis and Contradiction in Medieval and Early Modern Art and Literature
“The world me made a strange countenance”: Medieval Value Theory and Sexual Difference
Jack Drago
Shakespeare and Ecological Trauerspiel
Natalie Suzelis
Sculpting the Law
Luke Fidler
Chair: Esther Leslie

FG08
Left Ecology
Critical Perspectives on Geoengineering and Negative Emissions
Sandro Mezzadra
Laleh Khalili
Martina Tazzioli
Chair: Alberto Toscan

FG09
Leftover Lives - 21st-Century Queer Struggle
Strategy, Memory and Queer revolution – Revisionist View of the AIDS Movement
Gus Breslauer
Towards an Anti-racist Queer Marxism
Grietje Baars
Queers against the Family
Rhiannon Blake
Chair: Jules Joanne Gleeson

B201
Marxist Feminism
Leftover Lives - 21st-Century Queer Struggle
Strategy, Memory and Queer revolution – Revisionist View of the AIDS Movement
Gus Breslauer
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R201
Utopia and Post-Capitalism
Post-Work Society
Post-work Beyond FALC: On the Ecological Necessity for a Post-work Society
Stefanie Gerold, Maja Hoffman, Ernst Aigner
Basic Income and the Politics of Post-Work: A Postwar History
Anton Jäger and Daniel Zamora
Post-Work Utopian Societies, and Ernst Bloch’s Writings on Work
Henry Holland
Chair: Demet Dinler
**D: THURSDAY 19.00-21.00**

### KLT
**Abolition Geography**
Ruth Wilson Gilmore
Respondents:
Alberto Toscano, Brenna Bhandar, Rafeef Ziadah
Chair: Sara Salem

### SALT
**MENA**
The Second Wave of Uprisings in the MENA Region
The Revolution Must Go On: Sudan’s Third Uprising Between Mass Organizing and Elite Deal-making
Sara Abbas
Algeria’s Uprisings: From Fair Elections to Yetnahawga
Malia Bouattia
Left Subjectivity and Revolutionary Maneuvering: Morocco in Limbo
Miryam Aouraghi
Lebanon’s October Revolution Must Go On
Rima Majed
Chair: Elia Khazen

### RG01
**Workers Inquiry**
Workers Inquiry in Practice
Worker speakers from UK campaign, International workers’ inquiry papers
(including Notes from Below, Plateforme d’Enquêtes Militantes, Into the Black Box, and others).
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

### B104
**Fighting in a World on Fire: Strategies for the Climate Movement**
Mika Minio-Paluello (Labour)
Nathan Williams (Extinction Rebellion)
Alice Swift (Plan C, Reclaim the Power)
Matt Huber (Syracuse University)
Occupy Climate Change! Urban Radical Imaginaries and Insurgent Citizens in the age of Authoritarian Politics and Disaster Capitalism
Marco Armiero, Roberta Biasillo, Ethemcan Turhan, Salvatore Paolo De Rosa
Chair: Andreas Malm

### SWLT
**Marxist Feminism Roundtable: Feminism for the 99%**
Tithi Bhattacharya
Angela Dimitrakaki
Sara Farris
Sue Ferguson
Chair: Svenja Bromberg

### DLT
**HMSPEN/Leftovers Live**
Queer Social Reproduction: Directing Unitary Theory Toward Gay Communism
South Africa, Social Democracy and the Fight for Health Care Reform
Kate Doyle Griffiths
Transmisogyn and Other Structures
Joni Cohen
Intersex Liberation as Internationalist Struggle
Jules Joanne Gleeson
Gay Communism Today
Remi Karim
Chair: Ashley Bohrer
E: FRIDAY 9.15-11.00

4429
CLIMATE LEVIATHAN
Fascism and Antifascism Today
The 18th Brumaire of Donald J. Trump? The Rise of the Far Right in the United States in light of Marx’s Bonapartist Theory
Ingar Solty
Porno-Accumulation: Fascism, Absolute Capital, and Surplus Populations in Don DeLillo’s ‘Running Dog’
Tom Travers
The Fascist Concept of the Enemy
Ishay Landa
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

4427
LEFTOVERS
Leftovers Live presents: Strategic Readings of Marx in 2019
On ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Materialisms: A Strategic Return to Marx, Engels and Lenin
Katie Feyh
Marx’s Notion of ‘Truth’ and its Strategic Orientation
Aaron Jaffe
Historical Materialism vs. Stagism: A Strategic Reading of Engels
Isobel Plowright
Bruno Bauer, Class Reductionist: A Strategic reading of On the Jewish Question in 2019
Jordy Cummings
Chair: Kate Doyle Griffiths

5104
HMSOPEN
Marxism and the Sexed Body
Political Economy of Signs for the Body: Plastic Surgery Disciplines in the Context of Consumer Society
Xiang Liu
Femininity and the Class Struggle, or why Man Must be Gotten Rid of
Edna Bonhomme
Chair: Peter Drucker

B104
International Workers’ Inquiries
Organizing Precarious Workers under Contractualization: Lessons and Challenges from the Philippines
Christine Joy Galunan, Pilipino Rafael Francisco La Viña
‘Yeh toh aam baat hai’: Migrant Construction Workers, Informality and the Right to the City in Delhi
Debolina Majumder
Rupture: Assessing the Reconfiguration of the Global Working Class
Robert Ovetz
The Forms of Resistance at the Workplace in Contemporary Chile and the Capitalist Backlash.
An Autoritarian Reading
Gabriela Julio Medel
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

BGLT
MENA
Solidarity in Times of Neoliberal Crisis
Neoliberal Workers: Unemployed University Graduates in Tunisia
Kira Brenner
Organizing Resistance: The role of UGTT during the Tunisian Revolutionary Process
Helia Youssi
Searching for a Comradely Solidarity
Maral Jefroudi
The Unhappy Marriage of Bourgeoisie and Feminism: Women, Islam and Class during Egypt’s Rural-Urban Transformation, 1982-1992
Shan Yang
Chair: Sara Salem

MAL G22
Back to the ‘30s? Crisis, Repetition and Transition in the 20th and 21st Centuries
A Second Foundation? Constitution, Nation-Building and the Deepening of Authoritarianism in Turkey
Rosa Hêlîn Burç
‘With or Without a Burning Torch? Rethinking the State in Extinction Ideology in the Age of Monsters: Was the Rise of a Rebel City? Working-Class and 21th Centuries’
Kira Brenner
Chair: Ashok Kumar

MAL B02
Race and Capital
Racialisation and Capitalist Accumulation
Black Marxism vs the Black Radical Tradition
Chris Newlove
Racism, Alienation, Oppression and Exploitation
Phil Griffiths
Capitalist Accumulation, the Global South, and Pre/Non-Capitalist Social Forms
Morteza Samanpour
Chair: Rob Knox

MAL B04
Science and education: from critique to social change
Social Science, Mental Illness’, Emotional Regulation and ideology
Art Ofengenden
Revolutionary Education – or Educational Revolution – in the Marxist System
Caio Antunes, Joana Alice Freitas
Science Against the People: Which side are you on?
Zachos Christodouloupoulos
Chair: Maia Pal

S312
UTOPIA AND POST-CAPITALISM
Truth, Justice and Utopia
Finding Utopian Hope in Late Capitalist Cynicism: A case for a ‘Warm stream’ of Marxism
Carlos Velasquez
A Fury for Justice: Reading the Dead in Marx, Benjamin and Leslie Marmon Silko
Gene Ray
Chair: Matt Vidal

S209
UTOPIA AND POST-CAPITALISM
Marxism, Industry, Crisis and the State
Saska Santeri Heino
Russia’s State-led Economy and ‘State Capitalism’ Theory: Some Views from Japanese Marxism
Takeshi Hidai
Controversies on the Theories of Crisis and the Great Depression in Spain
Juan Pablo Mateo Tomé
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

G3
UTOPIA AND POST-CAPITALISM
Marxism and the Sexed Body
Political Economy of Signs for the Body: Plastic Surgery Disciplines in the Context of Consumer Society
Xiang Liu
Femininity and the Class Struggle, or why Man Must be Gotten Rid of
Edna Bonhomme
Chair: Peter Drucker

RG01
UTOPIA AND POST-CAPITALISM
Subaltern nature
Ecological Marxism and Afghan Sufi Dialectics
Bilal Zenas Ahmed
With or Without a Burning Torch? Rethinking Hayao Miyazaki as an Eco-Leftist
Ryota Nishi
Material Ecosocialism: The Material Turn in Arundhati Roy’s Non-Fiction
Subhasini Vincent
Urban and Empire: An Environmental History of Bedouin Communities’ Resistance Against the French Colonial Attempt in Egypt, 1798-1801
Amr Khairy Ahmed
Chair: Amedeo Polcicante

B103
UTOPIA AND POST-CAPITALISM
Back to the ‘30s? Crisis, Repetition and Transition in the 20th and 21st Centuries
A Second Foundation? Constitution, Nation-Building and the Deepening of Authoritarianism in Turkey
Rosa Hêlîn Burç
‘With or Without a Burning Torch? Rethinking the State in Extinction Ideology in the Age of Monsters: Was the Rise of a Rebel City? Working-Class and 21th Centuries’
Kira Brenner
Chair: Ashok Kumar
H: FRIDAY

15.15-17.00

MAL B02
Reading Lukacs and the German Tradition
Goethe in Moscow: Lukacs’s 1930s Writings on German Literary and Intellectual History
Daniel Hartley
Retrieving Lukacs for Today: The Unity of Politics and Philosophy in his Revolutionary Period
Richard Donnelly
Passing the Torch: Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding and Generational Change in German Social Democracy, 1902-1933
William Smaldone
Chair: Evgeni V. Pavlov

MAL G22
Race and Capital
The Construction of Racial Difference
The ‘Greek Crisis’ in Europe: Race, Class and Politics
Yannis Mylonas
Race Production and Labour Exploitation as the Yiannis Mylonas
Joao Guilherme Leal Roorda
Racial Difference
The Construction of Race and Capital

MAL B04
BOOK LAUNCH
The Making of Capitalism in France
Xavier LaFrance (author)
Discussants: Charles Post, Mike Zmoek, Christopher Isett
Chair & Discussant: Maia Pal

16.00-17.45

SWLT
Anti-extinction
Alliances: Towards a 21st Century Ecosocialism II
Post-work and the Just Life
Luigi Pellizzoni
Rethinking Capitalism
Beyond Labour: Knowledge, Reproduction and Exploitation in the Bio-Economy. Perspectives from the African New Green Revolution Test Lab
Maura Benegiamo
Towards non-Capitalist Scenarios: Reflections for a Socio-Ecological Theory of Value
Salvo Torre
The Value-Nature Nexus and its Historical Transformation
Emanuele Leonardi
Chair: Matt Vida

B103
Rethinking Sovereignty
State and Sovereignty
The State as the Incarnation of the Permanence of Capitalist Crisis
Siyaes Azeri
Man, Legal Positivism, and Sovereignty
Matthew Dimick
Alt- Sovereignty
Zeina Abu-Meita
The Rise of Sovereign Wealth Funds: (Re) Rethinking State Sovereignty in Contemporary Capitalism?
Ali Mert Ipek
Chair: Soren Mau

B104
Philosophy
with/and Politics
Revisited: Althusser Encountering Machiavelli
Althusser Encountering Machiavelli and Gramsci: The ‘Modern Prince’ and / or New Practice of Politics
Panagiota Sotiris
Machiavelli’s Solitude, Althusser’s Solitude
Giorgos Kalampokas
The Development of Machiavelli’s Althusserian Reading and its Political Significance
Vittorio Morfino
Hegel or Machiavelli. On Althusser’s Machiavellian anti-Hegelianism
Stefano Pippa
Chair: Alkisti Prepis

4429
MENA
Climate Disaster and Capital
The Politics of Climate Disaster and Climate Jobs in the MENA Region
Jonathan Neale, Nancy Lindisfarne
Boko Haram: Militants in Between Disaster Capitalism and Climate Change
Shehnoor Khurrum
Chair: Sara Salem

KLT
Workers Inquiry
Artificial Intelligence and digital work
Telework and Social Reproduction: Towards the Definition of Subjects in Digital Working Class
Zhenia Vasilev
2.0 Social Protest Movements and Trade Unionism in Portuguese Call and Contact Centres
Isabel Bonito Roque
Artificial Intelligence and Class Relations: A Historical Materialist Critique
Phoebe V Moore
Room to Move: Self-Quantification, Sousveillance and the Shared Curation of Data
Frederick Harry Pitts
Chair: Frank Engster

R201
Left Ecology
Limits of Nature, Limits to Capital
Sustainability Under Capitalism: Limitless Poor Accumulation or Escape?
Sura Azzam
Limits Within the Capitalist System of Averting Further Ecosystems Deterioration
Geert Reuten
Ecological Crisis and Crisis Theory: Integrating Political Ecology and Political Economy
James Anderson
Chair: Andreas Malm

I: 18.30-20.30

DEUTSCHER
Prize Lecture
Karl Marx’s Ecosocialism: Capital, Nature, and the Unfinished Critique of Political Economy
Kohei Saito
Chair: Rob Knox

10
J: SATURDAY 9.15-11.00

RG01
Struggle Again, Struggle Better!
The Complex Relation between Inquiry, Organization and Capacity-building
Party Members as Millitant Researchers: Examining the Gap between Learning Processes and the Party Line
Konstantinos Gousis
How Immigrant Workers are Changing the World of Work
Mark Bergfield
Mapping Methods: Inquiry and the Excavation and Circulation of Combat-Organizational Knowledge
Daniel Gutiérrez
Migration as Adaptation to Climate Change?
A Case Study of Urbanisation in Dhaka, Bangladesh
Anna Plowman
Chair: TBC

B104
Rethinking Sovereignty: The Will of the People Today
Majority rule and Popular Sovereignty
Peter Hallward
Progressive Uses of Sovereignty: The Left, State Power and the Politics of Control in the Populist Era
Paulo Gerbaudo
A New Practice of Politics:
Between Collective Self-rule, Autonomy and the Law
Svenja Bromberg
Is There a Manist Majesty?
The Sovereignty of the One and the Republic of the Many
Omid Mehrgan
Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

G3
Workers Inquiry: The Limits of Student Struggle:
Evaluating Occupation and Sit-In Tactics in the US (JHU) and Chile (UCH)
Class Interests and White Identitarianism as Barriers to Solidarity in the Student Occupation at JHU
Mitchell Cram, Marian Banahi
The Chilean Student Movement
Within the Class Struggle 2006-2017:
The Challenge of Re-Compounding the Popular Movement from the University
Sebastian Link, Ignacio Sandoval
The Contradictions of Negotiating with Power during the Occupation of Goldsmiths University
Fiona Sim
Chair: Jamie Woodcock

G51
Between the Ruins of Art and the Aesthetics of Disaster
Doro Longo Bahia
Mauro Ianes de Moraes
Isobel Whiteleg
Chair: David Mabb

B202
Value, Use-Value, and the Metaphysics of Society
Social Form and the Metaphysics of Society
Patrick Murray, Jeanne Schuler
Not Finding What is Desired but Desiring what is Found
-Guy Debord's Critique of Use-Value
Eric-John Russell
The Event of the Events:
The Blind Spot in Badiou's Frank Engrer
Value and Use-Value
Fetishism - A Critique of Social Reproduction Theory
Elena Louisa Lange
Chair: Demet Diner

G51a
Marxist Feminism and Intersectionality:
Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality under Contemporary Capitalism
Ashley Bohrer (author)
Discussants: Sara Salem, Sophie Chamas, Holly Lewis, Rafeef Ziadah.
Chair: Sara Farris

R201
Left Ecology
The Working Class in the Ecological Crisis
Batshit Jobs: Destroying the Conditions of Life in Order to Make a Living
Bue Rühner Hansen
Proletarian Ecology: Building an Environmental Politics for the Working Class
Matt Huber
Carbon Infrastructure: Logistics, Capital and Locking in Catastrophe
Nicholas Beurer
The City is not Innocent:
Homelessness and the Value of Urban Parks
Jessie Speer, Eric Goldfischer
Chair: Amedeo Policante

B103
Marxism, Art, Politics, Production
The Aesthetics of Post-Truth
Luiza Corra & Fiona Allen
Theories of State and Ideology:
Yugoslavian Punk in the Eighties
Sezgin Boynek
LEF vs. NEP: the case of the National Fabric Factory (Moscow, 1923-24)
Marcella Pitteri
Chair: Sai Englert

B204
Socialist Strategies
Momentum, DSA and the Return of the Strategic Question
Xavier Laffrance
Root and Branch: The New Base of US Socialism
Julia Dampouse
Popular Deterrence
Grey Anderson
Towards a Materialist Theory of Revenge
Max Haiven
Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

B203
Luxemburg: Writings and Politics
Why Luxemburg?
Ricardo Bellofiore
The 1913/14 Mass Strike Debate in the German Social Democracy – Unpublished Minutes of Internal Party Meetings with Speeches of Rosa Luxembourg, Karl Kautsky and some others
Ottokar Luban
Discussant: TBC
Chair: Eugeni V. Pavlov

MAL G22
Space, Time, Race
Marxism and Eurocentrism
Ken Olende
Acting Bodies, Acting Flesh
-Reflections on Toppin’s Anarchism, Spillers’ Flesh and Discontinuous Embodied Action
Gwendolen Pare
In Search of Race in Adorno’s Critique of Jazz
Tanele Viitalahuta
Chair: Rob Knox
Chair & Discussant: Loren Balhorn

MAL 802
Marx on Campus:
A Short History of the Marburg School
Frank Deppe
Ingar Solty
Chair & Discussant: Loren Balhorn

MAL 539
What is Post-Modern Conservatism: Essays on Our Hugely Tremendous Times
(Zero Books 2019)
Conrad Hamilton
Amir Massoumian
Borna Radnik
Chair: Douglas Lain

G205
Left Ecology
Roundtable on Burning Up: A Global History of Fossil Fuel Consumption
Simon Pirani (author)
Mika Minio-Paluello
Troy Vettese
Chair: Sara Salem
G51
Expanding the Lens of Social Reproduction Theory
Work/Play and Resistance: A Social Reproduction Feminism Perspective
Sue Ferguson
Social Reproduction in and from the South
Ashley Bohrer
Labor Powers for Capital or Radical Potentials Beyond It: The Critical Moment of SR
Aaron Jaffe
Dispossession and the Social Reproduction of Sexualities
Alan Sears
Chair: Paul Reynolds
Discussants:
Marina Vishmidt
Catarina Principe
Tithi Bhattacharya
David Harvey
Discussants:
Ashok Kumar
(CUP)
the Twilight of the Monopsony
BOOK LAUNCH
G51

R201
Utopia and Post-Capitalism
Salvaging Utopias in Contemporary Art
Medium Size Luxury Products
David Mabb
Born Again Labour Museum
Adam Turl
The Impossibility of Representation and the Real Image
Anupam Roy
Chair: Alberto Toscano

RG01
Workers Inquiry
Notes from Below – Inquiries in the UK
Lydia Hughes
Speakers from Workers Campaigns
Chair & Discussant: Jamie Woodcock

B202
Critique of Politics and Anti-Politics
Critique of the Anti-Politics (About a Certain Mood in Political Philosophy – from Rancière to Agamben)
John Clegg
Nils McLean
Cooper Francis
Rob Lucas
Marten Bjork
Aaron Benanav
Chair: Giorgos Souliás

B205
Left Ecology
Materialist and Critical Theories of Nature
Revisiting Timpanaro
Matteo Mameli
Aesthetic Ecology: The Concept of Nature in Adorno
Daniel LeBlanc
Marx, Species Being and Ecology: Building an Environmentally Sustainable Post-Capitalist Society
Heather Brown
Chair: Andreas Malm

B104
Authoritarianism and Political Economy: 2008 and Beyond
Capitlist Crises, Peripheral Authoritarianism, and the Rise of Authoritarianism. The 2008 Financial Crisis and Tanzania’s Response
Sabatho Nyamensela
The ‘2008 Moment’ and the Political Economy of Globalisation
Claude Serfati
How to Come to Terms with the Rise of Authoritarianism in the era of Financialisation within a Comparative Framework
Galip Yalman & Aylin Topal
Chair: Peter Thomas

B202
Marxist Feminism
Towards a Feminist Anti-fascism
Making a Case for Marxist-Feminist Research in the Fight against Authoritarianism
Nadia Jones-Gailani
Fascism, Antifascism & Feminism for the 99%1895
Stefanie Maria Prezioso
The Year of Families: The Demographic and Ideological Engineering in the Contemporary Far-Right State Apparatus
Hanna Gál
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki
Chair: Mark Steven

G3
BOOK LAUNCH
Monopoly Capitalism: Power and Production in the Twilight of the Sweatshop Age (CUP)
Ashok Kumar (author)
Discussants:
David Harvey
Tithi Bhattacharya
Catarina Principe
Marina Vishmidt
Chair & Discussant: Rob Knox

B204
MENA
Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Political Economy
Syria, the Political Economy of State Resilience
Joseph Daher
Global Capitalism and Revolution in the Periphery
Judith Daniel
The Haitian Revolution – a Bourgeois Revolution?
Christian Hogsbjerg
Reflections on the State and Revolution in Sudan and Algeria
Anne Alexander
Chair: Sai Englert

G15a
Endnotes 5
Launch panel
John Clegg
Nils McLean
Cooper Francis
Rob Lucas
Marten Bjork
Aaron Benanav
Chair: Giorgos Souliás

B103
New Insights on The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung sponsored Panel)
Peter Leslie Huds
Eleanor Penny
Jacqueline Rose
Klaus Gietinger
Chair & Discussant: Loren Balhorn

B102
BOOK LAUNCH:
Race and Capital Migrant Workers
Interactions Between Asylum Policy and the Working Conditions of Refugees with Precarious Residence Permit Status – An Investigation in Gastronomic Companies in Switzerland
Jacqueline Kalbermatter
At the Intersection: Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon
Yara M Damaj
Low-paid Migrant Workers and Class-based Collective Action: A Partisan Ethnographical Account of Loading Bay Operatives’ Struggles for Workplace Rights
Gabriella Cioce
Conceptualizing Migrant Labour in Global Capitalism: The Relevance of Marx’s Concept of “Stagnant Surplus Population”
Şebnem Oguz
Chair: Sebastian Budgen

Mal B02
Launch:
Thesis Eleven special edition on Georg Lukacs’s Philosophy of Praxis
Daniel Andrés López
Anita Zsuzsán
Cat Moir
Robert Jackson
Konstantinos Kavoulakos
Chair: TBC

MAL539
Launch:
A People’s History of the Portuguese Revolution
Pluto Press, 2019
Raul Varela
Bob Light
Peter Robinson
Chair: Costas Douvis

MAL G22
Launch:
A People’s History of the Portuguese Revolution
Pluto Press, 2019
Raul Varela
Bob Light
Peter Robinson
Chair: Costas Douvis
**P: SUNDAY 12.00-13.45**  

**B102**  
[The Economies of Imperialism](#)  
Imperialism Monopoly Capital and Third World non-Monopoly Capital  
Sam King  
Labour Super-Exploitation Plus Transformation makes for International Value Transfer  
Andy Higginbottom  
Imperialism and Super-Exploitation  
John Smith  
The Economics of Imperialism  
Michael Roberts

**Chair:** Lucy Freedman  
*England and Wales*

**L67**  
[Reproduction and Abolitionist A Discussion](#)  
Bob Carter  
Exploitation  
Imperialism  
Andy Higginbottom  
Imperialism and Super-Exploitation

**Chair:** John Smith  
The Economics of Imperialism  
Michael Roberts

**Chair:** Sue Ferguson  
*Cambridge*

**KLT**  
[Workers Inquiry](#)  
Reproductive work  
The Invisible Shift: The Mental Load of Mothers  
Anna-Maria Occhiuto  
Micro Politics of Care and re/organisation of Social Reproduction in the case of Migrant Eldercare Work  
Anita Prşa  
Teaching the Teacher: Learning Intersectional Strategies from Work-Class Students and Other Members of the Global Precariat  
Jocelyn Wills  
Unions and Neoliberalism in the Global South. The case of Oaxacan Teachers Union Section Against Education Reform in Mexico (2012-2018)  
Mariano Casco Peebles

**Chair:** Jamie Woodcock  
*Cambridge*

**RG01**  
[Capital, Value Theory and Beyond](#)  
Capital and Value  
Marx’s Inquiry into the Birth of Capitalism. Why does it Matter?  
John Milios  
New Ways of Reading Marx’s Capital  
Jim Kincaid  
The Importance of Brains, Nerves, and Muscles in Marx’s Capital  
Paula Rauhala

**Chair:** Özgür Narin  
*Cambridge*

**G3**  
[Utopia and Post-Capitalist Technology and Economy](#)  
Utopia for Impossible Times  
Sarah Daynes  
Utopia or Fetish: Which Technology will be part of our Socialist Future?  
Irina Castro, Jaoa Carlos Louca  
Technologies and the Transformation of (Re)production  
Sinead Petrasek  
Yakov Kronrod’s Political Economy of Socialism  
David Mandel

**Chair:** Juan Grigera  
*Cambridge*

**B103**  
[Left Ecology](#)  
Political Economies of Environmental Degradation: Part II  
Metabolic Rift and Climate Change: An Empirical Test and Specification  
Eoin Flaherty  
Global Land Use Change and the International Circulation of Rents: Disentangling the Green-Rentier State  
Mario Hernandez Trejo  
Capitalism, Ecological Crisis and Ideology in Postwar South Korea  
Max Balhorn

**Chair:** Andreas Mal  
*Cambridge*

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**R201**  
Lucy Freedman  
Alva Gotby  
Callum Sunderland

**Chair:** Miriam Aouragh  
*Cambridge*

**B204**  
[Theorising the Marxist Animal](#)  
A Marxist Theory of Extinction  
Troy Vettese  
Breaking the Spell of Identity: Animals and the End of Capitalism  
Andre Kreber  
Gleaning Lean Culture: On Lean Logic  
Nathalie Joelle

**Chair:** Amedeo Policant  
*Cambridge*

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**B204**  
[Left Ecology](#)  
Marxism and World Literatures  
Resistances Literatures of the Global South  
Infrastructures of Internationalism: Grasping the Global in the Memoirs of a Panjabi Communist Seafarer  
Majed Akther  
The Paradoxes of Legitimacy: Returning to the 1976 Uprising in South African Literature  
Christine Emmett  
Questions of History and Progress within Cultural Activism in India  
Deepanshu Mahajan  
Soviet Marxism and Indian Literature: Stalinist Compromises and Unrealized Potentials  
Craig Brandist

**Chair:** Daniel Hartley  
*Cambridge*

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**B104**  
[Gramscian Politics](#)  
Common Sense with Vagabond Philosophy. A Gramscian Critique of Henri De Man’s Populism  
Brecht De Smet  
Gramscian Theorist of Political Subjectivation  
Massimo Modonesi  
Political Affect in Radical Political Action: Reassembling Gramsci in Mouffe Lukas Slothuus  
Aestheticization of Politics and ‘Passive Revolution’ in the age of Mechanical Reproduction  
Clara Figueiredo

**Chair:** Peter Thomas  
*Cambridge*

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**MAL G15**  
[Marxism and Philosophy](#)  
Pessimistic Hope: Insights into Eagleton’s Understating of Hope  
Yonathan Littik  
Gillian Rose, Mourning and the Reformation of Marxism  
Daniel Andres López

**MAL G16**  
[Anti-Semitism, Race and Capital/Salvage](#)  
Rabble, War and Revolution. Hegel against Marx  
Bartosz Wójcik

**Chair:** Ashok Kumar  
*Cambridge*
Q: SUNDAY 14.45-16.30

**B102**
Socialism and its Histories
‘Saving the Honour of Socialism’. The German Socialist Youth Movement During The First World War
Rida Vaquas
The Transition to Agrarian Capitalism in Spain: From Liberal Stagnation to Fascist Breakthrough
Javier Moreno Zacarés
This is no Democracy, we Want Real Democracy: Capitalist Crisis and Democratic Utopias in Portugal 2011-2014
Jonas Van Vossos
Chair: Evgeni V. Pavlov

**RG01**
The Relation Between Profits, Investment and Crises
How Financialisation has Depressed US Productive Investment
Al Campbell
The Profits-Investment Nexus: Marx Versus Keynes
Michael Roberts
Income Shares and Profitability in the U.S. Economy
Erdogan Bakir
Chair: Sara Salem

**B204**
Left Ecology
The Political and Cultural Economy of the Marxist Animal
Animals are Waiting for the Revolution Too
Dominic O’Key
Is Scotland Bad on Animals? If So, How Can Independence Help?
Katherine Perlo
Rewilding: Notes on a History of Nature-Literacy
Vignesh Sriram
Vegan Tech Bros Won’t Save Us
Leah Kirts
Chair: Troy Vettesse

**B104**
Central and Latin American Marxisms
The Problem of Hegemony: Capitalism and Latin America
Peter Baker
On the Liberal-conservatism in Brazil
Savio Machado
Cavalcante
The Mestizo State: Indigeneity, ‘Spiritual Disease’, and the Political Means of Production in Sixteenth Century Mexico
Daniel Gámez
Year One of Mexico’s ‘Fourth Transformation’
Colin Mooers
Chair: Aikisti Prepis

**L67**
The Corporation, Law and Capitalism: A Radical Perspective on the Role of Law in the Global Political Economy
(Brill HM Book Series, 2019)
Grietje Baars
Rob Knox
Chair: Leo Panitch

**BGLT**
Socialist Register 2020 Launch II
‘Beyond Market Dystopias: New Ways of Living’
Making the World a Better Place: Restitution and Restoration
Barbara Harriss-White
Beyond the ‘Barbed-wire Labyrinth’: Migrant Spaces of Radical Democracy
Hilary Wainwright
What Should Socialism mean in the 21st Century?
Nancy Fraser
Chair: Peter Thomas

**DLT**
‘When my mum supports the post office is she supporting the capitalist state?’
State, Capital and Social Reproduction
With Colin Barker
An Overview of Colin Barker’s Marxism
Gareth Dale
Capital, Value Analysis, the State and the Modern State System
Andrew Wright
Social movements
Liz Humphreys
Chair & Discussant: Tirthi Bhattacharya

**KLT**
The Political Economy of Social Movements
Jeff Webber
Jeff Goodwin
Katy Fox-Hodess
Eric Blanc
Chair: Peter Thomas

R: 17.00-19.00

**KLT**
Closing Plenary
Disaster Communism, Extinction Capitalism and How to Survive Tomorrow
Holly Jean Buck
Leon Sealey-Huggins
Lisa Tilley
Chair: Andreas Malm
Historical Materialism is an interdisciplinary journal dedicated to exploring and developing the critical and explanatory potential of Marxist theory. The journal started as a project at the London School of Economics from 1995 to 1998. The advisory editorial board comprises many leading Marxists, including Robert Brenner, Maurice Godelier, Michael Lebowitz, Justin Rosenberg and others. Marxism has manifested itself in the late 1990s from the pages of the Financial Times to new work by Fredric Jameson, Terry Eagleton and David Harvey. Unburdened by pre-1989 ideological baggage, Historical Materialism stands at the edge of a vibrant intellectual current, publishing a new generation of Marxist thinkers and scholars.

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