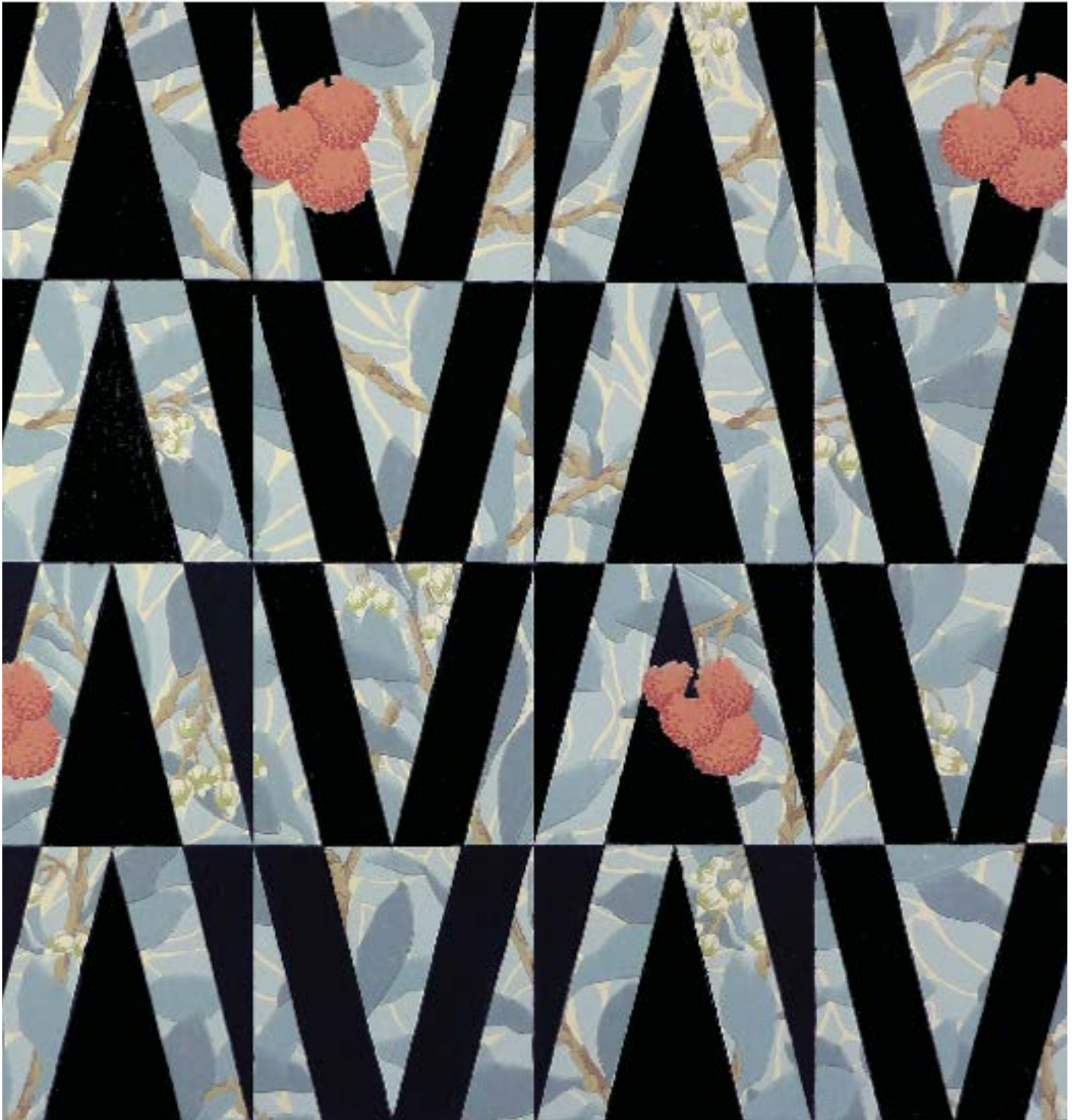


HIM
Programme

2024
7-10 November



Countering the plague:

forces of reaction and
war and how to fight them

Historical Materialism

Twenty-first annual conference

Countering the plague: forces of reaction and war and how to fight them

A wave of reaction and war is sweeping the globe. Since October 2023, genocide has been playing out in broad daylight in Gaza, executed by the occupation but co-organised by the US, the UK, and the EU. Imperialist aggression has spilled over from Palestine to Lebanon, Yemen, Iran, Iraq and beyond. In Ukraine, the war rumbles on, refuelled by inter-imperialist rivalry. Meanwhile, reactionary forces are again in the ascendancy, with the prospect of a return of Donald Trump to power, massive gains by the far right in Europe and the reappearance of Latin American right-wing populism in the figure of Javier Milei, to mention only some cases. New forms of fascisation seem to emerge. Ever more brutal attitudes to immigrants become de rigueur in the global North. Basic reproductive rights are under attack. Climate disaster is already here with record temperatures and disasters that are anything but “natural”. Even more authoritarian and belligerent formations are growing out of the domination of capital over all aspects of life. As we seek to intervene and push back, there is much we must study anew and analyse.

What drives contemporary imperialist war? How should the Western appetite for colonial genocide and destruction in Palestine, on a scale unseen for decades anywhere in the world, be understood? What is the nature of the alliance between Israel, the US, and the rest of the West? Is the empire in decline? How should the resurgence of inter-imperialist rivalry and intensified antagonism between Russia, China and the US be conceived? What can be retrieved from classical Marxist theories of imperialism of value for the present moment? How should the Left regard the Palestinian resistance? How is the repression of solidarity for Palestine linked to the broader authoritarian mutation of ‘liberal democracies’?

What use can we make of the long history of Marxist contributions to the understanding of fascism, the rich tradition of linking racism to capitalism and the reproduction of exploitative relations of production, critiques of Zionism, and the contributions to questions of social reproduction, gender, and sexuality? How is imperialist war articulated with fossil fuels? What imprint would geopolitical conflicts leave on geoengineering, a pseudo-solution steadily rising higher on the agenda? What do all of these macrotrends imply for the political landscape in individual countries – how do they animate local forces of reaction? How can we ground these contradictory and conflictual tendencies in the changes in production process and the labour process and the constant re-emergence of forms of workers’ resistance?

In sum, what are the necessary political, social and ideological resources that could overcome the prevailing sense of fragmentation and helplessness that dominates all varieties of what we could describe as the “Left” (from social democracy and reformist communist parties to the revolutionary Left), despite the continuous eruption of many important movements in many countries? These are some of the pressing questions of the day, which we invite comrades to ponder, alongside the one central question that Lenin posed and that always hangs over us.

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

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

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

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15

Future of Denial: The Ideologies of Climate Change [B102]

Speaker: Tad DeLay
Respondents: Richard Seymour
and Kester Brewin

Tad DeLay presents "Future of Denial" covering key themes in his book *Future of Denial: The Ideologies of Climate Change* (Verso 2024). Engages themes of climate change, deep historical materialism, and material expressions of denial and reactionary violence, including the ongoing genocide in Gaza. Presentation will discuss targeted openings for other humanities scholars analyzing the law of capitalist accumulation in models and so-called shared socio-economic pathways. Responses from Richard Seymour and Kester Brewin.

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15

Obstacles to Pro-Palestinian Solidarity in Germany [B103]

Taneli Viitahuhta: Whose place are the Pro-Palestinian students occupying?

"We live in times of intensifying public pressure against those who stand for Palestinian lives and who continue to push for the state of Israel to be held accountable for its crimes in Gaza. All over Europe, but especially in Germany, this has brought ""a frightful hobgoblin"" back to stalk us: the ghost of anti-Semitism. I look at the issue through the lens of critical theorist Theodor Adorno's engagement with the German student movement.

In late 1967 Adorno interrupted his lectures to condemn the West Berlin court's decision to acquit the police officer of the charge of manslaughter, after having shot and killed an unarmed student protester some five months earlier. In this context, Adorno made a bold statement that the students had come to occupy the place of the Jews under Nazi regime. Adorno further observed that the anti-democratic tendencies were more widespread within this society than against it, especially in the context of the emergency laws, planned and finally brought to bear by the conservative government of grand coalition.

The current situation in Germany shows that some of Adorno's forebodings were not mistaken. At Humboldt University in Berlin, police clear student protesters from its premises. At demonstrations, people are beaten by law enforcement officers in riot gear. Conferences are being cancelled and academics keep quiet out of fear of losing their jobs, if they raise their voice in solidarity for Palestine. However, now this all happens under the banner of resisting anti-Semitism.

While Adorno on his part failed to acknowledge the dialectic of anti-Semitism and other anti-minority sentiments, especially anti-Black, and has a bad reputation for calling in the police to evict student protesters from the premises of his institute, his statements and theory can be of assistance in asking: whose place do the pro-Palestinian students occupy today?

Henrike Kohpeiß and Sam Nimmrichter: Madness and the BRD: An attempt on seven months of psychosis in Germany

"The state of Germany's current discourse on Israel and Palestine has been diagnosed in many different ways. Tobi Haslett called "hysterical obedience" the elemental German affect (Tobi Haslett [@tobihasslett] 2023) and Sami Khatib speaks of Palestine as the critical culmination of Germany's memory culture and broader post-war psychological economy (Khatib 2024). The more months have passed since October 7th, 2023, the more irrational it occurs to observers how Germany's "Staatsräson", consisting in its allegiance to the principle of Israel's right to exist, serves as a justification to block, misinterpret or simply censor most of the public criticism of Israel's war in Gaza. This manifests in cultural life, heavy policing of protests as well as media debates (Brusius 2021; Dische-Becker, Khatib, and Manna 2020).

In this talk we would like to identify some of the elements of what, on the level of consciousness, appears as a collective psychosis of Germany's public sphere – a state in which the ties to reality are being cut and conditions of the debate are increasingly intransparent to its observers. On the level of statehood however, it manifests as an acceleration of fascist tendencies and interventions (Toscano 2023) – while claiming to be a safeguard exactly against those.

It is on us to think about the structural and mental arrangements that allow for such a *raison d'être* to be maintained. The moral, intellectual and political horizon of West

	<p>Germany (BRD) builds not only on Holocaust- remembrance as a main element of public education but puts strong emphasis of the merits of “dialogue” – the boundaries of which are defined by bourgeois discourse (Kohpeiß 2023) – instead of struggle. Furthermore, the geopolitical ties between Germany and the US suggest the continuous military support of Israel on another level.</p> <p>The question seems apt whether the drivers of these politics do actively believe to be serving democracy with it. To offer a proper analysis, we have to start with the assumption that they do.</p> <p>The talk will offer a collection of approaches to analyse Germany’s predicament by giving an overview of the economic and political interests, but particularly focus on the psycho-social structures behind it.</p>
<p>Sami Khatib: Singularity-effects: Germany and its Palestinian Discontents</p>	<p>Fredric Jameson argued that the postmodern “singularity-effect” is not limited to art or the art market but also derived from the trajectories of contemporary financial capitalism (2015). The political mobilization of singularity as “a pure present without a past or a future” contributed to the creation of enclosed spaces, accessible only to capital investment and bio- or necropolitical population management. The real abstract metamorphosis of place into space along with technologies of spatial control have not only decontextualizing but also dehistoricizing effects. They are part and parcel of a general “singularity-effect,” driven by power strategies that aim at severing current politics from the past and the history of unredeemed struggles. A prime example of this effect is a certain type of holocaust memory culture that frames the holocaust as a depoliticized cipher of absolute evil – a self-referential hate crime without historicity. Robert Meister pointed out that the singularity thesis of the holocaust functions as the retroactive confirmation that the Western human rights discourse is the only moral consequence of the “totalitarian” history of violence in the past. Evil is past because the past is evil (Robert Meister 2011). By the same token antisemitism gets decoupled from historical racism and singularized as hate crime, presumably devoid of political relationality. As causa sui, a dehistoricized notion of antisemitism is often mobilized to silence criticism of the politics of the state of Israel and its allies. This talk aims at unpacking and contextualizing the singularity-effect in light of Israel’s genocidal war on Gaza, Germany’s oppression of Palestine solidarity movements, German memory culture and the weaponization of antisemitism charges. How does a state-sponsored "German Catechism" (A. Dirk Moses), which equates antizionism with antisemitism, rely on the dehistoricizing effects of singularization and assumed exceptionality?</p>
<p>Sultan Doughan: On the Palestinian Question in Germany</p>	
<p>Thursday 12:30 – 14:15 Western Marxism: Between Culture, Politics and the Economy [B104] <i>Western Marxism</i></p>	
<p>Manuel Romero, Violeta Garrido, Pepe Tesoro: Cultural Marxism: towards a Socialist Strategy</p>	<p>"In a passage from his book on Thomas Müntzer, Ernst Bloch states the following: ""we are restless, we are warm and rough. The living is restless"". These words contain a fundamental truth: despite the incredible adaptability of capitalism, the vitality of resistance and struggles against domination always reappears with strength and creativity. In the current situation, characterised by the global emergence of the extreme right, the outbreak of imperialist wars and the passivity and complicity of social democratic governments in the face of these phenomena, people all over the world are beginning to organise themselves and to chart new strategic horizons for political intervention.</p> <p>In this context, we believe that culture, understood in its different declinations, will play a fundamental role in the design of projects for social transformation. However, the way in which Marxism has conceived this field in theory and practice may be unsatisfactory, either because of its epiphenomenal marginalisation or, according to Anderson's hypothesis (1976), because, in an exercise of theoretical overcompensation in the face of a situation of political sterility, the different strands of Western Marxism withdrew into</p>

	<p>academic institutions. This is why the proposal to be presented at this congress will be the opening of an organic programme of research and militant practice. To this end, this project will focus on the question of ideological production, on the analysis of contemporary tools of capitalist mediation, on the one hand, and on the study of the margins of possibility that actually exist for the construction of a hegemonic apparatus and an independent class consciousness, on the other.</p> <p>Our manifest intention is to bring back the conceptual tools elaborated in the tradition of, among others, Antonio Gramsci, Georg Lukács or Fredric Jameson, to the field of strategic reason. All of this, with the aim of thinking and intervening on the organised violence of everyday life and avoiding the catastrophe to which the inertias of accumulation throw us."</p>
<p>Yoshiyuki Iimura: Method of Tendency: Antonio Negri's Materialist Teleology</p>	<p>"What role does theoretical analysis play in the practice of world transformation? Following the "Theses on Feuerbach" (especially the eleventh thesis), this metatheoretical question is a classic in the Marxist tradition; however, it has been raised multiple times, particularly in the last decade. This is because the mass movement scheme based on a theoretical analysis of the current situation is out of date. For example, leaderless movements, such as Occupy Wall Street in 2011, first emerged on the streets, followed by an analysis of the conjunctures in which these events occurred and the goals toward which they were heading (e.g. Hardt and Negri, Declaration). If movements are so spontaneous and self-sufficient, what role does theory play today? In other words, is theory still necessary for modern practice?</p> <p>To answer these questions, this paper offers a reading of Antonio Negri's method of "tendency." It also illustrates that this method constitutes what he calls a "materialist teleology." Negri's texts address only the desires and accomplishments of current social events. These accomplishments demonstrate what the movements of the multitude have already realized, whereas the desires demonstrate how they would develop such acquisitions. In other words, Negri only describes "tendencies" of the development of social events. However, these tendencies never provide certain visions of what is to come because, as Negri once said, a tendency is "in no sense a necessary and inevitable law governing reality." It is just one of many possible futures. Then, why did he write about tendencies that have radical indeterminacy within them? In what ways does Negri's method support revolutionary practice? This paper investigates the above questions. "</p>
<p>Xavier Wrona: Leo Battista Alberti vs Gary Becker - Fighting the hegemony of economists over the economy through architectural thinking</p>	<p>Six hundred years separate Alberti's treatise on economics, De familia (1432), from Gary Becker's Treatise on the Family (1991). Becker, an economist, pupil of Milton Friedman, extended the scope of economics to all human activities through "economic imperialism". "Economists can talk not only about the demand for cars, but also about matters such as the family, discrimination, and religion, and about prejudice, guilt, and love.". Becker has played a major role in providing an understanding of the structure of the family capable of accompanying the general redefinition of human affairs operated by the Market turn : "each family as a kind of little factory-a multiperson unit producing meals, health, skills, children, and self-esteem from market goods and the time, skills, and knowledge of its members." states his publisher.</p> <p>During the Italian Renaissance, when the Black Death had wiped out half of Europe's population in five years, the architect Alberti wrote a treatise on economics, De familia. For him, the economy of the family was not an intensification of capital, but an attempt to maintain families' means of subsistence by legally extending the surname to those who, at the time, had no name, so that they would not see their meagre possessions dissolve in the wake of the hecatombs.</p> <p>This comparative epistemology of two economies, economy of economists and architectural economy, suggests the possibility of a way of thinking about the economy free of economists. Following in the footsteps of philosopher Alain Deneault, this project aims to radically transform schools of architecture into tools for reorienting the productive apparatus and disengaging it from the economy of capital. This is the research program entitled architecture in a world on fire that I'd like to discuss at HM.</p>

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15

Problems of Marxist Philosophy (I): Needs and Activity [B202]

Lena Kreymann: Information and behaviour or reflection and activity? Cybernetics and the cultural-historical activity theory

Both cybernetics and the cultural-historical activity theory have played an essential role in Marxist psychology and its philosophical foundations. While proponents of the former see it as a basic science inspired by technological developments, the latter is a genuinely psychological school that explicates its philosophical foundations in great detail. In this talk, I will discuss the relationship between the two approaches from a philosophical perspective, focusing on the role of each account in understanding the human mind. In particular, I will confront the work by philosopher and cyberneticist Georg Klaus and psychologist Friedhart Klix with Aleksei Nikolayevich Leontiev's critique of cybernetics and contrast the cybernetic approach with Leontiev's concepts of activity and reflection. While the latter values cybernetics as an important level of abstraction, he claims that it is inappropriate to capture the nature of psychic reflection. On the one hand, it abstracts away precisely from concrete relations and, on the other hand, has inherited the problems of traditional approaches in psychology. Cybernetics is still indebted to the traditional twofold plan of analysis, as, for example, represented by the stimulus-response scheme. In contrast, Leontiev highlights the importance of a historical approach to the complex relationships between reflection and activity. Based on these considerations, I will conclude by sketching an account of the place of both approaches in psychology and the philosophy of psychology, which will contribute to illuminating the relationship between philosophy and the individual sciences.

Leonardo Carlos de Andrade: Human Activity, Voluntary Activity and the Social Being: approximations between György Lukács and Alexander Luria

This presentation's central objective is to bring together the works of György Lukács and Alexander Luria as essential references in Marxism, the first being an exponent of Marxist philosophy and the second one of the pillars of Soviet psychology. From a theoretical-philosophical study of the authors' central works, were identified two categories that best express the similarities between their production – Luria's "voluntary activity" and Lukács' "human activity". This category cut is justified by three criteria: 1st) the determination of these in the constitution of the Social Being; 2nd) these are categories that span the authors' production from youth to maturity writings; 3rd) both are based on Marx's (ontological) conception of work. If in Lukács conscious human activity can accomplish the "new" in the external sensitive world and initiate a more complex process of causal links in social reality, in Luria we find the unity between the biological being and the social being in the production of this new type of activity that, because it is humanly formed, is increasingly voluntary. From this relationship between the authors, we highlight 3 theses: 1) abstractions as fundamental mediations for human activity and voluntary activity; 2) take history for oneself and internally incorporate the human legacy transmitted externally (inter and intrapsychic), by more developed peers; 3) teleological action as praxis in the world.

Tomasz Figura: Epigenesis of Needs: Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz's Class Psychology and the Politics of the Polish Socialist Party Before World War I

The paper will examine the political and epistemological dimensions of the 'law of revolutionary retrospection,' formulated by Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, a Polish sociologist and member of the Polish Socialist Party. Kelles-Krauz attempted to incorporate elements of Gabriel Tarde's sociological framework into his 'class psychology.' Central to this theoretical framework is the concept of the 'epigenesis of needs,' which Kelles-Krauz defines as the transformation of means into ends through habit formation and imitation. The Polish author regarded the theory of the epigenesis of needs as 'essential for the further development of the theory of economic materialism.' From a contemporary standpoint, Kelles-Krauz's class psychology can be viewed as an alternative to the synthesis of Marxism and psychoanalysis, which predominated in Western Marxist thought following the First World War. In his article 'The Sociological Law of Retrospection: The Law of Revolutionary Retrospection as a Consequence of Economic Materialism,' Kelles-Krauz depicts the relationship between epigenesis and class formation as a dialectical interplay between two mechanisms generating social similarity. According to Kelles-Krauz's analysis, the key to creating collective political subjectivity is

	<p>the resolution of this conflict, which, in turn, was supposed to justify and rationalize the nationalist agenda of the Polish Socialist Party.</p>
<p>Joel Lazarus: Revitalising a praxis of needs as foundation for (r)evolutionary transformation</p>	<p>"The words 'From each according to their ability to each according to their need' have long served as communism's clarion call (Marx 1875). As such, how we interpret this small word 'need' determines how we envisage and pursue communism. In short, a philosophy and, more accurately, a praxis of need is central to a revolutionary praxis. In this paper, I first demonstrate how a Marxist philosophy of need has led to a theoretical and political cul-de-sac through a three-step process. First, human needs were objectified – conflated with the objects required to satisfy them. Second, they were historicised – particular sets and categories of needs were associated with particular historical modes of production – thus creating an intellectual and political requirement to differentiate 'natural' or 'necessary' needs from those 'artificial' needs generated by capitalism (Springborg 1981, Heller 2018). Third, what I call an 'objectivist universalism' was pursued by vanguard revolutionaries who, whilst advancing a universalism of needs, claimed a privileged objective (pseudo-)scientific knowledge of people's needs and of the authoritarian policies required to satisfy them.</p> <p>A revitalised praxis and revolutionary politics of need begins from a recognition of needing as life's essential layer of experience; needs are both universal AND subjectively experienced. My 'subjectivist universalism' combines Historical Materialism with Maslovian Positive Psychology, Whitehead's process-oriented metaphysics, Maturana's biology of autopoiesis, and complex systems and cybernetics theory, thus reviving Marx's original phenomenological affirmations about the nature of 'sense-perception in the two-fold form of sensuous consciousness and sensuous need' as the essential 'basis of all science'.</p> <p>I conclude by arguing that if communism is shorthand for a society founded on need-satisfaction then we must evolve our/as consciousness to recognise that needing is ultimately being/becoming to see communism not as an external social state, but as a collective process of subjectification.</p>

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15

From Self-Organised Workers' Movements to Workers' Power in a Transitional Society [B203]

Workers Inquiry

<p>Karin Stöckel: the experience of Gruvkvinnor</p>	<p>Gruvkvinnor is a women's activist group that operates in the largest underground iron ore mine in the world. They believe in taking matters into their own hands to effect pro-worker and pro-women changes in one of Sweden's most important industries. As one of the activists from the group said in an interview: "People look for shortcuts and rely on politicians, managers and elected representatives. However, I have to say, there are no easy ways forward. You and I have to do the work. Every day in the coffee room or wherever we are. No one will solve our problems for us."</p> <p>Gruvkvinnor made their first appearance in 2018, as a late spin-off from the global Me Too movement, when they published a leaflet with testimonies of female mine workers. It struck like a bomb and shattered the official picture of the industry. Far from fair and equal, Gruvkvinnor revealed discrimination and sexism added to the "normal" oppression on the sites, when it came to women.</p> <p>This leaflet was the starting point of a series of successful campaigns. Gruvkvinnor won retroactive compensation for workers redeployed during pregnancy, menstrual health reforms, elected their own representatives responsible for workplace security, the right to paid absence for midwife appointments, and more.</p> <p>Throughout its existence Gruvkvinnor has had to defend its independence in the corporatist Swedish model, once being branded a "yellow union" by official union representatives. It had to deepen its ties to the workforce, becoming the main body voicing the problems and concerns of the workers, and eventually something of a negotiating party towards the companies and trade unions alike.</p> <p>This paper tells the story of the activist group as well as evaluates and draws lessons from the experience.</p>
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<p>Filip Tedelund: Solidarność and class independence</p>	<p>In this study, I examine the Polish Solidarność movement in its nascent phase; namely, during the period of open struggle from August 1980 to December 1981, before the movement was forced to go underground due to state repression. Thus, my study covers the period from the shipyard strike in Gdansk to the implementation of martial law by the Polish government. In particular, I identify the dynamics of class conflict within the movement that emerged as a class-independent force capable of bringing other social classes behind it. I explore the movement's self-governance structures during this period and compare them with other historical examples to see if we can draw lessons for present-day social struggles.</p> <p>The strike movement that originated from the shipyard of Gdansk in August 1980 showed how explosively and rapidly a conflict could develop and how the demands and methods could change along the way as more workers got involved. What started as a strike with the demand to reinstate the crane driver, Anna Walentynowicz, who had been fired five months before she was about to retire, became an occupation that later spread to other workplaces with strike committees in over 500 places that collaborated and could make decisions collectively about transportation and even food distribution. The workers formed their own newspapers, libraries and defence groups, and all negotiations took place in front of the workers, in a form of open bargaining, so that both the government and the workers' representatives could be held responsible. The debate about self-governance developing inside the movement during this period is being examined. Was it an intellectual concept aimed at increasing productivity and a move towards a market economy, or could it be seen as the seed of a new society organized by the working class?</p>
<p>Jari Söyrinki and Geoff McCormack: Malmfälten, producer unions, and green transition</p>	<p>The Swedish region of Malmfälten has some of the largest mines on the continent. It supplies European industry with iron ore and copper and is also planned to provide rare earth minerals critical to the so-called "green transition." But as the exploitation of natural resources and human labour intensifies, the local population has been experiencing an ever-more-severe crisis in housing, infrastructure, health care, education, and wages.</p> <p>The contradiction between capital accumulation in the extractive sector and the decline of popular prosperity has strong political implications because the state is involved in both aspects. Directly through the highly profitable state-owned mining company and indirectly through its economic policy and insufficient funding for the municipalities. As local political administrations are approaching bankruptcy and workers' quality of life deteriorate, a broad and radically inclined debate is ongoing regarding alternatives. We will provide a brief overview of the situation on the ground, the history of resistance and vanguard role of the miners, and the links and shared interests with workers around Europe. We propose the political strike as the main method of struggle to unite different social strata close to the working class, transcend borders, and lay the groundwork for liberated zones. In liberated zones, workers would take control of the work process and the means of investment in cooperation with the organised local population. Central to this strategy is the concept of producer unions, which emerged in the debates of 1920s revolutionary Russia. We apply a further developed form of it to the specific situation of Northern Sweden to demonstrate how it could be used as a first step towards a socialised, planned economy, able to meet urgent needs both in terms of immediate want and strategic interests while creating the core of an expanding political force, capable of taking and exercising power.</p>
<p>Tommy Hjertberg: Nuclear Power: Locking or Liberating Technology?</p>	<p>In this paper, I apply the "producer union" concept mentioned in the panel abstract to the problem of nuclear technology to show that it can become a liberating technology. Its large-scale production units concentrate large collectives of skilled workers and are an intense concentration of productive forces. Thus, the responsibility that comes with nuclear technology is too great to be left to states or corporations. It should be managed by the workers, who work and live near the plant have an interest in safety that is stronger than that of administrators. The latter are far away and think about it in terms of</p>

	<p>weighing profitability and risk. They would not be personally affected if something were to go wrong.</p> <p>Kohei Saito has called nuclear energy a “locking technology” because of its centralisation, secrecy, and top-down control, meaning that it is a technology that blocks the path towards liberation. However, this assumes that the workplace must be a dictatorship to work efficiently and safely. That is a misconception that only serves the employers. The history of nuclear accidents has shown that secrecy and top-down control were major contributing factors to causing the accidents. The problem of nuclear safety is not mainly a technical question but a question of responsibility and management.</p> <p>Workers’ collectivism is the counterpoint to bourgeois individualism and the building block of a future society. That is why collectives of workers in large industries were the focus of the workers’ movement during its revolutionary period. With producer unions, the focus is returned to the engines of social change, namely, large industrial workplaces, and technologies such as nuclear can become liberating instead of “locking” and enslaving.</p>
<p>Thursday 12:30 – 14:15 Radical Jewish Identities and the Critique of Zionism [B204]</p>	
<p>Sabby Sagall: Jewish Identity: Nationalism or Internationalism?</p>	<p>Why has there been a revival of heated concerns about antisemitism? Has antisemitism always existed or is it peculiar to European societies? Who indeed are the Jews? Where do they come from? Could they eventually disappear through assimilation? This is a question initially posed in 1940 by Abram Leon: why of all the ancient peoples that inhabited the Middle East have only the Jews survived whereas the others – ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, etc. – were assimilated into surrounding populations and disappeared as distinct ethnic groups? According to dominant ideology, it was because of the Jews’ adherence to their religious beliefs. However, Leon argues that it was the other way round: it is because the Jews preserved themselves through their activities as an economic class of pre-capitalist traders that they also defined themselves as having a common ethnic identity, based on shared religious and linguistic features. Moreover, Zionism has always attempted to bolster itself by a powerful myth – that the history of the Jews has been one of unmitigated oppression, described as the 'lachrymose' view of Jewish history--that the Diaspora was an unrelentingly dark age of passivity and persecution. However, in medieval feudal society, the Jews' legal status in countries such as Spain, France, Germany and Poland was far higher than that of the serfs, in many cases approaching that of the nobility. On the other hand, Jewish fortunes in medieval Europe were subject to sudden, dramatic transformation. They could become the victims of massacres carried out by lower class forces rebelling against usury or high taxes. The Zionist view of the universality of antisemitism makes it impossible to explain the changes in the position of Jews historically. In particular, it blurs the difference between different kinds of antisemitism. We can broadly distinguish between three types--social, economic and political. Finally, because Jews were travelling traders, they developed an internationalist outlook, and Zionism is an aberration from their real historical tradition.</p>
<p>Donny Gluckstein and Janey Stone: The Radical Jewish Tradition. Revolutionaries, VittoriResistance Fighters and Firebrands</p>	<p>The intention would be to have a book launch. Janey Stone and I (Donny Gluckstein) have just published a book about the Radical Jewish Tradition. Although the period covered is roughly 1881 to 1948 the contents touch directly on three contemporary themes. 1) The role antisemitism continues to play as the Weltanschauung for the extreme right (Great Replacement Theory/George Soros etc.). The book investigates the strategies adopted by revolutionary Marxists, Bundists and Zionists towards fighting this. 2) The claim of Zionism to represent all Jews for the last 2,000 years. The book shows how the left radicalism which explicitly rejected the Zionist project of flight to Palestine in favour of 'doykeit' (here-ness) and an immediate fight against antisemitism was predominant. 3) The so-called 'Antisemitism of the Left'. The book shows through studying the fight against pogroms under Tsarism, Cable Street in 1936, anti-Nazi resistance during the Holocaust and other historical examples, how it has always been the left that fought oppression and racism (as peddled by the ruling class and fascist</p>

	<p>forces). The book is the first to present a full history of this radical tradition (in contrast to the excellent works by Treviso which focus on Jewish intellectuals and the oral testimonies of Brossat and Klingberg's Revolutionary Yiddishland. It has been put forward for the Deutscher Prize and is currently being translated into German. I can certainly attend the HM conference in person, but Janey lives in Australia and so it might be more problematic for her (though if accepted for a panel might be able to come over. The alternative would be for me to present a paper, so feedback on this proposal would be appreciated. Another alternative, which was used last time I did a book launch at HM would be for this to be included alongside another panel speaker on a different but related topic.</p>
<p>Baharak Beizaei: Hannah Arendt's Critique of Zionism: Unveiling Dynamics, Resurgence, and Resistance in the Palestinian Context</p>	<p>"Drawing on Arendt's criticism of the Jewish question, this paper explores her argument in ""Zionism Reconsidered"" about the intricate dynamics of political Zionism, its origins, and its implications in the Palestinian context. It begins with an examination of the convergence of two factors that gave rise to political Zionism as articulated by Theodor Herzl: anti-Semitism and the emergence of a new class of intellectual Jews. This convergence, deeply rooted in the ideologies of nationalism and popular Marxism, led to the creation of a complex dynamic that equivocated privileged intellectuals with the underprivileged.</p> <p>I further interrogate Arendt's argument about the ambiguities in the founding of the right to national self-determination, particularly in relation to the nation-state's relationship with foreign elements. This includes not only the Palestinian Arabs but also the Diaspora Jews, in whose name the state of Israel sought to act and cast itself as the legitimate representative of the Jewish people.</p> <p>The paper critically examines the role of socialism in the Zionist movement, highlighting the tension between the socialist revolutionaries' aspirations for national emancipation and their lack of political leadership once in Palestine. It also discusses the implications of their indifference to politics and their lack of awareness of the general destiny of their people.</p> <p>Finally, the paper explores the contours of contemporary imperialist warfare in the Palestinian context, focusing on the challenges and resistance faced by the Palestinian people in the face of these dynamics. It concludes by highlighting the need for a more nuanced understanding of these complexities to foster a more equitable and just resolution to the conflict.</p> <p>"</p>
<p>Jana Tsoneva: Zionism without antisemitism: the case of Bulgarian Zionism and the mass post-war aliyah</p>	<p>Traditionally conceived as a logical self-preservation response of an embattled minority to antisemitism, Zionist ideology has long clamored to lend Israel full indemnity. The rich history of Bulgarian Zionism complicates the supposed logical necessity of Zionism because Bulgaria's Ottoman legacy made it one of the few Eastern European countries without entrenched antisemitism (at least until late in the interwar period and integration with the Axis). It is precisely in the context of the absence of widespread antisemitism that Bulgarian Zionism flourished not as a defense against exclusion and persecution but against their opposite: assimilation.</p> <p>To make sense of an under-studied aspect of Zionism as a bulwark against 'too much' integration, I turn to the work of the Palestinian Marxist and PFLP member Ghassan Kanafani. He revisited key literary works of Zionism and penned the incendiary book <i>On Zionist Literature</i> in which he decouples Zionism from antisemitism and indexes it to the violent pressures of the assimilationist answer to the so-called Jewish question.</p> <p>Drawing on Ghassan Kanafani's provocative take on Zionism as a vehicle for distinction against and over integration, and on the works of the Israeli historian Shlomo Shealtiel, my paper focuses on the political and social contradictions accompanying the development of Bulgarian Zionism up until its 'consummation' with the mass Jewish exodus from Bulgaria to Israel in 1948. The upshot is that the latter did not happen during fascism but after WWII, precisely at the height of a turbulent civic rehabilitation and assimilationist campaign spearheaded by the Jewish communists.</p>

By turning to a less known historical case, my paper complicates the idea of an unshakable logical transition from antisemitism to Zionism (i.e. at certain times socialism was the more 'obvious' alternative to the excesses of nationalism, not another nationalism) that Israel promotes in its weaponization of antisemitism.

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15

Conflict and Politics on and off the Screen [B205]

Marxism and Culture

Lina Alam: Harun Farocki's
Distant Wars

Throughout his career, the Marxist filmmaker Harun Farocki interrogated the relationships between images, war and labor. Central to this nexus is the question of distance. Distance describes the space and/or time between objects, people, places or points. In an early film "Inextinguishable Fire" (1969), Farocki reads aloud a declaration by Thai Binh Danh, victim of the Vietnam War, who recounts his experience of a napalm bomb explosion. After, Farocki looks at the camera and asks: "How can we show you napalm in use? And how can we show you napalm injuries?" "If we show you napalm injuries," he contends, "you will close your eyes." Farocki's solution is to burn his own arm with a cigarette, which, he says, burns at four hundred degrees, while napalm burns at three thousand. This opening scene of Farocki's earliest media success, which resembles performance art more than it does a narrative film, betrays careful concern with the limitations of imagistic representation to testify to state-sanctioned violence across the world, or to engender feelings of compassion or solidarity with people at a distance. Towards the end of his oeuvre, Farocki grappled with distance from another angle in his single-track film "War at a Distance" (2003) and its installation version "Eye / Machine I-III" (2000), focusing on the Gulf War. Composed of archival footage from cameras on bombs and original recordings of military workers using new surveillance technologies, these experimental documentaries attend to infrastructures of modern warfare premised upon distance between adversaries, echoing Adorno's reflections in *Minima Moralia* on the occlusion of human experience in the World Wars. In my paper, I consider forms of distance and distanciation in Farocki's films on war, showing how they raise critical, ethical questions about imagistic mediation relevant for our contemporary moment plagued with violence, genocide and rising fascism.

Nisaar Ulama: The machinery of war and the machinery of images: Operative Images between emancipation, surveillance and warfare

"My talk will explore the political, aesthetic, and epistemological dimensions of Operative Images. These are, according to filmmaker Harun Farocki, ""images that do not represent an object, but are part of an operation. These operations include human-technology assemblages such as automated factories and drone warfare; and thus the depicted ""visibility beyond representation"" is also linked to a form of imagery no longer seen only by human eyes, but also by machines. By giving knowledge and data a place between eyes and hands, these images can become powerful tools of surveillance and control.

Indeed, the historical roots can be traced back to the beginnings of biopolitics in the 17th century.

But there are also roots of Operativity in the realm of Marxist avant-garde art, especially around Russian Constructivism and the Vienna Circle. For artists like Malevich, Tatlin, Tarabukin, and Gabo - strongly influenced by the writings of Aleksandr Bogdanovich - only art ""beyond representation"" would be able to support a classless society.

The Austromarxist Otto Neurath, a member of the Vienna Circle, together with Gerd Arntz and Marie Redemeister, created a system for representing statistical data in order to democratize economic knowledge for proletarians. Later called ISOTYPE (International System of Typographic Picture Education), it aimed to create operative images as a means of resistance and counter-knowledge. It was based on beliefs of the Scientific Worldview (*Wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung*) and the Unity of Science (*Einheitswissenschaft*), and presupposed a 'flat' picture of society and the post-metaphysical idea that only empirical knowledge is relevant.

I would like to tie these threads together with a view on the contemporary war in Gaza, which is also a war of and through operative images. The machinery of war and the machinery of images have probably never been closer than they are here."

<p>Thammachart Chuasuwan: The Political Death of Pier Paolo Pasolini</p>	<p>"The death of Italian Marxist director Pier Paolo Pasolini in 1975 remains one of the most lasting mysteries of cinema. Few retellings, however, recount the political circumstances that led up to—and continued after—his death.</p> <p>In this proposed paper, I will attempt to historicise and thereby politicise Pasolini's death within the context of Cold War Italian geopolitics and American anticommunist operations. In the 2-3 years leading up to his murder, Pasolini had been working on a momentous project of plotting out the new far-right forces of reaction through his own idiosyncratic literary style in the investigative journalist novel <i>Petrolio</i>. In it, under the guise of fiction, he meticulously tells the story of the Italian oil magnate Eugenio Cefis, an enigmatic figure with many reported connections to fascist elements in post-war Italy. Pasolini, in many of his articles and interviews of this period (1973–1975), has also alluded to many of his concerns about the evolving right and his and the Italian left's future. I shall argue that through his research, Pasolini recognised the approaching neoliberal shift of the hegemonic order embodied by the character of Cefis. His plan to publish his findings then became a material threat to the clandestine operation and terrain shift of the fascist and anticommunist forces and the ruling order, which eventually killed him. I shall also draw lessons to be learned from his death, specifically Pasolini's method of historically presenting and "mapping out" the enemy and their tactics of reaction that led to Pasolini's death."</p>
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Thursday 12:30 – 14:15
The (Very Late) Capitalist State [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]

<p>Matt Myers: Historicising Marxist Approaches to the State</p>	<p>The contemporary state is in flux. Contradictory and uneven tendencies are undermining older articulations of state formation, function, and strategy: lockdowns are implemented against epidemics, industrial policies enacted to resist declining profitability, militarisation introduced to combat geo-strategic rivals, authoritarianism to restrict democratic and cultural expression, and the expansion of prisons and borders arrayed to neuter rising social forces and surplus populations. How should the left respond? Some claim the existing neoliberal state remains largely unchanged, whilst others suspect either a return to older state forms, or an acceleration to qualitatively different articulations. This panel analyses the state within global capitalism and its importance as a terrain and object of socialist strategy. It revisits existing Marxist theories of the state, thinks critically about the various material contexts and ideological lineages that have shaped those ideas, and tests the adequateness of those approaches to contemporary developments:</p> <p>Matt Myers, Oxford, will present a general overview of state theory with particular attention to the left during the late twentieth century.</p> <p>Marlène Rosano-Grange, Sciences Po, will provide an account of the role of the state in the modern European Union, using the work of Nicos Poulantzas to transcend existing realist and liberal approaches.</p> <p>Gautham Shiralagi, Columbia, will explore how the 'global turn' in the history of capitalism can help us rethink marxist theories of the state from the 1970s, and will pay particular attention to the Indian state.</p> <p>Matteo Tiratelli, UCL, will ask what twentieth century anti-fascist thought can teach us about the prison system in modern Britain.</p>
<p>Marlène Rosano-Grange: The role of the State in the Contemporary European Union: A Poulantzian reading</p>	
<p>Gautham Shiralagi: Rethinking Marxist State Theory: Globality, Money, Crisis</p>	
<p>Claudio Corradetti: EU Green Deal: Post Capitalism or State Capitalism</p>	

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15
Pashukanis at 100 (1) [G3]

<p>On the 100th anniversary of the publication of Pashukanis's General Theory of Law and Marxism, this panel seeks to explore both contemporary issues which Pashukanis's thought can illuminate, and returns to his thinking to further expand his insights.</p>	
<p>Greg Davies: Devolution in the United Kingdom: an imperial constitutional form</p>	<p>There is a dearth of critical theory on devolution in the United Kingdom. Much contemporary scholarship depicts the bestowal of revocable legislative powers upon the non-English peripheries either in ahistorical terms or, worse, as a progressive measure of democratisation. Taking its inspiration from Pashukanis' work on the legal form, this paper draws on Marxist insights on self-determination, nationalism and imperialism to challenge such characterisations, situating devolution in its full material and historical</p>

	<p>context.</p> <p>I trace this distinct constitutional form to the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century British imperialism, where it first crystallised as a tool of colonial management in response to the 'Irish question'. Parliamentary sovereignty – the central doctrine of British imperial rule – had rendered unthinkable federalism and constitutional entrenchment, while Ireland's geographic proximity to Britain necessitated a narrow scheme of powers in order to forestall potential competition, trade barriers and exotic taxation of English assets. What emerged was a limited, revocable scheme of self-government: 'Home Rule'.</p> <p>In the 1910s, this proposal became an increasingly attractive option among Britain's ruling class not only for Ireland but for Wales and Scotland, this time in order to relieve an 'Imperial Parliament' creaking under the weight of its responsibilities. The first concrete implementation of devolution, however, did not arrive until 1921, with the installation of unionist hegemony in the new statelet of 'Northern Ireland' – itself an attempt to mitigate the effects of the Irish revolutionary period and the establishment of the Irish Free State. Tellingly, when the Empire's subsequent decline coincided with the crises of Keynesianism to render a measure of self-government to Scotland and Wales a political necessity, it was in terms decidedly less generous than those granted to Stormont from 1921-72.</p> <p>Devolution was thus hatched not in the realm of abstract constitutional theory, but in the later stages of the British Empire, shaped above all by the imperatives of imperial rule. Historicising devolution in this way, I argue, helps to reveal its true nature as a long-standing tool of British capitalist hegemony, whose rejection is a precursor to political emancipation for all residing on the North Atlantic archipelago.</p>
<p>Eva Nanopolous: Reading the (Constitutional) Legal Form through the Colonial Encounter</p>	<p>The paper seeks to enrich Pashukanis' theory of the legal form and legal subjecthood by placing it within the wider set of social determinants that affect legal subjecthood and that shape and define the capitalist social totality. To do so I go back to one of the key moments in the emergence of bourgeois rights and the bourgeois legal subject, namely the French revolution and the adoption, in 1789, of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. In doing so, I operate two moves. First, temporally, I focus not on 1789 alone, but on the period between 1789 and 1799 (with some references too, to the first Haitian constitution). Spatially, second, I do not focus on metropolitan France, but extend the analysis to colonial territories by looking at how the various constitutions that were adopted in that period dealt with the legal status of the colonised subject, paying particular attention to the status of black slaves in Saint Domingue, what is present-day Haiti and home to the Haitian revolution.</p>
<p>Fernando Quintana: Pashukanis: The withering away of ethics?</p>	<p>The focus of Evgeny Pashukanis' radical critique of capitalist society aimed to show the historically specific character of its social forms. Thus, against the appearances of bourgeois society, Pashukanis sought to demonstrate that the legal form is not an eternal feature of human social life, but the juridical manifestation of definite historical relations of commodity production.</p> <p>Pashukanis takes this critique one step further when he claims that morality is also a historically specific social form. As he explains in chapter 6 of his General Theory: "Moral existence is a necessary supplement to juridic life – both are methods of exchange between commodity producers." Morality appear as an ideological form that mediates and guides social relations between atomized, isolated individuals who relate to each other as commodity owners.</p> <p>The ideological character of the ethical form means that it stands in the way between the individual and a proper knowledge of the social circumstances of his action. But this distortion, Pashukanis claims, is not "an external defect caused by the specific inadequacies of capitalism", but an "essential characteristic of the ethical form itself." This analysis has an immediate consequence: with the overcoming of commodity production, and along the withering away of law, the ethical form shall wither away as</p>

	<p>well.</p> <p>This paper aims to offer a critical evaluation of Pashukanis’s critique of ethics. While his deduction of bourgeois ethical forms from the requirements of commodity-production offers a great starting point for a critique of ethics, his conflation of Kantian ethics with ethical forms in general seems untenable. As a consequence, I claim, the transition to a communist society should not be conceived of as a process of the withering away of ethics in general, but a process of destruction of the reified and formalistic bourgeois ethical forms and development of a renewed substantive ethical life.</p>
<p>Andrew Woodhouse: The Empty Flight of the Value Form: The Aviation Industry in Europe During the COVID-19 Pandemic</p>	<p>During the COVID-19 pandemic, dozens of flights took off every day carrying no passengers. These journeys, driven by the capitalist laws of motion and propelled by carbon-intensive fuels, travelled between airports across the globe between 2020 and 2021.</p> <p>This paper explores the European Union’s regulation of the aviation industry during this era. Airlines undertook these flights in order to keep “slots” at the airport, which, if lost, would mean a loss of profits to their competitors once the world re-opened. This farcical set of events raises questions about the role of national and international state regulation in providing a structure for capital accumulation and its attendant irrationalities. The aviation industry requires state structuring owing to its size and the need for security. Airlines act in pursuit of profit, with any social objective secondary to this pursuit. Yet, during this same era, the EU released its flagship “Green Deal”, in which it declared its aim to be “the first climate-neutral continent by 2050”, calling into question the compatibility of this aim with its continued support for irrational capital accumulation. This paper will explore this case study of “empty flights” drawing on the relationship between the value-form, the legal-form and the state-form. It will consider the role of the state form in sustaining capital accumulation, and the implications for the potential future of the state-form in the search for an ecologically sound future.</p>
<p>Thursday 12:30 – 14:15 Coercion, Resistance and Struggle in Contemporary Mining [G51]</p>	
<p>Kennedy Mnaduna: Power, neoliberal governmentality, hegemony, coercion and resistance: Excavating the Zama zamas’ agency, subjectivities and everyday experiences in South Africa</p>	<p>Globally, and indeed in South Africa, illegal mining has expanded significantly in the last three decades, i.e., in terms of its contribution to the economy, the number of people directly and indirectly employed in the sector, and the number of people directly and indirectly depend on it. As the sector governs at the margins of the State, the expansion has a corresponding knock-on effect of increasing tension between the sector, on the one hand, and governments, communities and big businesses, on the other. Therefore, this paper explores the systematic methods of neoliberal authoritarianism, state violence and community vigilantism the government of South Africa, big mining companies and community residents deploy in response to state, environmental, community and industrial security challenges and threats posed by the illegal miners in South Africa. It does so by carving out an analysis of how power, hegemony and governmentality are constructed and produced, and how consent, coercion and resistance play out within the illegal miners’ agency, subjectivities and everyday experiences in South Africa. To uncover and expose the underlying hidden truths and myths about this phenomenon, this paper is undergirded by the Critical Theory, which critiques the political economy of these state-sponsored, state-assisted and state-allowed forms of violence. The theory does so by providing ontological, epistemological and methodological frames that systematically question the integrity of these forms of violence as the panacea to the challenges posed by the Zama zamas in South Africa. To help our understanding and sense-making of the South Africa’s illegal mining social world this paper draws upon Foucauldian ideas of neoliberal governmentality, Gramscian notions of power and hegemony and Burawoy’s notion of hegemonic despotism. Therefore, the research question underpinning this paper is: How can we better know - so as to better resist and change – the way neoliberal authoritarianism, state violence and community vigilantism are deployed to address state, environmental, community and industrial security challenges and threats posed by the Zama zamas in South Africa? Responding to this important question helps scholars, activists and scholar-activists to frame and implement</p>

	effective counter-strategies to respond to- better resist and change- these state-sponsored, state-allowed and state-assisted forms of violence.
Brunno Cunha: War Rhythms: The Yanomami Mining Boom Warfare	<p>"In this paper, I propose to analyze the de/territorialization practices of the political and economic processes embedded in the capitalist expansion in the Yanomami indigenous land territory (Brazil). The paper is divided into three sections.</p> <p>First, I will briefly sketch the process involved in invading Yanomami land throughout the 20th century, focusing more specifically on gold mining (garimpo), which resulted in a situation denounced by indigenous people and supporters of genocide.</p> <p>Second, I propose to analyze the role of military infrastructure in diffusing capitalist-colonial/imperial relations through war efforts by allowing the dispersion of gold mining activities in the indigenous territory establishing an association between military and capitalist expansion.</p> <p>Lastly, I engage with Davi Kopenawa's, Yanomami Shaman and spokesperson, thought in his book "The Falling Sky: Words of a Yanomami Shaman" as a counter-anthropology/reverse anthropology of the white-capitalist-colonial world and shamanic critique of the "political economy of nature" (Albert, 1995, p. 23). This analysis aims to understand the connections between environmental destruction, neo-extractivism, capitalist expansion, and war.</p> <p>In this way, I aim to analyze how Kopenawa delineates that violence and war are, in fact, associated with the white-capitalist-colonial world, and how capitalism is a set of diffuse relations that extend into Yanomami indigenous land through garimpo, enriching a critical discourse and practice against capitalism in the 21st century.</p>
François-Xavier Hutteau: Lithium Mining and Ecological Planning	Most mainstream energy transition scenarios involve a massive increase in demand for lithium (World Bank, 2019), particularly for electrifying the automotive industry. Based on a militant inquiry conducted in France over the last year or so around what is to become Europe's largest lithium mine project, this paper aims to examine the forms of conflict to which the emergence of ecological planning gives rise. Finally, the paper will draw up some strategies for planning from below.
Thursday 12:30 – 14:15	
The Dynamics of Authoritarian Populism and the Far-Right [G51a]	
Vladimir Bortun: Hostile brothers: Intra-capitalist conflict and the rise of right-wing populism	<p>While capitalists are relatively united in their struggle with other classes, they are also divided along different axes: small and medium vs big business; industrial vs finance capital; domestically embedded vs transnational companies. That is why Marx called them 'hostile brothers'. The competition between these different fractions of capital has intensified in recent years and, while critical political economists have mapped some of this intra-class conflict, there is still limited research and discussion on how that might have been translated into the arena of party politics.</p> <p>This paper argues that the ongoing rise of the so-called 'right-wing populist parties' across Europe has to be understood in this wider context. While the current research overwhelmingly approaches these parties in terms of either their discourse or their voting base (thus reflecting the discipline's deeply entrenched constructivist and pluralist biases), the paper calls for a 'material turn' that shifts our gaze to the class forces and material interests they represent.</p> <p>By building on theoretical insights and empirical findings from critical political economy, I hypothesise that these parties tend to represent insurgent social blocs led by fractions of capital whose interest might not align with the neoliberal framework (still) propped by mainstream parties. In other words, the rise of right-wing populism is not as much a revolt of the so-called 'left behind' as a struggle for hegemony inside the capitalist class. Shedding light upon this linkage may significantly improve our understanding of one of the defining features of our political age.</p>
Alvaro Bianchi, André Kaysel: Bolsonaroism as an extreme-right discursive coalition	"In Brazilian political discourse, the analysis of Bolsonaroism has often been framed within the paradigm of populism. However, interpretations regarding its nature diverge among scholars. Rennó, Avritzer, and Carvalho (2021), as well as Silva and Rodrigues (2021), characterize Bolsonaroism as right-wing populism. Conversely, von Bülow and

	<p>Aber (2022) view it as a manifestation of radical right populism, while Couto (2023) identifies it as religious populism. Mendonça and Caetano (2021) argue that Bolsonarism aligns with the current rightwing neopulism, which has gained momentum globally. Additionally, Lynch and Cassimiro (2022) propose the concept of reactionary populism for analytical purposes.</p> <p>This article contends that the populist framework is inadequate for comprehensively understanding Bolsonarist discourse and ideology. By associating Bolsonarism with a spectrum of political manifestations, the explanatory power of populism is diminished, necessitating the qualification of the specific type of populism at play (cf. KAYSEL, 2016). While the characterization of Bolsonarism as extreme-right provides a useful foundation for delineating its ideological orientation, it fails to capture the diverse discourses encompassed within Bolsonarist rhetoric. Hence, this article proposes a conceptual shift towards understanding Bolsonarism as an extreme right-wing discursive coalition, wherein disparate political discourses converge around a shared core, including elements of neo-fascism, evangelical fundamentalism, conservatism, and military authoritarianism. Moreover, it suggests that the notion of an extreme-right discursive coalition offers analytical utility in comprehending similar political phenomena across Latin America.</p>
<p>Max Soar: 'Following the Science': Far-right knowledge, postfascism, and hegemony in Aotearoa New Zealand during COVID-19</p>	<p>We face a global proliferation and consolidation of far-right political movements and ideologies, recently theorised as postfascism. This fascism connects a constellation of heterogeneous movements that, during the conjuncture of the COVID-19 pandemic, were forced to confront a moment of scientifically mediated crisis. This paper presents a Gramscian analysis of three case studies from Aotearoa New Zealand, spanning more mainstream to explicitly white nationalist organisations, and their engagement with scientific knowledge during this moment of potential political rupture. These organisations simultaneously appropriated and critiqued scientific knowledge, its institutions, and representations, mobilising the perceived scientific credibility of (some of) their popularisers to represent pseudo-science, conspiracy theorising, and reactionary ideologies as a populist resistance to power; to gain access to mainstream attention; and as part of an attempt to reconfigure the common-sense of 'ordinary-people' into a counter-hegemonic project. While some appealed to Enlightenment values of rational enquiry, open debate, and scientific ideals of universalism, objectivity and empiricism, others invoked fascistic connection to the environment through land, nation, blood, and soil, decrying the degeneracy of modernity, claiming concern for human impacts on the environment, and romanticising a return to a simpler, localised, agrarian lifestyle. In this conjuncture 'science' and scientific knowledge functioned as a key feature of the cultural landscape that these organisations had to navigate on a broader terrain of political and cultural struggle—a struggle deeply imbricated with Aotearoa's history of settler-colonialism and contemporary reactionary responses to interlocking crises of capitalist modernity.</p>
<p>Nathan Carlos Norris: California Über Alles: Amerikan Fascism</p>	<p>In May 2024, the world watched awestruck as blue democrat California cracked down on peaceful anti-genocide, anti-war, pro-Palestinian student protestors at UCLA, USC, and Cal Poly Humboldt. Police deputized neo-fascist and Zionist goons. LAPD and LASD had themselves some good old fashioned police riots. This paper—in honor of Mike Davis, and borrowing from Kenneth Lamott—historicizes California as a “parafascist state.” Scratch a liberal and a fascist bleeds; liberalism is the ideology of capitalism, while fascism is capitalism in decay. Pushed to its limits, extreme violence is always on the table for capital. Thinking with George Jackson, Vijay Prashad, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, and Alberto Toscano, the US bred the first fascists. Or, at least, the US's proto-fascistic carceral approach to Black, Indigenous, and other non-white people inspired fascism proper in Italy, Spain, and Germany. What we tend to call neoliberalism can be reframed as the global Post-War victory of fascism. The CIA, and US empire broadly, has crafted an anticommunist hellscape aptly labeled ecofascism. California's chief contribution to this world has not been Hollywood or Silicon Valley; it has been weapons and war technology. The US has historically and continues to export right-wing terrorists, death squads, torture techniques, and police militarization. The chickens have come home to</p>

roost. What is the antidote? Only the resuscitation of communism as a concept can extirpate the venom of international fascism. Only a global communist culture can match the counterrevolution.

Thursday 12:30 – 14:15

Capitalist Exploitation, Environmental Degradation, and Resistance in Brazil [R201]

Amelia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel,
Tayssa Gonçalves de Sousa
Oliveira, Lucas Alves Rodrigues:
Economic-Ecological Crisis,
Primitive Accumulation and
Transformations in
Environmental Laws in Brazil

Especially during times of crisis, the value chain increasingly encompasses areas beyond capital accumulation circuits, such as the expansion of agroindustry into environmental preservation zones, facilitated by alterations in environmental protection legislation. This market expansion raises discussions around the concept of primitive accumulation, as posited by Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, and David Harvey, among others. The encroachment of the market into environmental preservation spaces has led to significant climate issues. For instance, in Brazil, climate change contributed to severe flooding in the southern state in May 2024. Over a month of flooding, 471 cities were affected, resulting in 169 fatalities and the displacement of approximately 600,000 individuals from their homes, in a tragedy that has already been alerted to the Brazilian state government. In 2015, the Brazilian federal government commissioned research to assess the projected impacts of climate change until 2040 and to propose adaptation strategies. These studies forecasted a climate scenario similar to the one currently observed in Brazil: decreased rainfall in the North and excessive precipitation in the South. However, in 2019, the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, primarily influenced by liberal parties historically aligned with agribusiness, endorsed a revision of the State's Environmental Code, reducing environmental safeguards in favor of economic advancement. The current economic-ecological crisis paves the way for a contemporary diagnosis using the perspective of primitive accumulation. Within this framework, economic-ecological crises are viewed as destabilizing factors in the relationship between economic growth and democracy. This study seeks to demonstrate how legal and social frameworks can be analyzed in light of the expansionist pressures of accumulation unleashed by these crises. In essence, the aim is to elucidate the legislative changes that undermine environmental preservation in Brazil within the context of laws facilitating primitive accumulation.

Nátaly Santiago Guilmo: Political
Dynamics of Imperialist Capital
in Dependent Social Formations:
A Case Study of the Brazilian
Political Crisis (2015-2016)

This paper presents the results of a doctoral research examining the political actions of imperialist capital in countries with dependent social formations. This work is based on a conceptual debate on class fragmentation, dialoguing with the theory of Nicos Poulantzas, and employs Samir Amin's concept of imperialism and the "senility of capitalismo". Recognizing that the imperialist domination system has multiple aspects, we focus on the political actions of representatives of imperialist capital in Brazil. These representatives act as a specific class fraction within this social formation, with interests that may diverge from or converge with the internal bourgeoisie. They leverage the support of the associated bourgeoisie to advance their interests. The main agendas of imperialist capital in a dependent social formation include advocating for neoliberal economic policies and expanding their financial control through market liberalization, privatizations, and the reduction of barriers against monopolies. For this research, we conducted a financial mapping of imperialist capital during 2015 and 2016, identifying the main sectors, countries, and international economic groups operating in Brazil. Based on this mapping, we observed how these sectors and economic groups moved politically during these two years. We analyzed nearly 700 journalistic articles to identify the main demands and actions of the direct representatives of imperialist capital during this period. This period was marked by the destabilization of Dilma Rousseff's (PT) government, her illegitimate impeachment, and the beginning of the Michel Temer (PMDB) government, which paved the way for the rise of the far-right in Brazil. We demonstrate how imperialist capital played a crucial role in this process. To achieve their goals, imperialist capital, hegemonized by international financial capital, utilized "market terrorism" with threats of investment withdrawal, and imperialist productive capital reduced investments and threatened to withdraw factories from the country.

Iago Macedo: The Social Function
of Property in the Land Struggle:

"This paper explores the relationship between law and emancipation in the land struggle led by Brazil's landless workers' movement (MST), highlighting the emancipatory

<p>The Ecosocialist Potential of Brazil's landless workers' movement (MST)</p>	<p>potential of this endeavor. Our hypothesis is that law can play a crucial role in the ecosocialist struggle, transforming the ""social metabolism"" between individuals and nature to establish a sustainable relationship.</p> <p>Marx's work, although critical of law as an instrument of the ruling class, also recognizes the necessity of using law in the fight for radical societal transformation. We focus on the ""official recognition"" of the social function of property in the 1988 Brazilian Constitution as a key example. This recognition represents a preliminary but essential struggle for human emancipation.</p> <p>Our analysis involves contextualizing Marx's theories, particularly the destructive relationship between capital and nature, and the dual role of law in both supporting and challenging the status quo. By examining the land struggles of indigenous peoples and landless workers, we demonstrate how legal recognition has empowered these movements, despite the risk of stagnation or regression.</p> <p>The expected outcome is to show that the legal acknowledgment of these movements has amplified their strength, offering a positive alternative amid contemporary societal crises. This research contributes to Marxist legal critique by highlighting often-neglected aspects of law and demonstrating their relevance to contemporary social movements.</p> <p>In summary, we argue that the legal recognition of the social function of property has bolstered the MST's fight for land, contributing to a broader ecosocialist agenda and offering valuable insights for the ongoing struggle for human emancipation.</p>
<p>Thursday 12:30 – 14:15 Utopia and Radical Emotions [RB01] Post-Capitalism</p>	
<p>Elyssa Khoury: A Marcusean Theory of Political Emotions</p>	<p>Herbert Marcuse's Freudo-Marxist analysis of capitalism reveals how late capitalism has intricately wired subjects' cognitive and instinctual structures to uphold its logic, shaping individuals' patterns of behaviour to protect the structures of capitalism against any opposing forces. Marcuse points to the imagination as a faculty through which to liberate subjects from the ideological, moral, rational, and sensible barriers that thwart their ability to imagine post-capitalist possibilities. However, absent in Marcusean scholarship on the imagination is a comprehensive exploration of emotions—an often overlooked yet constitutive artery of the political imagination. Through an analysis of Marcuse's works, this paper argues that emotions can alter the terms by which subjects respond to their material conditions, and therefore, have a liberating potential. This liberating potential stems from their defining role in shaping subjects' relations to their material condition of existence. I first highlight Marcuse's diagnosis of the repressive use of emotions to preserve the capitalist order through the notion of voluntary servitude. Emotions are necessary to materialize ideologies; they instinctualize the logic of capitalism, leading individuals to internalize the logic of domination and act upon it. Second, I demonstrate the emancipatory and radical potential of emotions in Marcuse's thought. I argue that emotions are necessary to emancipate the senses by radically rupturing the instinctual logic that binds individuals to capitalism and expanding the political imagination's boundaries, thereby creating the necessary conditions to conceive of alternative possibilities. Redefining consciousness under capitalism requires rewiring the instinctual structures through which emotions are felt, defined, and experienced. Drawing on Marxist feminism, I conclude by illustrating the value of conceptualizing political emotions as a potent tool to emancipate individual and collective political imaginations. Although Marcuse does not explicitly address political emotions, exploring the topic is essential to comprehensively understanding how to emancipate the senses in the project of abolishing capitalism.</p>
<p>Anastasia Kalk: Charles Fourier's Amorous Critique of Capitalism</p>	<p>"The paper examines the theory of Charles Fourier. While the name of Fourier is well known in critical, Marxist theory, his original contribution to Marxism has been overlooked. The dominant Marxist reading of Fourier underscores its contrasts with the socialist theory of Marx. Compared with Marx, Fourier is viewed as his more utopian predecessor, and a more romantic philosopher nostalgic about the past. I argue here that there exists a possibility for a different reading of Fourier's writings. The interpretation of Fourier as a naive forerunner of Marx overshadows his contribution to Marxism: the</p>

	<p>amorous or emotive critique of capitalism. This Fourier's idea has informed Marx' theory and, through Marxism, traveled into contemporary critical thinking. My reading allows for a fresh understanding of Fourier as a critical theorist of capitalist emotions.</p> <p>In the paper, I argue that the early socialist theory of Fourier contains the emotional structural critical argument against capitalism and for socialism.</p> <p>The Theory of the Four Movements diagnoses society with systematic unhappiness resulting from unfulfilled passions for cooperation. Fourier's theory interprets the human passion for organizing groups as an ideological byproduct of commercial civilization. He explains that the modern capitalist society (with its liberal philosophy) fosters passions for groups and love while preserving the tyrannical, isolating institutes that hinder their realization at the same time (the family, private property, and state).</p> <p>The capitalist order is based on the structural emotional contradiction between the passion for cooperation, on the one hand, and individualizing social and political institutions, on the other.</p> <p>Fourier's theory demands a different structure of feelings, a better organization of sociopsychological relations, one in which the capitalist ideas of love would lose or significantly shift in meaning. The post-capitalist society that Fourier envisions encourages intensified social connections and, as a consequence, a richer emotional experience and language for the description of an elevated emotional life."</p>
<p>Sofia Adam: Human Needs and Communist Utopias</p>	<p>According to Jameson (2004), utopia represents both the suspension of politics and the calm before the storm. The revival of the communist idea, along with new depictions of what a future communist society might look like, renews interest in past Marxist debates about human needs. Unlike early utopian socialists who provided detailed blueprints of their ideal societies, Marx was reluctant to do so, leaving many issues unresolved within the Marxist tradition.</p> <p>The importance of the question of human needs cannot be underestimated, as it encompasses the organizing principle of the future higher-stage communist society: ""from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs."" However, operationalizing this principle is challenging due to differing conceptualizations of human needs within the Marxist tradition.</p> <p>Recent developments have further diversified these perspectives. Degrowth communism advocates for the quantitative restriction and qualitative redefinition of human needs due to the urgency of the climate crisis. In contrast, fully automated luxury communism dismisses these concerns, arguing that technological advancements will create an abundance that renders such restrictions unnecessary. The question of scarcity versus abundance is thus deeply intertwined with the conceptualization of human needs, both within capitalism and in a potential future communist society.</p> <p>This paper revisits the debate on the centrality of human needs in a communist society in three ways. First, it explores the divergent interpretations of human needs in Marx's work. Second, it uses this analysis as a foundation to examine recent formulations of communist society. Finally, it highlights the long history of these ideas within utopian thinking.</p>
<p>Thursday 12:30 – 14:15 Marxism, Reproduction, and Care [RG01] HMSPEN</p>	
<p>Ester Micalizzi: Disabled women's struggle for reproductive justice in Italy: reflections from a case study</p>	<p>This presentation examines the struggle of disabled women for reproductive justice through a case study involving 33 interviews, adopting Social Reproduction Theory as a theoretical approach. The concept of 'reproductive justice' was developed by the SisterSong collective as a political framework of reproductive rights. Nevertheless, the structural connection between reproductive constraints and broader relations of (re)production remains under-explored. How can reproductive justice for disabled women be considered without acknowledging the fact that they are oppressed by</p>

	<p>traditional forms of labour and rendered as dependent and defective objects in the context of social reproduction? In order to address these questions, I draw upon the analytical framework that Nancy Fraser has been proposing in recent debates. Fraser identifies three analytically distinct yet interrelated forms of labour in capitalist society: exploited, expropriated, and domesticated. Fraser posits that the historically contingent relations among these forms of labour constitute the underlying connections between gender, race, and class. Building on the preceding contribution, I intend to present my own research, that would employ how Fraser's approach allows us to observe how disabled women often occupy a dialectical position within the three forms of labour. For instance, disabled women frequently encounter forms of labour that are devalued and exploited. This is because their contributions to the accumulation of capital are often undervalued. Furthermore, this expropriation extends to their sexual and reproductive capacities. In contrast, their care needs are typically met through racialised domestic labour, in a scenario that can be described as a 'crisis of care'. This material contradiction poses and raises several questions not only about disabled women's struggle in relation to the conditions of reproductive exercise and control, but also about how their demands should be articulated with other collective struggles and social justice movements.</p>
<p>Katherine Johnson-Rogers: Memoir-as-Materialism: The Uses and Limits of Lived Experience in Conjunctural Analyses of the U.S. Pharmacopornographic Regime of Gynecological Care</p>	<p>"In this paper, I theorize narrative self-representations of receiving gynecological care for sexual pain conditions as points of embodied struggle against what Paul Preciado calls the contemporary "pharmacopornographic era." Preciado asserts that the contemporary biopolitical regime of medicine is a form of domination that extends beyond the immediate interaction between the doctor and the patient into the quotidian lives of medicalized subjects who learn to regulate their own social reproduction. Assuming the gendered and medicalized body as a place of potential struggle with the contemporary political economy of the pharmacopornographic regime, I ask if we can read the self-representations of medicalized lives as a starting point for a materialist conjunctural analysis of the structure of U.S. gynecology.</p> <p>My inquiry takes up Stuart Hall's call to theorize the conjuncture starting "From the concrete historical 'work' which racism accomplishes under specific historical conditions" within the social formation. I extend his theory to ask how we can read medical experiences narrativized in first-person life-writing as reflections of the "work" that ideologies of binary sexuality are accomplishing in the contemporary structure of gynecology. I do this through a symptomatic reading of Emma Bolden's 2022 memoir about living with endometriosis as an asexual cisgender woman and Lara Parker's 2019 memoir of navigating her sexuality while living with the same condition in order to theorize the "work" that ideologies of gendered sexuality accomplish through the gynecological clinic. Ultimately, this paper asks three questions: How do sexual pain disorders disrupt normative ideologies of sexuality?; What role can medical memoir play in a conjunctural analysis of the political economy of sexual health?; And, taking a warning from Anna Kornbluh, where are the limits of what phenomenological and auto-analysis can reveal about what's at stake and what political horizons it can open?</p>
<p>Rebecca Close: The Fertility Fix and Reproductive Crisis: the Facial-matching Algorithm Boom in Assisted Reproduction in Spain</p>	<p>"Facial-matching algorithms are being implemented by fertility clinics around the world to select donors with the promise that the use of this software will ensure the recipient's donor-assisted child will resemble them or their partner. While an 'infertility crisis' is often mentioned when explaining the growth of the Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ARTs) industry, the use of donated reproductive cells is tied up in societal shifts, including LGBTQIA++ access to ARTs in some countries and delayed parenthood trends. This paper reads the enthusiastic uptake of facial-matching algorithms by clinics through the concept of 'the fertility fix': a software fix to the social reconfiguration of kinship and a fixed capital investment made by competing fertility companies and firms. 'The fertility fix' is proposed as a critical, ethical lens through which to situate Spain's current facial-matching algorithm boom in relation to the racial politics of the face and phenotype in assisted reproduction and the spatial politics of market expansion. This paper combines trans*feminist perspectives on reproductive choice with Marxist Feminist perspectives on shifting re-productive dynamics, and draws on the explanatory force of fixed capital as a</p>

	<p>Marxist concept useful for explaining why the creation of new physical and social infrastructures is so central to capital accumulation. This paper attends to the role of sexuality in the 'innovation' dynamics at play in the emerging computational and networked worlds of fertility and their territorial concentration in Spain as a biomedical, fertility destination.</p>
<p>Ewa Majewska: A fascist care? For a feminist-queer critique of the state of exception's protective discourses in neoliberal times</p>	<p>In the feminist theory discussions care has until recently been mainly seen as an attribute of the excluded and marginalized feminine, and thus revindicated against the misogynist, patriarchal rule of productivity, reason, or competition (see: Gilligan, 1982; Ruddick, 1998). Within the capitalist logic care became an asset, a resource susceptible to commodification and alienation, and those performing it were stigmatized as second category humans (Hochschild, 1983; Majewska, 2020). In this view shaped by feminist revisions of commodification of care in patriarchal capitalism there was no space for discussing the abusive and violent uses of care, such as those appearing in moments of transitions of biopolitical governance towards the modes typical for the state of exception or war (Agamben, 2003; Aharoni et al., 2021). The discourse of legitimizing the sudden introduction of security often uses the notion of caring for the citizens, and abuses it while justifying the reductions of freedoms and rights that follow. The liquidation of state measures of workers and minority protection which appear as inherent element of neoliberal capitalism also require additional caring narrative, which while masking the severe social and financial cuts, gives artificial impression of state's continuing participation in mediating the usually brutal relations between the state apparatus and market, and the individuals and groups (Bauman, 2007; Duggan, 2003). In such circumstances care becomes a narrative of failed responsibility and fake protection; a superfluous discourse legitimizing violence against those most vulnerable versus the powers of state security institutions as well as the capital. It is that care narrative that fuels the fascist notions of brotherhood and integrity, and as we witness the reappearance of ultra-rightwing authoritarianism, such perversion of care discourse being integral part of this political tendency needs to be diagnosed and criticized in feminist-queer search of progressive alternatives for our times.</p>
<p>Thursday 12:30 – 14:15 Music, Marxism, and Social Critique [BBK-MAL-251] Marxism and Culture</p>	
<p>Emília Barna: Subordination, Alignment, Relative Autonomy, and Resistance: The Platformisation of Labour in the Hungarian Music Industries from a World-Systems Perspective</p>	<p>"The entry of IT corporations into the music economy through streaming platforms has arguably been the most forceful recent development in the global music industries. Platforms have been critiqued as the primary new intermediaries between musicians and music consumers, actively governing musicians' labour and strongly impacting their working conditions, yet relatively less attention has been paid to smaller actors mediating between streaming platforms and musicians, which nevertheless also actively shape musicians' labour, especially in (semi)peripheral countries with "small" music markets. Some of these intermediaries are "new," such as digital distributors, and some "old," such as collecting societies; some for-profit and others – again, collecting societies and trade organisations – non-profit and partly state-controlled; some transnational – global or regional – and some national-level. They are all, however, embedded into local music industry histories, (infra)structures, and regulation, while also being positioned within global-level power relations.</p> <p>Based on qualitative empirical data from Hungary (semi-structured interviews and the analysis of local and international industry reports and trade documents), the proposed paper reflects on how these intermediaries of the digital music streaming ecosystem shape the work of musicians on the Eastern European semiperiphery. Through a theoretical perspective drawing on the political economy of cultural production, Marxist accounts of cultural labour and its platformisation (including labour process-based analyses), and world-systems analysis, I look at, firstly, how locally embedded intermediaries are positioned in the global, digitalised cultural industries. Secondly, how distributors, in particular, channel local musicians' labour into the global music industries, performing a disciplinary function outsourced to them by platforms. Thirdly, I identify practices and strategies of local musicians facing control and governance from</p>

	streaming platforms and distributors, taking the form of subordination, alignment, relative autonomy, and resistance."
Rasika Ajotikar: What kind of labour is music in modern Indian caste society?	A number of Dalit (ex-untouchable) castes in India have inherited musicianship as an occupation mandated by the caste system. These musical occupations require them to sing, make and play musical instruments for ritual and entertainment purposes to announce their own indignity. These musical spaces and epistemologies as well as the musical innovators themselves are deemed "impure" with justifications ranging from touch of animal skin (instruments made with leather) to the sexualisation of Dalit women performers. The formalisation and systematisation of music by elite Indian nationalists in colonial India further created hegemonic categories that regarded this music as "folk" (in opposition to "classical"). Dalits and low castes transformed this imposed musical service into a revolutionary force that took off at the end of the 19th century in western India which perseveres today in anti-caste cultural movements. Many activists and musicians in anti-caste spheres have been targets of state censorship, surveillance and imprisonment under draconian laws in the 20th and 21st centuries. Today, musicians and activists have to also comply to market forces, which demands professionalisation not just of music but also politics as they continue with their didactic experimentation. This makes the spectrum of musical labour complex marked by feudal and neoliberal capitalist characteristics. Drawing on ethnography, this paper hopes to theorise music and caste by bringing together 1) a Marxian understanding of culture and art – 'immaterial labour' and 'affect' in particular – and 2) contributions from an anti-caste thought put forth by Dr. B R Ambedkar – particularly his thesis of caste as 'division of labourers'. In doing so, I look at how music in a caste society operates as a form of labour that simultaneously produces value and social relations and views superstructural elements as anticipatory historical developments – particularly in reflecting on the relationship between art and emancipatory politics today.
Toby Manning: Why Pop Music is Political	<p>"The paper will argue that serious analysis of popular music has been neglected on the left, which remains in hock either to Adorno's dismissal of 'mass culture' as capitalist ideology, or to liberal separation of the aesthetic from the material. That pop music is a product of capitalism doesn't preclude its ability to be adversarial to, ambivalent about, or revealing of dominant ideology, because music is also the product of its social and economic conditions. Hence, music is political not just as overt 'protest' (Dylan, ghetto-funk, Two-Tone, Costello, Bragg) but as an expression of contemporary structures of feeling, whether radical (psychedelia, glam, Public Enemy), reactionary (80s pop; 90s R&B, Drake) or dialectical (punk, dance, Eminem). Pop's mode is affective not analytical, which is its political power rather than, as many leftists claim, its weakness. So the New Left appeared oblivious to the contemporary class, race and sexual refusal of rock'n'roll, while, beyond Marcuse, was either disinterested in the radical challenge of the counterculture (Williams) – expressed via psychedelia and progressive rock's reimagining of conventions – or dismissive of it (Hall; Frith). Similarly, glam's sexual and class politics were denigrated by Hebdige and Frith, while even punk has regularly been decreed to be 'beyond' politics.</p> <p>Although Simon Reynolds and Mark Fisher crucially combined musical and political analysis in the 00s, Reynolds still underestimates the political valency of rave, Fisher, that of grunge and Joshua Clover, gangsta rap. Such pessimism is a product of centrist neoliberal hegemony, the corporate micromanaging of culture paralleling political managerialism, resulting in genres like Britpop and bling hip-hop. This paper will argue, however, that co-option and containment are only temporarily effective tools of repression, that the history of popular music – like popular movements – is of recurring retrenchment and regeneration, and in music, therefore, lies a resource of hope.</p>
Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 "Power is Made of Science" – Marxism and Science in Italy 1974-1977 [B102]	
<p>The panel will discuss the relationship between Marxism and science in Italy, with a special focus on the journal Sapere between 1974 and 1977.</p> <p>Beginning in 1974, a shift in the editorial board of Sapere recast the journal as a hub for Marxist investigation into the state of scientific research in Italy and its relation to power. The various lines of inquiry fall under three main rubrics, corresponding</p>	

<p>to as many special issues of the journal: “labour and power,” “medicine and power,” and “environment and power.” The red thread running through all of them is a shared approach that combines theoretical reflection on the status of scientific knowledge with a critical analysis of the relationship between theory and practice, both in science and in politics. Through a combination of workers’ inquiry and historical investigation, the journal questioned the widespread assumption of the alleged “neutrality” of science by unveiling its tacit ideological assumptions and its strategic function in the reproduction of advanced capitalist societies. On this basis, the journal also sought to ground a new “politics of science.” Featured articles and reports by scientific practitioners, lab technicians, trade unionists, and labour organisers all contributed to envisioning how science can and should be restructured from the workplace up. In the mid-1970s, Sapere stood out as an unprecedented collective scrutiny of the role of science and technology in advanced capitalism. For this reason, its contents can still serve today as an unparalleled starting point for a Marxist take on such pressing questions as the technological automation of labour, the capital-induced environmental crisis, and the degradation of health and safety in the workplace.</p>	
<p>Vittorio Morfino: Science and Power: The Italian Journal ‘Sapere’ Under the Editorial Direction of G.A. Maccacaro</p>	<p>This paper will critically situate the journal Sapere in the context of Marxist reflection on science in Italy. The journal’s perspective on science will be contrasted with pre-existing ones advanced by such figures as Antonio Gramsci, Giulio Preti, and Ludovico Geymonat, as well as by Italian operaismo. The paper will then outline the main tenets of the journal’s view of the relation between science and power as it developed under the editorial direction of Marxist occupational health physician and organiser Giulio A. Maccacaro. After surveying the journal issues published between 1974 and 1977, the paper will focus more specifically on the journal’s contribution to the labour question in light of the relationship between science, health, and power.</p>
<p>Gianluca Pozzoni: On the Non-Neutrality of Science in Advanced Capitalism: Marxist History and Philosophy of Science in 1970s Italy</p>	<p>This paper will focus on the contributions to the Marxist history and philosophy of science featured in the Italian journal Sapere in the 1970s. The contributors’ engagement with questions regarding the origins of scientific theories and its epistemic status of scientific knowledge is framed as a deliberate political strategy aimed at mobilising intellectual workers, scientific practitioners, and lab technicians. This strategy is premised on the notion that knowledge production plays a pivotal role in the organisation of advanced capitalist societies, particularly in the rational organisation of industrial labour and the military use of technology for securing capitalist domination over supplying countries. In the wake of 1968 and the opposition to the Vietnam War, contributors to Sapere sought to denounce the subservience of scientific research to capitalist interests, thereby challenging the alleged “neutrality” of science. To this end, historical accounts are provided that reconstruct the social roots of scientific theories, while the everyday activity of science is shown to reproduce the capitalist organisation of production and serve capitalist uses of technology. Accordingly, the socialisation of science and knowledge is set as a primary goal of revolutionary politics.</p>
<p>Francesca Fidelibus: For a Medicine of the Working Class. Investigations in 1970s Italy Between Health and Exploitation</p>	<p>This paper aims to investigate methodologically and content-wise the Italian Journal “Sapere” in the years ‘74-’77. Placing the relationship between science and power at the centre of its general interest, the Journal proposed to rearticulate the relationship between theory and praxis in an unprecedented way, giving to work and to those who worked the possibility to elaborate their own discourse and, with it, effective practices to act concretely in reality and in the workplace. In particular, my aim will be to examine the theme of health and medical knowledge, providing concrete examples of investigation and intervention in factories with the highest levels of harmfulness and of work-related pathologies. The fight for health, which involved the entire mode of production, was linked to the fight against exploitation focusing on the theme of prevention as active intervention, promotion and protection of health, environment modification and work reorganization.</p>
<p>Silvestre Gristina: “Of Mice and Men”. ‘Environment and Power’, or For a Critique of the Ideological Concepts of ‘Nature’ and ‘Ecology’</p>	<p>The paper aims to investigate the ‘inserts’ of the Italian journal “Sapere” between 1974 and 1977. These are investigative articles on pollution due to capitalist production or on technical-scientific experiments on animals and the environment. The results of working with the selected articles can be concentrated around two interconnected thematic cores: 1) the critique of the ideological concept of ‘nature’; 2) the critique of the ideological</p>

	<p>concept of 'ecology'. It will be shown how, from the point of view of the journal 'Sapere', the concept of ecology was incorporated by the capitalist productivist logic and used as an empty buzzword to legitimize the exploitation of land and resources. Starting from the theoretical insights and practical examples collected in of 'Sapere''s issues, it could be possible to draw important methodological and conceptual tools to criticize today's ecological ideology and the much-abused concept of 'sustainability'.</p>
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<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Marxist Feminist Figures and Debates [B103] Marxist Feminism</p>	
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<p>Sandra Rein: Does it matter if Rosa Luxemburg was a feminist? Reflections on a recurring and passionate debate</p>	<p>"This paper arises out of observing and participating in discussions (sometimes quite passionate) about Rosa Luxemburg's "feminism". As scholarly and activist attention turns to more in-depth studies of Luxemburg's work, so does the question of her ""feminism"" repeatedly come to the fore. Rather than definitively answer DOES Luxemburg qualify as a feminist, this paper asks why the question of her feminism matters at all.</p> <p>The paper will pose three interrelated questions: First, how is feminism being defined and deployed when used in the context of Rosa Luxemburg? Second, what is at stake if she is/is not a feminist? Finally, what does the addition or removal of a feminist lens tell us about the politics, philosophy, organizational stance, and character of Rosa Luxemburg? To answer these questions, the paper draws on some of the most recent scholarship on the writings of Rosa Luxemburg including essays and articles by Luxemburg that are new/first time translations in the forthcoming Collected Works of Rosa Luxemburg, volume six. Ultimately, the paper argues that the question of Luxemburg's feminism matters not so much as the setting right of a historical record (although, there is an element of that to be sure) but rather because it tempers and humanizes Luxemburg in ways that makes her more accessible and relevant to the questions of today."</p>
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<p>Cathy Porter: The Marxism Feminism Debate in Russia</p>	<p>"I propose to discuss key moments in this debate, historically and currently, and how they speak to our discussions now. Russia's early aristocratic feminists' calls for an all-class alliance of women to campaign for their equality with men of their class, under existing capitalist conditions. Marxists' argument that all women were oppressed by capitalism, but divided by class, and that only when these conditions were swept away could they achieve their liberation. Feminist organisations campaigning for voting rights for women with property, and for their access to education and the professions. Kollontai and the Marxists mobilising women in the factories to fight for their equality in the struggle with men against capitalism and class injustice. These political battles about women's place in the reorganisation of power intensified in the revolutions of 1905 and March 1917, and ended conclusively with Bolshevik power in October, when feminism was effectively out of the picture.</p> <p>The debate was revisited in the Glasnost Soviet Union of the 1980s, with arguments freely advanced from both sides, scholarly articles on the Woman Question by economists Anastasia Posadskaya and Natalya Zakharova in the paper Communist,, and the opening in 1990 of Moscow's Gender Studies Centre, under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In post-Soviet Russia, sociologists Anna Tyomkina and Elena Zdravomyslova, of St Petersburg University's Gender Studies Centre, and psychologist Lyubov Popova, of Moscow University, have published their research on women's position in the labour market, domestic violence, the double burden, and the history of the Russian women's liberation movement. Inevitably in capitalist Russia, much of the subtlety of the Marxist feminist debate is lost, with Kollontai and others unfortunately referred to as 'Marxist feminists' - like ecofeminists, or other variations of feminist. So it's worth going back to the original debates in the decades before October, to rediscover the sharpness of the class politics, and how they resonate now with our discussions of class and gender, and the gendered structure of capitalism.</p>
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<p>Arundhati Dubey: Not Merely Cultural: Towards a Psychoanalytic-Marxist Feminism</p>	<p>Building upon the orthodox Marxist notion of “primitive accumulation”, Marxist feminism understands the phenomenon of ongoing warfare and violence not as exceptional situations of humanitarian crisis but as “accumulation through dispossession”: the repetitive, mechanical cycle inherent to capitalism’s structure of work and consumption that deprives an entire people of means to reproduce life, i.e., food, water, education, hospitals, etc., to ensure a form of global enclosure. My paper revisits the (Foucauldian) feminist turn towards culture, which eliminates materialist critique of political economy from feminism, considering the dialogue between Marxism and structuralism initiated by Gayle Rubin (1975), which understood the exploitation of workers in capitalism and women in patriarchy as merely analogical. Epitomised by Judith Butler’s gender theory, while this cultural turn denaturalises the sex-gender dichotomy, I suggest that cultural re-signification of sex is not an adequate solution to the problem of sex-gender and fails to overcome the nature-culture binary and patriarchy. Instead, I contend that the sex-gender relation follows the exact same logic as that of the relation between use-value and exchange-value, i.e., a non-substantial relation engendered in negativity, a non-relation. The wager of this paper is to push the feminist movement and feminist theory beyond identity politics and cultural re-signification or humanist materialism that concerns itself only with eliminating material conditions of exploitation towards a more dialectical approach to emancipation. Pointing out the limitations of approaches that prioritise either matter or culture, base or superstructure, this paper builds upon the productive dialogue between Marxist feminism and contemporary Lacanian psychoanalysis through thinkers like Alenka Zupančič, Samo Tomšič, and Joan Copjec and argues for an isomorphism between capital’s fundamental antagonism, “there is no social relation” and Jacques Lacan’s claim that “There is no sexual relation.” Rather than simply safeguard material conditions to reproduce bare life or merely re-signify what it is to be a worker and a woman, I suggest that this paper’s analysis responds to the ongoing warfare on life to imagine transformation that eliminates the very conditions of possibility of warfare inherent to capitalism.</p>
<p>Sarah Pigott: The Anti-Psychiatry Movement; Gender and Class. Focusing on the legacy of R. D. Laing</p>	<p>I studied Laing in the late 70s as part of a Sociology BA.</p> <p>Then about 10 years ago I visited Govanhill in Glasgow where Laing grew up. It was a middle-class area in his day. Children from there could expect to go to University, and to be well read and often play a musical instrument to a high standard. He did all these things and was intellectual from early on. (Ref RD Laing, A Life - by Adrian Laing)</p> <p>I thought about how relevant Laing's writing now seems in light of issues of coercive control in domestic relationships appearing in police investigations and court hearings. I find from re-reading <i>Sanity, Madness and the Family</i> that Laing is describing coercive control and 'gaslighting' in relationships within the family, going back to the 1950s.</p> <p>Laing has been criticised for being misogynistic, middle-class and denying the existence of mental illnesses which have now been supposedly proved to be organic and treatable with medication.</p> <p>I think that Laing's fans liked him for different reasons from the reasons that he was objected to by others. Followers would emphasise the way he described how mental health sufferers are interacted with. Detractors were criticising him on the basis of statistical studies of 'causes' or with notions of whether or not mental suffering is 'real'.</p> <p>I think Laing describes a basis for mental illness being a product of capitalism. For instance, in families in business, pressure is placed on children to fulfil the economic needs of parents by working in the father's office or forming an economic alliance through marriage. This leads to mind-games which can contribute to mental breakdown.</p>
<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Reworking Concepts from Western Marxism [B104] Western Marxism</p>	

<p>Purnima Tulsyan: Sohn-Rethel, Biopolitics, and the Historical a priori</p>	<p>"Since his death, Foucault's concept of biopolitics has proved analytically useful, but, as it rests on vague theoretical underpinnings, is frequently divorced in usage from his theoretical project. Following Béatrice Han-Pile, I take this theoretical project to be the uncovering of the 'historical a priori,' that is, the historical conditions for the emergence of forms of knowledge, particularly the human sciences, and their relation to forms of power and subjectivity. Han-Pile contends that this project undergirds all of Foucault's work, but, due to an undertheorized metaphysics, eludes completion; I further assert that this failing affects not only biopolitics as it appears in Foucault, but also undermines its many extensions by later theorists.</p> <p>In this paper, I seek to reconstruct the concept of biopolitics with reference to Alfred Sohn-Rethel's own search for the historical conditions of synthetic a priori knowledge, particularly mathematics, in the increasing role of exchange. I argue that biopolitics is conditioned by the exchange principle insofar as the latter historically undergirds the various forms of knowledge, such as statistics, that are foundational for biopolitics, as well as insofar as transatlantic chattel slavery involved the simultaneous management of commodities and populations."</p>
<p>Thekla Molnar: Asymmetries and Ambivalences. An Affect-theoretical Redefinition of the Concept of Reification</p>	<p>"Reification is a key concept in Western Marxism. In addition, the motif of objectification also plays an important role in many other critical theories, such as psychoanalysis and, as I will show, affect theory. In a broad Marxist understanding, reification is understood as a state of fragmentation in which the object confronts you as something "alien". Overcoming this state is the unconditional goal of Marxist theories. In my lecture, I would like to make Lukács' concept of reification fruitful in a further context: a redefinition of the concept will be discussed on the basis of Lauren Berlant's affect theory.</p> <p>Berlant shares a certain skepticism towards the object with Marx and Lukács. It does not deliver what it promises, remains enigmatic and often leads to unpleasant surprises. Nevertheless - according to Berlant - this does not allow for a final judgment. Berlant stands for a fundamental openness towards forms of objectification in the sense of a radical rethinking of the reified status quo. Thus, a common thread running through Berlant's work is the question of how people can form bonds even though the relationship seems damaged, overly complex and sometimes hopeless, or in other words, how people can still behave relationally in an reified world. This project discusses with Berlant the possibility of ambivalence in considering the state of objectification. The re-evaluation of this state is made possible by Berlant's understanding of objectification as an asymmetrical, discontinuous process at the end of which there is a phantasmatic object. On this basis, I argue with Berlant for a strategic acceptance and de-dramatization of the experience of objectification, which opens up the focus on the affective structure of objectifications. This helps to better understand why we are so affectively attached to the reproduction of forms of reification and what a political re-evaluation of this affective structure might look like. "</p>
<p>Paul Finlay Stewart: Value-theoretic components of the working day, categories of labour time and forms of class struggle: Revisiting Eric Olin Wright and value creation in the South African mining labour process</p>	<p>A fresh explanatory reading of Eric Olin Wright's value-theoretic analysis of the working day in terms of labour time expenditure accounts for both the genesis of value creation and the exploitation of South African mining labour more adequately than relying on rubrics of low wages and racial despotism: 'cheap labour', 'ultra-subordination', 'super-exploitation', 'ultra-cheap labour' and 'racial ultra-exploitation.' Wright's concern to apply analysis in empirical investigations is broadened, all of the value theoretic components of his schema are instantiated when considering the mining labour process and the anomaly in his schema, that net surplus value is not linked to a particular form of class struggle, is modified in the light of reflecting on ethnographic research underground. Wright's much-criticised 'analytic' or 'categorical' stance is thus subject to and tested against historical and empirical investigation. The point of tracing value creation in the mining labour process is to explain two historical facts: long industrial working hours with virtually no reductions in working time over almost a century and the ever-increasing length of the migrant labour contact, two measures of labour time which eventually coincide in a standard annual working time regime.</p>

Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Lenin: 100 Years Without Him – 100 Years With Him [B202]	
Rolando Prats-Paez: Lenin and Us: A Restless Relationship	<p>This panel flows from a four-month international series entitled "Leninist Days," commemorating Lenin's 1924 death, at the same time reaching for a multifaceted "global revolutionary strategy that unites all forces and all resources necessary for emancipatory change to be once and for all not only desirable and possible but at last inevitable." From January 27 to May 25 there were 22 keynote addresses, 12 panels, and 5 book-launch conversations, all online, involving hundreds of participants from around the world. This panel includes: Rolando Prats-Paez, "Lenin and Us: A Restless Relationship"; Alla Ivanchikova, "The Future of Lenin"; and Panagiotis Sotiris, "Lenin in History – with an Eye on Strategy."</p>
Alla Ivanchikova: The Future of Lenin	
Panagiotis Sotiris: Lenin in History – with an Eye on Strategy	
Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Platform Worker Inquiries I [B203] Workers Inquiry	
Andreia Machado Castiglioni de Araújo: The platformization of Brazilian public basic education as an emblem for the precariousness of teachers' labour [co-authors: Arthur Monzelli, Caio Espimpolo, Érica Navarro, Geisa dos Santos, José Guilherme Cagnin, Priscila Trucullo, Yan da Silva]	<p>This work is the result of collective research by Brazilian professionals of the fields of basic education and social services, which intersect in education. The central objective is to analyze the labor conditions of teachers in Brazilian public schools, amid the advancing use of digital platforms in educational management. Platformization is not a recent phenomenon, since it has its roots in the 1970s, when the world was experiencing signs of a structural crisis that imposed, within the very premises of capitalism, the productive restructuring of capital, demanding an increase in productivity through technical-informational-digital development. In Brazilian public basic education, platformization was heavily intensified with the COVID-19 pandemic, imposing on the teaching reality the need to work through digital platforms and remote teaching as measures to contain the proliferation of the virus. In addition to being a global health catastrophe, the coronavirus pandemic has become a sophisticated laboratory for experimenting with the precariousness and exploitation of teaching work by capital. As a result, a gradual increase of the process of commodification of public education has taken place, manifested in the logic of outsourcing the management and organization of pedagogical work to private digital platforms, the main focus of this study. It is understood that the platformization of Brazilian public education reverberates in teaching labor through three of the alienating trends analyzed by sociologist Ricardo Antunes, namely: the uberization of labor; the resumption of past levels of labor's exploitation – analogous to the era of the Industrial Revolution; and, the deanthropomorphization of the labor process. Although these trends point to a worsening of precariousness of teachers' labor, the class struggle and the possibility of overcoming the capitalist use of technology are not unfeasible, which, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued, can lead to the supersession of the production's mode anchored in capital.</p>
Sofia Negri and Maria Belén D'Ambrosio: Organising the unorganised: the experience of the Solidarity Stops in building the platform workers Union of Argentina	<p>"This work seeks to describe the emergence of the grassroots Union of Delivery Platform Workers, SiTraRepA (Sindicato de Base de Trabajadores de Reparto por Aplicación), in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 2020 from street posts called "Paradas Solidarias" (Solidarity Stops): spaces for mutual support and organizing of delivery platform workers. Platform work represents a new sector of the working class that does not have any labor rights. Companies organize the labor process with a logic of atomization that treats each of the workers as separate individuals without any type of link, directed by an algorithm under a piecework regime. These mechanisms are used to prevent forms of collective organizing, added to the entrepreneurship discourse that seeks to deny the classification of workers.</p> <p>Despite this fragmentation, spontaneous meeting spaces develop among workers while they carry out their tasks where solidarity and mutual support emerge. Given this, SiTraRepA develops self-organization strategies that aim to build organizing structures, which are the Solidarity Stops. These permanent, itinerant, and flexible spaces serve to foster debate about the unionizing and political needs of delivery workers, as well as to recompose a collective identity as workers - class identity as a social relationship - in contrast to the discourse of entrepreneurship. It is from the Solidarity Stops where the</p>

	<p>union's activity is structured, responding to day-to-day problems among delivery workers, carrying out campaigns, calling for mobilizations, and building the social ties that companies and their new exploitation mechanisms seek to break. Above any strictly legal tactic or strategy, SiTraRepA prioritizes the need to recompose an organized collective of workers into a grassroots union that challenges the atomization, individualism, and entrepreneurship characteristic of 21st-century capitalism."</p>
<p>Ramiro Andrés Manini: The international class struggle for labour rights: the experience of the platform workers movement</p>	<p>"Platform work is shaping a new sector of the global workforce, based on algorithmic management of the work process. Its most well-known forms are food delivery and passenger transportation, but the same logic is increasingly applied across various sectors of the economy.</p> <p>Algorithmic labor embodies a "reloaded Taylorism," imposing discipline and control on workers through automated technological tools, even monitoring the slightest body movements to maximize profit margins.</p> <p>Simultaneously, as control is exerted through the app, exploitation appears more "abstract." This is complemented by the discourse of "entrepreneurship" and "autonomy" promoted by companies, disguised as "freedom to choose working hours," which conceals the reality: to earn a minimum wage, one must work more than 10 or 12 hours a day, 6 or 7 days a week.</p> <p>These companies deny any employment relationship with their workers, thus employing them without any rights. Moreover, they have built a deeply anti-union model, allocating significant resources to prevent worker organization, even forming pro-company associations that promote the discourse of "autonomy" and seek to hinder any legal recognition of the employment relationship and the acquisition of rights.</p> <p>Despite the sector's fragmentation, solidarity networks among workers are emerging, and there are unions or worker organizations worldwide fighting for recognition of the employment relationship and full rights. Furthermore, this sector of workers is highly receptive to forming internationalist bonds, leading to significant coordination events such as the first International Congress of Platform Workers, which brought together in April 2023 representatives from worker organizations of 17 countries and 3 continents to build a coordination for the rights of workers and recognition of the employment relationship. In this paper we'll analyze the trends of platform work and the characteristics of the workers organizations that rise internationally to fight this intent to turn labor relationships back to the XIX century.</p>

Thursday 14:30 – 16:15

Gillian Rose's Critical Marxism [B204]

This panel seeks to reassess Gillian Rose's relationship to the Marxist tradition and to reflect upon the political implications of Rose's work more broadly.

In her early works *The Melancholy Science* (1978) and *Hegel Contra Sociology* (1981), both of which immanently critique the primacy and generalization of the category of reification in the work of Marxists such as Lukacs and Adorno, Rose carved out a unique space within Anglophone Marxism. Detecting an inability to escape the neo-Kantian antinomy between method and content within not only Lukacs and Adorno, but also the very conceptual underpinnings of sociology as a discipline, Rose's early readings of Hegel entail closely attending to the speculative unfolding of Marx's analyses of the commodity abstraction and determinate social mediations (Lazarus 2018).

Rose's critical Marxism has a close affinity with so-called value-form interpretations of Marx, as found in the work of the Neue Marx Lecture and the Open Marxism school, which have seen a resurgence in contemporary times. Yet, while sharing value theory's distancing from traditional and Lukacsian Marxism, Rose's idiosyncratic commitment to Hegel's Absolute alongside the dialectical method and against Adorno's "morality of method", arguably sets her critical Marxism apart. This panel therefore explores the unique contributions of Rose's critical Marxism, particularly her early work, situating her insights within the context of when she was writing as well as more recent debates around the relationship between the critique of political economy and critical theory.

Moreover, Rose's increasing concern with religion and ethics in later works such as *The Broken Middle* and *Mourning Becomes the Law* reinforce her eclecticism as a Marxist and even throw into question some of her earlier radical politics. Can these later meditations on, for example, Judaism, allegory, and the separation between law and ethics be reconciled with her

<p>earlier critical Marxism? This panel grapples with such questions alongside those of the potential relevance of Rose's later works to contemporary critical discussions of aesthetics, fascism and the crisis of the capitalist state.</p>	
<p>Ed Graham: The Bacchanalian Revel</p>	<p>In a late essay "Walter Benjamin – Out of the Sources of Modern Judaism" (1993) Gillian Rose traces the aestheticized politics of twentieth century fascism back to the seventeenth century baroque ethic of worldly aestheticism. Rose connects Benjamin's early work on the German Trauerspiel to the later Marxist analyses of fascism, and her essay is accompanied by a critique of Benjamin's thinking. For Rose, Benjamin's earlier fascination with melancholy allegory is indicative of his later inability to think the ethical middle between divine Law and divine violence – his inability to think through mediation. Rose argues that Benjamin's inattentiveness to mediation via the "broken middle" (the ethical space of Singularity that must persist amidst modernity's diremption of inner morality from the Law, according to Rose) results in an incomplete, aberrated, rather than inaugurated, mourning of capitalist modernity. As such, Benjamin can only oscillate between extremes: "subjective, fallen, melancholy judgement can only be overthrown by the expiation of bloodless violence of a new, divine immediacy – the general strike, the distracted cinema audience, a Socialist emergency law (to oppose the Fascist emergency), the Messiah" (Rose 182).</p> <p>This paper argues that Theodor Adorno's revision of Benjaminian allegory within the form of the artwork in <i>Aesthetic Theory</i>, a text which Rose spoke little of, represents the mediating space that Rose deemed necessary for a speculative politics not beholden to waiting for a transcendental singularity or real state of emergency. The artwork, for Adorno, registers historically mediated mutilated nature as sedimented form and as such speculatively presents the damaged life of capitalism as both exaggerated and preponderantly objective. The space opened-up by <i>Aesthetic Theory</i> can be read as the "broken middle" between Minima Moralia's "subjective standpoint" and <i>Negative Dialectics</i>' "objective standpoint" (Rose, <i>The Melancholy Science</i> 21). Art is in fact a space through which the kind of speculative critical Marxism championed by Rose in her earlier work is prefigured. Allegory and the artwork, as conceived by Adorno, thus also serve as something of a "middle" between Rose's own earlier and later works.</p>
<p>Thomas Waller: Absolute Style: Gillian Rose's Speculative Philosophy</p>	<p>This paper reads Gillian Rose's speculative philosophy through the category of 'absolute style'. With a particular focus on <i>Hegel Contra Sociology</i> (1981), I evaluate Rose's signature ability to silently shuffle back and forth between expository and argumentative forms of writing, rendering difficult any attempt to sharply distinguish between those moments at which she is re-presenting Hegel, and those at which she is essaying original interpretations of her own. Contra much of the critical reception of Rose, which tends to de-yoke her stylistic 'difficulty' from the philosophical content of her thought, I read the compositional features of her texts as a constitutive resource of her speculative philosophy. From this perspective, Rose's style serves two key purposes: first, to limn a philosophy that does not subjugate its object through the domination of relative identity, as in Kant's and Fichte's philosophies of reflection; second, to avoid reaffirming the status quo by acknowledging the reality of unfreedom and thereby clearing the ground for its transformation. However, while Rose's style may in this way combat the diremption of theoretical and practical reason, she is also wary of the limits of methodological abstraction, and insists that true social transformation can only occur in the sphere of actuality. Ultimately, the challenges for Rose's 'absolute style' are the same as the dilemma of Hegel's 'absolute method': How to state the unity of theory and praxis without succumbing to the reifying logic of abstraction? How to acknowledge the circularity of speculative science while at the same time gesturing towards the breaks in the circle? How to present freedom in a world of domination?</p>
<p>Christopher Nealon: Gillian Rose Contra Value-Form Theory</p>	<p>The post-war German conversation about Marx's theory of value has given Marxists an important opportunity to re-think the relationship between class struggle and other forms of political action. Value-form theory, in theory, should be able to help us to ask fresh questions: what might we learn about political struggle if we started to study the</p>

	<p>ways very different kinds of politics are nonetheless operating in the same horizon of the rule of value-production? What new forms of solidarity might be lying in wait for us? In general, though, value-form theorists have not taken this opportunity, tending instead to drift in the direction of a militant hopelessness about political struggle. In this paper I will suggest that that hopelessness involves a reduction of Marx's analysis of capital to the contradiction between use and exchange value, and a neglect of everything that devolves from it — pressures on profitability, spatial fixes, social movements and local political struggles — as “surface phenomena.” Unlike the value-form theorists, Gillian Rose guides us to a Hegelian understanding of the relationship between form and content that is much more flexible, and more alert to actual capitalist history. The value theorists, following Adorno, frame their analyses in terms of a drama between the particular and the universal, and force the third term of the Hegelian concept — the singular — to stand for the supposedly radical uniqueness of capitalist social relations. This obliges them to think of all politics except some radical singularity as deluded. Rose, however, is capable of seeing the singular in the everyday, and leads us back to a Hegelian Marx for whom what came before capitalism, and what we do to survive it, matter for the making of post-capitalist future.</p>
<p>Jake Orbison: Gillian Rose's Speculative Jerusalem</p>	<p>In her later works, Gillian Rose takes up a longstanding critical tradition of analyzing Judaism as modernity's sublime Other. Like Szleskine's <i>The Jewish Century</i>, Deutscher's <i>The Non-Jewish Jew</i>, or even Marx's "On the Jewish Question," Rose argues repeatedly that there's something Jewish about the modern condition. However, Rose's approach is more historically specific to the late 80s and early 90s; in <i>The Broken Middle</i> (1992), <i>Judaism and Modernity</i> (1993), and <i>Mourning Becomes the Law</i> (1996), she writes that postmodernism and deconstruction's "New Ethics of the Other" begins in modern Jewish thought and its strained in its relationship to Reason. Some, including her sister Jacqueline, have read Rose's intervention into Jewish identity-thinking "beyond rationalism, violence, the history of the world" as a philosophical resource toward anti-Zionism. However, Rose curiously never addresses the actually existing Jewish state. In fact, she appears to go to great lengths to uphold that political ellipsis.</p> <p>This paper first clarifies Rose's "speculative" or perhaps "Hegelian" anti-Zionism and then evaluates that project in light of the struggle for Palestinian liberation. I focus on Rose's allegory of contemporary thought as a struggle between warring cities, "Jerusalem against Athens" as an immanent critique of "The [postmodern] use of architecture in philosophy [that] bolsters a tendency to replace the concept by the sublimity of the sign." I then compare this critique of postmodernism to those found in the value criticism tradition, including those of Moishe Postone and Robert Kurz, which similarly opposed postmodernist proto-nationalism, but whose critique has been deployed to chastise the left, or even to defend U.S. and Zionist violence. I argue that Rose usefully rejects value critical evaluation of social movements, but refuses to see theory as a resource for those movements.</p>
<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Struggle, Crisis, and Utopia in Film and Television [B205] Marxism and Culture</p>	
<p>Benison Kilby: Reproducing Solidarity: Sex Worker Activism and Social Reproduction Struggles in Petra Bauer and SCOT-PEP's Workers!</p>	<p>Carefully prioritising sex worker voices, <i>Workers!</i> (2018) is a collaborative film and research project by the Swedish artist and filmmaker, Petra Bauer and the sex worker led community organisation SCOT-PEP (Scottish Prostitutes Education Project) who are based in Edinburgh. Established in 1989, today SCOT-PEP continues to campaign for the labour rights of sex workers, including the decriminalisation of sex work in Scotland. The film's narrative is simple; it follows a small group of SCOT-PEP members over the course of a day as they stage an occupation of, and prepare for a fictional SCOT-PEP event in, the Scottish Trade Union Congress Building in Glasgow, a building with a long history as a site for political organising and workers' struggles. SCOT-PEP's use of the Scottish Trade Union Building for a day of staged sex worker organising is a powerful, symbolic</p>

	<p>gesture in the struggle to have sex work recognised as a legitimate form of work. Analysing <i>Workers!</i> in relation to two feminist films on sex work from the 1970s, Chantal Akerman's <i>Jeanne Dielman, 23 Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles</i> (1975) and <i>Les Prostituées de Lyon Parlent</i> (1975) by the French video collective Video Out, this paper argues that social reproduction theory has much to contribute to a critical analysis of sex work in contemporary art. The paper situates the work within the broader historical context of contemporary capitalism, which is marked by a re-organisation of reproductive labour. Drawing on Marxist feminist theories of social reproduction, I argue that the work revitalises historical strategies of feminist film in the present and foregrounds sex worker activism as a form of social reproduction struggle.</p>
<p>Ian Peter Stone: Towards an anti-imperialist and anti-racist film archive: Reading the work of Goran Hugo Olsson</p>	<p>"Towards an anti-imperialist and anti-racist film archive: Reading the work of Goran Hugo Olson Goran Hugo Olson's documentaries have been significant interventions in the 21st century landscape of anti-imperialist and anti-racist cinema, using found footage and intertextual multi-media techniques to enhance, reconfigure and rearticulate visual evidence of struggles of the past to illuminate current struggles. His work provides an expanded narrative of the Black liberation movement in the United States, and of postcolonial movements around the world. With a particular focus on <i>The Black Power mixtape 1967-1975</i> (2011) and <i>Concerning Violence</i> (2014), this paper will address the contribution Goran Hugo Olsson has made to anti-racist and postcolonial archival practices, and ways in which his films may be read, with reference to the philosophy of Jacques Ranciere and Georges Didi-Huberman; with a specific emphasis on Ranciere's critique of the inegalitarian 'distribution of the sensible' with relation to national cultural identity, and of Georges Didi Huberman's analysis of the partial image as a site for resistance. One of the other considerations will be of how Goran Hugo Olsson's documentaries use the intertext, and the effectiveness of this- for example the narration of sections of Franz Fanon's <i>The Wretched of the earth</i> by Lauren Hill during <i>Concerning Violence</i>. Lastly the status of Goran Hugo Olsson's films as politico- ontological prompts will be considered, as examples of 'Kairos' moments.</p>
<p>Conrad Hamilton: The Circulation of Marvels: MCU as Microchronology</p>	<p>In his famed work <i>The Theory of the Novel</i>, Lukács offers a grim assessment of the state of the epic: that, due to the sundering of nature and culture by capitalism, totalistic literary works such as those of Homer or Dante can no longer appear—except latently in the form of the novel, which substitutes individual for cosmological coherence. Yet if this is the case, an interesting question poses itself: why is it that, over the past 15 years, the most pervasive capitalist narratives—and there is no greater exemplar of this than the films of the Marvel Cinematic Universe—have eschewed individualism and discrete plotting in favour of a self-consciously epic structure? Part of the answer surely lies in Jameson's postmodernism thesis. If, after all, alienation is a "modernist experience," then it follows that the absence of any kind of 'outside' to capitalism can manifest as a revival of, if not the totality, then perverted pseudo-totalities that vouch for the timelessness of capitalist organization. But while this diagnostic may work to a point, the problem lies in the fact that the likes of <i>The Avengers</i> or the Jon Watts <i>Spider-Man</i> movies are—for all the rapid cuts, re-enacted memes, and general forms of psychic fragmentation on display within them—not exactly postmodern. Rather, they're better understood as an attempt to tame the tangle of information we're inundated by within late capitalism, re-inscribing it within a normative frame that accords with its dominant sovereignty. In this respect, they bear a resemblance to the evolution of the Internet itself. For as Anna Kornbluh has observed, while the nineties dreamt a premonition of an 'information highway', it has become increasingly clear that that highway only runs in one direction: not towards a plural cyber-utopia, but towards the algorithmic recapture of it by the industrial centre.</p>
<p>Katie Crosson: Crisis / Joy / Crisis: Where Next for Entertainment and Utopia?</p>	<p>"War, poverty, ecological collapse. This paper proposes that art that addresses such problems, though often brandished as 'miserabilist', routinely comprehends and conceptualises joy to a fuller extent than works which evade reflection upon such issues. I argue that this comprehension and conceptualisation is realised through the novel construction of 'negative joy': a space where joys that cannot be actualised or even yet fully imagined can be called into question.</p>

	<p>Through the central case study of the politically and formally radical single-teleplay strand Play for Today (BBC: 1970-1984), this paper argues that a plague that is not recognised is one that cannot be countered, and that a meaningfully joyful world awaits those who are permitted to envisage joy side-by-side with its interrupting structures. Rethinking some of Richard Dyer's key arguments about entertainment and utopia via Susan Buck-Morss' concept of dreamworlds and shadows, I will put forth the case for a Marxist reconsideration of audiovisual aesthetics and their relationship to joy and its absence in times of crisis.</p> <p>This argument will address both an un-nuanced aversion to sensorial pleasure and an ill-conceived undervaluing of joy as a subject of reflection, while simultaneously providing grounds upon which to critique the hollowness of nominally utopian scenarios represented without an element of reflexive interplay with the constraints under which such visions are constructed from the present. It will propose Play for Today's 'negative joy' as a powerful tool in lieu of these equally fallible forms.</p> <p>This paper is intended for the Marxism and Culture Stream. "</p>
<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Interrogating Green Colonialism, Green Imperialism, and Fossil Imperialism within the Global Capitalist System [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]</p>	
<p>Alejandro Pedregal, Nemanja Lukić: Green colonialism or green imperialism?: A critique from the framework of world-systems analysis and dependency theory</p>	<p>"The climate crisis, together with the multiplicity of ecosocial crises, has mobilized a cosmetic adaptation of global capital aimed at perpetuating its accumulation. These new forms of value drain, mainly from the Global South to the Global North, seek to continue the core's historical appropriation of labor, materials, and cheap energy from the peripheries. In this context, a whole series of analyses have proposed a critical reading of the phenomenon describing it as "green colonialism." However, these perspectives are not exempt from analytical constraints and weaknesses within their political practice. Their most notable fragility has to do with a lack of dialectical critique between the concrete conditions of ecological conflicts and the expansive trajectory of capitalism. As such, they tend to abstract these conflicts from their relationship with the hierarchies and regimes of dependency that exist within global capitalism, sometimes resulting in instrumentalizations by imperialist projects of regime change.</p> <p>This paper draws on world-systems analysis and dependency theory in relation to colonialism and imperialism to offer a systemic definition of these spheres in connection to green capitalism. From those frameworks, on the one hand, we can specify colonialism as a historical phase an often violent incorporation of territories and societies into the capitalist system, following its logics of accumulation. On the other hand, imperialism aims to perpetuate and intensify the value drain from the periphery to the core within its integrated system, without necessarily adopting every form of domination which was part of its own formation. Our critical analysis seeks to strengthen a historical reading of ecosocial critiques in relation to the systemic dynamics of capital in its globalized stage, proposing a conceptualization of its ecological cosmetics in terms of "green imperialism."</p> <p>This work doesn't mean to censure those critiques, legitimate and indispensable, against today's capitalist "greenwashing". On the contrary, it seeks to establish a fruitful dialogue with those positions by providing historically adequate analytical frameworks, essential to prevent any discursive co-optation from certain institutional structures of the imperialist centers."</p>
<p>Rocío Hiraldo: Questioning imperialist decarbonization? Challenges around the making of international solidarity in the Spanish energy"transition"</p>	<p>"In recent years, scholarly critiques of the imperialist and neo-colonial character of ecological and climate "transitions" have multiplied. Simultaneously, academic interest in activists' discourses of just transitions and, more broadly, their integration of labour, environmental and climate goals, has grown rapidly. Despite recognition that labour and working class environmentalisms should take consideration of existing racial, colonial and sexual divisions of labour, scant attention has been paid to the processes shaping the incorporation of anti-imperialist and antiracist critiques of ecological and climate transitions by activists in the Global North.</p>

	<p>This paper explores this question through a focus on mobilizations in the context of wind energy development in the Spanish region of Galicia, where a) activists are increasingly using the term “colonialism” to describe the repeated targeting of rural areas of this region as a sacrifice zone for wind farms; b) migrant workers’ labour intersects with renewable energy development due to their employment in wind turbine factories and to the effects of offshore wind farms on the fishing sector, where a large number of migrants work; c) mobilisations by neighbour associations and environmental organisations have stopped various wind energy projects; d) workers have mobilised against the closure of wind turbine factories and for better conditions within them.</p> <p>Drawing on interviews with migrant workers and activists from labour and environmental organisations mobilising in this context, this paper explores how and why labour and environmental organisations mobilising in this context (do not) take into consideration of: the realities of (often racialized) migrant workers affected by wind energy development in Galicia; and the imperialist extractivist processes nurturing the renewable energy sector in Spain.</p>
<p>Bernardo Jurema, Elias König: Fossil Imperialism as Process and Structure: State Power and Capital in the Climate Crisis</p>	<p>Imperialism has long been used as a category to highlight and theorize the connections between capital accumulation and the exogenous use of state power on its behalf. Against the backdrop of an escalating climate crisis, the connections between imperialism and fossil capitalism have recently come under increased scrutiny. Several authors and activists have used the term fossil imperialism to refer to this nexus (Malm 2016b, SOAS 2017, Samidoun 2021, Bond 2022, Hamouchene 2024). Building on their interventions, this paper theorizes fossil imperialism both as a process and as a structure of imperial domination. Under fossil capitalism, a central task for imperial states is to ensure and control the flow of cheap fossil energy in the interest of their respective fossil economies. In particular, we identify five mechanisms of control by which imperial states facilitate this process: (1) colonization; (2) projection of military power; (3) suppression of anti-extractivist movements; (4) economic warfare; and (5) domination of the global (financial and political) institutions that regulate the trade and distribution of fossil fuels. Besides analyzing imperialism as a concrete process, there is another important way in which to conceive of imperialism: as a structural arrangement in which various states occupy specific roles as defined by their position within the global power hierarchy. While this order facilitates an extraordinary concentration of economic and political power among some states, it imposes severe constraints on all other actors within the international system. As a result, a small number of states possess the authority to establish regulations, enforce them upon others, and selectively adhere to or disregard these rules at their discretion. Finally, we offer some reflections on the possibility of a non-fossil anti-imperialism, which, too, can be understood both as a process (of resistance) and a structure (of anti-imperial organizing).</p>
<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Marxist Perspectives on Fascism (1) [G3]</p>	
<p>Mark Thomas: Roger Griffin’s liberal theory of fascism: A Marxist critique</p>	<p>"Roger Griffin is an influential theorist of fascism, which he conceptualises as centring on an ideology of “palingenesis”, or national rebirth.</p> <p>Griffin foregrounds ideology in contrast to older approaches, both non-Marxist and Marxist, which he argues fail to take fascists’ ideas seriously. Griffin describes his approach as “methodological empathy”, drawing on the Verstehen tradition associated with Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey. This privileges agents’ self-understanding as central to explanatory frameworks.</p> <p>As a result, Griffin accepts fascist claims to be revolutionaries offering, as “ultra revolutionary nationalists”, an alternative conception of the radical transformation of society to the Marxist influenced radical left.</p>

	<p>Griffin's work is part the "linguistic turn" that has sought to marginalise the influence of Marxism and social history more generally, both of which had enjoyed important influence with the rise of New Left from 1956 onwards and the subsequent post-1968 radicalisation.</p> <p>Griffin's emphasis on investigating fascists' ideas yields insights but is unable to distinguish between the pseudo-revolutionary ideological mask of fascism and its actual dynamics as a counter-revolutionary mass movement.</p> <p>Seeking to develop an independent base, combining electoral support and the development of a paramilitary movement directed at the workers' movement, fascist leaders are under certain circumstances able to bargain with sections of the state and capital to share power in a conflictual partnership. This involves fascists providing a mass base, and shock troops, for a shared project of the counter revolutionary reversal of all concessions to the exploited and oppression</p> <p>Such an understanding both allows for the relative independent development of fascism - in which the role of ideology plays an important part - but also anchors it within capitalism's social structure and ultimately as complicit with it. Griffin's idealist approach provides a sophisticated restatement of liberal claims for capitalism's innocence towards the crimes of fascism."</p>
<p>Luca Micaloni: Two Theories of Fascism in the Early Frankfurt School</p>	<p>"My contribution will examine the historical and theoretical development of the division of the Frankfurt School's analysis of fascism into two main currents. On the one hand, the 'continuity thesis', represented by Marcuse, Neumann, Kirchheimer, Gurland, which interpreted fascism as a political form appropriate to the monopolistic phase of capitalism; on the other hand, the view (mainly advocated by Pollock and Horkheimer) of fascism, and in particular Nazism, as a new kind of economic and political structure, characterised by the predominance of political decision-making over the dynamic laws of the economy.</p> <p>Particular attention will be paid to the gradual shift in Horkheimer's analysis, who initially had advanced the thesis of a continuity between liberalism and fascism, defined by the capitalist economic structure common to both forms of government. I will try to show how Pollock's reflections on State capitalism played a decisive role in the change in Horkheimer's position. According to Pollock's (and Horkheimer's) perspective, Nazi Germany could no longer be clearly described as a capitalist state, but rather as a command economy in which the laws of motion of the capitalist economy were subordinated to general planning. State capitalism had eroded the foundations of class society, and given rise to a society of rackets and 'gangs' in conflict with each other on a national and international scale.</p> <p>The talk will also attempt to ask whether the transition away from liberalism actually meant a dismantling of the capitalist mode of production, rather than its continuation by other political means. More generally, I will attempt to clarify whether the thesis of capitalist continuity and the thesis of the historical novelty of fascism can be seen as complementary and mutually corrigible."</p>
<p>Haziran Zeller: Fascist Realism. Tackling Philosophical Fallacies with Lenin and Adorno</p>	<p>"In this paper, I want to investigate the concept of pathological projection. It is an essential element of the critical theory of fascism. Horkheimer and Adorno outline in Dialectic of Enlightenment (1947, 193ff), how fascists consider themselves as fighting against external enemies to prevent greater harm to their national collective. Their own struggle is conceived as of merely defensive character: It is not Nazi-Germany attacking the Soviet Union, but Hitler preventing International Marxism to dominate the world.</p> <p>The psychologically interesting aspect here is the turning around of intentions: the own aggression towards world domination is projected into another collective. It is a reversal of 180 degrees. This mechanism is still at work today in many reactionary movements today. Think of Erdoğan in Turkey: While his own politics is highly conspiratorial, the official line is always that of the fight against a (foreign) conspiracy: The Left, the Kurds,</p>

	<p>or terrorism. In general, this is what political projection is about: the enemy is charged with characteristics that belong to oneself.</p> <p>In my paper, I want to show how Horkheimer and Adorno use the notion of projection for historical fascism. Then I will trace back the concept to its Freudian origin. In a last step, I will show where we can find it in Marx: In the Jewish Question Marx criticizes Bruno Bauer because the latter attacks his political opponents with reproaches that better describe his (Bauers) pseudo-critical position. One could say: Marx uses a concept of projection <i>avant la lettre</i>.</p>
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Thursday 14:30 – 16:15
Law, Emancipation, and Migration [G51a]
Marxist Feminism

<p>Suzana Rahde Gerchmann: Between Consumption and Liberation – A Critical Analysis of Women’s Legal Trajectory of Emancipation, Regulation and Gender Pricing</p>	<p>Law is always perceived as pivotal to women’s emancipation. Women gaining any form of legal recognition is construed as a step towards gender equality. Therefore, when looking to address issues around gender pricing—charging consumers differently for the same product or service because of their gender—experts turn to law as an obvious solution. Legal scholars suggest anti-discrimination regulation as the answer to liberation, and economists argue women should make better consumer choices. However, none of these approaches address the problem in its entirety.</p> <p>In this paper, instead of presenting anti-discrimination as a solution, I take gender pricing as a case study to map the intersection between law, gender and capital and understand why the law might not be the answer leading women to emancipation. Drawing from Historical Materialism and a Queer Marxist framework, I start by presenting gender pricing as a burden affecting women in the consumption sphere. In the second part, I focus on consumption and its relevance for the imposition of gendered subjectivities as part of an accumulation strategy. In the third part, I draw a parallel between the stages of women’s emancipation trajectory and the backlashes they face in their liberation struggle. Gender pricing allows me to locate the intersection between consumption and a site of regulation, stabilising gender identities according to a historical process and maintaining capital accumulation and women in a subordinate position.</p>
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<p>Leila Ullrich: Victims and the Labour of Justice at the International Criminal Court (ICC)</p>	<p>Based on my book 'Victims and the Labour of Justice at the International Criminal Court: The Blame Cascade' (OUP 2024), this paper considers what a Marxist-Feminist approach can add to our understanding of the role of victims in international criminal justice. Victim participation at the ICC has routinely been viewed as an empty promise of justice or mere spectacle for audiences in the Global North, providing little benefit for victims. Why, then, do people in Kenya and Uganda engage in justice processes that offer so little, so late? How and why do they become the court's victims and intermediaries, and what impact do these labels have on them?</p> <p>'Victims and the Labour of Justice at the International Criminal Court' offers a response to these poignant questions, demonstrating that the notion of 'justice for victims' is not merely symbolic, expressive, or instrumental. On the contrary — the book argues — the ICC's methods of victim engagement are productive, reproducing the Court as a relevant institution and transforming victims in the Global South into highly gendered and racialized labouring subjects. Challenging the Court's interplay with global capitalist relationships, the book makes visible the hidden labour of justice, and how it lures, disciplines, and blames both victims and victims' advocates.</p> <p>Drawing on Marxist-Feminist theory, criminological analysis, and multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in The Hague, Kenya, and Uganda, the book illuminates how the drive to include victims as participants in international criminal justice proceedings also creates and disciplines them as blameworthy capitalist subjects. Yet, as victim workers learn to 'stop crying', 'be peaceful', 'get married', 'work hard', and 'repay debt', they also begin to challenge the terms of global justice.</p>
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<p>Marek Fenners: Migrant Labour and Social Reproduction between India and the Gulf</p>	<p>Labour migration flows to the Gulf states rank among the largest in the world and the Gulf has the highest proportion of non-citizens in any country or region in the world. This paper contributes to recent literature researching the critical role of this migrant labour regime to the political economy of the Gulf. Drawing on Marxist-Feminist political economy, it examines the social reproduction of Gulf migrant labour, primarily occurring at the home site in the sending countries. Our analysis focuses specifically on India, the most significant sending country with an estimated 7.3 million migrants.</p> <p>This study also adds to the rising engagement in migration studies with the concept of social reproduction. Unlike most studies that analyse how migrant labour contributes to the social reproduction of people in destination countries, often in the Global North (e.g., nurses, maids, cleaners, nannies), our study centres on the social reproduction of migrant labour itself. This focus is particularly relevant to the Global South, where a significant portion of the labour force consists of migrant workers.</p> <p>Drawing on fieldwork conducted in rural eastern Uttar Pradesh, our findings reveal that the Gulf migrant labour regime is sustained by the labours of social reproduction performed by wives and kin at the home site. Similar to other areas of the Global South characterised by semi-proletarianization, these labours include simple commodity production and subsistence agriculture, alongside uncommodified domestic and care work. Social reproduction not only enables but also contributes to the exploitation of migrant labour in Gulf workplaces. Its unique and transnational spatiality contributes to the formation of a transient, precarious, and exploitable labour force. Migrant labour is also cheapened due to the spatial externalisation of the social reproduction costs by Gulf capital and state onto families back home.</p>
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Thursday 14:30 – 16:15
Trajectories of Contemporary Capitalist Authoritarianism [R201]

<p>Ignasi Bernat Molina: Beyond Lawfare: A Critical Analysis of the State Form</p>	<p>In this paper I will discuss the origins and political uses of the notion of Lawfare. The origin of the concept must be found in the conservative political discourse, particularly in the American context where it was used to signal the politization of law by peripheral countries to restrain American international power. However, the term has shifted its meaning towards a new political use to refer to the attempts to alter the political course of action within a country through the judiciary in context where liberal or progressive governments seek to introduce some social reforms. Thus, here we see a first move in the uses of the notion from an international to national scale.</p> <p>The term has been recently used regarding this second meaning in the Brazilian context to refer to the Lula imprisonment accused of corruption, but also with the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff. Rafael Correa was also accused of corruption and condemned later in Ecuador in a very controversial case. The same can be said in the Paraguayan context where Fernando Lugo was banned to run for president. Even the term has been used in the situation of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. The notion does not imply in itself the denial of corruption, but the use of the judiciary power to alter the current state of affairs. The new use of Lawfare assumes a position that criticizes the judiciary intervention as a decisionist act of power by the judiciary. That is, as the capacity to introduce a political dimension within the legal arena and because of that, it is seen as a form of corruption. Even more, some have seen in this form of procedure a change in the conduct of the international political force from a context of hard power to a form of soft power. That is, if in the context of the seventies the military power was the form of introducing a transformation in the political realm, today it is operated through the national judiciary power. The new state of exception does not require the exercise of military violence, but the illegitimate action of the judicial power.</p> <p>This notion has been brought to Europe to analyse the Catalan and Spanish situation. Accusations of lawfare have been raised by Catalan independentist leaders and members of the Podemos party against the actions of the judiciary, with the help of the judicial police, the public attorney or many times with the action of private reactionary actors</p>
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	<p>acting as public accusation leading to different accusations of corruption or spurious illegalities. These accusations have ended with the criminalization of important sectors of the Catalanist movement and the delegitimation of Podemos with the collusion of different media. Thus, the capacity of regaining trust in political mobilization is seriously damaged by this legal war orchestrated by judicial forces representing the most conservative sections of society. Thus, the goal of lawfare is to stop social and economic processes of social transformation. Here, a second move occurs through this new conceptualisation which involves a progressive or liberal idea of the corruption as if it were possible a non-political use of the judiciary power. This second use of the notion, the theory of checks and balances, in which the different state powers counteract the excessive strength of each other, seems to be corrupted. This understanding of lawfare echoes the Thompsonian formulation of the rule of law as an unqualified human good that signals the difference between liberty and despotism. However, this liberal critique forgets that the emergence of the rule of law was strongly intertwined with the consolidation of absolute private property. The rule of law and private property cannot be served from one another. They both reflect the limited character of bourgeoisie emancipation (Fine, 1985: 188). Therefore, a more radical understanding of liberal constitutions is needed in order to transform societies beyond a limited distributive effect. A deeper understanding of the class rule through the legal form requires an analysis of the form of the state was established upon the exchange relation. The state as a guarantor of peace means that it does not presuppose a state of peace required when the commodity exchange becomes a regular phenomenon (Pashukanis, 2003: 33).</p>
<p>Daniella Lock: The National Security State and Private Actors</p>	<p>This paper examines increasing reliance by the UK's security and intelligence services (SIAs) on the work of private security companies and technologies to implement national security policies. This includes to determine national security risk, conduct surveillance, and draft national security policy. The paper sets out key mechanisms by which this reliance enhances authoritarian practices both within the UK and globally.</p>
<p>Alastair Panzarino, Ravkaran Grewal, Sam Gardiner: On the BJP and the Externalisation of Social Crisis'</p>	<p>"The BJP's political rule as the largest contemporary right-wing state is currently confronted by the crisis of India's political economy. The economic underdevelopment due to the legacy of colonialism and consequently the economy's subordinate position in global capital accumulation is presently expressed as a premature de-industrialisation of the economy's productive base. This has precipitated a process of re-agrarianisation of Indian sub-proletarians in search of stable social reproduction. This conjuncture is historically unprecedented in modern capitalism, and compounded by the international competitive logics of economic 'modernisation' of the BJP's program.</p> <p>This paper will investigate how the BJP is attempting to maintain their hegemonic project as the party of order while presiding over this social crisis of rural pauperisation of the Indian agrarian classes. In particular, this paper will argue that the BJP is seeking to externalise the social crisis through increasingly authoritarian strategies. This attempted resolution is informed by two tendencies inherent to the BJP in power. Firstly, in drawing upon classical Marxist theories of fascism in state power, especially Trotsky and Thalheimer, this paper will contend that the BJP's political response to the crisis is animated by the concentration of fascistic class forces they represent. Second, the irreconcilability of these acute economic contradictions has shaped the BJP as a Bonapartist state, seeking to manage the symptoms of this social crisis."</p>
<p>Şafak Sağlam: Authoritarian Turn in the AKP Era</p>	<p>This study examines the so-called authoritarian transformation referred to in the AKP era. Its original contribution is to expose the tendency towards authoritarianism in relation to the working class struggle. In this context, authoritarianism will be presented as a conscious choice of the government in the construction and maintenance of the neoliberal order. This analysis is based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of labor protests between 2001 and 2019, obtained through newspaper reports of labor unrest. The data was obtained by scanning the even days of each year through Cumhuriyet newspaper. In the relevant period, 3625 actions were identified and classified according to various variables. In addition to this quantitative data, an analysis of the period from academic and popular sources is also included. Based on this analysis, the AKP rule is</p>

	<p>divided into two periods: before and after 2010. In both periods, the AKP's authoritarian practices were deeply related to the working class struggle. Bird's-eye view shows that pre-2010, AKP's aim was to realize neoliberal transformation while the working class actively struggled against it. At the end of this period, AKP weakened the organized working-class movement and succeeded in implementing its policies. The protests of the next period are taking place in a conjuncture where the neoliberal order has been established. In the absence of an organized working class movement and in the context of neoliberal policies that have the potential to cause social unrest at any time, AKP's governing strategy has become increasingly authoritarian. In line with this analysis, this paper illustrates that the balance of power and class struggles between social classes constitute an objective basis for understanding social and political transformations.</p>
<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Hope, Utopia and Salvation: Debates in Political Philosophy [RB01] Post-Capitalism</p>	
<p>Maja Kantar: Hope and Possibility: Ernst Bloch s Political Philosophy of Utopia</p>	<p>"Ernst Bloch's philosophy of utopia offers an invaluable reservoir for political theory and practice. Although still understudied in the anglophone world (mostly down to the lack of translations into English), recent years record a surge of interest in Bloch's work – beyond the discipline of Utopian Studies – in environmentalism, cultural studies, and political thought.</p> <p>To think utopia politically, Bloch intervenes into historical temporality by situating the future at the centre of it. As a radically open-ended process, this utopianism resolutely opposes any reproduction of the given or the present. Often criticising philosophy for "forgetting the future" and statically closing off history as something finished, Bloch insisted on the guiding potential of the future as that which confronts, opens-up, and disrupts the acceptance of given reality as the only reality. This future orientation is not simplistically linear. Rather, Bloch uncovers from the past and present 'undischarged' Utopian impulses which he finds everywhere, from the fashion industry to architecture, from adventure stories to medical science.</p> <p>This paper presents some of the central concepts in Bloch's thought – hope and possibility – and aims at offering a new reading of utopianism able to correspond and inform the contemporary political thought. It is via the principle of hope that the future is opened as possibility, realising thus the utopian impulse in alterity, critique, prefiguration, and transformation. This seems urgently relevant to the contemporary dystopian political outlook in which the looming environmental catastrophe and equally catastrophic political praxis take the central stage. Finally, in order to break the impasse and venture beyond the end of the world narratives, this paper will put Blochian utopianism into conversation with current political imaginaries of post-capitalist world.</p> <p>"</p>
<p>Matias Volonterio: The Perils of Political Thinking without Utopia: John Holloway's conflictual relationship with utopia</p>	<p>John Holloway developed the last iteration of his Open Marxism theoretical endeavor largely inspired by the Zapatist movement in Mexico. In his interpretation of Zapatism Holloway reaffirms Open Marxism anti-state stance and with it rejects blueprint utopian models. He argues that orthodox Marxism with its state centrism offered a model of utopian planning which inevitably led to totalitarianism and thus curtail people self-determination. Therefore, he suggests that what matters, rather than defining utopias which guide political action, is that people embark on self-determinative actions versus the command of capital and the state. Despite having strong grounds, in my talk, I will argue this argument falls short in two areas. Firstly, I will show that the rejection of utopia puts much more weight on dystopia to affirm political mobilisation. The second issue I will address is the lack of sources of utopia. Holloway argument overlooks how subaltern thought holds alternative society models that can inspire some contours of the future to come. Against Holloway, I will argue that recovering some of those models as inspiration for thinking utopias does not entail accepting utopia in its totalitarian form but represents opportunities to image pluriverse futures.</p>
<p>Yara M. Damaj: Back to the Future: Nostalgia, Repetition,</p>	<p>A future in/for Lebanon is so difficult to imagine that images of an apparently prosperous period in the country's history have been circulating on social media. This wave of nostalgia is provoked by the intense structural change and ongoing multi-</p>

<p>and the False Promise of Capitalism</p>	<p>faceted crisis that has plagued the country. These images offer important clues into the ways that nostalgia can be operationalized in service of the status quo. They reveal that nostalgia is a necessary affective structure of historical repetition. They also provide evidence of how quickly the unbearable difficulties of the past can be forgotten when the present is riddled with uncertainties and unknowns.</p> <p>Political imaginaries have ossified in postmodern culture and neoliberal times. Nostalgia, specific to our present moment, demands that we forgo the infinite possibilities of the future in favor of a specific iteration of the past, a desirable yet unattainable object. These fantasies are very much escapist in nature, and underline the often deceptive and treacherous nature of memory. They tell us that there is a past moment that is better than our present and better than any future we can imagine. We might agree that the past can be better than a present moment, but what the fetishistic remembering produces is an escape from the very much necessary reckoning with the present. What does it mean when we are unable to imagine the future, when our bodies and minds are stretched so thin that our political imaginaries are frail? Can we find it in ourselves to think, imagine, and long for the future when our present is catastrophic? The treacherous nature of possibility is that it demands to be born at seemingly impossible moments. How can we hold on to the future and use it to fuel our emancipation when our whole world has been shattered?</p>
<p>Thursday 14:30 – 16:15 Marxism, Family, and Crisis [RG01] HMSPEN</p>	
<p>Nicola Field: Troubling Family Norms In Creative and Critical Practice: Towards A Marxist Autoethnography</p>	<p>"I am a Marxist PGR in the Kingston School of Art, using creative writing and visual art practices to interrogate lived experience of growing up as a neurodiverse, LGBTQ female in the post-war, arms-economy British working-class family. See my work here. My specific interest is in the poetic and politics of Complex Post-Traumatic Stress (CPTSD), derived from the ordeal of family life. CPTSD is a suppressed clinical category; trauma poetics bear traits: fragmentation, repetition, verbosity, hypertext. I attend to the family's socio-economic function in capitalist society, its ideological position as the material basis of LGBTQ+ and women's oppression, its racialised entities, normalised brutalities and apparently endless adaptivity, through drawing as well as critical analysis. In this paper I will present interweaving original creative and critical material, produced with my core research aim to develop a historical materialist approach to autoethnographic practice.</p> <p>Marx's key maxim was 'Nothing human is alien to me' (from Terence). Marxism is continuously developing, rebellious and non-linear; as vital to artists and poets as it is to economists and historians. Lived experiences as bodies of knowledge have been individualised by the subjective turn. While the founders of autoethnography maintained ambitious socio-political objectives, approaches have been developed which deprive study of lived experience of the processing, framing, interpretation, interrogation and analysis that would position this knowledge as a useful contribution to the study, and transformation, of capitalist society.</p> <p>I align this combination of Marxism and lived experience with the concept of counternarrativity: giving voice to oppressed groups who have been silenced, marginalised, and subjugated. Dominant accounts characterise the family as a beneficial, natural system for the provision of care. In presenting multi-layered, vibrant visual work, I hope to interest other Marxists in autoethnography, and receive feedback which can support the quality and theoretical coherence of my own research.</p>
<p>Sona Baldrian: The Anti-Feminism of the Neoliberal Aid Regime and How it Enables Anti-Gender Rhetoric</p>	<p>"This paper, employing autoethnography, investigates how the Armenian women's movement has navigated the rise of anti-gender movements following the 2018 regime change, or Velvet Revolution, as it became known later, in a period marked by increased foreign aid. It specifically explores the anti-feminism inherent in the neoliberal aid regime agendas and how the NGOization of women's movements has facilitated the anti-gender backlash.</p>

	<p>Key topics covered include representation politics, gender essentialism, and the construction of the female subject and sexuality under neoliberal democratization aid agendas. Through materialist feminist and critical development approaches, the paper argues for divesting from the NGOized form of organizing and instead calls for efforts to be put into public mobilization and grassroots support. This study highlights how the neoliberal aid regime, through managerialism (narrow-focused, issue-oriented, outcome-obsessed agendas), feeds divisions among social movements in Armenia while depoliticizing economic and class issues. The cutthroat environment foreign donors have created stifles cooperation and hinders creative cultural interventions.</p> <p>Additionally, I discuss how the closed-off triangle consisting of foreign donors, the neoliberal and conservative Armenian state, and the NGOs, with the technocratic and bureaucratic processes they engage in, gives footing to anti-gender conspiracy-making. In countries such as Russia, Poland, and Hungary, political capitalists deploy anti-gender narratives, presenting themselves as fighters of family values against individualism and “Western” values. This playbook has been repeated in Armenia as well. The lack of public mobilization around sexuality issues and rights in Armenia only highlights how unprepared NGOized civil societies are against right-wing, conservative attacks.</p> <p>As the paper is based on my experiences in the Armenian NGOized women’s movement, I believe my analysis will be insightful for activists and researchers alike.</p>
<p>Natalia Rome: The renewed familiarist morality within the crisis of capital</p>	<p>"A renewed alliance between neoliberalism and conservatism is visible today, particularly in reactionary discourses against the so-called ""gender ideology"". A renewed familiarist morality is once again taking the stage in political antagonisms and public discourses. However, the phenomena we are witnessing today are part of a long and complex genealogy in which three tendencies are intertwined:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) An advance of capital to subsume labour (paid and unpaid) and its class struggle against all forms of workers' and popular organisation. 2) This is based on old colonial traces and requires a reinforcement of colonialist racism. But this should not be thought of in terms of a ""reminiscence"" of pre-capitalist forms of life, but as the necessary effect of capitalist reproduction in its renewedly non-capitalist ""peripheries"". 3) Under-wage, neo-colonial slave and unpaid reproductive forms of labour constitute the point of convergence of the historical processes of racialisation and genericisation of marginalised (though massive) sectors of the population, at the service of the expanded reproduction of capital on a global scale. <p>In this convergence, the return of familiarist morality must be seen both as a renewed strategy of capital - particularly since the dictatorial processes of the 1970s - and as a sign of its systemic crisis, which shows itself to be the peripheralisation of the world. We can thus understand the strategic role of feminist movements in the region and also understand why they are the target of attack by the international right-wing vanguards.</p>
<p>Evelina Johansson Wilén: On Feminist Family Abolitionism: A Critique</p>	<p>Globally, reactionary and authoritarian movements have mobilized in response to the perceived threat that the feminist movement, as well as LGBTQ movements, are believed to pose to the traditional nuclear family structure. Within the framework of the concept “anti-gender”, we witness the emergence of an ideologically and politically triumphant movement that has curtailed the rights of women and groups who diverge from the confines of gender-stereotypical heterosexuality.</p> <p>In response to the growing surge of reactionary mobilizations around the nuclear family, the feminist critique of the family has also experienced a revival. The Marxist critique of the family emerged during the 19th century but perhaps reached its zenith during the 1970s, with movements such as Wages for housework. Inspired by a Marxist analysis, the nuclear family was described as a social form that evolved under capitalism, with its radical division between the economic and private spheres, wherein productive labor occurs outside the family. Kathy Weeks elucidates how this critique, however, gradually</p>

	<p>waned in influence during the subsequent decades of the 20th century. While acknowledging that feminist assertions to abolish the nuclear family may appear entirely alienating to women who live and depend on, and ideally find happiness and political agency within, their nuclear families, Weeks argues that family critique retains a legitimate place and constitutes a reasonable political objective.</p> <p>There are several thinkers that have contributed to this field – such as Kathy Week, Alva Gotby, Sophie Lewis, ME O'Brien among others.</p> <p>In this talk, I will rather than confronting a singular author, try to capture some of the fundamental features of contemporary feminist family abolition. In other words, while there are differences in their approach, what interests me is what binds their positions together. My aim is to critically discuss contemporary feminist abolitionism, while simultaneously acknowledging and addressing various perspectives put forth by feminist family abolitionists."</p>
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Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15

Games Against Empire: A Workshop on Game-Hacking for Anti-Fascist Futures [B102]

Matteo Menapace

Max Haiven

Games have become central to 21st century capitalism, and also to the forms of fascism that incubate within it. The games industry is projected to soon be the largest sector of the entertainment industry, one that typically promotes values of competition, accumulation, colonialism and war and is rife with exploitation. Contemporary fascists use gameworlds and their peripheries as fertile recruiting grounds for alienated subjects, especially disaffected young men. Financially-driven tech firms are using gamification techniques to enclose, commodify and financialize health, romance, learning, “creative” work and more. Game theory has become a pivotal epistemological weapon, shaping Wall Street to the Pentagon to Silicon Valley. All these factors and more converge to make financialized technocapitalism feel to most people as if they are trapped in an unwinnable but high stakes game. No wonder the popularity of The Hunger Games, or Squid Game... And no wonder fascist political actors are so successful in promising to punish the cheats that they claim are ruining the game (even if they, all too often, are the cheats). This presentation ponders: How can thinking seriously and critically about games augment anti-fascist theory and strategy in this moment? It would be dangerously naive to imagine any particular game could challenge the fascist menace. But in this theoretical paper I suggest that thinking critically about the unique affordances of games (in particular analog games) can help us grapple with these questions and develop anti-fascist strategies. With reference to an experimental cooperative board game I’m currently developing, How to Kill a Nazi, I invite us to focus on three leverage points of fascism in a financialized and gamified age: a wounded sense of fair play; a dream of perfectible agency; and the exploitation of the ludic impulse.

Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15

Care, Intersectionality and Crisis [B103]

Marxist Feminism

Tom Haines-Doran: Nurseries in times of economic crisis: When young women have to fix everything

In Britain, alongside many other countries, the government is committing significant funding to allow an increase in nursery places. The fact that this is happening in the context in which investment in public and social services has been squeezed is very significant, suggesting that neoliberal governments have a high strategic commitment to this sector. This paper explores the reasons why government spending is increasing, and asks whether this strategy is likely to succeed. It finds that governments are concerned about low labour force participation rates, especially since the outbreak of Covid-19, which they believe is contributing to high inflation levels and stagnant economic growth. Funding available for nursery places is on the condition that it allows parents to undertake paid work, and its target audience is easy to discern: working class, young women (men a rarely mentioned in accompanying documentation), who are expected to fill the gap in the labour market caused by an increase in sickness in older generations. However, as multiple studies reveal, such a plan is already falling at the first hurdle: there is a considerable recruitment and retention crisis in the sector, driven by low pay

	<p>and poor working conditions. The government and nursery providers are looking for ways to increase employment, but their efforts are focused on the demographic which represents the majority of the existing workforce – young women – but without sufficient funding to create well paid jobs with good conditions and career progression prospects. In other words, young women are seen as both the problem and the solution to wider systemic economic failings. This paper seeks to understand this contradiction, with reference to social reproduction theory and debates in political economy regarding the nature of ‘economic value’.</p>
<p>Maja Breznik: Development dynamics in elderly care in Central and South-Eastern Europe</p>	<p>"The presentation deals with the dynamics of development in elderly care between the core, the semi-periphery and the periphery, which leads to a development impasse in the periphery.</p> <p>The international migration flows between the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe outline the geographical area of our study. We assume that cross-border labour flows are an expression of changes in the national spheres of social reproduction. Therefore, we analyse the changes in social reproduction in elderly care in Germany, Austria, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, we are not looking for an institutional cross-section that is frozen in time, but for the unfolding of structures in dynamic processes. These processes connect the national spheres of social reproduction in what Trotsky called ""uneven and combined development"".</p> <p>Analyses of elderly care in Germany, Austria, Slovenia and BiH show the particularities of the respective institutional arrangements and the dynamics of development. They form three models: support of demand in Germany and Austria, support of supply in Slovenia and a model of minimum social security in BiH in connection with the export of labour. The country examples show that the private, profit-oriented sector determines the dynamics in the development of long-term care. As the driving force behind the development of institutional care, it imposes market behaviour, creates capitalist relations and a social economy that generates a high demand for labour.</p> <p>Using two variables (Eurostat and World Bank), we show how the social economies of core, semi-periphery and periphery countries are linked. The two variables show that while the relative differences between the countries are decreasing, the absolute differences are increasing at the same time. The so-called “snowball effect” helps us to understand the uneven and combined development of the region, in which the mechanisms of underdevelopment are imposed on the countries of the (semi-)periphery."</p>
<p>Gardênia Gonçalves Rodrigues, Amélia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel, and Maria Eduarda Cipriano: Intersecting Impacts: Neoliberal Capitalism, Gender and Race in the Brazilian Labour Market</p>	<p>This paper aims to explore the relationship between the transformations in neoliberal capitalism, marked by the predominance of financial capital, and the impacts on gender and race relations. The financialization of the economy, characterized by an increase in credit and debt to encourage consumption, replaced material production with speculative activities that seek to multiply interest-bearing capital. This change in the regime of capitalist accumulation reveals a complex dynamic of exploitation and oppression that is deeply intertwined with issues of gender and race. In this scenario, work is devalued as a necessary part of supporting capitalist accumulation, which prioritizes maximizing profits through speculative investments. In Brazil, neoliberal productive restructuring brought flexibilization, informality and precariousness of work, disproportionately impacting women. According to the Inter-Union Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE), women face significant challenges in the labor market, including high unemployment rates, lower wages and difficulties in professional progression. Data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) for the 4th quarter of 2023 show that women represent 54.3% of the unemployed population, 35.5% of whom are black. Moreover, the average remuneration of men was 28.3% higher than that of women in the same period. One of the obstacles that women face is the burden associated with care and domestic tasks, which are still predominantly performed by women. In 2022, women performed, on average, 9.6 hours more per week in these activities compared to men. The study hypothesis is that neoliberalism, by reducing public policies such as access to schools, nurseries and public hospitals, exacerbates the challenges faced by women. This reality highlights the need for a deeper</p>

understanding of how transformations in capitalism affect social groups differently, particularly on issues of gender and race.

Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15

Key Conceptual Problems and Figures in Western Marxism [B104]

Western Marxism

Thom Workman: The Confusion of Concept and Category in Western Marxism

This paper argues that the scientific mode of cognition is characterized by two different kinds of terms: concepts and categories. Marxian commentary has been slow to recognize this distinction. Western Marxism sometimes defines the tradition in terms of salient concepts – e.g. value – and sometimes in terms of salient categories – e.g. totality. This perennial lack of discernment between the two types of analytical terms appears in the contrasting writings of Marx and Engels, and the confounding treatment was replicated throughout the 20th century. Since the epistemological, ontological, and metaphysical implications are profound, especially for the conception of dialectic, a clarification of the integral function of both types of terms in the Marxian theoretical scenario is absolutely necessary.

Tony Burns: What is "Orthodox Marxism"?

"The phrase 'Orthodox Marxism' has been used in two very different senses. According to one of these, Fredrick Engels was an Orthodox Marxist. According to the other, Engels was one of the first critics of Orthodox Marxism. The term is sometimes employed as a contrast to 'Western Marxism.' It tends to be assumed that what Orthodox Marxists affirm, Western Marxists deny, and vice versa. According to that reading, Orthodox Marxism is often thought to be identical with Marxism-Leninism, a core component element of which is the concept of 'dialectical materialism.'

There is quite a lot of literature which discusses Western Marxism. There is relatively little literature which discusses the concept of Orthodox Marxism and its history (i.e. which has 'Orthodox Marxism' in the title). There is a tendency for it to be assumed that everyone knows who the Orthodox Marxists are and what beliefs they subscribed to. Candidates for this identifying label include Frederick Engels, Georg Plekhanov and V. I. Lenin, although perhaps not Marx himself. Witness his assertion that "all I know is that I am not a Marxist" (Engels, 'Letter to Conrad Schmidt, 5th August, 1890).

Another commonly held assumption is that Orthodox Marxism emerged out of the Revisionism Controversy in Germany and in pre-Revolutionary Russia, after the publication of Edouard Bernstein's 'The Presuppositions of Socialism and the asks of Social Democracy' in 1899. In that controversy, Orthodox Marxism was opposed to Revisionism and was defended by figures such as Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg and V. I. Lenin.

In fact, though, a number of the issues raised by the publication of Bernstein's book had been discussed earlier, especially by Engels in his correspondence in the early 1890s. After writing these letters, Engels himself came to be associated with Revisionism.

My paper will look at how the term 'Orthodox Marxism' was used in these debates, and in the writings of those who contributed to them, especially the writings of Engels and Lenin. There are two points of interest here. The first is that Engels did not self-identify as an Orthodox Marxist, and was indeed one of the first critics of Orthodox Marxism, as he understood the term.

The second is that Lenin's attitude towards Orthodox Marxism is ambivalent. There are occasions when he endorses the criticisms of Orthodox Marxism which Engels makes in his correspondence. On the other hand there are also occasions when he explicitly refers to himself as an 'Orthodox Marxist,' and evidently considered this to be a good thing. However, when Lenin does this, it is clear that the term 'Orthodox Marxism' has a very different meaning from that which it has in Engels's correspondence and in Lenin's other writings."

<p>Riccardo Bellofiore: A Marxian Bildungsroman: Lucio Colletti ,Claudio Napoleoni, Rossana Rossanda on Labour and Communism</p>	<p>This year marks the centenary of the births of Lucio Colletti, Claudio Napoleoni, and Rossana Rossanda. In the late 1960s and early 1970s all three were fundamental in a "return to Marx" that was not only creative but also profoundly un-dogmatic. The paper will, first, focus on Colletti's and Napoleoni's way of re-reading Marx on the labour theory of value. Afterward I will discuss Rossanda's (and Lucio Magri's) early years in il manifesto, in particular their re-reading of Marx on class and party. The richness of their theoretical and political contributions encountered several limitations, however. The paper will explore only some of them, surveying a few key texts of all these authors on labour and communism. In a too condensed synthesis, the problems were the following: (i) in the critique of political economy, the absence of a proper conceptualisation of money and structural change; (ii) in the critique of politics, an over-evaluation of the capitalist crisis of those years unable to grasp the restaurative role of crisis itself. The two issues are related, actually, and are important to map the further debate on Marx en economiste. In Italy the essential link between money, restructuring and structural change was at the center of the inquiry by an author whose formation was foreign to Marxism, but that also in the early 1980s provided a few key contributions for a reconstruction of Marxian value theory of labour as a monetary theory of capitalist production. My Bildung is profoundly indebted to all these authors. I would not have become a Marxian and a communist without having met them: so my critique is indeed an exercise in what in the ancient Rome was labelled the worship of the Lares.</p>
<p>Matthew McManus: Marx and Liberal Socialism</p>	<p>My presentation will discuss a core chapter on Marx from my forthcoming book "The Political Theory of Liberal Socialism" (Routledge). I will discuss Marx's critique of liberalism, stressing how his approach was more complex than simple rejection. In the "Critique of the Gotha Programme" Marx rejected the millenarian argument that one could simply transcend "bourgeois right" through revolutionary transformation. Any new socialist society would be "stamped" by features of the old, since right could only be as high as the mode of production. Moreover any approach to socialist transition will have to appreciate that millenarian expectation about a complete abandonment of liberal is ahistorical and undialectical. Consequently I will argue there are good Marxist reasons to hold that a transition to socialism would entail respecting many liberal rights and institutions while moving towards economic democracy.</p>
<p>Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15 Understanding and Fighting Imperialism [B202]</p>	
<p>Daniel Egan: Prospects for Revolution in an Era of Imperialist Wars: Some Lessons from History</p>	<p>This century has to date been characterized by a number of major imperialist wars: US wars (with support from 'coalition partners') against Afghanistan and Iraq, Russia's war against Ukraine and Israel's war against Palestine. The US invasion of Afghanistan generated a relatively small anti-war movement, especially given its proximity – in time, but not in substance – to 9/11, while the US invasion of Iraq generated some of the largest anti-war mobilizations, both in the US and in other countries, ever seen. These anti-war mobilizations, however, failed to develop into a more coherent and sustained movement against imperialist war. The present wars waged by Russia and Israel, for their part, have been accompanied by the emergence of solidarity mobilizations from within the Western left in support of Ukrainian and Palestinian resistance to imperialist aggression. While this has been an uneven process, it is noteworthy for going beyond the anti-interventionist character of the movement against the earlier US wars of this century and has the potential to contribute to the development of a coherent and sustained global movement against imperialist war. I will make use of the work of Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and others to analyze how Marxists have understood the potential for war to serve as a hothouse for the development of revolutionary movements and to understand the degree to which such potential exists in the present historical conjuncture.</p>
<p>Daniel Lopez: Armed Peace and Capitalist Violence: Concepts to Critique Imperialism</p>	<p>"Peace and violence are often conceptualized by mainstream conflict studies as opposites, seeking to achieve the former by eliminating the latter. While critiques have been made, defining peace and violence in abstract terms reduces them to mere phenomena. This creates a deceptive image that obscures systemic social conflicts, ultimately denying their existence and causes. Capitalist classes and their bourgeois democracy have repeatedly used fluctuations between peace and violence to support their imperialistic practices and</p>

	<p>further their interests. Therefore, discussions on abstract peace and violence fall short for transforming injustices, as seen in the genocide of the Palestinian people. Seeking abstract peace perpetuates the slow-paced genocide of the Palestinian people ongoing for the past decades while condemning abstract violence reinforces patterns of injustice as it equates resistance to genocidal practices.</p> <p>To counter this flawed understanding of social phenomena, historical materialism offers a critique that distinguishes essence and appearance to transform society. Thus, I propose revising the concepts of armed peace and capitalist violence from a historical materialist perspective to provide the necessary context for critiquing our current historical situation. These concepts are valuable because they reveal the essence of violence and peace within capitalism.</p> <p>I link the critique of peace and violence with the notion that bourgeois democracy is a hegemonic vehicle—a historical institution that has reshaped social relations to favour capitalism. Both armed peace and capitalist violence have been institutionalised to perpetuate capitalist society and advance bourgeois interests globally and within countries. These strategies have been crucial for imperialism to gain consent and resist popular opposition.</p> <p>By understanding armed peace as a practice undermining social conflict through repression and capitalist violence as a practice to sustain capital accumulation, society gains the tools to address, critique, and potentially transform the imperialistic wars that impact the working classes worldwide.</p> <p>"</p>
<p>Xavier Gaillard: Imperialism, Human Rights Abuses, and Revolution in the Global 70s: the cases of Ethiopia, Iran, and Central America</p>	<p>The recent events in Gaza have laid exceptionally bare the connections between the genocidal politics of Western-backed regimes and Washington, a phenomenon that has arguably existed for over a century in the long history of modern imperialism. This paper, extracted from a wider research on the spread of anti-imperialist ideas and their interaction with radical theologies of liberation in the global 70s, investigates how this phenomenon was digested during the “golden age” of Tricontinental internationalism, by focusing on the paradigmatic cases of Ethiopia, Iran and several Central American countries, notably Nicaragua. The objective is to illustrate empirically, through the analysis of contemporaneous publications and documents, how the denunciation of the existing links between diverse federal organs of the United States and the repressive police apparatuses of “puppet” governments in the “Third World” was one of the most important explanatory critiques used by both the radical and non-radical anti-systemic movements to call for the overthrow of the regimes and the establishment of substantially different state forms. This investigation presents a comparative discourse analysis tracing trans-national similarities in terms of problematization, argumentation, ingroup-outgroup polarization, delegitimization mechanisms and calls to action as applied to the problems of police violence, incarceration and torture, as they developed in the ongoing ideological war of position between status quo forces and the ever-growing dissenting masses. The paper argues that, alongside generalized indictments on economic and cultural imperialism, the continued rhetorical and material support offered by the US towards despotic, militaristic and fascist regimes in the name of “stability”, “friendship”, “containment” or “anti-communism” was one of the most crucial narratives bringing together different streams of anti-regime tendencies and networks (from armed guerrilla organizations to the non-violent civic and religious opposition), paving the way to actual revolutionary situations, “anti-imperialism” having thus become synonym to the defense of human rights.</p>
<p>Ajmal Waqif: Echoes of Palestinian resistance and the League Against Imperialism, 1929-1936</p>	<p>"The League Against Imperialism (LAI, 1927-1937) was an organisation, sympathetic but independent from the Communist International, which sought to cohere and coordinate global anti-imperialist activity in the 1920s and 1930s. One of the various fronts it was connected to and advocated for was the nascent Palestinian anti-colonial movement, at a</p>

	<p>critical moment when this movement was ranged against both the British Empire's mandate system and the expanding strength of Zionist settlers.</p> <p>In the words of its International Secretariat, the LAI was witness to a "powerful echo" across the anti-imperialist world. This paper will focus on the processes through which the 'echoes' of two Palestinian uprisings from this period, the Buraq Revolt (1929) and the Great Palestinian Revolt (1936-1939), were received by the LAI, how they shaped the organisation's understanding of national liberation in the region, and were re-transmitted to wider anti-colonial, socialist, and labour movement networks, towards the goal of cohering global anti-imperialist support and solidarities."</p>
<p>Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15 Platform Worker Inquiries II [B203] Workers Inquiry</p>	
<p>Hugh Hammond: Concrete Labour and Algorithmic Pattern Recognition in the Technical Composition of Platform Work</p>	<p>This paper considers the technical composition of platform work, arguing that concrete labour sustains the legitimacy of AI-driven algorithmic management, focusing on the cases of Uber and Deliveroo. I begin by considering how concrete labour is transformed into a digital sign, drawing emphasis to how much labour the platform cannot capture, and that platform labour entails navigating gaps between the platform's digital representation and the concrete point of production (Badger, 2021; Woodcock, 2020; Waters and Woodcock, 2017; Cant, 2020). I then consider the modes of capture of that platforms use, considering how pattern recognition and machine learning software modify Phillip Agre's concept of 'grammars of action' through the enabling of an adaptable, rather than stable, ontological data framework (1994). Workers' concrete labouring practices produce outlier data which, when at scale, can yield new 'fundamental units' through which labour can be rendered statistically sensical. However, against accounts that posit the platform as all-seeing, panoptic, or even oligoptic (they see little, 'but what they see, they see it well' (Latour, 2005: 181)), I argue platforms function because they 'see badly': pattern recognition software reorientates management away from the necessity of matching motions to a pre-defined motion plan, characteristic of Taylorism, towards a logic of proximity, grouping, and similarity, from which discrete 'types' are identified. In other words, they can capture 'ambiguous' or varied motions and identify them as a motion of a discrete type. All data production then – even data produced through attempts to 'trick' the platform – is read by the platform as evidence of the correctness of the 'fundamental units' of platform labour the platform identifies or produces new data that could produce further units. In other words, it legitimises the efficacy of the algorithm. I conclude with the implications this has for worker organising, arguing that practices 'external' to the algorithm, such as trade union organising and strikes, should be prioritised over individualised strategies of subversion.</p>
<p>Jonas Valente, Funda Ustek Spilda: Do microworkers want to organise? Understanding willingness and motivations to organise among workers in international microwork digital labour platforms</p>	<p>"Platform economy, and specifically microwork platforms, has received growing attention in the literature. Research has shown the perils and hazards faced by workers working in these platforms, such as bogus self-employment, low pay, health and safety issues, and unfair management (Pulignano, 2019). Some studies have looked at web-based (or cloudwork) platforms (Howson et al., 2023), in which workers perform tasks regardless of where they and the clients are, including microwork platforms (Tubaro et al., 2020).</p> <p>Agency and resistance in digital labour platforms have also been an increasingly frequent topic in the literature, but mostly in location-based platform work literature, scholars pointing out barriers and strategies to overcome them (Joyce et al, 2020; Cant, 2019). The literature on collective action on platform work highlights forms of resistance (Woodcock, 2021), causes and methods of protest (Bessa et al., 2022), sources of antagonism, and factors shaping and forms of solidarity (Tassinari & Maccarone, 2020). Collectivisation in cloudwork has been less explored (for notable exceptions, see Soriano, 2023; Panteli et al., 2020; and, for cloudwork platforms, Irani and Silberman, 2013, and Wood and Lehdonvirta, 2019); and there is even less attention paid to the specific case of microwork platforms.</p>

	<p>Aiming to fill this gap, the proposal presents the results of a survey with 510 workers active on five international microwork digital labour platforms as part of Fairwork; an international project studying labour conditions on cloudwork platforms. The results include the willingness to associate with a union or a workers' body and the motives that would lead participants to take part in organising efforts.</p> <p>The study found that even with barriers to collectivisation such as the fragmentation and international nature of the workforce, 61% of those surveyed reported they would join a union or a workers' body, if one existed. Workers expressed the main reasons for joining unions as to increase pay, improve communication and transparency with clients and platforms and improve working conditions on the platforms. This presentation contributes to the literature by sharing unique insights from the Fairwork microwork survey on collectivisation, collective agency and worker demands from platforms for better working conditions.</p>
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<p>Struan Barr: Software workers' practices of proxy management at an online labour platform</p>	<p>"Growth of the UK's technology sector has both enabled and been enabled by a parallel growth in the global software workforce. Changes in professional software development practices mean early ethnographic accounts of software work are now of limited use (Kraft, 1977; Greenbaum, 1979; Holti, 1989). Contemporary accounts have tended to centre on the production of consumer-facing software such as online marketplaces (Shestakovsky, 2017) and music recommendation systems (Seaver, 2022), leaving a notable gap surrounding the production of software whose user is a worker. Yet the abundant literature of platform work (Vallas and Schor, 2020) reminds us that a subset of software workers are engaged in the production of algorithmic management technologies (Lee et al., 2015; Rosenblat, 2018) through which figures like rideshare drivers, food delivery couriers and online freelancers increasingly access and complete tasks.</p> <p>Within this literature, the method of workers' inquiry has been drawn on to refocus attention on analysis of the dynamics of class struggle (Cant 2021), illustrating the utility of the method in present-day contexts that lack the 'sophisticated political history' (Cunningham, 2001b, p.92) encountered in earlier period studies of factories like FIAT and Olivetti. This paper further tests the viability of worker's inquiry; this time in a knowledge work context where subjects occupy a contradictory class location (Wright, 1997). Drawing on ethnographic material generated over seven months as a member of the technology team at RouteReach, a venture-funded parcel delivery platform based in London, the software workers who produce algorithmic management technologies are found to engage in various forms of proxy management. On one hand, they are highly skilled technicians, responsible for engineering a mobile application in accordance with human-centered principles (Wilkie, 2010). On another, this work requires them to continually make decisions that shape the experience of platform workers."</p>
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Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15
The Palestinian Struggle and Student Encampments: Lessons and Reflections [B204]

<p>Esther Edelmann and Anthony T. Albright: The Weaponization of Private Property against Student Protest Encampments</p>	<p>"Students worldwide have faced police violence in response to their campus occupations to demand that their universities cut academic ties with Israel. Focusing on student protests in Utrecht and Amsterdam, we argue that administrators, who frequently justify such responses by invoking principles of academic freedom, tolerance, and public safety profess the very same bourgeois values as the liberal faculty who oppose their violent sanctions.</p> <p>Once these values are tested through campus occupations, they reveal their true conditions of possibility. As Marx indicated in "On the Jewish Question," freedom and equality are only possible in bourgeois society through its bifurcation into a public sphere of representation and a private sphere of social intercourse. Precisely because of this separation, Dutch university executive boards have weaponized private property rights to safeguard the "public" sphere of academic freedom. Whereas liberal faculty members use bourgeois conceptions of freedom and equality to criticize the actions of</p>
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	<p>their boards, students deny the university’s capitalist separation of the two spheres. In demonstrating that they have overcome abstract ideals of freedom, students reject their alienation from concrete political demands: disclose, divest, boycott.</p> <p>We argue that the weaponization of private property rights against the free speech of some to protect the academic freedom of all is akin to what Kamola and Meyerhoff (2009) have termed the enclosure of the university as commons, which entails the separation of university workers and students from the control of their means of production. Thus, the ongoing student protests exemplify once more how securitization, surveillance, and private property are used by capital to limit criticism of the occupation of Palestine by Israel, one of the largest exporters of security and surveillance technology in the world (Loewenstein, 2023). They also show that enclosure of the commons, private property, and securitization are intertwined with genocide and colonialism."</p>
<p>Tal-Hi (Tali) Bitton: Fighting Genocide Demands Class Struggle: Lessons from Student Encampments on Anti-Imperialism and Neoliberalism</p>	<p>Drawing from personal organizing experience with the University of Oregon (UO) Palestine Coalition Encampment, I examine the strategic trials and tribulations of the Palestine solidarity encampments. First, I argue that encampments as a direct action draw their power by centering social reproductive struggle to occupy university-propriety land, especially their potential to build transformative revolutionary social relationships while demonstrating the weaknesses of present arrangements of social reproduction. With this characterization, I then examine encampments’ struggle against university administrations and their various tactics from police repression to stalling encampments out (the latter of which being the strategy of the UO). What has been made clear in our struggle against the university is that though we are fighting a genocide, the powers for students and the working class to do so have been shrunk by expanding legal, policy, and policing constraints for protest as well as broader neoliberal attacks on the international working class. This constitutes a continuum of neoliberal repression that can be traced to the beating back of earlier movements (e.g., Occupy Wallstreet, 2020 BLM and anti-police uprisings, reproductive freedom struggles) and Zionist tactics against Palestinians, all while privatization diffuses administrative, financial, and political power within university infrastructure. I argue that the fight for Palestinian liberation requires the less apparent but none the less essential anti-imperial fight for the conditions for the working class to regionally, nationally, and internationally. Growing international working-class power best enables growing power to fight genocide, concretizing anticolonial theorists’ demands of imperial working classes.</p>
<p>Anita Zsurzsán: 'Judeofascism'? Understanding fascism and Zionism in light of the Gaza genocide</p>	<p>The occupation of Palestine is most often discussed in the framework of imperialism and settler colonialism. However, there is an ongoing debate about the fascist elements of the Zionist project and its philosophy. In 1948, Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, and other Jewish intellectuals expressed their frustration in a letter to the New York Times commenting upon the formation of the “Freedom Party” in Israel in the wake of the Deir Yassin massacre. They described the party as “akin in its organization, methods, political philosophy, and social appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties.</p> <p>As of today, the Knesset is adopting dozens of apartheid-like policies with over two-thirds of Israeli citizens supporting them. According to many critics, these racist policies resemble laws adopted by the Reichstag in the early days of Nazism. Palestinian-owned shops are constantly targeted and demolished, and chants of “Death to Arabs” and “May your village burn” are rampant across Israeli cities. Israel’s Minister of Finance, Bezalel Smotrich, described himself as a proud fascist, while Defense Minister Yoav Gallant called Palestinians “human animals.” Since the genocide in Gaza started in October 2023, hundreds of Israeli officials, state representatives, intellectuals, and journalists consistently used the language of dehumanization and called for a second Nakba.</p> <p>With the ongoing genocide in Gaza, the term “Judeofascism” is having a moment of revival. The term and the discourse about Jewish fascism have always been treated with maximum caution because, as former victims of fascist terror, Jewish people are not supposed to mimic the behavior of their oppressors. In my presentation, I would like to explore how we can define Jewish fascism, Jewish supremacy, and Zionism in the wake of the genocide in Gaza.</p>

Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15

Marxism and Activism in Theatre and Performance [B205]

Marxism and Culture

Deepanshu Mahajan: Theatre as a Practice of Historiography: Left Stage Adaptations of Punjabi Medieval Romances

"The prevalent histories of the Marxist cultural movement in India seldom shed light on the rich historical-theological literature which caught the imagination of various left-cultural artists at various moments. Focusing on the left-wing theatre movement in Punjab in the 1950s-1970s, this paper studies the theatre adaptations of Punjabi medieval romances written and produced by prominent playwrights involved with the regional units of the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) – the national organisation of the movement.

This paper aims to investigate the engagement that the Marxist cultural artists in Punjab developed with the questions of 'tradition' and history through their adaptations of medieval romances, which could allow us to complicate both the "progressive" and the "reactionary" notions of approaching the past. Given the strong theological aspect of the medieval that the plays adapted, the paper will also seek to reflect on the contentious question of religion in Marxist cultural thought centred, not on its institutional dimension, but on its negative dimension in the moment of emergence of 'faith'.

This investigation draws from Walter Benjamin's ideas around the "messianic pact" and "tradition" as developed in his essay "On the Concept of History". In inquiring about the interaction between the Marxist cultural movement and the mystical traditions which particularly gained popularity amongst the working class/lower castes in North India – who saw such modes of faith as a step towards the promise of emancipation – this paper will attempt to understand how these plays produced a moment of the emergence of what Benjamin called the "tradition of the oppressed", and yet the limits that this moment had."

Stefano Pippa: Why theatre? Althusser, theatre, and ideology critique

In 1964, at the invitation of Franca Madonia, Althusser gave a lecture in Forlì entitled "Why Theatre?". The text of the lecture, which was intended for a non-specialist audience and was published only in Italian shortly after in a non-academic journal, was never the object of critical attention either at the time, or within the second reception of Althusser's thought. Taking my cue from the recent debates on Althusser and theatre (both in English – cf. the dossier "Etienne Balibar on Althusser's dramaturgy and the critique of ideology", in *Differences*, 2015, and in Spanish – cf. the volume by A. Fielbaum - V. Montenegro (eds.), *Los fines de la identificación -Althusser y el teatro*, 2023), in this paper I will propose an interpretation of Althusser's lecture – neglected in these same debates – and argue that, along with the text on theatre contained in *For Marx*, the implications of which this text attempts to develop in the direction of a 'general theory', Althusser's reflection on theatre shows how, even before developing his theory of ideological interpellation, he was interested in the mechanisms in which cultural objects, such as in this case theatre, can operate as dis-interpellating 'mechanisms', allowing for a non-epistemological break with ideology.

Sruti Bala: On the cultural logic of militarization

Raul Sanchez Cedillo argues in his remarkable book *Esta Guerra No Termina En Ucrania* ('This war will not end in Ukraine', Katakak, 2022) that the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 heralds a continental and global war regime in which, sooner or later, every sphere of life will have become entangled and aligned with the logic of militarization. It is a 'logic' in as much as it is a way of perceiving as well as acting in the world, dividing societies and nations into friends and foes or winners and losers, and thus assuring the normalization and perpetual continuation of wars. It nurtures various forms of authoritarianism and fascism. As an answer to this, Cedillo proposes what he calls a constituent peace, forms of desertion and war sabotage that are accompanied by practices of imagining alternative institutions, economies and ecological interdependencies, as well as modes of self-organizing. This paper engages Cedillo's critique of militarization and his essentially communist project of rebuilding damaged worlds through examining how this plays out in the terrain of artistic practice. It will reflect on the prevalence and widespread acceptance of the militarist logic in recent artistic performances and artworks around the war on Ukraine. It will examine how militarization is defended as part of an emancipatory cultural practice and is often

	<p>confused with self-defense. It will further examine anti-militarist writings and the strategies of desertion and refusal that they propose. Finally, the paper will address the role of cultural institutions and spaces in the perpetuation and legitimization of the war regime.</p>
<p>Tilbe Akan: Shakespearean Tragedy and the Trauma of War: Marxist Readings of Contemporary Adaptations</p>	<p>This paper explores the enduring relevance of Shakespearean tragedy amidst the trauma of war, examining how adaptations of Shakespeare's works grapple with themes of conflict, violence, and societal upheaval. Informed by Marxist perspectives on literature and the socio-political impact of war, the study delves into the resonance of Shakespearean tragedies with today's experiences of warfare and its aftermath. Through a nuanced analysis of adaptations that foreground the psychological and social repercussions of war, the research aims to unveil the profound ways in which Shakespeare's tragic vision speaks to the realities of contemporary conflict. Drawing on specific examples, such as Ralph Fiennes' ""Coriolanus"" (2011), which transposes the story to a war-torn dystopia marked by militarism and social unrest, or Justin Kurzel's ""Macbeth"" (2015), which vividly portrays the emotional toll of ambition and betrayal amidst the chaos of battle, the study elucidates how these adaptations shed light on the human cost and moral complexities of war. Furthermore, by examining Baz Luhrmann's ""Romeo + Juliet"" (1996) and its portrayal of love and violence amidst urban warfare, or Michael Almereyda's ""Hamlet"" (2000), which critiques the militarization of society in modern-day New York City, the research uncovers the intricate interplay between Shakespearean themes and the traumas of contemporary warfare. Beyond mere critique, the study also explores the potential of Shakespearean adaptations to serve as platforms for reflection, healing, and resistance in the aftermath of conflict. Whether through Tim Blake Nelson's ""O"" (2001), which exposes the psychological toll of violence and revenge in a high school setting, or other adaptations that reimagine Shakespearean narratives to confront the horrors of war, the research highlights the transformative power of art in addressing the traumas of war and fostering collective resilience. In interrogating the dialectical relationship between Shakespearean tragedy and the trauma of war, this study endeavors to offer critical insights into the role of literature in confronting the legacies of violence and advocating for peace. By engaging with specific adaptations and their socio-political resonances, the research seeks to deepen our understanding of the enduring relevance of Shakespeare in an age marked by conflict and uncertainty.</p>
<p>Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15 AI, Surveillance Technology and Genocide: Philosophical Reflections [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]</p>	
<p>Anne Alexander: Automating genocide: AI, imperialism and the war on Palestine</p>	<p>"Given the Israeli tech industry's well-documented role in sustaining and entrenching the oppression of Palestinians through the apartheid policies of the Israeli state (Amnesty 2023), the revelation that the selection of targets for the bombing campaign against the population of Gaza has been delegated to Israeli AI systems (Abraham 2024) will not have been surprising to critical observers. But what are we to make of the combination of such technologically advanced methods of warfare with cruder tools which appear at first sight the relics of earlier ages, including saturation bombing of urban neighbourhoods at an intensity not witnessed since WW2 and the weaponization of famine and thirst against besieged civilian populations?</p> <p>The juxtaposition of these new and old forms of barbarism has often been situated within the analytical framework of settler colonialism. This paper argues however, that this label is necessary but not sufficient to explain why Israeli state violence against the Palestinians as a people takes the specific forms it does today. Using recent developments in the Israeli tech sector as a case study, including the creation of new data centre and cable infrastructures to the prioritisation of investment in semiconductor fabrication plants, I will put forward the case for situating analysis of the war on Palestinians in Gaza within a theory of imperialism which pays attention to the dynamics</p>

	<p>of uneven and combined development at both regional and global roles in order to better assess the Zionist project's strengths and vulnerabilities.</p>
<p>Harry Halpin: AI and Extermination: Philosophy After Gaza</p>	<p>As Adorno famously wrote: "To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric." Yet what does it mean to do philosophy after Gaza? In the history of modern philosophy, the Holocaust is considered to be a unique event, a negative Ereignis. For much of post-WW2 philosophy, the Holocaust is taken to be the ultimate destructive case of instrumental reason being employed by a master narrative, and so irrevocably indict the belief in the progressive character of rationality and technology that inheres to both capitalism and communism, both children of the Enlightenment. The retreat from this position led to a generalized embrace of the postmodern critique of the Enlightenment-based narratives in philosophy after the Second World War. On one hand, the condemnation of the Enlightenment project by philosophy seems correct: As industrial technology transforms into a universalizing cybernetics, capitalism and colonialism continues to lead to barbarism in present day Palestine: From the use of AI to guide attacks with a high "false positive rate" of civilian deaths to mass surveillance enabled by Google and Amazon-backed Project Nimbus. These transformations seek to rid the world of human rationality and thus agency, replacing them with purely calculative artificial rationality that one can claim - falsely, I would add - exists somehow beyond mere human agency. And it is from a philosophical conception of AI that seems to be the abolishment of rationality itself that lies at the heart of both the Holocaust and something perhaps more gigantic in the cybernetic era, of which Gaza is a preview. Which in turn leads to the properly philosophical question: Is technology inherently on a path to genocide, or can technology be separated from the irrationality of instrumental reason as predicted by Marx? What is the role and faults of Western Marxism in confronting this terror of artificial reason in order to submit to Adorno's new categorical imperative to never allow Auschwitz to happen again?</p>
<p>Emilie Sahhar: All Eyes on Palestine: Into the Israeli Panopticon</p>	<p>Israel proudly sells its technological surveillance to other countries, boasting that its products are "tried and tested." Where and how have they been tested? More importantly, on whom have they been tested? One returns to the inevitable Palestinian factor as Israel has propped up the Palestinian Territories as a laboratory of surveillance with the Palestinians forced to be the guinea pigs. The surveillance supersedes modern-day technology or fancy spyware; it is so prolific one can decode the tools of surveillance in any given Palestinian panorama. This research project engages with the architectural, civilian, and psychological & sexual surveillance Israel utilises to control and penetrate the social fabric, temporal order, and quotidian lives of the Palestinians. Having had my fingerprints and pictures taken with a wide range of cameras by Israeli surveillance forces for most of my life, the allure of the technological mechanisms of control do not faze me, considering the rampant reporting on them and their direct presentation as mechanisms of control. The surveillance I am interested in is that which is dressed in harmless attire, penetrates the mind, and resides there until banished. It is the devious surveillance, appearing harmless, non-technical even, that will be explored in this project."</p>
<p>Ambrosia Nabilah Ø : Marxism, Capitalism, and the Part of no Part: Launching the International Vagabønd League</p>	<p>With the disaster surrounding the Palestinian people, there seems to be an odd inversion - a shifting of a victim population (the previously unassimilable Jewish population) onto a new population that has become racialized and second-class citizens vying for not just their rights, but now - their livelihoods. This inversion is an inversion that exemplifies the working of the opposing ideologies of capitalism which Marx has not adequately dealt with: the imperialist ideology that justifies inequality via cultural blood that ties itself back to feudalism (even though it claims to destroy its ties) and the opposing argument that justifies inequality via hard work and vies for a fairness between cultures as long as one works hard. However, these two opposing arguments are different sides that reinforce the same coin of the ideology behind capitalist inequality. The ideology hides the necessity of a population that represents the part of no part of the unemployed, the "unskilled", and low-wage workers of capitalism which is justified using identity, racialization, and violence. My goal is to bring the mechanism of the part of no part - those that represent the excluded from the capitalist mechanisms - into view to expose</p>

	<p>how they are excluded not because of what they lack or what they are but because of what they represent - the foundational exclusion necessary to the system itself. I want to expose this mechanism to expose the limitation of the system itself so that we can answer seriously - are we willing to watch a repetition that is built into the system itself or are we willing to confront the system itself?</p>
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Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15

Marxist Perspectives on Fascism (2) [G3]

<p>Paul Bowman: Transversality and the Three Way Fight Tradition of Anti-Fascism</p>	<p>This paper introduces the Three Way Fight tradition of militant anti-fascism that emerged in the late nineties and early noughts in North America. How questions of theory arose from writers in dialogue with the anti-fascist militants around Anti-Racist Action, resulting in an exchange of texts between Don Hamerquist and J Sakai, published as 2002's "Confronting Fascism". And how that in turn led to the establishment of the Three Way Fight blog to continue the discussion. We outline the main strategic differences between the Three Way Fight perspective and the traditional "two way" orthodox Marxist view going back to the Dimitrov line adopted by the 1935 Comintern and reiterated in the post-war period by the Black Panthers, amongst others. We then look at how Guattari's notion of transversality maps onto the key strategic perspectives of the Three Way Fight. How Guattari's transversality allows us to stand Althusser on his head and see that subjectifying interpellations are always in relation to big-S Subjects (race, nation, masculinity) that cut diagonally across class. How a theory of nationalism as a transversally subjectifying identitarian ideology allows us to transcend the shallow critique of the Dimitrov line that both reduces fascist ideology to epiphenomenal "false consciousness" propounded by demagoguery, while simultaneously framing "outraged national sentiments" as natural and legitimate. Finally we touch on how a transversal approach to class solidarity and militant anti-fascism can help us to transcend the sterile confrontation between radical-liberal horizontalism and class-reductionist verticalism, while moving beyond the liberal pandering of Popular Frontism.</p>
<p>Dave Beech: The White Working Class: Rival Theories of the Fascist Base</p>	<p>This paper maps the space between fascist theories of class and class theories of fascism via the concept of the white working class. The concept of the white working class has a fascist origin but is used descriptively as an empirical category in liberal theories of fascism and late fascism. In this paper I will give a critical survey of the various ways in which the 'white working class' is constructed in contemporary theories of fascism across the political spectrum.</p>
<p>Benjamin Horn: Ideology in Late Fascism</p>	<p>"Writing in exile in 1941, Herbert Marcuse declared that, 'Faced with Fascist barbarism, everyone knows what freedom means' (Marcuse, [1941], 1998: 62). Today, however, as much of the global far-Right vaunts its love of 'freedom' and Libertarianism, this may not be the case. Robert Paxton notes that Liberal and Orthodox Marxist theorists coalesce in identifying this 'freedom' as a rhetorical ploy, contradicted in practice by interwar and contemporary fascism's centralisation of state power. This paper, however, argues that the image of a hyper-militarised state may act as a foil for the emergence of 'transnational fascism' (CITE) and the dissemination of what Alberto Toscano calls 'fascist potentials' (Toscano, 2024) within a necrotic neoliberalism. Paraphrasing Jason Read, this paper seeks to answer the question: how can fascism be so lethal and so petty? In so doing, it modifies Ernst Bloch's definition of fascism as a 'perverted utopian promise' (qtd. Toscano, 2024). 'Perverted' has two senses here: first, in reference to fascism's allowing the masses to 'express themselves' (Benjamin) while the conditions of our existence are outside our control; and second, the account of perversion in Lacanian psychoanalysis, the position of which means 'to sustains its own desire, [it] imagines a prohibiting agency whose Law it may transgress' (Flisfeder, 2021: 158). By forcing different subjects to embody this prohibitive agency, contemporary fascism enables a transgressive enjoyment from the supposed violation of the Other's Law. Coupled with neoliberalism's repudiation of collective social life, this paper argues that contemporary fascism's coherence is secondary to its function as license to persecute and enjoy this persecution. Likewise, this paper seeks to demonstrate how such a fascist orientation hegemonises tendencies from above and below in capitalism, leading to a situation in which increased domination of some is treated as an expression of freedom.</p>

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Jordan House: Antifascism, Liberal Authoritarianism, and Canadian Unions	<p>"This paper seeks to answer three related questions. First, how do Canadian unions understand the rise of the far right? Second, what are Canadian unions doing in response to this upsurge, and how do these initiatives compare to those undertaken by labour in the interwar period? Finally, what are the risks of labour supporting an increasingly authoritarian centrism in an attempt to curtail the advance of the right?</p> <p>In answering the first question, I will consider the class character of the Canadian far right. I argue that there is a common misconception—which is also held by many trade unionists—that the far right has deep roots in the working class. While Canadian workers (including unionized workers) are moving rightward, it remains the case that the Canadian far right is led by, and largely rooted in, the petty bourgeoisie. This analysis has important strategic implications.</p> <p>In response to the second question, I will survey historical and contemporary antifascist strategies and tactics. From promoting boycotts and public education efforts to street confrontations with far-right activists, Canadian trade unionists have a long history of antifascism. In the current moment, some Canadian unions have prioritized member education, community organizing, and campaigning in response to far right mobilizations.</p> <p>Finally, I will examine how some union responses to the insurgent far right have bolstered support for increasingly authoritarian statism by endorsing, for example, limits on freedom to protest, expanded terrorist designations, and increased police powers. I argue that not only are these coercive powers likely to be used on labour and progressive social movements in moments of heightened struggle, but further, that an approach to combatting the far right that prioritizes an antifascist alliance with liberals risks perpetuating the underlying conditions that produced the current upsurge in right-wing activity. "</p>
Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15	
AI, Technology and Resistance [G51]	
Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15	
Socialist Forms and Resistance: A Marxist Perspective on Political Mobilisation in India [R201]	
Suddhabrata Deb Roy: The Paradoxes of 'Indian Socialism': A Marxist Take on Popular Socialisms in India"	<p>Left-wing socio-political mobilisation has been an important part of the political fabric of India, a country which despite being the world's 'largest' democracy has been facing a constant attack on its democratic fabric since the last few years. The left-wing political space in India is dominated by a range of broadly Marxist political formations, along with smaller non-Marxist socialist formations based on the ideals of Gandhian and Nehruvian socialism. The peculiar nature of such socialist formations has been their constant socio-political and cultural interactions with both the right and the left. While most of them have remained committed to secularism struggling against caste and class distinctions in the Indian society, they have remained relatively silent on issues concerning gender and ethnicity – and have often been advocates of far-right propaganda on these issues. Such socialist political formations have produced leaders such as Chandra Shekhar – the eighth Prime Minister of India – and others such as Jayaprakash Narayan - an ardent Gandhian socialist who had no qualms using far-right student organisations for political mobilisation against the Indira Gandhi government – and George Fernandes - a radical anti-Nehruvian trade union organiser credited with leading the 1974 railways strike and who in his later years joined a far-right coalition leading the defence ministry in the 1999 Indo-Pak war. The paper traces out the petty-bourgeois roots of what can be broadly referred to as 'Indian Socialist thought', which continues to express itself politically in various forms even in contemporary times. The paper brings forward the paradox that most of the Indian socialist traditions face in contemporary India, and the implications that its continued relevance has for the Marxist left in the country.</p>

<p>Paramjit Singh: From Radicalism to Mass Line: Left-Wing Peasant Unions' Resistance against Imperialist Encroachment in Indian Punjab</p>	<p>"The three farm laws introduced by the BJP government in India in 2020 were a significant step toward strengthening the control of transnational corporate monopolies on livelihood and food security issues of the majority of the rural population. The left-wing peasant unions of India have led the longest and largest movement of the 20th century against the imperialist attempt to integrate one of the largest peasantry of the world into the accumulation logic of global capital. The significance of this movement was that left-wing unions ensured non-violent mass mobilization. They have made conscious attempts (specifically in Northern India) to block the circuits of capital and, in the end, forced the Modi government to revoke the contentious laws. However, this movement was not able to go beyond the status quo.</p> <p>The current paper aims to delve into the significance of non-violent mass line politics employed by left-wing peasant unions in challenging imperialism in the global South. Through an examination of the Bharatiya Kisan Union Ekta Ugrahan (BKU) - one of North India's largest left-wing unions - I analyze its transition from radicalism to a mass line strategy in confronting the imperialist and neoliberal assault on the peasantry. The first part of the paper will examine the shift of left-wing unions from radicalism (Naxalist ideology of armed struggle) to mass line struggles in India with a focus on BKU's transformative journey. The second part will examine the Bharatiya Kisan Union Ekta Ugrahan ideology and objectives of mass line politics. The third part will evaluate the strategy used by BKU to challenge the imperialist encroachment in the Indian agriculture sector. Finally, the paper concludes by shedding light on the shortcomings of left-wing unions' politics, emphasizing their ideological rigidity and detachment from class politics."</p>
<p>Komal Mohite: Caste, Capitalism, and Legacies of Communism in Twentieth Century India: Some Conceptual Issues</p>	<p>"Since the inception of the Communist movement in India in the early twentieth century, many Indian Communists believed that a complete transition to capitalism will upend the caste system, and often characterized the incipient contemporary anti-caste struggles as divisive to the development of larger workers' solidarity. Indian Communists, particularly those associated with the then-undivided Communist Party of India identified the caste system as a distinctly feudal form of social organization, with its persistence owed in part to British colonialism serving to preserve feudalism in India as well as the 'incomplete' nature of capitalist transition in India. They attributed greater transformational potential to mechanization and capitalist modernity, a notion that is ostensibly rooted in the experience of capitalist transition in Western Europe.</p> <p>In this paper, therefore, I will delineate the analysis of caste system undertaken by early Indian Communists and map their intellectual genealogies. I argue that post-1928, the Stalinist doctrine of 'Two-Stage Revolution' vastly overwhelmed the analysis of Indian realities made by Indian Communists in their efforts to maintain conformity to the Comintern's political strategy of bringing about bourgeois democratic revolution in 'backward' colonial and semi-colonial countries. Drawing upon the analysis of Robert Brenner and E.M. Wood, I will further problematize the contention of the Indian Communists on the role of colonialism in preserving feudal social relations to argue that colonialism functioned as a 'transmission belt' to impose capitalist imperatives on colonies such as India. I conclude by arguing that the 'uneven' trajectory of capitalism in India with the presence of pre-capitalist forms of social organization such as the caste system does not imply that capitalist transition in India is 'incomplete'. Capital externalizes the archaic elements that it cannot appropriate while perpetuating differences when they are integral to imposing its laws of motion. The persistence of caste system in India is an expression of formal subsumption of labour by capital wherein caste-based divisions are reinforced by capital to maintain a reserve army of labour, while certain forms of unfreedom were gradually dissolved through decolonization, political reforms and social movements to create juridically free labour force."</p>

Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15

Concrete Experiments and Radical Ideas for Post-Capitalist Futures [RB01]

Post-Capitalism

<p>Amy Breedlove: Bolivia - Plurinational neo-Extractivist state and rights of mother earth. The struggle for sovereignty and leaving neoliberalism behind</p>	<p>The switch from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources does not appear to be a transition away from market-based solutions. Bolivia possesses a very large deposit of lithium in the salt flats of Salar de Uyuni. This paper will examine Bolivia's position as holder of rich lithium deposits in the globalized neoliberal capitalist system and its pursuit of sovereignty as a pluri-national state through the rights of Mother Nature in law and related policies. The capitalist and neoliberal frameworks that enforce the globalized market system that keeps Bolivia in an economic stranglehold are reviewed. Metabolic rift and neo-extractivism under President Evo Morales (2005 -2019) call the intention of the rights of Mother Nature into question. Bolivia's position in the periphery of the world-market system makes the pursuit of sovereignty a difficult one. The contradictions inherent in neo-extractivism are explored and finally an eco-feminist lens gives rationale outside of economic factors for why the Bolivian pursuit of sovereignty ended in 2019. Morales and M.A.S. were entrenched in the framework of patriarchy, an imbedded holdover from centuries of colonialism. This paper explores the complexities of the nature, capital, power dynamic and the difference between intention and execution when creating law and policies in pursuit of a post-neoliberal post-capitalist nation state.</p>
<p>Les Levidow: Post-capitalist potential of solidarity economy: Latin american social movements</p>	<p>"For Post-capitalism Stream Post-capitalist potential of the solidarity economy: Latin American social movements</p> <p>In Latin America social movements have been seeking to construct a post-capitalist future. They have sought to minimise dependencies on capitalist power relations, e.g. on fixed-capital investments needing loan repayments, on profit-driven intermediaries appropriating the value added by producers, and on external expertise devaluing producers' experiential knowledge. They have likewise opposed colonial legacies plundering natural resources and subjugating human labour for capital accumulation. Those aims have been crystallized by the movement for a solidarity economy – <i>economía solidaria</i> (EcoSol). This has been informed by Latin American Critical Thought, which arose through engagements between intellectuals and decolonial social movements.</p> <p>Towards an alternative and resistance, solidarity economy movements have built democratic self-management and mutual-aid practices, extending beyond their rural origins. From early prominent examples in <i>fabricas recuperadas</i> (recovered factories), the solidaristic practices were extended to less formal sectors such as small-scale agroecological production. This has been promoted by Brazil's landless labourers movement (MST) since the turn of the century.</p> <p>To minimise dependency on capitalist markets and competition, a solidarity economy also builds short supply chains (aka <i>circuitos curtos</i>) between producers and consumers. The term 'short' often has been elaborated as socially proximate, extending beyond geographical proximity. Such arrangements maximise income to producers while potentially minimising prices for consumers. Moreover, territorial markets build a horizontal and/or vertical integration of supply chains, thus extending solidaristic relationships. On this basis, money serves as an exchange medium rather than as an exploitative self-reproducing value.</p> <p>Advances towards post-capitalist practices depend on systematic transversal efforts, in particular: structuring EcoSol activities as collective learning laboratories, so that supporters can learn from previous experiences; building collective capacities through training programmes that likewise reflect on experience; developing a solidaristic culture including songs, art, theatre, etc; and</p>

	waging political struggles for supportive state measures, despite the dominant policy framework.
Rafael Shimabukuro: Heroic Creation and the Socialist City: The Making of Peru's Villa El Salvador	José Carlos Mariátegui believed Latin American socialism would be neither calque nor copy, but heroic creation. This paper explores an attempt at heroic creation in 1970s Peru: the Self-managed Urban Commune of Villa El Salvador (Villa), located just south of Lima. Responding to the fundamental challenge from decolonial theory, I argue Villa is a concrete example of how universality and particularity may be reconciled under socialism. Villa was founded in the context of Peru's 'peculiar revolution' (1968-1980) as a new settlement for the country's informal working class. There, an ultra-modernist urban plan was combined with the millenarian communal traditions of the indigenous people of the Americas. The settlement was subsequently constituted as a Self-managed Urban Commune, explicitly drawing from the experience of Socialist Yugoslavia and Andean peasant communes. For two decades this radical experiment threatened to work. The new society that emerged in Villa aspired to be radically democratic and democratically radical, regularly living up to its lofty aims. Social organisation was active from the lowest levels while the Marxist and Catholic left(s) flourished alongside an impressive women's movement. An ethos of solidarity permeated Villa. Although this socialist experiment eventually succumbed to internal and external contradictions, its early history offers us a window into how we may reconcile central planning and self-management, socialism and indigeneity and, indeed, universality and particularity.
Anastassia Vybornova: Comedy of the Commons Lessons of hope from an open source software community	<p>"What hope for the commons? In this work in progress, we explicitly intend to be radically optimistic: tracing messages of hope for a different future from subversive practices of the present, building on marxist-feminist theory and qualitative field work within an open source software development community.</p> <p>Long before Hardin [1] popularized the ""Tragedy of the Commons"" concept, Marx [2] had already severely criticized the Malthusian interpretation of resource allocation and population dynamics. To shine a clarifying light on real-life alternatives to the ""tragedy"" of the commons, the interpretation of resource governability introduced by Ostrom [3] goes a long, but not all the way, since the critical role of privatization remains unscrutinized [4]. In the realm of proprietary vs. open software development, the current discourse is even less nuanced, and mostly governed by neoliberal thinking constraints [5].</p> <p>Recent work within feminist technoscience and beyond has started to trace subversive opportunities of the digital age, such as hacking, open source software development, and open access publishing [6-10]. Drawing upon this work, we conduct our qualitative field work within an open source software development community through a social reproduction theory lens [11].</p> <p>We thus establish a feminist-marxist analytical framework that allows us approach the open source software development community for hopeful answers about a possible future of the commons: which doomsday theories about the commons can we disprove, and which subversive practices can we support and amplify?</p>
Thursday, 16:30 – 18:15 AI, Technology and Resistance [G51]	
Alexandros Minotakis: Taming the Beast: Mainstream vs workerists perspectives into AI regulation	<p>""Regulation"" has emerged as a pivotal term in discussions surrounding AI, as there is growing awareness of its potential impact on fundamental rights, climate change, and various sectors, both public and private. Recent studies have aptly demonstrated AI's involvement in cases of plagiarism, data theft, and raised alarms over its energy consumption, both of data centers and the AI applications themselves. Consequently, public institutions and supranational bodies are facing pressure to ""translate"" abstract ethical principles into actionable policies that effectively govern AI systems. However, divergent approaches within the regulatory landscape, often conflicting, reveal the contradictions within the ruling class.</p> <p>In the Western capitalist bloc, two predominant regulatory trends are discernible:</p>

	<p>A) A pro-innovation stance that advocates for minimal restrictions, positing that allowing AI capital freedom of movement could foster universally beneficial development and deployment of AI systems. Examples include the UK's Regulatory Principles and the USA's Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights.</p> <p>B) A regulatory approach that prioritizes identifying and mitigating risks posed by AI systems to citizens, as exemplified by recent legislation such as the EU's AI Act. This paper argues that while distinctions exist between these approaches, they ultimately attribute responsibility on companies developing and deploying AI systems. Furthermore, it argues for the emergence of a third perspective rooted in worker's struggles against AI in the workplace. Organized collective action among platform workers, actors and hospitality workers has forced capital into concessions and protective measures for employees that engage with AI systems in their labour process. This perspective, embodied in collective bargaining agreements, poses limits on issues ranging from data governance to labor intensity, and emphasizes the integration of workers and unions into decision-making processes. This ""workerist"" perspective offers a genuine alternative and provides a foundational framework for Marxist scholars and leftist organizations to engage with a radical programme for AI.</p> <p>"</p>
<p>Thijs Keulen: Workplace Democracy, Worker Voice, and the Politics of Precarity: Understanding Worker Voice as Political Subjectification in the Platform Economy</p>	<p>Workplace democrats offer compelling arguments for workers' democratic voice within the firm. However, by focusing on the justifications for and specifications of such a democratic voice on the intra-firm level, they tend to theorize this voice in separation from questions around its development and articulation. This separation is particularly troubling in the context of growing trends of insecure and precarious forms of work, where workers lack collective agency and their issues often remain invisible. To bridge this divide, this paper offers a complementary account of worker voice by bringing the thought of Jacques Rancière in conversation with a particular case of precarious workers organizing for power. Drawing on original in-depth interviews conducted with members of the Independent Workers of Great Britain who work as couriers in the platform economy, I argue that the question of voice in this context is firstly one of staging a dispute through which couriers' issues can be made visible and through which they can establish themselves as a political subject that stands in a polemical relationship with platform companies. Secondly, I argue that understanding voice as a process of political subjectification in material contexts that both constrain and enable these processes highlights the importance of embedding debates about workplace democracy within a broader understanding of the "democratization of work", understood as a process of workers' collective self-emancipation that connects individual-level transformation and collective organizing with the more distant goal of the democratized workplace.</p>
<p>Ricardo Antunes: Regulating Uberized Labour: Brazil on the wrong-way</p>	<p>"This communication will first present some of the main characteristics of Uberised labour in Brazil, which has numerous consequences for the working class. Given the dimension of this phenomenon, we will highlight the sectors that provide transport services (for people and goods), where Uber has become the most emblematic company, leading to the generalisation of the name ""Uberised labour"" – similar to terms such as ""Walmartisation of labour"", ""McDonaldisation of labour"", ""Toyotist labour"", ""Taylorist labour"" and ""Fordist labour"". The concept of Uberised labour refers to the precarious conditions that exist on platforms that provide this type of service and its generalisation on a global scale; it helps us to identify this particular modality of labour that is widely used in digital transport platforms (of people and goods).</p> <p>The communication will then discuss the recent bill (PLP 12/2024) proposed by the Partido dos Trabalhadores in Brazil to regulate the labour of app drivers. Lula presented the bill with the following comment: "it's a very important day. You have just created a new modality in the world of work. A new child was born into the world of work. People will have autonomy, but, at the same time, they need a minimum of guarantees." In its third article, the bill states that ""the worker who provides paid private individual passenger transport in a four-wheel motor vehicle [...] will be considered, for labour purposes, an independent worker."" This essentially legalises the key demand of platforms such as Uber, namely that workers should be considered 'independent',</p>

	<p>thereby preventing them from being fully covered by Brazilian labour legislation. As a result, the bill disguises the true condition of subordination and salaried labour of Uberised workers. In short, the government's Project succumbed to the platforms' imposition of not negotiating this crucial point: the recognition of salaried labour, with the consequent recognition of labour rights that the entire working class fought for centuries to win. By creating a "third category", the bill opens up the possibility of generalising Uberisation to the working class as a whole (especially in services, private and public), which could potentially become a major setback for the entire Brazilian working class.</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 From Subjectivity to Ecology: Fascism's Many Faces [G3]</p>	
<p>Nathaniel Barron: Nature's Non-Contemporaneity and the Ecological Face of Late Fascism</p>	<p>"The paper interrogates the claim that fascism today lacks the "non-contemporaneity" that, for Ernst Bloch, was a necessary objective-subjective condition for the emergence of "historical" fascism. The claim is problematised by turning to how both "nature" and far-right cultural-political responses to the crisis of nature are as sites of non-contemporaneity today.</p> <p>The paper begins by outlining Bloch's original analysis of inter-war fascism, outlining its key concepts, before then dealing with the question of non-contemporaneity within present-day processes of fascistisation. "Ecofascism", as a fascist form of political and cultural production that places ecology at the centre of its ideology, is shown to echo Bloch's analysis of "non-contemporaneity". Indeed, this new iteration of fascist ideology contains inheritances of past modes of thought (e.g. paganism) and present day criticism (e.g. decolonial anthropologies) which serve to repeat but also sharpen Bloch's original lesson to Marxism: namely, that it must take seriously the potency of non-contemporaneity in the fight against fascism.</p> <p>The paper concludes by suggesting that Bloch's analysis sheds light both on how ecofascism contains utopianism as a socio-political response to ecological crisis, and speculates on how elements of its ideology can be put to use by the Marxist left to counter the (eco)fascist threat.</p>
<p>Christian Sorace: Poetry of the Nation: On Late Fascist Poetry in Post-Socialist Mongolia</p>	<p>"In this talk, I examine the relationship between poetry and nationalism, by examining the poetry and political writing of two of Mongolia's most famous contemporary poets, Ochirbatyn Dashbalbar (1957-1999) and Dejidmaa Galsansükh (1972-) who openly identify with the legacy of fascism, and lineage of poets, such as Ezra Pound. Dashbalbar, who was also a MP in 1990s, described himself as a "prophet of the age, singer of destruction," that is, someone who foretold the destruction of the Mongolian steppe brought about by privatisation and extractive political economies, facilitated by Mongolia's democratic transition. In Galsansükh's poetry, the end of the world is racialised in the figure of the Chinese who threaten to devour not only Mongolian resources, but the entire planet. Following Iyko Day, I argue that such nationalist poetry is a form of "romantic anti-capitalism," which pits an affective attachment to the land against the destructive and de-territorializing flows of transnational capital. By examining works from both poets, my talk shows how nations and nationalism are artifacts of the poetic imagination. What can be done with these archives of discontent and fascist desires? Does the left have a poetry of its own?</p>
<p>Jonathan Roessler: The Fascist Individual and the Domination of Nature – The Frankfurt School meets Klaus Theweleit</p>	<p>"Making sense of the brutality which fascist movements unleash against nature is one of the more pressing tasks for Marxist theory. On fossil capitalism's structural level, the logic is relatively clear: fascist elites, from Bolsonaro to Meloni and from Trump to Milei, who are supported by a considerable share of fossil capital, pave the way for the continuation and intensification of extractivism, expropriation, and exploitation. Through racist interpellations and denialist propaganda the administrators of fossil capital and its political spearheads have managed to produce widespread consent with the status quo. Yet, on an individual level, the troubling question remains: what drives</p>

	<p>people to actively support the forces that undermine the very foundations of life on earth?</p> <p>To understand why certain individuals not only consent to destructive structures but are in fact drawn to and actively engage in violent domination, I turn to the early Frankfurt School and to Klaus Theweleit (whose 'Male Phantasies' have recently been brought back into the discussion by Cara Daggett's work on 'Petromasculinity'). Discussing the 'Dialectics of Enlightenment', 'Eros and Civilisation', and the 'Authoritarian Personality' together with Theweleit's analyses of fascism as a 'bodily condition', I seek to develop a somatically grounded concept of fascism. I believe that reading Theweleit more anti-capitalist than he sometimes appears, and the Frankfurt School more explicitly materialist than they sometimes appear can help us understand the destructive interplay between the domination of 'internal' and 'external' nature at the core of the fascist individual. By looking at the Frankfurt School's analysis of the suppression of mimetic impulses and Theweleit's understanding of fascism as a phenomenon of 'fragmented bodies' in fear of dissolution I thus seek to conceptualise what could be called a fascist mode of relating to nature.</p>
<p>David Šporer: Models of Consistent Incongruity - Nietzsche, Conservative Revolution and Fascism</p>	<p>"One of the usual obstacles in defining fascism, or the "conundrum" as some historians have put it, is its notorious in usly contradictory nature, its confusing ideological essence. In that regard it reminds of another phenomenon which was described as coincidentia oppositorum, namely Romanticism and its brand of anti-capitalism that also "resists all efforts to reduce it to a common denominator" (Robert Sayre and Michael Löwy). But if Romanticism was, as Sayre and Löwy continue, "at the same time (or alternately) revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, cosmopolitan and nationalist, (...), democratic and aristocratic, republican and monarchist", these oppositions comprised various fractions of the broader and longer movement.</p> <p>At the other chronological end of the long process of crystallizing of notions and worldviews, fascism might be placed as an outcome which has done away with these contradictory strains. While Romanticism could be seen as ideologically volatile, due to its contradictory and separate components, fascism could be seen as their fusion. Instead then of insisting on its contradictory nature, which constantly undermines attempts at definitions, the analyses of the phenomenon might benefit if we accept that fascism is not contradictory but consistent in its incongruity. First and foremost example of consistent incongruence is its relation towards existing social and economic relations. Fascism is literally at the same time (unlike Romanticism's "at the same time" in Sayre-Löwy's description) anti-capitalist (against "big", "finance", "parasitic", "international" etc. capital) and capitalist (for "small", "productive", "creative", "national" etc.). The concept of "conservative revolution", and Friedrich Nietzsche as one of its forbearers, captures the core of the worldview that grows out of the seemingly confusing combinations, but in reality of forging together elements of diverse ideological traditions. The paper will therefore sketch an outline of the continuity of motifs that illustrate that consistent incongruence of revolutionary and conservative, radical and reactionary."</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 Social Reproduction between Birth and Death [B103] Marxist Feminism</p>	
<p>Anna Fielder: Stretch Marx: Childbirth in Crisis Conditions</p>	<p>"Frantz Fanon argued that 'Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem.' The motif of "stretch Marx" inspired by the work of Fanon, informs the analysis of contemporary childbearing that I present in this paper. My argument begins with reflection on Fanon's words about the experiences of childbearing people in the Algerian War of Independence. Consideration is then given to the crisis ridden situations in which many people are today giving birth, or supporting others to birth – with focus upon conditions of war and environmental devastation.</p> <p>The paper delves into a deathly childbearing contradiction that is actively generated by capitalism. On the one hand the relentless capitalist pursuit of surplus value extraction has created conditions in which childbirth is – for many people – more highly mechanized than ever, and the skills and labour processes of birth workers have been</p>

	<p>accordingly transformed. Simultaneously, capitalism creates conditions (including those of imperialist war and environmental disaster) in which many people are denied access to even the most basic means of survival: food, clean water, emergency medical supplies etc. In these latter situations, rates of pregnancy-related complications and emergencies rise, whilst access to the emergency medical facilities required to treat those health conditions plummets. Yet the birth worker skills most urgently needed to safely support birthing outside of medical facilities, have already been virtually eliminated. What is to be done? Much can be learned from the dynamics of childbirth in war zones and other disaster situations about the directions that birth care more generally – even beyond those catastrophic contexts – must now take.</p> <p>"</p>
<p>Paromita Chakrabarti: Labour Pains: Politics of Surrogacy in India</p>	<p>India criminalizes commercial gestational surrogacy (CGS) and restricts who can become a surrogate or intended parent. The government's justification for prohibition of CGS under the 2019 surrogacy law in India is to prevent the exploitation of women who may be lured into commercial surrogacy arrangements. The law allows for only altruistic surrogacy, which requires the surrogate who is a close relative to the intended parent/s to help carry the child to term without receiving monetary compensation other than medical expenses and insurance coverage. This paper discusses the politics of commercial and altruistic surrogacy with special reference to India both when CGS was legal and at its peak between 2002 and 2015 and post 2019 ban of CGS. Neo-eugenic disciplinary project of creating perfect commercial surrogates from the global South who offer their services for the clients of global North was seen as imperialist as well as racist. Ban on CGS was justified on the grounds that the commercial surrogacy industry exploited the wombs of poor, vulnerable women bound by contract and controlled by the market. However, it is important to examine the relationship between CGS and altruistic surrogacy and provide a critique of altruistic surrogacy where the assumption is that the family is a non-coercive, non-exploitative unit and to question to what extent substitution of CGS with altruistic surrogacy can limit or end exploitation. Alternative approaches to surrogacy are needed to counter the neoliberal discourse of free choice and for-profit reproduction and a reevaluation of the altruistic approach that valorises motherhood and heteronormative family. An expansion of substantive freedom inter alia the freedom to not become a surrogate, freedom to embrace multiple ways of raising children that go beyond the family, improve adoption policies, make reproductive technologies and free health care accessible to all are important elements of social emancipation.</p>
<p>Clara Camps Calvet, Anna Morero Beltran: Transformations in Motherhood and Social Reproduction: A Marxist Feminist Autonomous Perspective in Western Europe</p>	<p>"Marxist autonomist feminists such as Federici (1974, 2012), Dalla Costa, James (1975), and Mies (1999) asserted that the family operates as a ""social factory"" where the workforce is produced. In this regard, they argued that Marxism failed to recognize that through unpaid labor—performed by women within the family—exploitation of wage labor occurred.</p> <p>A renewed theory of social reproduction (TRS) initiated by Vogel (1983) and revisited by Arruzza (2013), Bhattacharya (2017), Arruzza and Bhattacharya (2020), and Ferguson (2020), considers social reproduction as encompassing biological reproduction, the daily reproduction of the workforce, and the generational reproduction of the working class families. This explains why women's work at home is indispensable for social reproduction, while also highlighting that new spaces emerge with a key role in generating social reproduction processes depending on the stage of the capitalist accumulation cycle. In this sense, the State is as crucial as the market, community life, and the informal economy.</p> <p>Building on these insights, this communication will explore how the capitalist accumulation cycle in Western Europe has brought about significant transformation in access to maternity and motherhood without adversely affecting the reproduction of the workforce. Consequently, it continues to ensure the accumulation of capital within the economic system. Thus, this communication will reflect on the tools provided by TRS to analyze the new forms of motherhood and consider what elements TRS should</p>

	incorporate to understand this new reality directly influencing the reproduction of the workforce."
Melissa Fielding: Toward a Political Economy of Dying as Process	<p>"Death occupies much present thinking, namely addressing the horrors of premature and violent death due to the neo-colonial capitalist project. As academics and activists have continually demonstrated; capitalism kills, and death is a consequence of specific social and material conditions. But what happens before the moment of death? What constitutes dying? How can we understand dying not only as biological, but as grounded in everyday conditions shaped by larger economic and social forces?</p> <p>Drawing from an understanding of embodied historical materialism and examining the current systems in place that enable and support dying in the UK today, this paper develops a reading of dying as process. I build on conceptualisations of the body within historical materialism and demonstrate the importance of considering the dying body in relation to wider economic and social organisation. I draw together thinking on systems of care, modes of death-related labour, and the sites and spaces of death and dying with the aim of developing a political economy of dying as well as considering future possibilities for equitable dying in today's unjust world.</p>

Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00
A Political Act: Performance and Resistance in Late-Late Capitalism [B104]
Marxism and Culture

Recent technological and political economic developments have brought unique pressures to bear on the practice of performance both in and outside of the culture industries. The predominance of “do what you love” rhetoric in the acting world instills in working thespians – including unionized actors – the belief that working for free will keep their profession alive. Meanwhile, the advent of artificial intelligence has accelerated trends of proletarianization and atomization in the film and television industry, which catalyzed 2023’s (mostly) victorious strikes among American actors and writers. The demands of emotional labor have impacted workplaces well beyond the scope of the performing arts, throwing into relief broader contradictions of what it means to “perform” work. This panel will examine these trends and events, and the ramifications they have for performance as craft and discipline, the potentials they create for labor resistance, and for the reconception of the relationship between art and labor.

Martin Young: 99 Problems: LA Equity and the 'Right to Work for Free'	<p>In 2015 a rift opened up in Actors' Equity Association, the trade union for actors in the US, over demands for the minimum wage. While the union nationally fought for this as a core demand, branches in LA insisted that the union should maintain an exemption for small theatres (99 seats or fewer) which did not pay performers and crew. For many, the opportunity to gain credits, network, and be spotted by a Hollywood agent was worth more than the meagre pay of minimum wage work; for others the willingness to forgo payment signaled their commitment to art for art's sake; and others believed that a theatre sector which adequately paid its actors was simply not economically viable and venues would have to close. Amid a flurry of polemic and debate, workers took to the streets in protest against their union and in favour of their right not to be paid.</p> <p>While this may seem like a bizarre and idiosyncratic response, characteristic of a uniquely thespian mindset, I suggest that this episode illuminates several key dynamics across and beyond the cultural sector: 1) how enthusiasm, passion, and ambition are the ideological basis for self-exploitation 2) how workers come to recognise that they depend on the economic health of their employer, which in turn depends on their own exploitation 3) how workers can come to chafe against their own labour rights and protections and experience them as a curtailment of their freedom.</p> <p>Martin Young is a lecturer in Theatre Studies at Birkbeck. He has published on issues of labour and political economy within and beyond the theatre industry, and co-authored 'Marxist Keywords for Performance' with the Political Economy Research Collective. His current research engages questions of policing and state violence in relation to performance.</p>
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<p>Jaswinder Blackwell-Pal: Corporate Theatre: Boal in the Workplace</p>	<p>Drama based workplace training, coined ‘corporate theatre’ by Sarah Saddler, has a long history. The early twentieth century saw the use of ‘industrials’, performances designed and staged for business conferences, whilst recent history has seen a pivot towards theatre as managerial and training intervention. Under this approach, theatre and drama-based practices are often deployed in the stated interest of improving ‘leadership’, ‘communication’, or ‘problem solving’ amongst groups of workers. Amongst the biggest providers of such training are long established international consultancies like Steps Drama and, more recently, drama schools themselves, including RADA and Central School of Speech and Drama in London. Many of these organizations provide such training under the banner of Forum Theatre, taking the radical ideas of Augusto Boal and reshaping them in accordance to employers’ interests. The application of this work in corporate settings mirrors wider trends of the adoption of performance and dramatic technique into contemporary work. This paper will explore the translation of Boal’s ideas into the workplace, and the implication it has both for theatre makers working in with these methods, and for workers who undergo these forms of training.</p> <p>Jaswinder Blackwell-Pal is a lecturer in Theatre and Performance at Queen Mary, University of London. Her research examines the links between performance and work, looking at the import of dramatic techniques and concepts into business and management. She is a member of the Performance and Political Economy research collective.</p>
<p>Alexander Billet: In and Against the Dream Machine: Hollywood on Strike</p>	<p>Among the more interesting manifestations of the US labor movement’s ongoing revival, 2023’s actors and writers strike reflected the stakes and sharpening contradictions of aesthetic expression and resistance in an increasingly algorithmized late capitalism. The strike also exhibited signs of a renewed radical immanent critique of the culture industry in the wake of artificial intelligence and the redoubled proletarianization of creative labor.</p> <p>This paper will seek to map what this renewed critique looks like. Work referenced will include that of the Frankfurt School, Michael Denning’s notion of “the laboring of American culture,” the reportage of labor journalist Alex N. Press, and the Situationist analysis of cybernetics (as illustrated in Dominique Routhier’s recently published <i>With and Against</i>). Using these as a framework, the paper will examine both the ways in which the culture industry seeks to use AI to further atomize creative labor, and the shift in ideas and consciousness exhibited by rank-and-file members of both SAG-AFTRA and the Writers’ Guild of America during the strike.</p> <p>Building on this research, the paper will locate potential openings for more responsive, democratic, and experimental approaches to film and television created by these shifts in artists’ consciousness. These may take the form of creative expression on picket lines, engagement with Hollywood’s built environment during demonstrations or rallies, or ideas that reference past radical experiments in filmmaking (often corresponding to past radical movements).</p> <p>Alexander Billet is a writer and artist based in Los Angeles. His work, which focuses on aesthetic production and radical political memory, has appeared in <i>Los Angeles Review of Books</i>, <i>Salvage</i>, <i>Jacobin</i>, and other outlets. He is the author of <i>Shake the City: Experiments in Space and Time, Music and Crisis</i> (1968 Press, 2022).</p>
<p>Nicholas Ridout: The Actor as Replaceable Subject</p>	<p>In contemporary Anglophone culture the figure of the actor bundles together a set of attributes that constitute a kind of ideal subject. Their job is the fabrication of human subjects. This requires great flexibility in the service of apparent autonomy. The actor makes themselves and their selves. They embody a set of supposedly desirable traits – charismatic speech, sexual desirability, humour – through which they can appear as both slightly alternative (in style, politics etc) while remaining utterly conventional. They are a lustrous image of what it might mean to function effectively as workers in contemporary</p>

	<p>capitalism (in many TV genres they mainly appear as workers). Yet the reality of the working lives of most actors is something very different: precarious, poorly paid, performing unglamorous work in rip-off Chocolate Experiences, and quite literally, at least when 'represented', lacking agency. They function, in other words, as ideal figures for the replaceability of workers in capitalism. This, before any of the meanings generated by their roles, is the vital ideological work they do.</p> <p>Nicholas Ridout teaches at Queen Mary University of London. He is the author of several books, including <i>Passionate Amateurs: Theatre, Communism and Love</i> (Michigan, 2013) and <i>Scenes from Bourgeois Life</i> (Michigan, 2020). He is a member of the Performance and Political Economic Research Collective.</p>
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Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00
Reimagining Capitalist Violence, State Power and Resistance [B202]

<p>Rob Hunter: State Violence as the Violence of Capital: Primitive Accumulation, Historical Specificity, and Social Form</p>	<p>This paper draws upon Open Marxism and Political Marxism to conceptualise the violence of the capitalist state as a necessary appearance of capitalist society. Violence necessarily attends the contradictory reproduction of the historically specific form of society that is capitalism. Specifically capitalist state violence is not the violence of a state that is anterior to capitalist social relations, or a state that has somehow been subordinated or denatured by capital. The arguments for these claims are advanced in conversation with contributions by Werner Bonefeld, Simon Clarke, Ellen Meiksins Wood. The theory of the capitalist state articulated by Bonefeld and Clarke — namely, that the state is the political form of capitalist society — is defended as being adequate to explaining state violence, on the basis of its presentation of the reproduction of capitalist society as occurring through antagonism and struggle.</p> <p>The argument is elaborated with reference to differing conceptions of primitive accumulation. Wood draws upon the concept to articulate a systematic account of the historical specificity of capitalism. Bonefeld, however, interprets primitive accumulation not only as an historical transformation of production relations, but as the antagonistic separation of the direct producers from the means of production and subsistence. This separation is both a historical process and an essential premise of capital qua self-valorizing value. It is reproduced through the state's violent enforcement of 'the anonymous rule of money and the law' (Clarke). Unlike arguments (like David Harvey's) that primitive accumulation is indefinitely persistent, this view does not present primitive accumulation as merely an endless history of plunder. It insists on primitive accumulation's dual character as a concrete historical process and as a fetishised presupposition of the generalised production and exchange of commodities.</p>
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<p>Uzma Chowdhury: Love, Hate, and Ideology: Melanie Klein's Psychoanalytic Legacy to Theorise Imperial Violence</p>	<p>Human babies are the only creatures in the world that, once born, are completely vulnerable to the adults that care for them. Melanie Klein theorized that these early experiences of the human infant remain deeply formative for the rest of our lives as individuals and in groups. Crucial to her theory is the relationship of the infant with security, particularly the fantasy or phantasy of security. The vulnerable and immobile infant, in their own way may be wondering: Are we safe? Do we have control? What do we do when we are scared? Can we trust our caregivers (or society) to give us what we need? These questions may cross our minds, too, as Marxists in a ravaged world. While a materialist analysis may help an adult make sense of their own security (or lack of it) in late stage capitalism, or answer why imperialism happens at all, Klein's psychoanalytic theory may help us make sense of just how extremely violent, libidinal, and emotional imperialist ideologies, such as Zionism, can become, and when and why they spread.</p>
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<p>Taylor Borowitz: The Haitian Revolution, Abolition, and the "Withering Away" of the State</p>	<p>The Haitian Revolution grappled with a range of limitations, both internal and external. Historiographical literature has previously engaged with the state's content (decisions of individual revolutionary leaders), and its context (the inescapable and overwhelming nature of imperial capitalism). What has eluded reflection, however, is the function of the state form itself. In providing a vehicle for the capitalist social and legal forms, the state</p>
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	<p>provides a template for the hierarchical differentiation of its subjects. This paper argues that the Haitian Revolution, in grappling with these limitations, presents a language through which liberatory demands can be articulated: a uniquely abolitionist mode that invokes a more expansive vision of societal change. This theoretical position is substantiated by connecting Pashukanis' use of Engels' "withering away" thesis to the abolitionist goal of rendering prisons obsolete. This argument addresses two issues in contemporary abolitionist thought: the discursive construction of a vague and utopian endpoint, and the gap between immediate praxis and this end point. It addresses these gaps by, first, explicitly connecting abolitionist thought to the larger, systematic philosophical apparatus within the Marxist tradition to provide legitimacy from a more established critical inheritance, and second, by connecting immediate praxis with the goal of 'withering away' so that micro-level actions are on the same continuum as the end goal.</p>
<p>Ekin Onsan and Ataollah Tofigh Kouzehkanani: Maidan's: A Show of Power or a Will to Self-Determination</p>	<p>Lenin's "Right of Nations' to Self-Determination" has been a controversial issue and subject to many debates. The important thing to capture is indeed what Lenin wanted to mean by it leading to the formation of a capitalist state and then reaching up to the dictatorship of the proletariat where possible. Within this framework, labor force and the peoples are the key to analyze the recent socio-political upheavals in the Middle East, such as the Arab Spring and the Gezi Park protests. Considering that power is the most critical spatial property, particularly in the context of urban contestations in different countries in the MENA Region, this study aims to elucidate public squares, which are the epicenters for protestors despite the differing anti-autocratic, anti-imperialist and anti-neoliberal motivations. By focusing on the historical notion of the Maidan (public square), this research highlights how space becomes a battleground for various groups and a medium for manifesting power. Drawing on Marxist theories, such as Henri Lefebvre's concept of social production of space and Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, the primary objective of this research is to establish a link between the occupation of space and the establishment of hegemony sorting out who the real sovereign is.</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 Settler Colonialism [B203]</p>	
<p>Collin Xia: Performing the Settler Sovereign Man: Queering the Appropriation of Indigenous sovereignty in the Canadian settler project</p>	<p>This essay will consider how the Canadian settler state has come to recognize, fetishize, and appropriate indigeneity into its performance of sovereignty. Settler colonialism is characterized by an insatiable desire for land and hinges on settlers' ability to naturalize their occupation. In Canada, these efforts are hindered by an enduring Indigenous presence that renders the settler project perpetually vulnerable. After five centuries of rendering Indigenous people as devoid of sovereign capacity, Canada has emerged with new conceptions of settler sovereignty that are poised to coopt Indigenous claims into the settler state and obstruct decolonization efforts that contest settler futurities. This shift in the conceptualization of settler sovereignty correlates to Canada's well-documented transition from the pursuit of zero-sum annihilation of Indigenous peoples to its adoption of recognition and reconciliation centred policies. In turn, Canadian settler-Indigenous relations present the ideal grounds to conceptualize "appropriative sovereignty," a term describing techniques to distinguish and deploy indigeneity as a complementary feature of settler sovereignty. This essay assesses how the appropriation of indigeneity complicates the eliminatory logics of settler colonialism and how it has specifically manifested in Canada's sovereignty project in the Arctic region, where "hostile" geographies and autonomous Indigenous communities have historically constrained settler rule. This paper explores how Canada has sought to secure the region rhetorically and materially by coopting Indigenous communities into the settler project not through genocidal assimilation programs but by upholding regulated expressions of indigeneity and Indigenous sovereignty that are compatible with Canada's symbolic recognition/reconciliation regime. This forced "marriage" of settler and Indigenous sovereignty in the region underscores the development of new colonial techniques to naturalize settler occupation.</p>

<p>Kevin Potter: Development through Dispossession: Ghassan Kanafani's Returning to Haifa and the Occupation of Palestinian Belonging</p>	<p>Taking place between the 1948 nakba and the 1967 naksa, Ghassan Kanafani's novella, Returning to Haifa (1969), tells the story of Sa'id and Safiyya, whose expulsion to Ramallah and return to Haifa 20 years later reveals multiple intersections of dispossession, capitalist development, psychic trauma, and national fracture. The couple's hometown, as we learn, has not only been subject to an ongoing regime of expansion and occupation – i.e. processes of settler-colonial dispossession and development. They also confront modes of figurative dispossession. To be precise, Returning to Haifa enacts two meanings of dispossession that converge in Palestinian subjectivity – on the one hand, the material forces of accumulation and expulsion that drive settler-colonial power and capitalist expansion; and, on the other, the forces of subjective alienation, whereby Sa'id and Saffiya are dispossessed of their familial and social belonging. This cruel regime – through which Israel has long functioned as an imperial cut-out for international capitalism and militarization - shows itself notably in the tragic story of their son. Khaldun, whom Sa'id and Safiyya leave behind in Haifa in a stroke of desperation during the nakba.</p> <p>This presentation will rely heavily on the historical and theoretical work of Brenna Bhandar, Toufic Haddad, and Immanuel Wallerstein, as well as insights from the Marxist tradition, and the important interventions within and across studies of world-systems and neocolonialism. In turn, I will argue that Returning to Haifa dramatizes a myriad range of capitalist forces, neoliberalization, militarization, and settler-colonialism as they engender multiple systems of dispossession at once. I will examine the “racial regimes of ownership” (Bhandar 2018) that have historically constructed and solidified ideologies of racial dominance and class rule. Using Returning to Haifa, I can then reflect upon this text's capacity to index a world-system of combined and uneven development, culminating in the violence of state formation.</p>
<p>Miriyam Aouragh: From Erasure to Restoration: Radical Subjectivity and the Refusal to be a Settler</p>	
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 Genocide and the Critique of International Law [B204]</p>	
<p>S. Anandha Krishna Raj: Towards a Materialist Theory of International Law</p>	<p>"In recent years, the critical legal theory is gaining increasing importance as mainstream legal theory (positivism and liberalism) have failed to explain and respond to global problems adequately. The term critical legal theory in the field of international law is usually used to indicate feminist approaches to international law, postcolonial approaches to international law, the third world approaches to international law and Marxist approaches to international law. Of these, the Marxist approach to international law has received the least attention. Marxist theory is otherwise called the materialist theory. Materialism as a philosophy existed from the ancient times. It evolved against the philosophy of idealism. Marxism is the new materialism of the contemporary era. In other words, Marxism is the scientific extension and completion of the materialist theory. The essence of Marxism is dialectical materialism. The superstructure of law, as well as international law, can be analysed through dialectical materialism. Dialectics, like materialism, also has a philosophical history. It was countered with the metaphysical thought of understanding things in nature. The metaphysical observation of law as the eternal and divine origin is countered by the dialectical understanding of analysing with the society and the mode of production. According to the traditional Marxist approach to law, the economy is the real foundation on which legal and political superstructures arise. However, as Engels clarified, elements of the superstructure like law exercise influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases determine the course of the economy. The base and superstructure debate in Marxism have held sway for more than a century. Western Marxist thinkers from Raymond Williams to Louis Althusser have complicated this model and offered increasingly sophisticated models of Marxism. Yet none of these has been brought to bear on the field of international law.</p>

<p>Marcela Da Silva Uchôa and Jonas Van Vossole: Israel and the End of International Law</p>	<p>"This paper critically examines Israel's military actions in Gaza and their implications for international law and humanitarian principles. We argue that the extreme, obscene, and open violence, resulting in at least 37,000 civilian casualties, predominantly children, exemplifies the failure of international humanitarian law and diplomatic institutions. This violence is part of a continuous pattern in Israel's foreign and domestic policies. Israel undermines UN agencies and institutions, such as the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ); it routinely violates the sovereignty of its neighbors, bombing and invading their territories without even the pretense of adhering to principles like responsibility to protect and multilateralism—principles which, albeit inconsistently, are invoked by the US and Russia in other conflicts. Systematic attacks on medical facilities and personnel constitute violations of international norms established since the nineteenth century. Moreover, Israel shows blatant disregard for diplomatic principles by bombing embassies, killing diplomats.</p> <p>The ineffective response of international bodies like the United Nations, hampered by the veto power of the United States, has rendered collective actions futile and degraded international law to mere symbolism. We contextualize these violations within the broader dynamics of power shifts in global capitalism. Israel's actions reflect a trend where existing international law and governance principles are increasingly challenged due to the decline of US and European dominance and the rise of China and other regional powers. This shift indicates deeper structural contradictions within the capitalist world system, particularly the tension between national sovereignty and the demands of international capital.</p> <p>In conclusion, Israel's actions in Gaza signify a potential turning point for international law. The normalization of violence and disregard for humanitarian principles mark an era of global instability and the impossibility of humanitarian politics under contemporary capitalism.</p> <p>"</p>
<p>Grietje Baars: Gaza and the End of Law</p>	<p>The Gaza genocide spells the end of international law - and eventually all law. The ICJ has revealed itself as temporarily gripping theatre, the ICC through its prosecutor has outdone itself in being a blatantly political reality show – both banal and gratuitous, the calls by the UN and governments around the world for Israel to abide by international law resemble elevator music in the absence of action. Israel itself cements the death of international law by, each time the ICJ tells it to stop, upping the crescendo of its genocide with one more particularly spectacular and cruel massacre in response. The collectivity of international human rights lawyers and activists, such as Noura Erekat, have stopped calling for international law to be upheld (similar to the already weary fanbase now mass-blocking the Kardashians) in the knowledge that the system is working entirely as it's been designed to: as a figleaf for imperialist politics 'as usual'. The understanding that international law and the international system was created by the Great Powers in order to further their own interests is finally going primetime. The chants in the street, on the demos, are becoming more intentionally rhetorical - "Rishi Sunak you can't hide, we charge you with genocide". People are connecting the dots between carceral international criminal law and the message of the (mainly north american) abolitionist movement. Alternative, DIY methods of struggle, including blockades and encampments, are becoming our go-to for resistance and change. This is what we do now: we organise in our workplaces, our neighbourhoods, our schools and friend groups. In response, authoritarian police, institutional (e.g. universities) and vigilante violence are massively on the rise and the need for legal defence work done, for example in the UK, by groups such as Green & Black Cross and ACAB is greater than ever. The anarchist lawyers will turn off the light once the courtroom is empty. The novelty of this moment is, that where Pashukanist and other radicals have made the case for counter-legal strategy for years, international law has now effectively ended itself, leaving the space wide open to direct action – with the black bloc cordon of effective movement legal defence. It is for us, including the Pashukanists among us, to jump right into it.</p>

Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00

Big Data, AI, and Inequality [B205]

Toni Prug: Social form functional cartography of wealth and the role of data

"When Marx conducted his research, the wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevailed appeared as an immense collection of commodities. Since then, the variety and volume of commodities grew vastly in all countries. Simultaneously, public production financed through taxation also has also expanded. Today, about one-fifth of all annually produced wealth in advanced capitalist social formations comes from publicly funded production through plans and budgets. These public production outputs typically do not take the commodity form. Older forms of public productions, such as the military, police and legal system, are capital-centric as they create conditions for the capitalist mode of production to thrive and develop within and between nation states. However, a significant portion of state activities takes a form of egalitarian public production, with outputs produced to meet the needs according to criteria, primarily in the form of public services, often provided free of charge at the point of use.

I will begin by outlining the categories and relations introduced in this type of social form analysis, building on Michael Lebowitz's circuits of reproduction. I will explain how this approach was utilised and further developed to form a coalition of activist, unions, NGOs and researchers who came together to understand and promote the production of equality in capitalist social formations. As part of the coalition's process to develop a social form functional cartography of wealth, I will discuss how we started integrating spatial regulations in cities with financial, geographical and statistical data sources. By rendering visible how decades of capitalist expansion in sectors such as health, education, care, sport and culture led to reduction of equality and solidarity, this social form functional cartography aims to support the advocacy for expanding egalitarian production of wealth of specific function and form.

Mislav Žitko, Paško Bilić: What is data in Marxian terms? Measurement, property and digital life-worlds

"Artificial intelligence, algorithms, and big data drive the latest technological imaginaries within capitalism, promising more efficiency, insight, product differentiation, adaptation, and other benefits to various businesses and industries. However, as many scholars have recognized, these promises often have a dark underside in power asymmetries and new social inequalities. What is lurking behind is nothing less than a profound change in the capitalist dynamics, starting from the reorganization of the global property regime to the consequent formation of the 'platform capitalism' and the 'society of algorithms' in which access and democratic inclusion go, at best, hand in hand with new modes of disciplinary nudging and surveillance. At worst, the forces brought about by the new property regime and the digital economy are creating the conditions that amplify the effects of corporate financialization, shifting the balance of power in the direction of capital and away from labour while fracturing the public sphere to such a degree that drives some commentators to claim a return to feudalism. This presentation challenges the techno-feudalism thesis and tackles the following questions: At what point does lifeworld activity enter the business model of digital platforms? How is personal data constituted as an object suitable for economic transactions, i.e. what technical and legal mechanisms are necessary to form lifeworld activity and personal data into an economic object? How should one conceive a general relationship between data and economic value? Seeing platform capitalism in continuity with the heavily debated and well-documented process of financialization and identifying the interrelatedness of financialised accumulation with the rise of the Big Tech monopolies are the most important insights of recent inquiries. We move one step further and address the technical, legal, and economic conditions that connect day-to-day activities with global corporate structures, focusing on data harvesting and analysis that ultimately leads to surplus value creation and extraction.

Holly Lewis: Gender Embeddings in Multimodal Artificial Intelligence: Their Origins and Potential Consequences

"This paper examines the opaque mechanisms of gender semantics in AI embedding models through a Marxist framework. The talk will address problems outlined by Black feminist machine learning engineers using Julia Serrano's concept of traditional and oppositional sexism and structuralist analytics to assess what is potentially knowable about how black-box models organize and surveil gender. The paper will then draw on

	<p>Søren Mau’s enrichment of Marx’s notion of economic power, social reproduction theory, and Marx’s concept of the general intellect in the Grundrisse to better detail how heteronormatively derived data repositories and the valorization of AI outputs shape gender embeddings within AI models and how those embeddings might affect the realities of trans, intersex, and non-binary people, as well as cis women.</p> <p>I will begin by explaining what embeddings are (i.e., a given large artificial neural network’s dense, static, high-dimensional, and transferable networked semantic assessment of human meaning) and how models with embeddings are distinct from earlier AI imaging methods, which reproduced concepts without interpreting them. After explaining the problem and its stakes, I will show how we can gain insight into how models develop frameworks for gendered phenomena. After analyzing how language and multimodal models instantiate gender, I will turn to how AI visual models like Midjourney and Stable Diffusion, driven largely by cis male user inputs and preferences, reinforce and amplify heteronormativity, cisnormativity, and exaggerated portrayals of women. Using Joy Buolamwini’s research on how AIs’ poor readings of Black faces have exacerbated social inequalities for Black people, I will draw an assessment of how sexist, cisnormative generative models might (differentially) disenfranchise gender minorities and cis women, reinforce existing social hierarchies, amplify gender discrimination in the workforce, and complicate social reproduction.</p> <p>Marx’s Grundrisse provides a critical framework for understanding AI as an activated sedimentation of the general intellect—an ongoing commodification of collective knowledge under capitalism. But, far from being autonomous mirrors of knowledge and know-how, machine learning technologies also codify and concretize ideological distortions developed under capital.</p> <p>The paper concludes by addressing how economic power grounds AI development, before providing a sober assessment of what a collective, broadly anti-sexist approach to complex artificial intelligence models might be."</p>
<p>Ellen Emilie Henriksen: Big data, ecological collapse, and imperialist aggression: the need for a Luddite resistance</p>	<p>"The overarching purpose of my paper is to ignite a Luddite approach to digital technologies. By Luddite, I refer to David Noble’s description of 19th century Luddites as conceiving technologies ‘in the present tense’. Rather than being blinded by possible futures generated by technological promises, apprehending technology in the present involves dissecting what technologies are doing to our world in the now. Despite the Marxist recognition of the inherent capital-bias of all technology, the European left has been marked by either techno-optimism, or structural critiques aimed at the capitalist powers that drive technological development and emerge from digital capitalism. What is lacking is critical engagement with and resistance to digital technologies themselves: as generators of ecological collapse, imperialist aggression, and the creation of a new global underclass of underpaid and unpaid labour.</p> <p>Digital technologies include mineworkers extracting minerals to produce digital technologies, platform capitalism and gig workers, cat videos on social media, state surveillance, corporate surveillance, militarised artificial intelligence, and so much more. It is far from evident how to formulate a critique that applies to ‘the digital’ as a whole. To formulate a structural critique of digitalisation that also provides avenues for resistance, my paper starts with the data necessary for digital technologies to work, and the data centres in which these data are stored. I draw on the construction of data centres in Israel, Ireland, and Scandinavia to highlight the spatial and material foundations of digital technologies, and the way in which data centres – built on occupied space in Israel, on indigenous land in northern Scandinavia, and presented as climate-friendly due to their geographical location in Ireland – appropriate and delineate local space, to feed an ever-growing hunger for data driven largely by the exponential development of generative AI and the sovereign’s everlasting thirst for surveillance data.</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00</p>	

Contours of Resistance: Labor, Space, and Struggle in Lebanon and Palestine [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]

This panel brings together perspectives on resistance and struggle in Lebanon and Palestine. Each paper considers a different aspect of everyday resistance, from boycotts challenging settler colonialism to labor strikes resisting exploitation, and from land practices in rural areas to refusal of participation in refugee camps. Together, these papers contribute to a richer understanding of resistance, showcasing the diverse strategies and challenges faced by communities confronting colonialism, capitalism, and state-led oppression.

The first paper investigates the roles of cultural boycotts as sites of anti-colonial resistance. Drawing on lessons from South Africa, it explores how boycotts serve as embodied spatializations of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist resistance, challenging dominant power structures and ideologies. The second paper offers insights into the impact of settler colonial processes on rural livelihoods. Using ethnography, the study reveals how Palestinian communities navigate dispossession and exploitation, emphasizing the intertwined nature of land and labor struggles in settler colonial contexts. The third paper focuses and traces particularly food rations as sites of contestation and resistance. It emphasizes refugees' strategic use of food strikes as a means of challenging exploitative aid structures and asserting dignity and agency. Finally, the fourth paper revisits a forgotten labor action led by the butchers' union. The group boycotted a modern slaughterhouse, turning it into a site of resistance against state-led modernization, thus highlighting the dialectical relationship between urban space, labor activism, and class struggle.

Collectively, these papers offer some insight into resistance movements in the face of colonialism, both past and present, while situating space as a central domain of anti-colonial struggle in the contemporary Middle East.

Hashem Abushama: Boycotting the settler state: embodied spatial practices of resistance in Palestine

Practices of boycott have been central to anti-colonial liberation movements. Since the 2005 call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) by Palestinian civil society organizations, boycott has taken different shapes and forms. In particular, the call for a cultural boycott of the Israeli settler state has been the site for debate, particularly with regard to its implications for the Palestinian cultural scenes. The BDS Movement makes a distinction in how its call is applied across different Palestinian geographies. In particular, it distinguishes between the '48 Palestinians (those living within the territories Israel occupied in 1947) and '67 Palestinians (those living within the territories Israel occupied in 1967). For example, while the boycott allows artists from the Arab World to perform in the West Bank, it sees the entry by the same artists into the '48 territories as 'normalization' with the settler state. In other words, the boycott call sees a danger, or a trap, in the visas and permits issued to Arab artists by the settler state as such documents constitute subjective pathways for settler influence and colonial recognition politics.

Drawing on interviews with Palestinian artists and activists as well as archival and online materials, this paper takes a 'relational comparison' approach—inspired by Gillian Hart—that situates cultural boycotts as locally-embedded practices of spatial production. Thinking with lessons from the South African calls for cultural boycotts in the 1970s and 1980s, the paper takes the boycotts as entry points into thinking about the interlinks between political economy, colonial politics of recognition, and anti-colonial resistance. Inspired by Gramscian formulations on consent, coercion, and civil society, it theorises boycotts as an arena of elaboration for an embodied spatialization of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist resistance.

Fadia Panosetti: Land struggle, livelihood precarization, and social reproduction in Palestine: snapshots from the West Bank

This paper explores the relationship between settler colonial processes of accumulation, land struggle, and rural livelihoods transformations in the highlands of the West Bank after the first Intifada and the signing of the Oslo Accords in the mid-1990s. While earlier decades had seen landmark studies on the dynamics of Palestinian labor flows to the Israeli market, the drastic decline in the number of Palestinians commuting daily to Israel in the 1990s went hand in hand with a decline of academic interest in the lives and conditions of Palestinian rural households. Bringing Agrarian Political Economy and Livelihood System Analysis in dialogue with Settler Colonial Studies and Indigenous Studies, this paper aims to shed light on the set of activities and strategies through which Palestinian rural communities produce and reproduce the conditions of their existence on and through the land. It shows how the increasing hybridization of Palestinian rural livelihoods emerge as a result of, and in

	<p>response to, on-going processes of settler colonial accumulation. It then looks at how livelihood configurations present a new zone of convergence between precarious labor and the work of social reproduction. It concludes by stressing the importance of making forms of unpaid labor visible for better understanding the articulation between dispossession and exploitation in settler colonial contexts, and the intertwined nature of land and labor struggles.</p> <p>The paper is based on thirteen months of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in 2018-19 in the south of the West Bank. It also relies on a variety of secondary data including statistics, maps, and reports from local and international NGOs.</p>
<p>Rami Rmeileh: Resisting Dispossession: Social Reproduction and Palestinian Struggle in Lebanon</p>	<p>Scholarship on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon often falls into the trap of either romanticizing, victimizing, psychopathologizing, or depoliticizing their daily lives. Conversely, when alternative scholarship attempts to center their struggle and political consciousness, it often references the Palestinian revolution and the 1970s presence of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This intervention, however, sheds light on overlooked forms of struggle and resistance. It delves into the intricate dynamics of resistance within humanitarian aid environments, particularly focusing on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and UNRWA. Drawing on Tithi Battacharya's framework on social reproduction, it examines how these refugees challenge exploitative aid structures by refusing participation in systems perpetuating their dispossession.</p> <p>From the 1950s to today, Palestinian refugees have engaged in a variety of tactics, including open strikes, sit-ins, boycotts, protests, and occupations of UNRWA buildings. Through these actions, Palestinians contest power dynamics inherent in aid provision, education, and labor, welfare, revealing the interconnectedness of survival, resistance, and the politics of care. This paper relies on a range of sources, including UN reports, clandestine newspapers, and interviews with Lebanese intelligence (1958-1971). It attempts to focus and trace the debates surrounding food rations at the UNRWA level, examines aid provisions and collaboration with the Lebanese intelligence office, and emphasizes refugee's resistance responses. Specifically highlighting historical instances of food and hunger strikes from 1950 to the present, it expands and stretches out Battacharya's theory of social reproduction to the field of humanitarian aid. By doing so, it underscores refugees' strategic refusal of aid as a means of asserting dignity and agency, revealing a critical political consciousness among refugees and exposing the complex relationship between aid, imperialism, and capitalism. My paper argues that food strikes serve as potent expressions of resistance to imperialism and capitalism, emblematic of broader struggles for justice and dignity within marginalized communities. By withholding labor and consumption, refugees challenge dependency on aid systems prolonging their displacement, emphasizing the necessity of long-term solutions over short-term assistance. This exploration of resistance practices from below, centered on food, aims to illuminate a lesser-known dimension of Palestinian revolts from below, preceding and during the presence of the Palestinian Liberation Organization in Lebanon. It also seeks to unravel the politics as perceived by refugees, shedding light on sites of contestation within humanitarian contexts.</p>
<p>Diala Lteif: Slaughterhouse Struggle: Space, Time and Ideology in Beirut's class conflicts of the 1960s</p>	<p>A modern slaughterhouse—touted to be 'the slaughterhouse of the year 2000'—was inaugurated in Karantina, in eastern Beirut, with great fanfare in August 1966. However, it would remain closed for over three years, during which the Beirut's Butchers Union & Livestock Traders Syndicate (BULTS) organized a 37-month boycott in protest of the new working conditions. Indeed, the butchers were not pleased neither with the new facility nor the modernization agenda it represented; both appeared to primarily serve the interests of the ruling class. Faced with the prospect of massive layoffs and greater exploitation, BULTS organized its membership, boycotted the new facility, and maintained their regular butchering activity in the temporary slaughterhouse. The standoff lasted for over three years and forced the municipality to grant the butchers most of their demands—including changes in labor and hiring conditions—, making it</p>

one of the longest and most successful labor struggles of Beirut. Furthermore, the mobilization set an important precedent for similar union-led activity in Lebanon. Despite these facts, the butcher's strike is largely absent from scholarship on Lebanon and working-class politics in the Middle East.

In this paper, I explore the role of labor struggles in the production of space, and my objectives are twofold. First, I aim to recenter the voices of a marginalized group in Beirut and demonstrate the centrality of their struggle to the city's history, and by extension, to their own political consciousness. Second, I explore the dialectical relationship between urban space and labor activism, using the struggle of the slaughterhouse as a case study. Within the context of Beirut, the case study illustrates the relationship between urban space and class struggle, mediated by the ideology of modernization and its bearing on class relations. I demonstrate that the BULTS strike was also a resistance against a wave of state-led modernization, a legacy of the French Mandate era. I present findings from 18 months of fieldwork, including oral histories, archival research, and participant observation. The study of this particular labor struggle is also valuable beyond the Lebanese context and positions the Middle-East as a productive terrain for the study of class relations and urban politics. The success of the BULTS workers struggle presents important lessons for future mobilization efforts and international labor movements and makes a contribution at the intersection of labor histories, urban politics, and Middle-Eastern studies.

Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00

Agents of Transformation? Industrial Unions and the Green Transition [G3]

Global emissions are not decreasing at the necessary speed to prevent the planet from warming beyond the agreed-upon limit of 1,5°C. Fossil fuel companies still maintain a tight grip on the energy system and reap billions of dollars in annual profits. Meanwhile, major powers are embarking on new industrial policies, the outcomes of which remain uncertain. The U.S. has introduced the Inflation Reduction Act, the European Union has rolled out (a less ambitious) Green Deal Industrial Plan, and China keeps advancing as a leading producer of a variety of clean energy technology.

Overall, the focus on decarbonizing industries and advancing green technologies has become a centerpiece of interstate rivalries and market competition. Sectors that are significant contributors to climate change, like steel, iron, and aluminum production, automobile manufacturing, chemicals, and cement, require radical transformations in their production processes and capital-labor relations. What role will industrial workers play in this transition?

In a capitalist world rife with contradictions, emerging green industrial policies have exacerbated existing problems while introducing new issues. Consequently, old debates have reignited within the Left, and new ones have crystallized in recent years. The state's role amid a green transition, imperialism and extractivism, the role of the 'professional-managerial class' (PMC) and/or petty bourgeoisie in populist politics, technology development and sovereignty, economic growth versus degrowth, and the role of industrial workers and their unions vis à vis the climate movement constitute some topics that have elicited agreements and dissent.

This panel looks to begin untangling some of the questions related to a green industrial transition and socialist strategy by focusing on industrial workers.

Nicole Kleinheisterkamp
González: What can Industrial Workers teach us about winning a Just Transition?

My research centers on the dynamics of capital-labor relations within industries directly affected by decarbonization. Germany has committed to reducing emissions by 65 percent compared to 1990 levels by 2030 and decided to phase out coal entirely by 2038. These goals pose significant challenges for industrial unions, considering how decarbonization might affect their sectors and that these industries provide comparably well-paying jobs with good working conditions. Negotiations between the miners' union, IG BCE, and the state culminated with the 2019 Coal Commission, which laid a path for the transition. Initially, all regions were to end activities by 2038. However, in 2022, a local government advanced the date to 2030 for the West German region. The region has eight fewer years to navigate through a successful structural change. Hence, unions are currently grappling with lagging job creation in new sectors. It is still unclear how job losses will affect the region and whether

	<p>all coal workers will find new perspectives in the promised industries, such as the potential green hydrogen economy. Moreover, the state's staunch defense of a strict fiscal policy exacerbates the situation.</p> <p>The data presented stems from six months of fieldwork at the Garzweiler coal mine and surrounding power plants in North Rhine Westphalia. Specifically, my research aims to understand how industrial unions develop visions of just transitions and derive lessons for working-class ecological politics. The interviews explored, among other things, workers' relationship to their professions, attitudes toward climate change and climate activists, fears and aspirations for the future, views and relationships to the union, and political views. In this presentation, I will specifically delve into workers' conflicting views of a transition and how material demands, as opposed to moral ones, can mobilize these rightward drifting workers to a leftist industrial just transition.</p>
<p>Ewan Kerr: Explaining Contentious Trade Union Environmentalism: insights from two industrial disputes in the UK</p>	<p>Research on trade union environmentalism has expanded significantly in recent years. Inter alia, this has drawn attention to cases of innovative workplace activism that include two main strategic orientations. Alongside defensive and reactive attempts to manage socio-ecological transitions, there also exist contentious efforts to advocate for a proactive socio-ecological transformation of the current political economy. Previous literature has outlined well how the development of one strategic orientation over the other is the result of balancing complex interests between environmental protection and employment. But it is less clear what factors external to trade unions enable and constrain this choice. Using historical case studies of two workplace disputes in the UK, this paper provides a framework that can explain the conditions in which trade union environmentalism in industrial sectors has developed more radical and contentious forms of workplace climate activism. It demonstrates how these conditions encouraged 'rank-and-file' activists to combine class and climate politics in such a way as to articulate a working-class environmentalism that is autonomous from the state and independent of capital, whilst also moving beyond the reformist limits of ecological modernisation. Overall the paper aims to provide a critical - but sympathetic - evaluation of the prospects for a revitalised, re-radicalised and repoliticised trade union environmentalism, and improves our knowledge of the environmental politics of trade unions by illuminating the contested terrain of struggle on which they operate. Moreover, it also provides wider insights into the structural constraints other progressive environmental social movements operate within.</p>
<p>Dan Evans: Trade Unionism in the changing class structure</p>	<p>In the UK, union density has fallen to an all-time low of around 6 million workers (approximately 22% of the workforce), with the decline now beginning to impact on previously resilient union heartlands (Davies et al, 2023). Reflecting the transition to services, union density is now concentrated in the public sector among white collar, professional-managerial workers in health and social care, education and public administration; while it has fallen among 'blue collar workers and among workers in the private sector, including manufacturing (15%); energy (29%); and transport (33%). The demographic profile of trade unionists has changed significantly: today trade unionists are more likely to have degrees; be middle to high earners; and managers and supervisors are more likely to be union members than non-managers/supervisors. Militancy has also significantly declined, with the number of days lost to strike action in the UK falling dramatically.</p> <p>The recent British strike wave of 2022-23 offered a flicker of hope, with strikes occurring across multiple sectors, uniting blue- and white-collar workers. These disputes inflicted noticeable damage on British capital, although the main impact was made by blue collar unions concentrated in the traditional 'choke points' of the economy- transport logistics and communications- supporting Huber's (2022) claim that industrial workers in traditional industries are central to building socialism because of their strategic leverage.</p>

	<p>The recent strike wave poses interesting questions about the class structure and union organizing. Returning to classic debates on white collar vs blue collar workers (cf. Mills, 1951; Strauss, 1956; Blackburn & Prandy, 1965; Crompton, 1976; Hyman & Price, 1983) this paper introduces qualitative comparative research into white collar and blue-collar trade unionists involved in the recent strikes, considering questions of union identity, motivations and leverage in the modern class structure.</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 Trans Marxism [R201] HMSPEN</p>	
<p>Elliot C. Mason: Abstract Labour as a Dildo: Paul B. Preciado and Trans Methodologies</p>	<p>"Until recently, and still in many communist circles, trans, queer, and feminist studies have been understood as possible additions to Marxism and communism. In this paper, I argue for the methodological necessity of trans criticism for a Marxist critique of the economy. While Marx brilliantly highlights the structural violence of the conversion of concrete to abstract labour and its animation as the compulsive agent of social relations, it is not possible within this theorization to return from analysing the commodity to the material, social site of production and its embodied differences, since each commodity studied is not a unique use-value but a standardized expression of universal, abstract labour. Indeed, for Marx, this is the revolutionary opportunity provided by capitalism, in that it standardises the gathering of labourers.</p> <p>Through his theory of dildos, Paul B. Preciado opens the possibility of working back from the abstract and standardized present into the concrete sociality of productive gathering. The dildo is produced as a plastic prosthetic that retroactively assigns natural form to that which it represents: the penis is the original only because the dildo is its copy. The reproducibility of this appendage, however, disrupts the privileged possession of penises, disallowing the exclusive claims of men to owning penises.</p> <p>Dildos function here as the standardizing mechanism of abstract labour. However, where abstract labour erases the assembly of labouring bodies that produced it, the dildo reveals its constitutive past: the nonexistence of the nature of binary sexed bodies. The narrative of binary sex is instantiated as natural by becoming the abstract past of the dildo, but the dildo itself refutes this narrative. The dildo exposes the body as a system of multitemporal signs (male/female) and, crucially, the prosthetic excess of the possibility of signification (trans). This "dildotectonic" excess is Preciado's radical methodology."</p>
<p>Sylvia McCheyne: Transmisogyny: A Marxist consideration</p>	<p>"This paper will explore the concept of transmisogyny, utilising a (trans) Marxist perspective to understand what the concept has meant for trans communities until now and how the concept can be analysed to consider the conditions that impact trans women today within Marxist organising spaces.</p> <p>Theoretical explorations of transmisogyny will consider how the concept was formed and how it has evolved following the proliferation of trans studies and Marxist approaches to trans women's organising. This includes considering how transmisogyny must be 'stretched' to further accommodate the various conceptualisations of transmisogyny and how the concept can move past individual 'processes of femininity,' to a concept that is potentially more structural and accommodates the various experiences of trans women.</p> <p>Based on my PhD research project investigating trans women in the LGBT+ charity sector, qualitative data from trans women will be used to understand how and why differences exist between trans women in defining transmisogyny, including reactions to the concept itself, as well as the ways in which trans women's own class and feminist consciousness can tell us about how transmisogyny can be applied to this sector and other workplaces. This paper would also ask what this means overall to the labour relations between trans women.</p>

	<p>All of this, as well as reflecting on my own organising experiences, will examine how to best facilitate the growing need for trans women to be involved in Marxist organising and why trans women’s own understandings of transmisogyny are vital in the current political climate as well as in continuing to shape a trans Marxism."</p>
<p>Maxi Wallenhorst: To inhabit contradiction – A Poetics of Metabolic Disorder</p>	<p>There is a sexed dimension of the “unheilbarer Riss” Marx speaks of that has remained underexplored in recent scholarship on metabolic rift. As materialist historians such as Jules Gill-Peterson have pointed out: The emergence of metabolism, as the scientific abstraction also figuring in Capital, is inextricably linked to the racialized history of sex and the way in which it came to define bodily capacity from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards. Trans people, and their poetics, have played a contradictory role in this history: An abstract notion of transness is supposed to illustrate (in a liberal register) how metabolism works from the individual to the societal level, or (in a fascist register) how it does not. And yet this allegorical function obscures the particular knowledge gained in navigating precisely the discontinuity of social metabolism — in DIY health care, the informal economies of sex work, etc. Jordy Rosenberg has suggested that trans poetics in this context can be read to work through how metabolism is “lived dialectically.” In this vein, taking cues from literary practices that “inhabit” these “contradictions” (Uziell), such as Laurel Uziell’s T or Juliana Huxtable’s MUCUS IN MY PINEAL GLAND, this talk aims to further explore metabolism as a visceral abstraction of capitalist corporeal and social organization and, particularly, disorganization. Juxtaposing its conceptual history with its Marxist and psychoanalytic applications, the talk especially aims to develop a vocabulary more adequate to the fact that disorder is not secondary but in fact integral to metabolism. A poetics of metabolic disorder, I want to propose, can retrieve, following Marina Vishmidt and Zoé Sutherland, a sense of “social reproduction [...] as an antagonistic form of social unity.” It could also shift the horizon of this antagonism, clarifying how struggling for sexual freedom will require more than merely repairing or romanticizing what’s lived negatively through sex.</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 Beyond Reified Narratives: Rethinking Iran’s Socio-Economic and Geopolitical Dialectics [RB01] <i>Materialist Research Group Panel</i></p>	
<p>The Islamic Republic of Iran is often treated either as an ‘exception’ to global capitalism, reduced to its Islamist political form via a nationalist methodology, or, through campism, as a genuine ‘anti-imperialist’ force opposing the US and its allies. In these reified narratives, social struggles of oppressed classes, particularly that of gendered and ethnic-national subjectivities in the *Women Life Freedom uprising, are either represented as antagonism against anachronistic feudal relations through a colonial imaginary, as if Iran lives in the past of the ‘West’, or purely as the consequence of US sanctions and its ‘regime change’ efforts. This panel moves beyond both imperialist and campist narratives. Instead, it seeks to establish and explore the dialectics between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’, the ‘internal’ and the ‘external’. We aim to critically analyse a wide range of interconnected socio-economic and (geo-)political problems in the historical geography of Iran, crucial for diagnosing the historical present and envisioning its liberatory transformation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Accumulation processes based on formal subsumption as well as dispossession and Iran’s integration into the capitalist world market. · The imperialist representations of mass uprisings and the pseudo-anti-imperialist positions as its ‘dialectical pair’ · The IRI’s aggressive geopolitical interventions in the Middle East and the plural temporalities of financialization and globalization within contemporary capitalism, marked by the decline of the US hegemony. · The colonial legacy of petrocapiatalism in the present and the IRI’s hyper nationalist ‘internal colonialism’ towards national minorities, constituted by lang grabbing and extraction. · The historical ties of the Iranian left with Palestine and the unrealized futures of national liberation for today’s transformation of a region marked by imperialist wars and reactionary forces. <p>By providing a more nuanced critical grasp of social relations in Iran and its position within global capitalism, we hope to contribute to the ongoing political and theoretical debates within the global left over questions of solidarity, internationalism, and non-campist anti-imperialism.</p>	
<p>Amir Kianpour: Iran under Capital: From Formal Subsumption to the Re-Formalization of Subsumption</p>	<p>This paper examines the formal subsumption of Iranian society under capital during the Shah's passive revolution in the 1960s and how it evolved into a process of ""re-formalization of subsumption"" following the 1979 revolution. The Shah's ""White Revolution"" (1962-1972), which involved extensive land redistribution and industrialization, was a process of the formal subsumption of labor</p>

	<p>and life under capital. It created a heterogeneous mixture of despotic absolutism and a pretentious young industrial capitalism, lagging under the pressure of global capital. Shah's reforms not only transformed peasants into the urban poor but also uprooted nearly every social class, leading to a period of ekstasis—a profound socio-economic dislocation. This disruption even led to the tyrannical ecstasy and despotic transcendence of the Shah, ultimately resulting in the unbounding of the "imaginary institution of society" and culminating in the 1979 revolution.</p> <p>Despite the significant political upheavals, the 1979 revolution left capitalist social relations largely intact, with the Islamic Republic evolving into a "run-of-the-mill capitalist state." While in the process of generalizing and deepening capitalist relations, what actually transpired was the intensification of discordant temporalities in a cycle of re-formalization of subsumption within the prevailing logic of formal subsumption—a process metaphorically likened to Malevich's "White on White." This can be characterized by the externalization of the capital from "the capital/labor social contract," the subcontracting of management and socio-political organization, and the active reproduction of non-capitalist forms within capitalist relations. This manifested as a hybridization of capital command with models of Shiite-nationalist authority, deeply patriarchal in nature. Consequently, Iran's history of subsumption under capital remains defined by the consolidation of a centralized, empire-inspired form of state.</p> <p>A key focus of this paper is to explore how this socio-economic transition aligns with a geopolitical shift from integrating the Iranian state into the international system to its strategic withdrawal or isolation in post-revolutionary Iran. This shift has created favorable conditions for waves of accumulation through expropriation.</p>
<p>Morteza Samanpour: Geopolitics of Hostile Brothers: IRGC in Light of Global Mediations and Local Accumulation</p>	<p>The increasingly global socialization of capital via processes of financialization and globalization within contemporary capitalism have intensified and reconfigured competition understood not merely as an 'outward appearance' of capital's 'inner laws' (Rosdolsky and Lebowitz) but as intrinsic to its inherently conflictual life process as an abstract social form. Competition simultaneously unifies and separates the mutually interdependent and antagonistic individual capitals within total social capital (Heinrich, Mau). As the reproduction process of spatio-temporalities become more interwoven within the web of the world market, the global mediations of local forms of labour subsumption and their social temporalities are strengthened.</p> <p>Beginning with a historical diagnosis of the current disjunctive conjuncture of 'global war regime' (Sandro Mezzadra, Michael Hardt) in terms of competition and non-synchronous plural temporalities, this paper focuses on the geopolitical position, structure, and dynamics of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). It establishes a mutual relationship between the seemingly 'external' geopolitics of IRGC in the Middle East and its 'internal' processes of accumulation in Iran, marked with centralization and monopoly, dispossession, precarization of labour-power, and the crisis of social reproduction.</p> <p>By adopting the Marxian standpoint of the world market and rejecting methodological nationalism, the paper demonstrates the dialectics of geopolitics and accumulation: how global-social and geopolitical relations, including the decline of the US hegemony, mediate the temporalities of local accumulation in Iran, and how local accumulation in turn influences the geopolitics of the IRGC within the competition among social capitals, which Marx formulates as 'hostile brothers'.</p> <p>Towards the end, the paper proposes that politically opposing campist positions, including support for the Islamic Republic and the 'Axis of Resistance', is philosophically preconditioned by the revitalization of Marxian materialist appropriation of Hegel's mediation, rendered as the historically specific 'ontology of the wrong state of things' (Adorno).</p>
<p>Omid Montazeri: Missed Dialogue: Arab Marxism, the Iranian Left, and the National Liberation Movement</p>	<p>There was a time when Iranian leftist groups, during the armed struggle in the 1970s and 80s, maintained close ties with the Palestinians. However, during the massacre in Gaza, the intervention of the Iranian left has not extended beyond mere declarations of solidarity. Today, only a handful of organised leftist and Marxist Iranian voices echo</p>

	<p>from within the region, with little resonance across the Middle East. What has transpired?</p> <p>Despite collaboration in the 1970s, the connection with leftists in the Arab world has remained severed. Is the dilemma of analysing the 1979 revolution and the rise of Islamists the reason for this disconnect?</p> <p>Arab Marxist groups appreciated national liberation movements as foundations for building a united front among Arab resistance groups in the region, including both Muslim and non-Muslim factions.</p> <p>In Iran, since the early 1970s, reflection on the National Liberation Movement has not been central to theoretical discussions.</p> <p>Urging a reconsideration of the National Liberation Movement as the conceptual framework of anti-colonial thought might offer opportunities for political practice. This transnational united front by Marxist and Muslim groups might have a chance in that missed dialogue. Although these days, alignment with Muslim groups could potentially lead to political repression and prohibitions.</p> <p>George Habash, a prominent leader of the Palestinian left and founder of PFLP, once wrote an introduction for the work of a martyred Fadai leader, Amir-Parviz Pouyan. Habash recognized the essay's importance for its conceptualization of national liberation movements in the region.</p> <p>He reaffirmed the 'historical necessity' for the vanguard fighter but insisted on addressing the issue of evolution from the vanguard to the revolutionary party. In his view, breaking the frontiers of dictatorship did not pave the way for the masses to join revolutionary organisations. Since Pouyan was martyred by the time of Habash's writing, he concluded, 'this legacy rests upon the shoulders of future generations.'</p> <p>What answer did the successors give to Habash's question? And does the national liberation movement provide the basis for creating a united and transnational front?</p>
<p>Bahar Noorizadeh and Iman Ganji: (Anti-)imperialism and Its Others: Iran and Deadlocks of Representation</p>	<p>In December 2019, a month into the widespread riots triggered by the hike in gasoline prices in Iran, a group of anti-imperialist scholars and activists in the United States published the Letter Against US Imperialism, in which they attributed the popular riots to a mere consequence of American-led sanctions on Iran. "Iranians seek economic and political stability", they concluded in their letter, adding that they stand by Iranians "call for domestic reform", failing to see either the capitalist nature of the Islamic Republic and its incessant oppression of all class and non-class identity struggles, or the diminishing consensus on a universal definition of imperialism when it comes to inter- and sub-imperialist relations between geopolitical powers. In this climate, the favourable reception of the 2022 Jina uprising by the same signatories requires further analysis. This time, the protestors were not reduced to the "Imperialism's functionaries". At the same time, and in the context of Russian invasion of Ukraine and the Chinese bolder presence in the global geopolitics, a strong current of the anti-imperialist Campism has emerged since the Jina's Uprising.</p> <p>This paper visits the deadlocks of the anti-imperialist discourse in recognizing widespread protest movements in Iran's recent history which finds itself perpetuating imperialist platitudes as it discredits them. We focus on the question of translation in the context of regional and global geopolitics, but also the question of translation between particular, "isolated" cases of the universalized capitalist governmentality such as Iran and the imposed universality of capitalist relation itself. Looking at three instances of mass uprisings in the last two decades — the green movement of 2008 against the alleged fraudulent presidential elections, the November 2019 popular riots that engulfed more than a hundred cities in the country, and the 2022 Jina uprising that begun at the intersection of feminist and ethnic-national liberation struggles but traversed the whole of Iran — we observe an imperialist dimension underpinning the representation of these movements by the anti-imperialist Left both inside and outside of Iran. How has this dialectical dynamics of isolation contributed to the emergence of the Campist anti-imperialism in and regarding Iran, and to the imperialist appropriation of the Iranian struggles? And between these two, how has the Left got lost in translation?</p>

<p>Farideh Shahriari: From Settler to Internal Colonialism: Rethinking 'Class' Analysis by Exploring the International Production of Israel and Iran as National State Spaces</p>	<p>Although settler colonialism has garnered some attention in Marxist literature, internal colonialism has not. This neglect results from a prevailing focus on the labor-capital dichotomy, sidelining Marx's trinity of land-labor-capital and peripheralizing key aspects of colonialism like land expropriation, resource/energy extraction, and nationalism. National/internal colonialism, if recognized, is often secondary to the 'central' class oppression which is understood in an economistic manner. The issue is rooted in the prevailing state-centrism and its associated ideology, nationalism, which is based on a dualistic conception of space-time. Characterizing the cultural hegemony of capitalism, rooted in the hierarchical nature of the production of international space, is linked to a linear reading of international history. Nationalism – as the ideological justification for the liberal democratic nation-state built upon the abstract principle of territorial integrity – embodies this linear, dualistic reading. The national state is portrayed as the pinnacle of human progress, concealing the colonial nature of the production of international space, and obstructing alternative spaces. As Poulantzas says, the nation-state is defined by a specific spatio-temporal matrix reflecting the international division of labor necessitating revolutionary struggles to transform this matrix. To address these problems, this paper focuses on the national states of Israel and Iran, highlighting their similarities to compare two distinct yet intertwined forms of colonialism: internal and settler. Based on this comparison, I aim to reveal some of the shortcomings in existing class analyses. To this end, I draw on three Marxist approaches: Poulantzas's non-economistic conception of class, Gramsci's theory of the integral state, and Lefebvre's theory of the production of space.</p>
<p>Thursday, 19:00 – 21:00 Conversations with Robert Linhart, a film-interview [RG01] <i>Workers Inquiry</i></p>	
<p>The panel will include a screening of the film CONVERSATIONS WITH ROBERT LINHART (36 min.) and two papers from Matthew Myers and Panagiotis Sotiris, which will include critical comments and questions about the film. The film team (Luiz Renato Martins, director, and Maitê Fanchini, responsible for the images, sound recording, and editing) will also participate in the panel and respond to the comments and questions.</p> <p>The film presents an interview with the French writer Robert Linhart, author of a fundamental investigative work on the peasant movement in Pernambuco (Brazil), <i>The Sugar and the Hunger</i> (Rab-Rab Press, 2023), first published in 1980 (<i>Le Sucre et la Faim</i>, Paris, Éditions de Minuit).</p> <p>Robert Linhart's book investigates a modernising experiment in the Northeast of Brazil after the 1964 civil-military coup. It precociously dissects a capitalist leap beyond wage labour based on the deregulation of the labour regime. A new class strategy in the sugarcane agroindustry emerges, foreshadowing the so-called neoliberalism in multiple ways.</p> <p>Linhart's analysis, employing far-reaching metaphors (the concentration camps and nuclear bombs as figures), develops a critical and reflective perspective on class necro practices. It foresees the planned and catastrophic order that plunges the contemporary world into an abyss of structural unemployment and programmed genocides.</p> <p>The conversation, which took place at the Linhart home in Paris in September 2022, focused, besides the essay-making process that occurred in 1979-1980, also on the close relationship of its narrative techniques with cinema and on the lively relevance today of the book, which was recently published in its first English translation (November 2023).</p>	
<p>Luiz Renato Martins, director, and Maitê Fanchini, responsible for the images, sound recording, and editing</p>	<p>The film team will present the film (36 minutes) and respond to the questions and comments raised by the panel members and the viewers.</p>
<p>Matthew Myers: On Linhart's Relevance</p>	<p>Matt Myers will survey the contribution of Robert Linhart to the history of Marxism and in particular to the history of Taylorism, workers' enquiry, the Russian Revolution, and peasant and working-class history. It will situate Linhart's work alongside his political commitments – the PCF's Union des Etudiants Communistes (UEC), UJCml (Union of Marxist-Leninist Communist Youth), and Gauche Prolétarienne – and will refer to more and lesser known published texts and unpublished interviews. It will end by reflecting on Linhart's continuing relevance and contemporary significance. matthewjtmymers@gmail.com</p>

Panagiotis Sotiris: Robert Linhart and the politics of militant research	The aim of this presentation is to see <i>The Sugar and the Hunger</i> as part of a broader practice of militant research by Robert Linhart, something evident in texts like <i>L'Établi</i> . At the same time, it is part of a wider current of such militant research emerging in the 1960s, as the practice of co-research by with the operaist current shows, but also as part of a broader questioning of the politics of sociological and anthropological research.
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Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM
100 years of Fascism Theory: Epistemology, Poetics, and Mediality of a heterodox genre [B102]

For some time, the term fascism has been back in vogue. It has also found an enormous echo in centrist media. This is surprising, as the diagnostic use of the term fascism seemed to have become obsolete by the 1980s. However, as a result of the success of right-wing populist parties and authoritarian policies as well as public displays of anti-Semitism, racism, misogyny and transphobia it is currently experiencing a new boom. The panel “100 years of fascism theory: Epistemology, poetics and mediality of a heterodox genre” is dedicated to the long history of critical theories of fascism. It focuses in particular on those approaches to explaining fascism which have attempted to solve one of the basic riddles of political philosophy: Why do people want their own oppression? To this end, these theories often combined psychological and economic perspectives.

Due to the horrors of fascism during the first half of the 20th century, theories of fascism moved to the center of critical social theory. They gained their urgency faced with the imminent threat from fascism. The question of effectiveness against fascism therefore arises in a special way with these theories: How are “understanding” and “preventing” related? The guiding hypothesis of the panel is that their form is therefore of particular importance. Questions about the poetics and rhetoric, materiality and mediality of theories of fascism will take center stage. How did theories of fascism react to the fascination engendered by fascist aesthetics? With this perspective, the panel aims to make a contribution to the exploration of the modes of action of theory. Conversely, it will explore whether a theoretical-historical perspective on historical theories of fascism can contribute to an understanding of current political dynamics.

Caroline Adler: Unveiling Fascist Armatures: Walter Benjamin's Theories of German Fascism	Walter Benjamin's profound insights into the complexities of (German) fascism, notably in his works from the 1930s, offer a nuanced perspective that transcends the immediate political context of his time. Drawing on his earlier explorations of Expressionism, philosophy of life (<i>Lebensphilosophie</i>), and the Occult Sciences, Benjamin's critique delves into the intellectual underpinnings that at times inadvertently paved the way for fascism by seeking 'true experience' and 'spiritual renewal'. His examination unveils how certain intellectual currents, in pursuit of an 'expression (<i>Ausdruck</i>) of the masses', aligned themselves with fascist ideologies – a critical omission from the revolutionary left, according to Benjamin. My contribution seeks to illuminate Benjamin's intellectual journey in dissecting fascism as more than a political movement but as an enduring mindset rooted in history. As Benjamin insightfully observed, “nothing motivates the Fascists so much as the will to seize the myth”, and this myth is by no means only the subject of fascist narratives.
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Patrick Eiden-Offe: Fascism as the Destruction of Reason: Georg Lukács and the Bourgeois Heritage	As an orthodox Marxist and Leninist, Georg Lukács essentially agreed with the Comintern theorists' political-economic interpretations of fascism. His genuine contribution to the theory of fascism lies in his large-scale attempts at an intellectual history of fascism. For Lukács, the path of the German <i>Geist</i> into fascism begins with all attempts to evade the necessary sublation and materialist inversion of Hegel in the theory of Marxism: with Schelling and Schopenhauer. In terms of intellectual history, fascism for Lukács represents the exact opposite of what Marxism has achieved: Where Marxism sees through the 'antinomies of bourgeois thought' in their theoretical constitution and understands how to resolve them dialectically - this is the programme of the famous essay on reification in 'History and Class Consciousness' - (proto)fascist thought affirms the irrationality on which bourgeois thought is based and towards which it runs, and declares this to be the indissoluble <i>Ur-ground</i> of all being. In his three-volume work 'The Destruction of Reason', Lukács provides us with a detective story that follows the seeds and entanglements of irrationalism from Schelling to Alfred Rosenberg. This story is often schematic and unfair: when Weber, Simmel and Freud are placed alongside more obvious candidates such as Nietzsche and Heidegger in the prehistory of fascism, the analytical grid is obviously crooked. What is interesting, however, is how Lukács links theoretical, institutional and economic history and thus
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	helps to outline the figure of the fascist intellectual, which is becoming topical again today in the political, economic and intellectual crisis of the present.
Francesca Raimondi: Spectres of Fascism: Theodor W. Adorno on the mythical character of authoritarianism	After having analyzed the origins of modern fascism together with Max Horkheimer in the Dialectic of Enlightenment and having studied together with Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, and Nevitt Sanford on The Authoritarian Character, Theodor W. Adorno 1967 returns to the topic of fascism and authoritarianism in his Vienna-lecture ""Aspects of Right-Wing Extremism"", witnessing the return of authoritarianism itself. A detail is worth of note: In this short text Adorno deploys a spectral vocabulary echoing a reference to ghosts already present in the Dialectic of Enlightenment. The lecture will read this spectral vocabulary as a very precise instrument to tackle the peculiar mythical (i.e. recurrent) character of authoritarianism and fascism as well as the epistemic and affective set-up in which it unfolds.
Elena Vogman [online]: Antifascist Psychiatry: François Tosquelles and the Politics of the Body	Nazi eugenics and racist doctrine provoked a strong decolonial and anti-fascist resistance carried out in the 1930s and 1940s by resistance fighters and psychiatrists, including the psychiatrist and co-founder of the POUM, François Tosquelles, the Marxist psychiatrist Lucien Bonnafé, and the philosopher and historian of science Georges Canguilhem. In his research on “extensive psychiatry” and myokinesis with Mira i Lopez in Catalonia, and then during his flight from the Franco regime to France via the Septfonds concentration camp, Tosquelles conceived of the human body as perpetually moving – “always a migrant.” For him, displacement, foreignness, and madness became essential features of being human. These elements constituted the foundation not only for the geo-psychiatric, aesthetic, and environmental approach to psychiatric care at the Saint-Alban clinic in southern France but also for “the politics of the body” advanced within the framework of “institutional analysis” at the La Borde psychiatric clinic. My talk traces these anti-fascist resistance movements in France, which became foundational for Frantz Fanon’s psychiatric experiments in Algeria. It examines the entanglements between the politics of the body, the mind, and the soil in an attempt to combat the intertwined fascist and colonial aspirations in Europe between 1930 and 1960.
Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Theoretical Debates in Marxist Feminism and Social Reproduction Theory [B103] Marxist Feminism	
Tatiana Llaguno: On Being and Appearing: Assessing the Debate on Non-valorized Labour	Marxist feminists have long debated the status of reproductive, non-valorized labour in capitalist societies. The reproductive sphere includes “the activities and attitudes, behaviors and emotions, responsibilities and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis, and intergenerationally,” but also “the perpetuation of modes of production and the structures of class inequality inscribed within them” (Laslett and Brenner 1989, 382). While there is general agreement that capitalist societies are characterized by a dédoublement that separates production from reproduction, the nature of this separation remains the subject of complex discussions. Already in the 1980s, Leopoldina Fortunati suggested that if production refers to what is and what appears, reproduction refers to what is but does not appear (1995). More recently, Maya and González have argued that reproductive labour should be conceived as having an abject nature –not as being abject per se, but as traversing a process of exteriorization that codifies it as non-labour (2014). Finally, pursuing a clearly Hegelian-Marxist path, Rebecca Carson has maintained that reproductive activities are to be understood as immanent externalities (2023), which are required for circulation and production but nonetheless remain other to capital. In this paper, I will assess the feminist debate on reproduction and investigate whether this problem requires a different method from the one used by Marx, its adaptation, and/or its improvement. In doing so, I aim to discuss the various ways in which feminist thinkers contribute to the debate on the necessity and possibility of a critical methodological exposition.
Ruth Fletcher: Extracting time from body-territories for social	This paper addresses the conundrum in social reproduction theory over how to conceptualise the labour which produces labour power. For Mezzadri et al, an inclusive

<p>reproduction: surplus, synthesis or support value?</p>	<p>approach to the relationship between reproduction and production would recognise that reproductive labour generates value for production (Mezzadri 2021; 2019; Federici 2019). Whereas for Ferguson and others, reproductive labour is socially necessary for productive purposes, and makes the extraction of surplus value possible, but is not itself productive since surplus value is not extracted from it (Ferguson 2020; Bhattacharya 2017). One way or the other materialist and marxist feminisms would benefit from some conceptual distinctions which enable the identification of how social reproduction contributes to capitalism by making labour power available and by absorbing the costs of life's reproduction (Kotiswaran 2021; 2023; Nanopolous and Ullrich 2024; Bhattacharyya 2018; De'Ath 2018). I turn to my work on abortion law as a site of social reproduction (Fletcher 2024) to consider what the reproduction of reproductive labour time can offer to this dialogue. When abortion law calendars, punctuates and paces gestational time, by using time limits to determine abortion's lawfulness, is it extracting value as time from pregnant bodies along the lines envisaged by Gago's concept of the body-territory of extraction (Gago 2020)? Or is it pointing towards the need to conceptualise a different kind of labour value, one which does not necessarily generate surplus value from biolabour (Cooper and Waldby 2014), but generates the value of necessary supportive infrastructure for labour's productivity. And if so, how could a recuperation of O'Brien's concept of synthetic value assist with this project (O'Brien 1981; Fletcher 2003)?</p>
<p>Gabriela Azevedo and Gabriela Salcedo Figueira: Reproductive work and necessary work: Social reproduction theory and gender analysis in contemporary times</p>	<p>The aim of this paper is to analyse the theoretical-methodological approach of historical materialism to reproductive work (the renewal and replacement of labour power). Following the abstraction movement of Lise Vogel, which is the foundation of social reproduction theory, we are able to extract from the complex category of gender the simpler ones, such as labour power, which is a basal category of a Marxist investigation of reality. For Vogel, labour power, surplus labour and necessary labour are the main categories to grasp the oppression of women in contemporary society. Their relation forges what could be understood, in a Lukacsian interpretation, as a "partial complex of reality" that, in this case, enables the representation of the unitary determination of reproductive and productive labour. In this respect, we will argue that reproductive work is determined within the logic of capitalist reproduction, since this type of work is part of the necessary labour. The main goal is to discuss the definition and extension of necessary labour in order to shed light on what remained unseen in Marx's understanding of the reproduction of capital: all kinds of work and labour performed prior to the production of commodities, where gender oppression under capitalism can be understood.</p>
<p>Marcela Orozco Contreras: Linking a Feminist Method, the Social Reproduction Theory and the Global Capitalism Perspective in the Analysis of the Processes of Territorial Reconfigurations in Latin America</p>	<p>"The study of transnational capital expansion, the exploitation of human and nature resources and the territorial reconfiguration mainly in Latin America, are the objectives of the Working Group on Borders, Regionalization and Globalization at the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO). In order to analyze these questions we have developed the analytical abstractions of Global Spaces for the Expansion of Transnational Capital, and Specific Zones of Intense Accumulation (SZIA)/Specific Zones of Intense Social Conflictivity (SZISC). Within the SZIA/SZISC we observe how class struggle develops and women are in the first line, confronting the violence of transnational economic and political power while they are defending their territories, goods, and social traditions.</p> <p>In the perspective of social reproduction theory, women's oppression has its roots in the women's position within social reproduction as a whole. Class struggle expresses itself in the conditions of production and social reproduction, in which the dominant class appropriates surplus labor and takes advantage of unpaid domestic labor too. In the method of analysis we use in the Working Group of CLACSO to study the formation of Global Spaces, and SZIC/SZISC, we move from the abstract (global capitalism) to the concrete (spaces and zones) and viceverse through the dialectical method. The application of a feminist research method will allow us the make this analytical journey thinking about women in the abstract and women in the concrete,</p>

	<p>contributing to make women's living conditions visible, historicizing some of the multiple oppressions that affect us and help to improve our living conditions.</p> <p>I rely on the articulation of the theoretical contributions of Karl Marx, William Robinson and Lise Vogel. In the last two authors, it is an approximation between a perspective of global capitalism, within the school of critical studies of globalization, and the perspective of the theory of social reproduction."</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Missed Encounters in Western Marxism [B104] Western Marxism</p>	
<p>Darren Roso: The Conceptual Constellations of Adorno and Althusser</p>	<p>This paper will explore the conceptual constellations of Adorno and Althusser, recognising that too often the Frankfurt School and the French moment of philosophy too often been separated. However, Perry Anderson noted in his Considerations of Western Marxism that each thinker approximated the other in distinctive ways. This is my point of departure. Althusser and Adorno came to complex materialist truths that need articulation in the instances, absences and gaps that separate their work – the separation can only be said to exist at the first surface encounter of their works. Certainly, Adorno and Althusser had their own cultures, intervened into specific language games, and occupied a specific moment of the interrelations of Marxism and philosophy that cannot be flattened out by way of comparison; they adopted different modalities of politics and intellectual philosophical intervention too; their diagnostics and constructions are not entirely alike, by any means, and their existential experiences were disjoined; yet, I inquire into how they thought the fragile truths that were not theirs alone. Specifically, I interpret their work in terms of a materialist reconstruction – materialist, insofar as non-identity is posited against a Hegelian identity, and reconstruction because I interpret their work not as a hermeneutic interpretation of the space of revealing but as rational-argumentative constructions of thought that reproduce something determinate about materiality.</p>
<p>Robert P. Jackson: Edward Said and Antonio Gramsci in Counterpoint</p>	<p>How do critical ideas and practices travel through space and time? Why do some lose their power and stagnate, while others burst forth unexpectedly with renewed vigour in certain moments and places? In recent decades, critical and postcolonial theory has reckoned with the legacies of empire and colonialism, globalisation, the growth of diverse types of inequality and unfreedom, and popular responses to these at local, national, and planetary scales. This has raised questions about the possibility of a global political theory capable of addressing these issues without treating European 'canonical' figures as universally applicable. In this context, what it means to be 'critical' today has been linked to notions of 'translatability', not only between languages but also between cultures, and even different 'moments' (philosophic, economic, political) of reality.</p> <p>Re-examining the political thought of two seminal twentieth-century intellectuals, this paper argues that we still have much to learn from (and about) Said and Gramsci's contributions to these questions in both their resonances and their discords. Accessing unpublished archival materials and building on interviews with leading scholars, the paper investigates Said's unorthodox dramatization of an anti-humanist humanism, Gramsci's 'spatial historicism', and both thinkers' immanent break with Eurocentric perspectives. What emerges is their respective concern with 'travelling theory' and the 'mummification of culture', common to which is a health-check on the processes of 'translation' by which theories and practices move through time and space. Said and Gramsci's common capacity to generate fresh perspectives on social transformation, by staging dialogues between heterogeneous schools of thought, reveals their urgent relevance to increasingly polarised political cultures.</p>
<p>Elia Zaru: Critical Theory and political praxis: Hans-Jürgen</p>	<p>In the context of the German student and anti-authoritarian movement between 1967 and 1970 Krahl acted as a political theorist and militant. He has been the protagonist of a close confrontation with the Critical Theory (in which he had been trained), a dispute</p>

<p>Krahl within and against the Frankfurt School</p>	<p>which, on several occasions, turned into a real theoretical and political clash. The “misery of Critical Theory” (especially Adorno and Habermas) consisted, for Krahl, in the absence of a concrete link between critical theory and political praxis. On several occasions, Krahl lashes out against a knowledge that has abandoned the possibility of any practical intervention. The absence of such a link was not, for Krahl, merely a theoretical flaw. Rather, it had political consequences, as it concretely damaged the anti-capitalist struggles of the German extra-parliamentary left during the Sixties. In my speech, I will present and discuss Krahl’s critique of Adorno and Habermas in light of his political activity within the German Sds, his reading of Marx’s concepts of “production” and “labour” and the importance he attributed to the nexus between political theory and praxis. In the final part, I will focus on the relationship between “constitution” and “class struggle in Krahl’s thought in order to highlight his Marxism and show how he represented, within and against the Frankfurt School, an alternative trajectory to the political pessimism of the late Adorno and the neo-Kantism of the young Habermas. Krahl’s merit and importance lie in his ability to articulate a living Marxist perspective capable of holding critical theory and political praxis together, in the wake of a materialism aimed at the continuous interaction of understanding the world and attempting to change it.</p>
<p>Ziad Kiblawi: Rethinking the Historiography of Arabic Social and Political Thought After 1967</p>	<p>Twentieth-century Arabic social and political thought engaged with European social theory to produce novel trends in existentialism, psychoanalysis, Marxism, and structuralism that were at once specific in their creation and universal in their claims. The re-commitment of the Arab intellectual post-1967 (the defeat of Arab armies to Israel) to the question of national liberation mandated rethinking the epistemological conjuncture of science, philosophy, and politics in Arab thought. The task of Arabizing critical theoretical concepts raised the Arab intellectual’s concern with the status of the concept in Arabic. Yet, recent contributions in modern Arab intellectual history have overlooked these theoretical and conceptual writings as Arab derivations of European thought on the one hand, and dismissed their study based on a presentist melancholic position towards the status of the left today.</p> <p>The site of universal politics conjured up by the negativity of critique is reduced to either a contingent repetition of an atavistic culture concept or a disaggregate archive of pragmatic strategies and heterogeneous intents comprised of aesthetic discursive practices. The resort to democratic materialist, provincialist, holistic, contextualist—and other approaches based on intentionality—provides a productive point to intervene by synthesizing the conceptual and the historical. This talk concerns itself with recent issues in Arab intellectual history and the methodological demands necessary to redress the schism in the mechanistically inscribed lacunae between materialist intellectual thought in the Arab world and global modernity.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Towards a Critique of Capitalist Property Relations [B202]</p>	
<p>Isa Lappalainen: The petit-proprietary critics: from Restoration royalists to Karl Marx</p>	<p>The past decades have seen the emergence of the ‘petit rentier’, an arrival that in many ways has upset a standard narrative of financial capitalism, which typically has associated “the rentier” with only the top 1% of the population. While far from having actually liberated the middle class from wage-labor, some argue that their recent entrance on financial markets, whether as stock- or as financialized homeowners, has called into question their primary identification with ‘wage earner interests’, and possibly reconstituted them politically as (however small) ‘asset owners.’</p> <p>While financial capitalism is a hyper-contemporary phenomenon, this pattern has existed in other iterations throughout history. By historically exploring what I call ‘the petit-proprietary imagination’, that is, the social and political ideas that have theorized a) a strong relationship between petit-property ownership and the development of political subjectivities and b) specific implications of this relationship for the constitution of social</p>

	<p>order, my dissertation sheds light on such historical moments to retrieve critical resources for analysis of petit-proprietary politics in our financialized present.</p> <p>This chapter concentrates on the critics of a specifically agrarian version of petit-proprietary politics: the society of small landowners. In particular, I contend that, radically different political ambitions notwithstanding, Karl Marx shared surprising insights with 19th century French Restoration royalists. In fact, both argued that the society of small landowners, as opposed to producing a “virtuous and independent republican citizenry” (as its proponents tended to suggest), rather produced absolute monarchy, dictatorship, and despotism. Indeed, in addition to becoming complacent to an economic system that failed them—for being too blinded by their new-found “passion for property”—small peasant proprietors were unable to collectively engage in class struggle, and their high degree of atomization made them too weak to be reckoned with as a political force. Instead, they became easy prey for despots. These insights, I argue, are long due for contemporary reconsideration.</p>
<p>Jenny Stupka: Proprietarily deformed subjects and belligerent accumulation. On recent developments in critical property theory and their strategic implications</p>	<p>This paper aims to give an overview of recent developments in critical property theory. Two main strands are identified: In the German debate, critical property theory, as a specific critique of capitalism, interestingly turns to the subjective deformations caused by property regimes (cf. Daniel Loick (2016); Eva von Redecker (2020a; 2020b)). Eva von Redecker provides a particularly concise analysis under the catchphrase of the ‘phantom owner’, a social type that was materially expropriated but compensated with claims of disposal over other groups of people - especially women* and BIPOCs (ibd.). What is particularly relevant here is the divisive, thus disorganising function of such specific property personality.</p> <p>A second strand of discussion can be found in recent work in the Northamerican context. Robert Nichols (2020; 2018) and Brenna Bhandar (2018; 2015) focus on dispossession, the racist logic of propertisation and its functions in settler colonialisms. Such analyses are closely related to systematic questions about the relationship between racism and capitalism, what should be considered the core logic of capitalist appropriation and, in particular, the question of continued primitive accumulation.</p> <p>I would like to consider how these two strands relate to each other and what strategic conclusions can be drawn from them.</p>
<p>Kevin Pankewich: Primitive Accumulation, Dispossession, and the Tragedy of the Commons: A Critique of a Neoliberal Orthodoxy</p>	<p>The ideas of the times remain stamped by the material conditions from which they emerge. Hardin’s (1968) “Tragedy of the Commons” thesis offers a contemporary example in which an idea that is favourable to capitalist accumulation is popularized by and ultimately affects the material world from which it sprang. Neoliberal capital accumulation requires a lack of faith in public institutions and common property as a rational-legal justification for otherwise unpopular tendencies. This process becomes self-reifying. Taking a decolonial Marxist approach to this question, this essay will outline Hardin’s argument, offering a socioeconomic critique while drawing upon the works of decolonial Marxist thinkers to offer an alternative take on ubiquitous and historically successful collective property regimes, with an eye to the acequia system along the Rio Grande. What Hardin ultimately offers is an ideological justification to what Marx (1967) describes as primitive accumulation and Harvey (2003) as accumulation by dispossession. Hardin’s (1968) thesis can be seen as a defense of a colonial logic at a time when the decolonization movement was at its peak, while neoliberal economic practices were ascendent. It continues to serve to assert neoliberal ideological hegemony over politics, academia, land management practices, and the ideas of the public. Hardin’s thesis can best be thought of as an intellectual defense of primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession at a time when Locke’s terra nullius no longer commands ideological persuasion. The appeal to positivism and to scientific reasoning represents an abandonment of at least some of the liberal morality of Locke in the face of a logical crisis following decolonization, and appeal to a positivist justification for an otherwise horrific and unpopular process.</p>

<p>Erica Lagalisse: Property and Propriety, an Ethnographic Theory of Class and Identity</p>	<p>My ethnography of “good politics” among middle class anarchist activists in the USA attends to dynamics of courtesy vs. dialogue in activists’ treatment of ‘class’ and ‘identity’ as emic categories. Connections between <i>property</i> and <i>propriety</i> in this field invite analyses of liberal self-proprietorship and neoliberal identity-proprietorship to intervene in the “class” vs “identity” debate in an original way.</p> <p>Wendy Brown (1995) and Beverley Skeggs (2004) remind us that just as material property is a social relation often confused with a relationship between an owner and an object, the mutual constitution of political identities is often imagined away as a relationship between an individual and their history or pain: Identity-as-property is a social relationship vis-à-vis “all the world” excluded from that identity, yet confused with a relationship to one’s individual history (as property). My contribution also invites us to notice how identity-as-property is a social relationship with those encompassed by the identity, as well as with those excluded.</p> <p>Identity-based rights involve a double-movement of exclusion and encompassment noted in regard to the original franchise, as well as in regard to cross-cultural patterns of semiotic and legal property (Graeber 2007, Dumont 1970, Macpherson 1961). Consider the encompassment effected by elisions of statistics and ontology (in legalism) when women or people of colour are to be compensated because they suffer as such, yet also because they are <i>less likely</i> to have economic power. Those who effectively propertize and compensate themselves with identity-based rights do not merely do so while working class subjects of the same identity lack the resources to achieve the same result, they also appropriate working class experience while doing so. Identity-as-property is not simply a social relationship with those excluded, but also a relationship with non-claimant identity members whose (working class) experience is encompassed to constitute the property of rights-claimants.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Climate and Crisis [B203] Workers Inquiry</p>	
<p>Alexis Cukier: Eco-unionism vs green capitalism. Living labour, worker’s inquiry and alliances between unionists and eco-activists in France, Italy and beyond</p>	<p>I propose to question the role of eco-unionism in the strategy for an ecological and social revolution on the grounds of an analysis of struggles involving alliances between workers’ collectives, unions, inhabitants and environmental organizations. By relying on academic and militant research (notably with « Ateliers Travail et Démocratie » which brings together researchers and unionists to investigate worker’s politics), I will present alliances developed within the struggles, in France, a) of forestry workers at the Office Nationale des Forêts and Snupfen Solidaires unionists against state-led extractivism ; b) refinery workers and CGT unionists at Total’s Grandpuits factory against fossil capital-led ecological transition ; c) agricultural workers and Confédération Paysanne unionists against the agro-industry-led maladaptation and particularly the mega-basins of Sainte-Soline ; and, in Italy, d) of the workers’s collective of GKN in Campi Bisenzio against the shutdown of their car components factory and for its ecological reorientation towards the production of cargo-bikes. I will first show how these alliances shed new light on the function of living labour in socio-ecological struggles, the political significance of workers’ inquiry, and the relations between work, needs and autonomy. I will then criticize in this perspective the neglect of workers’ inquiry and workers’ ecology in contemporary ecomarxist conceptions (notably by J. B. Foster and by A. Malm) of a process of ecological and social revolution. Finally, I will suggest ways forward for the development of eco-unionism, especially for France in connexion to the debates within the CGT about the withdrawal of the Ecological And Social Alliance and about its own « union action plan for industry and environment », and more broadly in the perspective of reinforcing a workers’ political ecology able to oppose, in Europe and elsewhere, ecocidal capitalism and particularly its green version centered on the adaptation to ecological catastrophes.</p>

<p>Rhonda Koch: Climate crisis and the unconscious: On the central role of wage labour in the psychosocial handling of the climate crisis</p>	<p>The aim of my presentation is to discuss the first interim results of my 3-year field research at the Volkswagen plant in Baunatal, Lower Saxony. In my research, I investigate how the car workers understanding of the so called ""job vs. environment"" dilemma interrelates with their perception of the climate crisis.</p> <p>Aiming to do justice to the workers complex, contradictory and often unconscious handling of the climate crisis, I try to combine a socio-psychological focus in methods with a psychoanalytically informed materialist heuristic.</p> <p>In line with theorists such as Tad DeLay, Kari Mari Norgaard or Andreas Malm I aim to explore the hypothesis that our current approaches to the insufficient handling of the climate crisis could be understood as a form of socially organized denial. Moreover, I want to underscore that in reconstructing psychoanalytical terms for Marxist analysis due attention has to be paid to the long neglected aspect within psychoanalysis that wage labor is central in the mediation between culture and nature where contradictions between the individual and culture/nature are centrally fought out.</p> <p>As my previous analysis shows, in the case of car workers in Baunatal, the picture is quite paradoxical. On the one hand they are subjected to what psychoanalyst Mario Erdmann calls the ""politics of unconscious-making"" of the green-capitalist project. On the other hand they have epistemic particularities resulting both from their workplace specifics (peculiar engagement with nature, union strength, etc.) and from their local roots in agriculture that often lead to a well-informed and to some extent system-critical climate-consciousness.</p> <p>In addition to presenting these initial observation theses, I would like to present my methodological approach in more detail in order to put it up for joint discussion afterwards.</p>
<p>Stefania Barca, Dimitris Stevis, Rocío Hiraldo: Just Transition policies and care work: an international inquiry</p>	<p>Just Transition (JT) is a policy framework promoted by labour and environmental justice organizations to design climate and ecological transition policies from the perspective of those most affected by social inequalities. The framework indicates how to compensate for the job loss due to the mandated phasing-out of carbon-intensive and other sunseting industries, while also creating decent and stable jobs in clean chemistry, energy and infrastructures. Over the past decade, the JT concept has been incorporated in ILO, EU and various governments' policy processes.</p> <p>So far, JT strategies and policies have paid limited attention to care work, in its social and environmental dimensions, and to its centrality for a low-carbon, diverse, equitable, and regenerative economy. This paper presents the experience, perspectives and demands emerging from an international initiative carried out between 2021 and 2023 by the Just Transition and Care network, including workers representatives from domestic and community caregiving, subsistence food provisioning, healthcare, environmental care, and education. Throughout five online meetings, representatives from each sector responded to questions regarding the impact of Covid19, of climate change and of ecological crisis on their work, and how a just transition strategy could meet their demands. A policy brief was finally put together and is currently being revised before being sent to the ITUC and the ILO. Overall, the brief demands a shift of focus in JT strategies towards a new vision in which care work in its multiple forms is properly recognized, adequately funded, and de-commodified.</p> <p>This paper is intended to present and discuss the results of the JTC inquiry. More information on the network can be found here: https://www.justtransitioncare.com/about</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Reframing Zionism: Marxist Analyses of Palestinian Labour, Resistance, and Settler Colonialism [B204]</p>	
<p>Luis Cortés, Gabriel Rivas: The genocidal violence of the Zionist</p>	<p>The genocidal violence of the Zionist state is a long historical process of expulsion and dispossession which has only accelerated since October 2023. Israel's settler-colonialism</p>

<p>state as administration of Palestinians as surplus population for capital</p>	<p>was technology-intensive, which allowed capitals to mobilize a working class from abroad that could develop highly qualified productive attributes instead of forming a local low-paid working class, while enabling the appropriation of the land by Israeli capital in order to secure an exclusive space for capital accumulation. As such, Palestinians were from the start excluded from this process altogether.</p> <p>Taking as a starting point the questions concerning the surplus working population and the overproduction of capital set out in Marx's <i>Capital</i>, the paper will explain the Palestinian situation by showing how its economic content determines the specific national political forms that mediate the conflict. As such, the Palestinians are not a national working class constituted around the existence of a State, but instead a differentiated part of the working class employed by the Israeli capital. As industrial reserve army, they are an intrinsic part of global capital. The recognition of Palestine as a precarious State structure and its uneven relation with the State of Israel as a result of the Oslo accords is not a defining moment for the configuration of Palestinians as citizens of a country, but rather the legal form in which Israeli capitals can engage with Palestinian workers either as foreigners (West Bank) or as enemies (Gaza strip). This perspective will be a counterpoint to critiques of Zionism from nationalist or decolonial positions in the left which, by focusing on the naturalization of land ownership and the existence of national spaces as something that transcends the capitalist social relation, place self-determination of the Palestinian people as something external to class determinations, representing it as a cultural or merely political process.</p>
<p>Adam HajYahia, Lama El Khatib: "I Write to You from Parallel Time": On Palestinian Labour</p>	<p>Following the 1936-39 Palestinian revolt, the colonial matrix of the British mandate and accelerated Zionist settlement would restructure the economic and production strata so as to render Palestinian labor neither a primary source of value nor a dependency. Relying on foreign/imported labor via migrant workers or ongoing settlement of non-white Jewish subjects, the current Israeli market is structured on racialized Jewish labor and gentile non-native labor.</p> <p>Adopting Marxist logics, the Palestinian worker then appears as neither surplus population (they are not outside the labor market) nor proletariat (they are not an essential workforce on which the market depends). Instead the Palestinian worker occupies a peculiar position within the Israeli economy that is primarily governed by what martyred prisoner Walid Daqqa termed 'Parallel Time'. Expanding Daqqa's formulation of the carceral condition as definitive of other Palestinian experiences (e.g. Gaza understood as an island/enclave of punishment), 'Parallel Time' could also serve as a schema to understand the extraction of Palestinian time through the prolonged withholding of labor by Israeli financial architectures. Through that, the marxist equation of labor qua time unravels into a different set of relations that re-signify the shifting meanings of work; time; value in varying ways across historic Palestine.</p> <p>Building on comparative readings between Palestine and apartheid South Africa, as well as abolitionist literature on carceral and racial capital, this paper examines the temporal topography of Israel's settler-colonial economy within which Palestinian laborers are captured (as bodies and value).</p>
<p>Michael Giesbrecht: Intransigent Resistance: Mahdi Amel's Theoretical Practice and the Palestinian Conjuncture, 1987-2024</p>	<p>Few names are as prominent in Lebanese Marxism as Mahdi Amel, née Hassan Abdullah Hamdan, the proverbial "Lebanese Gramsci." Hamdan's theoretical practice was animated by his adoption and criticism of core tenants of Western Marxism, which stood accused of eliding the colonial conditions central to reproducing capitalist social relations in the imperial core - what he novelly named the "colonial mode of production." True to his reformulation of Engel's famous proclamation - that politics rather than economics is determinant in the last instance - Hamdan's critique was not restricted to "theory" alone. Beyond merely "thinking at the periphery," he lived his commitment to militant struggle both informed by and formative of theory. Hamdan's reported motto during the civil</p>

	<p>war - "as long as you resist, you are not defeated" - speaks to his defiant spirit. The intransigent resistance of his theoretical practice is a sign of its enduring relevance to our present practice of politics.</p> <p>In light of the resurgent question of decolonization with October 7 and the ensuing genocide in Gaza, this paper returns to the politics of resistance posed by Hamdan. Beyond comprising a response to the supposed intellectual European core from its colonial periphery, his reformulation of theoretical practice draws upon and fundamentally reevaluates important tenants of structural Marxism. Althusser and Balibar's account of the mode of production and its plural, "conjunctural" temporality is adapted by Hamdan to account for the emphatically political dislocation of capitalist social relations through their dependance on colonialism. Likewise, the determinant role of politics in the mode of the production implies that Althusser's "theoretical practice" is already thoroughly engaged in political or ideological struggle. In other words, per Hamdan, any theoretical practice worthy of its name intervenes in the specific political conjuncture constituting the colonial-capitalist mode of production at a given moment - at present, the Palestinian conjuncture.</p>
<p>Charles Finn: Zionist Settler Colonialism from the Perspective of Historical Materialism</p>	<p>The 'settler colonial turn' on Palestine/Israel has produced tangible returns in the study of Zionist logics and Palestinian resistances, clarifying the position of Palestinians as a colonized population akin to the settler logics of the Anglo-colonized world. However, the settler turn creates two shortcomings. First, it tends to posit settler colonialism as a triumphant project, one that cannot be undone. Second, it obscures the longue durée of imperialism in the region with a binary analysis between Zionist settlers and the Palestinian population. A historical materialist approach to the processes of capitalist-imperialism that underpinned the creation of the state of Israel, its lasting regional and global power, and its current shape as it carries itself to its logical end in its genocidal project in the Gaza Strip, possesses the capability of overcoming these shortcomings. Indeed, prior to the settler turn, Palestinians in the 1960s and 70s such as Ghassan Kanafani and Fayeze Sayegh were analyzing Zionism from precisely this perspective. This paper proposes a reinvigoration of analysis of Zionist settler colonialism from a historical materialist perspective, centering Mahdi Amel's notion of the colonial mode of production and its ties to European and American imperialism in the process of Zionist settler colonialism and the dispossession of Palestinians. It does so for political ends. By illuminating the capitalist-imperialist web of actors that undergird the Zionist project, this paper moves beyond a strict binary that paints Zionist settlers as rogue frontiersmen and Palestinians their hapless victims; as well as highlighting points of attack in the global process of the colonial mode of production that can be targeted by forces of resistance within and beyond Palestine. In this way, a historical materialist perspective can deny the triumph of the Zionist project and illuminate new points of resistance for the politics of a liberated Palestine.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Reimagining Freedom: Negativity and Praxis [B205]</p>	
<p>Dilan Ergün Tekingündüz: Absolute Negativity as 'the Algebra of Freedom'</p>	<p>In G. W. Hegel's terminology, the Absolute is often used as an adjective, which is why his philosophical system is not called Idealism, but -albeit controversial- 'Absolute Idealism'. In this connection, 'Absolute Knowledge', 'Absolute Idea', and 'Absolute Spirit' or as a method covering all these concepts 'Absolute Negativity' constitute the foundation of Hegel's philosophy. As Lenin wrote, it does not seem possible to understand Marx's <i>Capital</i> comprehensively unless one has studied and comprehended the whole of Hegel's Logic. Similarly, Raya Dunayevskaya considers Hegel's Absolutes as "the categories of freedom, subjectivity, reason, the logic of a movement by which humanity frees itself." Therefore, it is necessary to focus on the essential meaning of the Absolute. According to Hegel, the Absolute is neither an ambiguity as Kant mentions, nor an 'indiscriminate unity of the subjective and objective' as Schelling defines it. Absolute in Hegelian sense, rests on the idea of an internal unity and identity, established on a dialectical basis between opposing determinations. Therefore, the Absolute is not identity without difference but inseparability of identity and difference. From this point of view, the</p>

	<p>search for an absolute determination, purified of all religious, ideological, or political contradictions, leads to abolishing the 'other' through a unilateral and abstract analytical perspective. It would not be wrong to say that the crises of the modern world in which we live today, which are gradually increasing, reflect a unilateral understanding that leaves no space for the other. And because of that 'Absolute Negativity' determines dialectic as a process of development through negation, that allows neither distinctions nor identities to exist in pure form. The paper discusses whether the discourse of 'Absolute Negativity' -which Marx appreciated as a method and which Dunayevskaya identified as the algebra of revolution- can find a response in praxis as a struggle for freedom.</p>
<p>Tia Trafford: Freedom as Fetish</p>	<p>Many recent interventions in Marxist political theory have foregrounded freedom as normative commitment. Drawing on these, this paper re-stages the break between slavery and capitalism through which slavery is abstracted and universalised in capital's impersonal domination. Slavery's natural bondage is supposedly superseded by the compulsions of market dependency. Echoing Marx's "double-freedom", capitalist social practices depend upon our freedom whilst also producing the conditions of our unfreedom as a self-reproducing system of domination. Then, freedom under capitalism is not illusory – it is a real form of life actively required by market transactions to willingly sell our labour-power rather it being taken by force. The fetishized nature of labour-power thus inculcates a social form in which compulsion and freedom are interdependent. But this interdependence leads to a double-bind: if freedom is reducible to actual social practices then we acquiesce to unfreedom; if it is not reducible, we appeal to an ahistorical essence in which freedom must transcend its actual instantiation.</p> <p>I consider whether the double-bind can be diffused by exploring freedom's fetish character as a real phenomenon that is enacted in practice whilst constitutively obscured because we are necessarily implicated in the commodity as both free (to sell our labour-power) and passive object to be exchanged (in our labour-power). This split in the being of the worker, as Lukács suggests, preserves 'what is in its whole tendency a slavery without limits', and without which, passivity could be totalised and freedom impossible. But, I suggest that slavery is not therefore excisable through capital's historical progression, but remains as fetish character internal to the freedom of the worker as presupposition: without appeal to ahistorical essence, freedom for the worker is guaranteed by a wager that we are not the sort of being that could ever be or have been enslaved.</p>
<p>Jan Adamski: Class Struggle in Dead Time: Critiques of the End of History and the Possibility of Historical Materialism as a Strategic Thought</p>	<p>In 2007, Alain Badiou proposed to think the political situation of late capitalism by cleavage between reaction and opposition, both conditioned by the dialectic of fear and terror. Maintaining the effectiveness of this dialectic in the current conjuncture, I argue that it requires to challenge post-Marxist communist critiques of the end of history from the perspective of the limits they impose on strategic thinking. To this end, I propose to relate them to the thesis of the end of history formulated by Maurice Blanchot in 1968 in <i>Sur le mouvement</i>. The end of history refers there simultaneously to the collapse of Marxism as a strategic thought and to the shift in the relationship of communist critique to history due to the identification of forms of historicity and the state. As a result, the historicity of the communist movement is understood through the collision between two forms of atemporality: as the intrusion of an extra-historical possibility into the field of dead time of History. I argue that critiques of the end of history appearing since the 1990s do not offer an alternative to this ahistorical concept of revolutionary intervention. Referring to Althusser's and Bensaid's understanding of strategy, this is because of an insufficient concept of articulation between the place of intervention and its durability. In this view, the goal of strategic critique is to historicize the possibilities of the present conjuncture from the perspective of the field of displacements of social antagonisms. This historicization is based on a relational concept of class struggle, through which temporality can be understood as the effective displacement in an antagonistic structure. To demonstrate this relationship between class struggle and strategic historicization, I reconstruct the dialectic of contemporaneity and anachronicity based on the</p>

displacement of class antagonism in Marx's analysis of post-1848 revolutionary process in France.

Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM

New Readings of the Frankfurt School [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]

In this collaborative panel, we will explore some innovative readings of the first generation of the Frankfurt School, particularly focusing on the works of Herbert Marcuse and Theodor W. Adorno. The common thread that binds the panel is that these readings will be firmly grounded in Marxism. Our presentations will depart from the insights of Critical Theory to analyze recent technological, ideological, and political events – from the latest forms of culture industry to the rise of neofascist leaders, from platform labor to the social and psychological formation of neoliberal subjects, from the critique of progress to racial and colonial capitalism. We will also foster dialogues between the Frankfurt School and other Critical Theories developed globally, such as those by authors like Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter, and Aimé Césaire. Swimming against the tide of prevailing centrist and liberal trends within Critical Theory, our main objective is to contribute to a more political and critical reading of the Frankfurt School, one that underscores its fundamental links with political economy and thus emphasizes its relevance in a world marked by right-wing extremism, deepening inequality, structural racism and misogyny, precarious labor, environmental devastation, and reactionary wars.

Bruna Della Torre: The new 'organisation': culture industry, the digital mass Party and platform neofascism

What do Donald Trump, Nayib Bukele, Javier Milei, Narendra Modi, and Jair Bolsonaro have in common? In addition to their neofascist orientation, they only depended on minor parties to get elected, become eligible, or gain political strength. For the political projection of these figures, the media and social networks were much more important than the Party. The impact of Cambridge Analytica in dozens of elections leaves us in no doubt about that. However, the debate about the relationship between politics and technology has been restricted to the problem of data extraction, surveillance, and techno-authoritarianism. Interestingly, the main lineage of Marxism that dealt with the relationship between propaganda, fascism, technology, culture, and capitalism – the Frankfurt School – hardly appears in these debates. In 1967, Adorno went to Austria to debate the new right-wing radicalism. In Germany, the NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands), founded in 1964, had become one of the most significant neo-Nazi forces since the end of the war. The secret of its success, says Adorno, was related to the concept of "organization." Their main weapon? Propaganda. Adorno suggests the most original thesis: the culture industry is the new "organization." It can replace a mass party in the construction of fascism. This paper aims to mobilize Theodor W. Adorno's reflections to understand the relationship between "extreme right-wing politics" and "culture industry" in the present moment.

Jordi Maiso: Culture industry: from classical critical theory to platform capitalism

Adorno and Horkheimer's critical theory of the culture industry responded to a precise socio-historical horizon. It referred not only to a change in the production, distribution and consumption of cultural products, but also to far-reaching transformations in postliberal capitalism. Today the culture industry appears as second nature, and its features are constitutive of the way we experience and relate to the world. Nevertheless, the term "culture industry" has taken an affirmative turn that dismisses any critical perspective –even Unesco has a section devoted to the "Cultural and Creative Industries"–, and the application of commodity patterns to art and culture appears as something obvious and incontrovertible. How are we then to approach a critique of the culture industry today? I would like to suggest that, if Adorno had before him a flourishing capitalism, which gravitated around the assurances of full employment and mass consumption, today we live in a capitalism of diminishing expectations, in which social integration appears increasingly fragile. This alters the function of the culture industry and its gratifications. The individual, and culture itself, play a different role in contemporary society –marked by digital technologies and so-called platform capitalism– than they did in the 1940s. From these premises, I would like to propose some keys for a critical analysis of the culture industry today.

Eduardo Altheman: Cemented Disintegration Capitalism -

In his 1960s work, Marcuse placed the notion of "integration" at the center of his critical analysis. Marcuse employed several terms to refer to the multiple determinations of this phenomenon: "unification of opposites," "assimilation," "stabilization," "equalization,"

<p>Marcuse and the Ideology of Platform Labour</p>	<p>“conformity,” “paralysis,” “suppression [of history],” “identification,” “consensus,” “pacification,” “closure [of the political universe],” “containment [of social change],” “[social] reproduction,” “conquest of transcendence,” and, finally, one of the most notorious expressions of One-Dimensional Man, “fully administered society.” In this communication, I will explore the socioeconomic changes initiated by the 1970s neoliberal shocks that separated our contemporary societies from the affluent society experienced by Marcuse after World War II at the height of Keynesian Fordism. I will argue that, while the labor and economic facets of Marcuse's thesis on integration have become obsolete in the last 50 years, its ideological aspects have only sharpened. This picture gives rise to a social form I call “cemented disintegration capitalism,” in which social contradictions implode a society that is glued together solely by its ideology.</p>
<p>Lutti Mira: Dialectics and the concept of prehistory: On the actuality of Adorno's critique of progress</p>	<p>In the midst of the updating of the notion of capitalism within critical theory, the relationship between Adorno and the Marxian critique of political economy has gained increasing attention. Rejecting the idea that Adorno's writings could be read as having replaced the critique of political economy with a critique of instrumental reason with shades of civilizational pessimism, the recent bibliography has insisted, above all, on the permanence of the centrality of the logic of the commodity form in Adorno's Negative Dialectics. In my presentation, I would like instead to focus on a different aspect of his relation to the critique of political economy, pointing out the decisive influence of Marx's notion of prehistory. By adhering, in the early 1940s, to the Marxian pair history/prehistory as the key to historical interpretation, Adorno affiliates himself to the idea that there is a historical continuum of domination and class violence, which indicates the need for dialectics to concern itself not only with the dynamic change of the historical scenario, but also with the persistence of a heteronomy that has not yet been overcome. I'll argue that this point of view is of relevance today, since Adorno's critique of progress proposes that contemporary history must also be thought of in the context of prehistory, which gives renewed relevance to phenomena that are normally considered to be merely historical, such as fascism and the culture industry.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Reimagining Tech in Capitalism: Resisting, Circulating, and Transforming Digital Landscapes [G3]</p>	
<p>Raphael Arar: Subverting cybernetics for a socialist future</p>	<p>How might we leverage cybernetics and modern design principles to develop a resilient, adaptive, and democratic socialist economy? This presentation, proposed for the "Cybernetic Socialism" panel, explores how a design-oriented approach, utilizing tools and methods from modern design toolkits, can contribute to advancing the conversation on blueprints for cybernetically-informed socialist models. Drawing parallels between design's goal-oriented nature and cybernetics' theoretical underpinnings, the talk discusses the potential for a transdisciplinary method that iterates on the work of the two intellectual traditions while infusing participatory design with emerging technologies.</p> <p>This presentation will be informed by my work at One Project, where we're co-designing sociotechnical infrastructures to support a Just Transition to a regenerative economy — from economic coordination to participatory governance. Using modern design toolkits informed by cybernetic principles, my team and I have been iterating on design specifications for economic and governance systems from micro to macro scale. These specifications consider the systemic goals and requirements for these systems while incorporating the high-level feedback loops necessary to support a pluriverse of interoperable coordination mechanisms.</p> <p>The presentation will also address the socialist calculation debate by examining how technological advancements in AI (particularly large language models) and modern software design toolkits have revolutionized the discourse. These advancements share key principles with second-order cybernetics, particularly regarding feedback and adaptation. Diagrams illustrating the interconnected processes of deliberation, production, consumption, and monitoring will highlight how these components might work together to create a cohesive system.</p>

	The overarching intent is to share how design and cybernetically-oriented approaches can be subverted from capitalist practices to advance agendas on achieving a viable and democratic socialist economy.
Jonathan Martineau: Temporalities of algorithmic capitalism	This paper explores reconfigurations of social temporalities brought about by the mediation of lived experience and social practices by algorithmic technologies. The paper makes two general points: (1) it explores the concept of “algorithmic acceleration” in arguing that a factor of the acceleration of life rhythms can be traced back to a qualitative degradation of leisure time, and (2) it explores ways in which algorithmic technologies construct the temporal triad of past, present and future according to a logic of eternal return.
Nick Dyer-Witheford, Alessandra Mularoni: The Cybernetic Circulation Complex in Peace and War	This paper proposes a theoretical re-conceptualization of the corporate complex conventionally known as “Big Tech” within the framework of Marxist theories of circulation. It argues that the major companies of Big Tech (Alphabet, Meta, Apple, Amazon, and Microsoft) are primarily engaged in processes of circulation. This involves activities such as advertising, logistics, retailing, payment systems, marketing of gig economy labor, and financial speculation, rather than traditional production. Even when Big Tech produces software and hardware, the focus is largely on facilitating circulation through the cybernetic automation of algorithmic systems and artificial intelligences (AI). In this perspective, the tech sector's paradoxical nature as a burgeoning hub of profit and investment amidst widespread capitalist stagnation can be understood as a project expanding profit by accelerating the velocity of circulation rather than increasing or intensifying surplus value extraction. Such a circulatory analysis of Big Tech’s circulation of commodities can be enriched by drawing on and adapting Marxist concepts, such as that of the circulation of struggles (originating in autonomist Marxism) and metabolic exchange (from eco-Marxism). We reframe these ideas as the circulation of antagonism, encompassing not only struggles from the left but also those from the cyber-fascisms of the right, and biospheric circulations, including cycles of carbon emissions, pandemics, and military destruction. Enlarging on this final point, and aligning with the theme of this year's HM conference, we examine how the cybernetic circulation complex is now being reshaped by capitalism's drive towards global conflict. This transformation manifests as the tech industry becoming a locus of great power competition and military innovation, with corporations like Tesla, Nvidia, Palantir, and numerous venture capital-backed military-oriented startups playing significant roles. However, simultaneously, there are outbreaks of resistance from workers and various social sectors, oppositional forces that pre-figuratively suggest the potential role of networks in post-capitalist, biocommunist circulations.
Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Culture and Post-War Fascist Impulses [G51] <i>Marxism and Culture</i>	
Blaž Gselman: The radical possibilities of documentary writing	The paper will seek to examine the conditions of possibilities of radical documentary non-fiction writing. On the one hand, Marxist cultural critique has recently convincingly criticised autobiographical narratives for lacking any mediation and employment of symbolic forms as a means of the production of meaning. Anna Kornbluh deemed this a cultural style specific to what she has referred to as too late capitalism. On the other hand, Raymond Williams argued in a 1980 essay that it is precisely due to autobiographical narrative forms that toiling masses have historically been able to secure the representation of their working lives within literary discursive formations. How, then, can the form centered on the first-person singular provide a vehicle for the representation of a subaltern social group? We will argue that narrating one's own life opens up a possibility of reaching the historical truth (as opposed to the literary truth). So, it is the very autobiography that is capable of conveying a counter-narrative to the persisting dominant ideology. The latter is (usually) an excessively mediated form to be able to ideologically justify exploitation and oppression by the ruling classes. The power of documentary lies precisely in its ability to disclose the antagonistic social relations, that is to debunk the romantic narratives perpetuated by the exploiters. Eventually, we

	<p>will be able to comprehend that it is the vantage point from which something is uttered that has to be scrutinised. The very material conditions determine the choice of the form of writing. Borrowing once more from Williams, we will claim that autobiography can indeed be a privileged form of literary radicalism without neglecting important insights unfolded by Kornbluh in her writing on immediacy style.</p>
<p>Rene Gimpel: The fascist temptation: a cinematic fable</p>	<p>'It Happened Here' is a 1964 film written, produced and directed by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo. The film presents an alternative view of history, in which Great Britain has been invaded and occupied by Nazi Germany. At the time of its release, the film stirred up a great deal of controversy, because arguments for collaboration were comprehensively, and even convincingly advanced, by some of the characters who were amateur actors and British Union of Fascists (BUF) members.</p> <p>The logic for collaboration becomes a dire predicament for the lead actor, a district nurse named Pauline. Pauline takes the reluctant decision to join a para-military medical corps, where she is pulled between fascist indoctrination and the anti-fascist arguments of her friends. Pauline's choices lead her inexorably towards a conflictual situation which she finds ever harder to overcome.</p> <p>The great merit of this little-known film is two-fold. Unlike war films where the military follow their own codes of conduct, win or lose, and which spectators have learnt to understand, this film deals with the vast majority of any population having to live and survive the arbitrary stresses and exploitation of a far-right regime. The second merit arises precisely out of this: the arguments being advanced are relevant to how we live as civilians in capitalist, neo-liberal societies, complete with our regimes' propaganda tools, their veiled threat of violence, their compulsion to work and to conformity.</p> <p>The film's subtext allows for a reconstruction along Marxist lines. The narrative can be transposed, almost without contradiction, to the present. The scenes where the BUF actors are given free reign to make their arguments (and which led the distributor, United Artists, to insist on seven minutes being cut from the film on its initial release) are calibrated to echo, in advance and unknowingly, a great many arguments being put forward by bourgeois capitalist parties today. I aim to build a set of propositions based on a close reading of the script, invoking a set of counter-arguments.</p>
<p>Jonas Ferreira de Castro Neto: Reconstitution of the memory of historical fascism in the Global South: the aesthetic and political-discursive manifestations of the Brazilian Integralist Front on digital platforms</p>	<p>The Brazilian Integralist Front (Frente Integralista Brasileira [FIB]) is a Brazilian neo-fascist movement founded in 2005 that claims the legacy of one of the largest fascist movements outside Europe during the interwar period, integralism (PAXTON, 2004, p.192). Its leaders and members claim to be the only and legitimate heirs of the Brazilian Integralist Action (Ação Integralista Brasileira [AIB]) (1932-1937). The choice of the Brazilian Integralist Front as the object of study stems from two fundamental factors: 1) it is the largest neo-integralist group today; 2) it is the neo-integralist group that best uses the communication tool of the internet in its political-ideological dynamics of mobilization, agitation and propaganda (GONÇALVES; NETO, 2020). The theoretical issue of the research dealt with the problem of reconstituting the memory of historical fascism among neo-integralist militants who articulate themselves politically on digital platforms. The guiding research question was formulated as follows: does the dynamic of agitation and propaganda of the neo-integralist movement on digital platforms enhance the strategies aimed at building restorative memory of historical fascism in the Global South? To answer this question, we analyzed the aesthetic and political-discursive expressions of the Brazilian Integralist Front on its official website and on Twitter, as we identified two main types of memorialist reconstruction: the "nostalgic memory" of integralist elements from the way they exalt and propagate their own doctrine and symbols (such as the "October Manifesto", the "sigma", the "Anauê salute", the "green shirt uniforms", the motto "God, Fatherland, Family) and the "amnesiac memory" in the way they deny the influence of Nazifascism on the creation of integralism. As research techniques, we used the analytical accumulation of contemporary critical theory</p>

(FUCHS, 2022), which articulates the meanings of neo-fascist iconography and discourse with the corporate logic of digital platforms and their intrinsic technical functions.

Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM

David Bakhurst's "The Heart of the Matter: Ilyenkov, Vygotsky and the Courage of Thought" [G51a]

David Bakhurst: Exploring Ilyenkov's Legacy

Evald Vasilevich Ilyenkov (1924–79) was the most significant Russian Marxist philosopher of the Soviet era. In the years that followed Stalin's death – the period known as 'the thaw' – Ilyenkov produced remarkably original writings on Marx's method and on "the problem of the ideal". He later became known for his resolute defense of a broadly humanistic vision in the face of Soviet optimism about the scientific-technological revolution, and for his work on education, especially his collaboration with Alexander Meshcheryakov on the upbringing of blind-deaf children, which Ilyenkov took to vindicate his conception of the social formation of the human mind. A celebrated and influential figure among critical and creative Marxists, Ilyenkov was at odds with the Soviet philosophical establishment throughout his career, from the bitter controversy in the mid-1950s over his heretical "theses on philosophy" to the suppression of his late essay, "The Dialectics of the Ideal", just before his death by suicide in 1979. In recent years, there has been renewed interest in Ilyenkov's contribution thanks to the publication of fascinating archival material by his daughter Elena Illesh and the making of Alexander Rozhkov's engaging documentary, *Ilyenkov*. In this paper, I reflect on Ilyenkov's legacy, its contemporary significance, and the extent to which I succeed in capturing it in the work brought together in my recent book, *The Heart of the Matter: Ilyenkov, Vygotsky and the Courage of Thought*. I shall argue that in this, his centenary year, there remains much to learn from Ilyenkov's life and thought, his critique of capitalism and the fetishism of technology, and his passionate defense of a view of human development that emphasizes both the sociality of reason and the importance of the cultivation of the power of independent critical thought.

Andrzej W. Nowak: Punk's not Dead? What can we learn today from Ilyenkov's critique of official Soviet Marxism?

The paper's purpose is to consider to what extent the divergence of the paths of Ilyenkov from official Marxism is still relevant to us today and not just a historical question. In the paper, I draw on David Bakhurst's chapter "Punks versus Zombies: Evald Ilyenkov and the Battle for Soviet Philosophy". Bakhurst describes the febrile climate in which Ilyenkov worked and discussed why his ideas caused controversy with fellow philosophers while galvanising the younger generation. Following Bakhurst, I examine Ilyenkov and Korovikov's pamphlet of "Theses on the Subject of Philosophy" which lays out Ilyenkov's opposition to philosophical currents such as positivism. To compliment this, I also discuss Ilyenkov's text "On the State of Philosophy [Letter to the Central Committee of the Party]." I will complete the analysis not only by pointing to the historical context in the USSR, but also to the reception (or rather, largely lack thereof in communist Poland).
Pointing out the tensions between Ilyenkov's thought and official Marxism, I want to consider to what extent Ilyenkov's consistent dialectical position could be "punk," critical of current university, and philosophical "zombies."
Finally, the article will attempt to point out the supra-historical significance of Ilyenkov's consistently dialectical way of philosophizing, i.e. the significance of his method for other contexts.

Isabel Jacobs: On the Soul: Ilyenkov and Left Aristotelianism

In *The Heart of the Matter* David Bakhurst notes fruitful parallels between the work of Ilyenkov and Aristotelian philosophers such as Wittgenstein and John McDowell. My paper cross-reads Ilyenkov's materialist dialectics with an intellectual tradition that Ernst Bloch called "the Aristotelian Left." Focusing on the Aristotelian notion of the soul, my paper stages an encounter between Ilyenkov and the 12th-century Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes). First, I reconstruct Ilyenkov's views on Aristotle and situate them within a late Soviet revival of mediaeval Arabic philosophy (as a materialist alternative to scholastic idealism). Analysing Ibn Rushd's view of dialectics as communal-corporeal activity, I contrast his concept of the "active intellect" with Ilyenkov's "ideal." I will particularly focus on the entangled relation between body and

	<p>soul in Ibn Rushd's "left" Aristotelianism. Finally, my paper brings Ibn Rushd's philosophy of embodied cognition in dialogue with Ilyenkov's notion of the "thinking body," his criticism of artificial intelligence in <i>On Idols and Ideals</i> (1968), and Günther Anders's analysis of the soul in the age of technocapitalism.</p>
<p>Kyrill Potapov: Radicalising the Analytic Ilyenkov</p>	<p>If David Bakhurst had not chosen to leave the comfort of Oxford Analytic Philosophy and travel to the Soviet Union, many of us would not know Evald Ilyenkov. Bakhurst's <i>The Heart of the Matter</i> is a wonderful chronical of this journey, and the essays in the collection introduce the work of Ilyenkov and Vygotsky with characteristic clarity. It may sound strange that Bakhurst wants to bring together Soviet and analytic philosophy, but in the work of Ilyenkov and the Pittsburgh School Bakhurst finds two apparently anachronistic traditions interested in reconceiving the lessons of the German Enlightenment to challenge assumptions about facets of our everyday life. Of particular interest to both traditions is the relation of mind and world, and a non-reductive understanding of the human.</p> <p>While <i>Heart of the Matter</i> showcases the development of Bakhurst's thought over the decades, Bakhurst himself has not fully reckoned with the tensions in the marriage of traditions he has advanced. Is Ilyenkov's dialectical anti-individualist approach compatible with McDowell's position of "Camera obscura? Forget about it!"</p> <p>To work through these tensions we need to take Ilyenkov's own criticism of these very positions in analytic philosophy seriously, as well as the particular ways in which he draws on the German Enlightenment to make them. We need to take the Analytic Ilyenkov from its Kantian to its Hegelian phase, and to acknowledge where Ilyenkov's Marxism is incompatible with analytic philosophy.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Affect, Art, and Utopia in the Arabic World [R201] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Bassem Saad: Martyrdom and Melancholia</p>	<p>Returning to Freud's <i>Mourning and Melancholia</i> and transposing its two categories to the scale of the colonized nation, this paper will locate the discourse of martyrdom within the Palestinian struggle as one that is coterminous neither with ordinary mourning nor with political melancholia. Echoing writer Abduljawad Omar and others who point to the deferral of mourning in Palestine, the paper will argue that martyr commemoration works to counter and supplement a collective melancholia arising out of the ongoing Nakba's successive partial defeats of Palestinian resistance and mounting death tolls.</p> <p>This form of melancholia interfaces with the post-Oslo concessions and disarmament which the PLO committed to without achieving Palestinian statehood. This shift echoes the global rise of what Robert Meister calls a Human Rights Discourse (HRD) congealing after the Cold War and the fall of South African apartheid, claiming to supersede the "era of revolutions" in the Western world which ended with the fall of Soviet Union. The vision of justice latent here is one that is defensive, attempting to avoid evil rather than achieve redemptive good. Yet the practice of martyr commemoration encloses a promise of redemption, epitomizing the passage forth towards liberation as one that must detour among the "enslaved ancestors," in Walter Benjamin's phrasing. Among the most vexing questions raised by Enzo Traverso in <i>Left-Wing Melancholia</i>, concerns the debilitating melancholia and Adornian resignation that Frankfurt School critical theory has historically slipped into, at least partly due to its "colonial unconscious" and indictment of anti-colonial nationalisms as inherently tending towards authoritarianism.</p> <p>This paper will argue that martyrdom, as a component of the Palestinian national liberation struggle and Arab anti-colonial and leftist traditions, must be understood as</p>

	<p>laying claim to a universal emancipatory tradition which, while navigating melancholia and admitting tragedy, remains invested in notions of sacrifice and redemption.</p>
<p>Ghada Waked [online]: Applying Castoriadis's Concepts to Understand the Global Pro-Palestine Movement through Art and Cultural Artefacts'</p>	<p>This paper explores how Cornelius Castoriadis's theoretical frameworks illuminate the dynamics of the global pro-Palestine movement through the lens of art and cultural artifacts, providing a nuanced understanding of its underlying forces and broader implications in today's world. Applying Castoriadis's concepts of the social imaginary and autonomy reveals that the movement is driven by a collective reimagining of justice and rights, challenging existing norms and values, and seeking to create new imaginary significations around Palestinian identity, dignity, and self-determination. In opposition to Marxism, which views the movement as part of a larger anti-imperialist struggle rooted in class struggle and economic exploitation, Castoriadis's perspective focuses on the cultural and ideological dimensions, particularly the role of art, posters, and cultural artifacts. This shift from economic determinism to the power of the social imaginary and cultural creativity offers a more comprehensive understanding of the pro-Palestine movement's efforts.</p>
<p>Raza Naeem: A Communist in Mecca: The Hajj in Communist Eyes</p>	<p>'At this time, I am seated in the upper ceiling of the 'Haram' (sacred sanctuary). The cool wind is refreshing and that Turk has expressed his friendship and affection by rubbing perfume over me. This internationalism too is so captivating. This was a totally new experience. I had experienced it in communist congresses and conferences. That internationalism has a scientific style of thinking but this international belonging has a spontaneity. If this belonging is adorned with scientific style of thinking, then it too can become a very great force and in this regard if in future when a progressive government will be established in Saudi Arabia, then it will make this great assemblage so useful and beneficial for humanity and if supposing in future a government carrying socialist ideas is set up in Saudi Arabia then conservative Muslim governments will ban the Hajj pilgrimage! This too can happen.'</p> <p>(Diary Entry for 29 December 1972, pp. 60, Hadith of the Heart, Abdullah Malik)</p> <p>Based on original, first-time translations in English from Urdu of the little-known Hajj travelogue, the paper will examine and evaluate the acclaimed twentieth century Pakistani communist writer and journalist Abdullah Malik (1920 – 2003)'s most provocative claim about the Hajj pilgrimage, and by extension, Saudi Arabia. In the travelogue entitled 'Hadees-e-Dil' (Hadith of the Heart) he wrote after his 1972-73 trip to Saudi Arabia – a half-century ago this year - for the Hajj, Malik argued that the Hajj is an Islamic dystopia: a (Saudi) society not to be emulated by Pakistan, but that could change if a Progressive government is established in Riyadh; and the Hajj pilgrimage could be used for far-reaching results, and a means to free Muslims everywhere from their subservience to the West.</p>
<p>Yazan Alloujami: Reviving Past Modernities in Contemporary Arab Art: between "phrase" and "content"</p>	<p>For the past two decades, Arab artists in the Middle-East and the diaspora have been revisiting forgotten narratives and practices dating back to the mid-Twentieth Century golden era of Arab Modernity. In artworks by Emily Jacir (Palestine), Fehras Publishing Practices (Syria), Akram Zaatari and Walid Raad (Lebanon), among others, strategies of reenactment, archival impulse, and pastiche are used to reactivate past moments of social emancipation. Histories of Pan-Arab leftwing intelligentsia, feminism, secular Palestinian resistance and a modernized national industry are thus allegorically ""updated"" to address our present, reworked in time-bending, often anachronistic ways.</p> <p>On the one hand, this tendency could be said to emerge as a response to the worsening status quo in the Arab World since the 1980s, with the affirmation of dictatorships, religious fundamentalisms, and Israeli colonialism. On the other hand, this tendency is also contemporary to the Arab Spring which has precisely sought to oppose this status quo, although through concrete political action. Examining these two phenomena</p>

	<p>together then means addressing a fundamental contradiction between a desire for modernity and the believe that this modernity could only be located in the past or achieved through its travesty. This paper will examine some of the artworks in light of Marx’s dialectical formulation of this contradiction in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte as a contradiction inherent to modernity itself, an idea later developed by a lineage going from Walter Benjamin’s “dialectical image” to Enzo Traverso’s “leftwing melancholy”, and finding its esthetic equivalent, as I will argue, in today’s contemporary art.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Planning (Eco-socialist) Futures at the Global Scale [RB01] <i>Post-Capitalism</i></p>	
<p>Michael Albert: Towards Post-capitalist Future Studies: Pathways to Eco-socialism in the 21st century</p>	<p>We do not yet have a theory of post-capitalist transformation that is adequate to the conditions of 21st century global capitalism. In part this is due to the historic weakness of the left. But it is also due to the reticence of Marxists and other anticapitalists to develop detailed future scenarios that imagine the mechanisms, strategies, and crisis conditions in and through which capitalism might be overcome. While there has been a small renaissance of utopian Marxist thinking on ecosocialist futures, overwhelmingly this body of literature focuses on the idealized contours of the hoped-for ecosocialist utopia, while ignoring or at best weakly addressing the question of how we get from here to there. Instead, following Kim Stanley Robinson, I argue that we need to imagine how we might cross the “Great Trench” that separates the present world from our hoped-for destination beyond capitalism. Building on the work of Erik Olin Wright and Jason Moore, I will suggest that this requires a theory of capitalist crisis in 21st century conditions of political-economic and ecological turbulence. I will suggest that we can develop four “ideal-type” pathways of ecosocialist transformation: including relatively near-term degrowth transformations in a context of intractable resource depletion and “greenflation” crises (starting between 2030 and 2050), longer-term degrowth transformation (beginning after mid-century) in a context of deep climate and pandemic-induced capitalist crises, relatively near-term left ecomodernist transitions, and longer-term left ecomodernist transitions emerging in a context of rapid technological unemployment from AI and automation. While this analysis by no means exhausts the future ecosocialist possibility space, it is intended as a provisional map of the future that can inform ecosocialist strategy in the present.</p>
<p>Christian Zeller: Planning Fossil Devaluation: reducing energy consumption through democratic social appropriation</p>	<p>Society’s metabolism with nature can only be organised through a planned economy in such a way that the planetary boundaries are not further exceeded and tipping points of the earth system are not triggered. The social challenge is historically unprecedented. Coal, oil and gas must remain underground. This is tantamount to a massive devaluation of the capital of these companies and states. Only if we succeed in socially appropriating the energy companies will it be possible to enforce this devaluation against the wealthy and in the interests of working class without triggering mass unemployment and impoverishment.</p> <p>This raises at least three questions for an ecosocialist transition: First, how can this necessary process of de-valuation and conversion be planned and implemented in such a way that it enjoys social support and initiates a sustainable metabolism with nature? Second, how can the overall energy consumption be reduced through this degradation and reorganisation process? Third, how can this planning be organised democratically and how does it relate to the establishment of organs of democratic counter-power and new forms of government?</p> <p>Previous planning debates have pursued the goal of driving economic growth, whether through bureaucratic state capitalism or capitalist accumulation. Now it is about a planned shrinking of fossil fuel sectors, industrial conversion and the expansion of social infrastructure in the areas of transport and reproduction and care, nursing and health. I argue that ecosocialist planning can only become a real prospect if alternative power structures can be successfully established, which ultimately assert themselves socially in processes and constellations of dual power. Based on the analysis of the industrial</p>

	<p>organisation, I formulate concrete conceptual indications for a eco-socialist planning of the devaluation of fossil capital.</p>
<p>Yu-Hung: Degrowth Communism: Marx's rediscovery of indigenous critiques</p>	<p>Most works on ecological socialism trace its origins to Western thinkers like William Morris, Marx, Kropotkin, and the environmentalist movement in the West. In Kohei Saito's new book <i>Marx in the Anthropocene</i>, he argues that later Marx turned to degrowth communism, recognizing that capitalism's globalization created environmental degradation through a "metabolic rift" between capitalist societies and resource-extracting colonies.</p> <p>This paper aims to broaden the scope of degrowth communism's historical origins by showing that indigenous people had critiqued capitalist extractivism since colonial modernity began, long before Marx's ecological realization. Some of these critiques were dismissed as an inability to modernize or proof of savagery, while others were silenced and forgotten. Drawing on early colonial encounters with indigenous degrowth communism and the autobiographical accounts by "white converts" transitioning from European industrial societies to indigenous communist societies, I argue that Marx's awareness of ecological issues was influenced by his reading of the Iroquois' degrowth communism. Marx and Engels initially called these societies "primitive communist societies" needing evolutionary development toward higher-level communism. It was only after further study of anthropological and ecological issues that Marx transcended the Eurocentrism in Henry Morgan's theory of the Iroquois. Thus, Marx's turn to degrowth communism should be seen as a decolonial effort to overcome Eurocentrism by reviving indigenous critique.</p> <p>Indigenous peoples encountered by European colonialism have practiced flexible forms of communism adaptable to environmental changes for centuries. Learning from their collective governance of natural commons and their ecological critique of capitalism is itself a prefigurative politics for degrowth communism.</p>
<p>Eduardo da Motta: Global Socialism and Periphery</p>	<p>The starting point of this proposal is the evaluation that to overcome global capitalism an alternative global system is necessary - global socialism. As historical dynamic of capitalism has developed many international channels – international production, international flows of science and technology, migrations, etc -, there are now new roots for overcoming of capitalism in its own contemporary dynamics, as Rosdolsky would methodologically suggest. A political component of this international approach is the critique of projects linked to the so-called "socialism in one country". The global nature of an alternative to capitalism demands an investigation of the specific contribution of contemporary global periphery to this process. An important contribution is a political action to build more international coordination and cooperation in key economic fields. A program to overcome poverty – which means a global plan for development – is an organizing topic for this agenda. This would involve more integration among countries at the periphery, an example of how the present nation-based system need to be overcome to solve some very basic problems. An agenda of global reforms is a feasible step to be elaborated at the periphery, including topics such as disarmament and consequent redirection of large resources to useful aims such as investments in a global welfare system, and the strengthening of the emergent global system of innovation, a coordinated effort to overcome fossil-fuels dependence, more freedom of international movements, a coordinated effort to provide global public goods. These global reforms might trigger chain of events that may drive systemic change – a topic of specific investigations in the field of complex systems, as changes in key points of those systems may lead to new dynamics: away from the profit-motive, towards a common-led system.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Global Queer Movements [RG01] HMSPEN</p>	

<p>Gergely Csányi: Sexual hegemonies, international integration and moral geopolitics. The case of Hungary in the eras of socialist progression, market opening and the anti-LGBT Orbán regime</p>	<p>The paper takes Christopher Chitty's notion of sexual hegemony as a starting point and argues that external system integration acts as an internal system organizing principle – for sexual hegemonies as well as other aspects of hegemonies. In other words, I argue that the discourses and institutions developed in countries to regulate sexual desire and behaviour are partly created as a function of the economic and symbolic relationship with different nodes of the world system.</p> <p>The paper distinguishes four historical periods corresponding to sexual hegemonies in Hungary. In the early socialist period, the regulation of gender tensions and poor demographic indicators caused by catch-up industrialization and the moral transcendence of capitalism were the basic principles for constructing sexual hegemony. The marketization of sexual discourse during the capitalist reintegration accompanying the 1970s' crisis period was able to build on these early socialist progressive tendencies. At the same time, the symbolic supremacy of socialist sexual relations in relation to those of the "West" was highly diversified, with the emergence of discourses denouncing socialist prudery. In the post-change period, in addition to the rapid and intensive influx of pornographic capital seeking cheap labour, the moral catching up with the "West" in sexual relations became the symbolic pillar of the emerging sexual hegemony. Taking advantage of the turbulence of the 2008 crisis, from 2010, the Orbán-regime has built a stable hegemony by adapting to the changed international division of labour. On an economic level, it has reinforced the heteronormative, bourgeois type of household, aiming at cheapening labour and building closed capital circuits. On a symbolic level, it has promoted sexual superiority in relation to the "West" as a kind of "compensatory self-love." Together, the two tendencies culminated in a massive anti-LGBT campaign that became a basic tenet of the Orbán-regime's cultural hegemony.</p>
<p>György Mészáros: The political economy of the LGBT+ movement and identities in the semi-periphery. The case of Hungary</p>	<p>My paper aims to critique the mainstream identity-based approach to LGBT+ activism by using a different (political economy, system critique) framework of LGBT+ identity and movement, and to analyse the EU mainstream approach with its Hungarian segment. The study is based on the analysis of texts from websites and some relevant writings, as well as on autoethnographic reflections. LGBT+ activism in mainstream Europe is situated within a liberal, human rights framework and identity politics-based approach. This is reflected in international documents (such as the Yogyakarta Principles) and the websites of major European LGBT+ organisations.</p> <p>This framework is also followed by Hungarian activism. This ideological approach is often coupled with another ideology that contrasts the "Western" liberal world with the underdeveloped "Eastern" one, and builds rights and related political actions on this basis. The concept of gender is understood in terms of gender identity. In this way, it links the subject to the neoliberal capitalist economic structure, and turns the LGBT+ identity into a commodity.</p> <p>I will point out how LGBT+ identity is embedded in capitalist production and reproduction. The central forcefield of capitalism both reproduces the heteronormative model (powerful at the periphery) and incorporates the progressive 'identity-choice', free, neoliberal, 'gay' subject.</p> <p>The basic thesis of the paper is that the consideration of material-economic foundations is essential in building a resistance that dismantles heteronormativity and capitalism.</p>
<p>Alexandre Nogueira Martins: Radical Queer and Trans Futurities from the South: Dream and Strategy in Argentinian and Colombian Social Movements</p>	<p>Whereas a great part of the literature on radical queer struggles has been focused in the North and in past times in which radical horizons would be common in queer communities, this paper turns to other territories and times to understand how from the South queer movements have been now reinventing politics for emancipatory futures. In a dialogue with Marxist readings of social movements and of queer and trans struggles, it asks what are the contemporary radical queer and trans radical futurities enacted by social movements from below in Argentina and Colombia, and how these forms of activism have not only maintained alive queer hope in hopeless times but have also reimagined anticapitalist and emancipatory futures. Based on a sociological analysis of activists' documents, fieldwork notes and interviews with queer activists in Argentina and Colombia, it addresses the connections to radical futurities of both the strategies</p>

	<p>towards the State inserted in anti-neoliberal horizons, such as in disputes of peace and reparation, and the communitary strategies refusing the State, with prefigurative emancipatory and abolitionist practices. Dream and strategy, utopia and prefiguration, are going to be intertwined in the analysis of these radical forms of queer politics. The argument will also point to how the radically transformative agenda of such movements has been connected both to broader social movements from below in their countries and to a transnational circulation of queer and trans political strategies. The paper concludes with considerations on the potentialities of the circulation towards the North of these Argentinian and Colombian dreams of worlds beyond capitalism and with other relations of gender and sexuality for reimagining and reenacting radical utopias, alliances and strategies.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Fossil Capitalism and Transition (I) [Khalili Lecture Theatre]</p>	
<p>Lukas Slothuus: Fossil-fuelled global climate leadership</p>	<p>Fossil fuel-producing countries often claim to be leading the fight against climate change in the Capitalocene. This apparent contradiction is key for understanding the role of fossil fuel production and supply-side policies in the green transition and how these conflict with global climate leadership. In this article, I focus on Denmark as a particularly prominent example of 'fossil-fuelled global climate leadership'. Denmark's decision to phase out all oil and gas production by 2050, its 2045 climate neutrality goal, as well as its implicit and explicit self-positioning as a first-moving leader place it as one of the most important countries to study in this regard. I first outline Denmark's climate ambitions, focusing on its claim to global climate leadership. I then use new original data from 19 semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders from across the Danish climate and energy space to help understand this leadership in light of Denmark's fossil fuel production. I question this ambition by outlining a recent Danish political fossil fuel scandal and develop a Gramscian critique that considers Denmark's fossil-fuelled global climate leadership a contradiction. Finally, I offer some recommendations for a more credible version of global climate leadership that centres the need for social transformation out of the Capitalocene.</p>
<p>John Szabo, Tobias Haas: Quo Vadis Fossil Capitalism?</p>	<p>The green revolution may be on its way, but fossil capital has responded with a four-pronged strategy: narratives, regulations, low carbon technologies, and prospects of geoengineering. Fossil capitalism emerged as capital established a dialectic between production and the consumption of fossil fuels. The logic of fossil capital's incompatibility with climate action has, however, undermined its legitimacy, forcing it to take action that ensures the continuance of its workings. Narratives have been central to sustaining its legitimacy, as actors denied climate change, relativized their role, or promulgated narratives that sought to positively frame fossil fuels (e.g. clean coal or the transition fuel). Fossil capital also systematically engaged in shaping the market framework set to regulate its own operations: driving the marketisation of emissions that offered tools of very little effect until recently, but – in-line with financialisation – allowed for extensive speculation. Low carbon technologies emerged as a key to the mid- to long-term survival of fossil capital, as an emphasis on abating emissions, elevates the role of techno-fixes, such as deploying carbon capture and storage or decarbonising natural gas by converting it into hydrogen. Finally, long-term legitimacy is sought by developing carbon-dioxide removal technologies and geoengineering that may seem to be drawn from science fiction, but ripening circumstances can render them palatable. An energy transition may be under way, but fossil capital has been very active in deploying strategies that reconciles the contradiction inherent in fossil fuel consumption, capitalism, and climate action.</p>
<p>Matt Huber: Reading Capital in an Age of Climate Change</p>	<p>While there is a robust and exploding literature on how capitalism is the root cause of climate change, few have systematically explored Karl Marx's most important finished work – Volume 1 of Capital – to excavate the climate repercussions of capital's "laws of motion." While the other Volumes are surely of relevance as well, Volume 1 is of special importance to a Marxist climate politics given the centrality of production to causing climate change itself. In this paper, I will review some of the key concepts in Capital –</p>

value, the hidden abode of production, surplus value, the accumulation of capital, primitive accumulation and the expropriation of the expropriators– and explain their relevance to the climate crisis. Above all, Marx’s Capital is an analysis of a system of production that escapes our social and collective control –or “a social formation in which the process of production has mastery over-man rather than the opposite.” It is this specific critique of capital as a form of impersonal or abstract domination that resonates with our current impasse and feelings of helplessness along cascading climate disaster. Moreover, the dramatically presented “historical tendency of capitalist accumulation” toward working-class expropriation laid out in Chapter 32 – which some view as outdated – takes on new urgency given the need to take social control over production plan a transition to a non-fossil fuel mode of production.

Sarah Glynn: Climate change is a class issue

CLIMATE CHANGE IS A CLASS ISSUE

I want to address the biggest manmade threat that hangs over us all, which more immediate manmade catastrophes appear to have relegated to the background.

The capitalist system, which sees everything in terms of profit, is exploiting the planet to destruction with the same ruthless logic that it exploits workers. This exploitation fuels imperialist wars and an exponential growth in killing-machines, and it threatens the very basis of human existence.

Ultimately, climate change effects everyone, but those effected first and worst are those with the fewest resources who are the least culpable for the burgeoning disaster.

The threat from climate change, and from capitalism’s treatment of the planet as an infinite resource, is so large that our societies seem afraid to confront it; but when we understand that this threat comes from the same capitalist forces that dominate our everyday lives, the way forward becomes clear. The fight against the system that is destroying our planet, is the same as the fight against the system that is producing ever more mind-boggling inequalities.

The people most responsible for climate change are too vested in this system to countenance significant disruption. A new course will have to be forged through the collective power of the working class.

Ecological writing and activism is often accused of failing to engage with working-class concerns; but once we recognise the enemy as the same capitalist exploitation that is holding people back in all areas, then the working class can move centre stage for this double fight.

My paper will put flesh on these arguments, and look at how the fight against destruction and exploitation can become a fight for a better way of living, which makes room for human values in place of monetary ones.

Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM
The Struggle of Ideas: The Italian Communist Party and Philosophy after the Second World War (I) [BBK-MAL-251]
Marxism and Culture

The two panels aim to interrogate the complex relationship woven between the cultural policies of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) after World War II and the contemporary philosophical debate. The purpose is to analyse a fundamental, as well as problematic, chapter in Italian cultural and political history, which to date has not been adequately studied. Specifically, the papers offer two perspectives of analysis. The first perspective pays particular attention to the relations established between the PCI and the Italian and European philosophical world, investigating some significant historical turning points, such as the reactions to 1956 or the encounter with feminism. The second perspective, on the other hand, focuses on some philosophers who offered their contribution, militant and intellectual, to the life of the Party, in an attempt to highlight the role they played in the evolution of the theoretical framework of Italian Marxism.

<p>Giulia Dettori: From Marxism to Marxisms: Party and Intellectuals in Italy from 1956 to 1967</p>	<p>Aim of this essay is to analyze the philosophical, economic and political themes of the debate on theoretical Marxism that began in Italy in 1956. The events of that year, in fact, lead various intellectuals to question historicist Marxism and the line of thought that it had identified as a "philosophical tradition". This process causes analytical revisions and political transformations.</p> <p>The main themes on which, for the next decade, the different declinations assumed by Marxism are confronted are: the relations between culture and politics, between intellectuals, parties and the subaltern classes, Gramsci and the way his thought has been used to construct a certain vision of Marxism.</p>
<p>Filippo Magni: Cesare Luporini, Philosophy and the Italian Communist Party (PCI)</p>	<p>The paper deals with the interaction of political and philosophical activity in Cesare Luporini's thought. Starting from the enrolment in PCI during the Second World War and the original endorsement of an Italian version of Marxism inspired by Gramsci and Togliatti, the development of both activities is reconstructed until the dissolution of PCI in 1991. During this period, Luporini develops his own interpretation of Marx's thought, proposing some peculiar elements of his reflection: the role of subjectivity in historical and social development, and together the adoption of a structuralist point of view influenced by Althusser, and the refusal of philosophical historicism.</p>
<p>Giorgio Cesarale: Dialectics and Positivism in Italian Marxism in the 1960s and 1970s: Luporini's discussion with Della Volpe and Colletti</p>	<p>In this paper, I will turn to the discussion among Marxist philosophers that took place in 1962 in the columns of "Rinascita" to explain how it touched on some crucial questions not only with regard to the relationship between Hegel and Marx, but also in connection with the relationship between thought and being in Marxism. The debate, opened by Cesare Luporini, with a intervention on the philosophical degradation imposed by Della Volpe on Marxism through the introduction into the social and historical field of the Galileo's method or theory of determinate abstraction, had the participation of Nicola Badaloni, Luciano Gruppi, Alessandro Natta, Enzo Paci, and the entire Della Volpe school.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM State and Mode of Production: The 'Economic' and the 'Political' in Marxist Theory and Historiography [BBK-MAL-252]</p>	
<p>The fruitful intertwining of political theory and historiography characterised the high points of different Marxist approaches to the transformations of the state in periods of general crisis in social formations and in particular concerning their role in blocking, delaying, anticipating or promoting the transition from one mode of production to another, as this panel will show. The historiographical debate of the 1950s and 1960s on the nature of the absolutist state and its role in the mercantilist transition from feudalism to capitalism developed at a time when Marxist theoretical-political reflection was focusing on the centrality of the state in creating the material-technical and economic foundations of the transition to socialism. The very notion of the primacy of production relations and long-term economic processes over the dynamics of the legal and political superstructure was under scrutiny, thus developing the insights of Lenin and Bucharin on the relationship between state capitalism and socialism. In the 1970s, in the new context of the modal crisis of capitalism and the blocking of the international transition process to socialism, Nicos Poulantzas's reflections emphasised the fundamental role of the state and its governing apparatuses in capitalist societies. He also noticed that the state's traditional forms of governing social formations were undergoing a crisis, as was its hegemonic domination over the subordinate classes. In 1993, John Haldon developed Samir Amin's concept of the tributary mode of production in relation to Marxist state theory. For Haldon, the autonomy of the state and its elites can only be seen as relative within the specific constraints of the mode of production. The concept of the tributary mode of production, by questioning the difference between tax and rent, was a very important heuristic tool for understanding this relativity of state autonomy in very different social formations.</p>	
<p>Michele Campopiano: The 'political' and the 'economic' in the debate on the tributary mode of production</p>	<p>In 1993, John Haldon developed the concept of the tributary mode of production, previously elaborated by Samir Amin and discussed by Eric Wolf. For Haldon, the autonomy of action of the state and its elites is always constrained and determined by the dominant relations of production within a social structure. Much depends upon how we understand the notion of economic, and what relations of production can be taken to involve, with respect to the relationship of people to productive means and surpluses. These interconnections generate different forms of structural constraint typical of each mode of production. The sort of political structures that are possible depend on the</p>

	<p>modality of access to and control over means of production and redistribution of surpluses. This also shows in a way a departure from Samir Amin's conclusions that "Pre-capitalist class societies are, by contrast, controlled by the political, to whose constraints the other aspects of social reality-among others, economic life-seem to have to submit". The concept of the tributary mode of production, by questioning the difference between tax and rent, was a very important heuristic tool for understanding this relativity of state autonomy in very different social formations. This point will also be developed in this contribution by emphasising that the nature of the 'coercion' on which the extraction of the tax rests must also be understood in relation to the conditions of the productive forces and not only as political 'violence'. This paper will argue that the relationship to technology and nature, for instance, as well as class struggle remain understudied in historical analysis based on the tributary mode, whereas their entanglement can unveil the logic of processes of transition between modes of production.</p>
<p>Alberto Destasio (online): State Autonomy and Transition in Poulantzas</p>	<p>The problem of the relative autonomy of the state with respect to the mode of production (especially in transition period) is at the core of Nicos Poulantzas' theoretical-political reflection. According to Poulantzas, the capitalist state is that state-form characterised by the separation between the political and the economic. This separation follows from the matrix of the capitalist mode of production, namely the homology between the relations of real appropriation (appropriation of the means of production and productive forces by direct workers) and the relations of ownership (ownership of products by producers). The capitalist mode of production is characterised by the coincidence of these two relations, since direct workers, unlike in past modes of production, own neither the means of production nor the final products of their labour.</p> <p>Taking up Lenin's idea of the political state as "as the concentration of practical struggles", Poulantzas considers the state as the cohesive factor of the levels of a social formation. The state regulates the overall balance of all contradictions and levels of a social-historical formation. In this sense, the state is the "engine of history" because political practice (concentrated in the state) can preserve and maintain the cohesion of this unity or produce transformations. That is, the state is also a "nodal structure of rupture". The state shows itself as a factor in the production of a new unity, "of new relations of production". Thus, the relative separation of the political and the economic in the capitalist state does not prevent the state from assuming economic functions in a directive and transformative sense. For Poulantzas, the assumption of economic functions by the state entails a shift in the index of dominance of a structure from the economic to the political, establishing the centrality of the state (i.e. the political) in transition period.</p>
<p>Salvatore Tiné: State Capitalism and Transition in Bucharin's Thought</p>	<p>In <i>The Economy of the Transition Period</i> by Nikolai Bucharin published in May 1920, the Bolshevik theorist developed an organic and complete theory of the economic and political transition from capitalism to communism on a global scale, based on a generalization of the experience of revolutionary Russia during the civil war. It brings together some of the major results of Bukharin's theoretical research and reflections, from the years of the World War I, on the nature of the crisis, judged to be final and catastrophic, of the world capitalist system in the monopolistic phase of its development, and the processes of transformation of the national bourgeois states into imperialist states concomitant with those of the transformation of free-competitive capitalism into organized and state capitalism. On the basis of them, in his 1920 book Bucharin comes to a theory of transition intended as organization on the basis of its conscious and theologically ordered regulation of the process of production and social reproduction, and at the same time as reconstruction of the technical-material basis of development of the productive forces destroyed by the crisis and by the revolutionary rupture itself. It is a complex theory, aimed at combining the primacy of the political and state direction of the transition process in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the need for the long-term construction of its economic premises. With my paper I intend to show</p>

	<p>how Bucharin's theory of the transition from capitalism to socialism develops and at the same time problematises the conception of the relationship between the economic and the political, between structure and superstructure, which is characteristic not only of the historical materialism of Marx and Engels, but also of the 'orthodox' Marxism of the Second International in whose sphere Bolshevism itself was formed.</p>
<p>Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM Capitalist Development and Labour Movement in Turkey [BBK-MAL-253]</p>	
<p>İlkay Yurdal: The Labour Movement and the Left in Izmir from the 1960s to the Tariş Resistance</p>	<p>İzmir has historically been one of the most important trade centers from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. During the Ottoman period, the city was one of the largest commercial ports along with Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Beirut, and it became an important industrial center in the 19th century. İzmir, which developed in the production of tobacco, figs, grapes, cotton, etc., in the early Republican period, was one of the most important centers where the working class concentrated by the 1960s. The integration of the rising labor movements in İzmir with the left started in the 1960s, increased throughout the 1970s, and reached its peak with the Tariş Resistance in early 1980.</p> <p>In January 1980, the events that started with the factory occupation by the workers of the Tariş cooperative spread to the slum neighborhoods of the city in a short time and turned into a great resistance led by the socialist left in Izmir for about a month. The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between the labor movements in Izmir and the rising left-socialist movement in Turkey between 1960 and 1980. Within the study, primary and secondary literature on this period will be used together and the local press of Izmir will be analyzed. In addition, the relationship between the labor movements in Izmir and the left will be revealed uniquely and detailed through interviews with people who participated in the relevant movements. In this way, the study will contribute to the study of labor history and the history of the left in Turkey.</p>
<p>Alper Çakır: Right to Protest and Strike in Turkey - A Historical Materialist Reading of Regimes and Repertoires of Contention</p>	<p>Since the establishment of the Republic in 1923, the experienced reality of the right to protest and strike hasn't been uniform in Turkey as the different ruling elites have demonstrated inconsistent characteristics in their restriction of social contention, due to several variables such as the time period, grievance at hand, the identities of the challengers, etc. Inspired by Charles Tilly's theoretical concepts of 'regimes' and 'repertoires', this paper will provide an overview analysis of the right to protest and strike in Turkey by analyzing the interaction between regime characteristics and repertoires of contention, as well as analyzing their own trajectories of change. It will make use of secondary sources and various datasets, wherever possible, to map the trajectories of contention, as well as trace the regime's response to these challenges. Parallel to this, it will take a look at how the material conditions and relations developed in each different regime and period, to make sense of the interaction between the regime and popular contention. In doing so, the paper offers a historical materialist reading of the subject at hand by analyzing the relationship between material conditions and the right to protest.</p>
<p>Tilbe Akan: Capitalism's Impact on Kurdish Marginalisation in Turkey: An Historical Analysis</p>	<p>This study delves into the complex interplay between capitalist structures in Turkey and the enduring marginalization of the Kurdish population, drawing inspiration from critical perspectives on political economy. It is scrutinized the multifaceted ways in which economic policies, land distribution, and resource access have contributed to the persistent marginalization of Kurds over time.</p> <p>To contextualize the examination, heeded the words of Marxist scholar David Harvey, who posits that, ""Capital does not just accumulate; it accumulates in particular places and in particular forms"" (Harvey, 1982). Guided by this insight, the analysis begins by exploring the historical origins of Kurdish marginalization within the broader context of Turkey's capitalist development. It is investigated that the implementation of economic policies, with a lens informed by Harvey's perspective, revealing the emergence and perpetuation of structural inequalities that have disproportionately affected Kurdish communities.</p>

	<p>In consonance with the work of Neil Smith, who contends that ""capitalism is not just an economic system, but a social system,"" our study centrally focuses on the examination of land distribution practices and their role in the marginalization of Kurds (Smith, 1984). By tracing historical trends, we aim to uncover how land policies, driven by capitalist interests, have influenced spatial and economic disparities experienced by the Kurdish population.</p> <p>Moreover, the study engages with the critical discourse on capitalism and resource distribution, echoing the sentiments of scholar Michael Burawoy, who asserts that ""capitalism produces not just wealth, but also poverty and inequality"" (Burawoy, 2018). Investigating how access to fundamental resources, such as education and employment opportunities, has been differentially allocated among Kurds within the capitalist framework, it is aimed to unravel the systemic mechanisms that have sustained social and economic disparities.</p> <p>By incorporating these perspectives into our analysis, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the historical forces that have marginalized the Kurdish population in Turkey. By elucidating the intricate interplay between capitalism and Kurdish marginalization, this study seeks to inform discussions on the broader implications of economic structures on minority groups within a historical materialist framework.</p>
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Friday, 9:30AM – 11:15AM
Global Capitalist Transformations: A Marxist Analysis of Crisis and Hegemonic Shifts [BBK-MAL-254]

<p>Adrian Budd: China's developing multi-dimensional crisis</p>	<p>China faces an emergent crisis of social and politico-economic reproduction. Xi Jinping's crackdown on corruption in the higher ranks of the party-state aims to marginalise potential rivals, reinforce the centrality of the party-state in the economy and shore up legitimacy in the face of widespread disillusion. It is reinforced by a conservative re-statement of traditional gender, family and sexual relations in the face of feminist and LGBT+ activism. Opposition to environmental devastation has been a constant irritant to the party-state, while the crackdown in Hong Kong and Xinjiang, and wider moves towards sinicisation, illustrate the persistence of opposition to Beijing.</p> <p>China's multi-dimensional legitimization crisis is under-pinned by deepening economic problems. Over-accumulation accompanies the under-development of domestic consumption; excessive debt poses a threat to the property sector and, in turn, domestic production; profit rates are low and many private capitals and state-owned enterprises are dependent on debt. China's attempt to move up the value chain are threatened by international pressures, particularly the US-orchestrated high-tech war.</p> <p>From 2013 the Belt and Road Initiative provided a safety-valve for over-accumulation and a means for state-owned enterprises in particular to externalise problems. But as western pressure on China intensified under Trump and Biden the BRI faced mounting criticism from other countries in the Global South and its anticipated benefits have begun to evaporate. In Africa and elsewhere subaltern forces have criticised Chinese imperialism.</p> <p>Value theoretical approaches to the political-economy of Xi's China are rendered problematic by the role of the Chinese party-state in economic production and social reproduction. This paper provides a Marxist analysis of the deepening problems, amplified by insertion into a global system of inter-imperialist rivalry, facing China's ruling class. The solution lies not in supporting China versus the West but promoting common working-class interests, East and West.</p>
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<p>Davide Gallo Lassere: The Last Arrighi</p>	<p>Giovanni Arrighi's work is among the most interesting for theoretically framing the global turmoil of the post-2008 world. This may be paradoxical, considering that Arrighi wrote only two texts between the outbreak of the subprimes bubble in September 2008 and his premature death in June 2009: a magnificent interview with David Harvey, "The Winding Paths of Capital", and the afterword to the second edition of The Long Twentieth Century. However, his longue durée theory of systemic cycles of accumulation and hegemonic crises seems particularly effective in focusing on the</p>
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	<p>ongoing reconfiguration of the world order. The paper is therefore aimed at probing the various medium-term scenarios that Arrighi sketched out at the end of his life, to examine which of them is currently emerging: 1. the establishment of a renewed Western hegemony in which the United States and its allies in the Global North are able to impose their military superiority on the rest of the world, extracting ever more onerous rents from the subjugated countries and populations; 2. the advent, induced by China, of an East Asian hegemony - towards which the global economy and surpluses (both financial and commercial) continue to slide; 3. the indefinite perpetuation of a situation of systemic chaos, in which a proliferation of crises, wars and disasters is becoming dangerously unpredictable.</p>
<p>Ingar Solty: Postliberal Capitalism: Renationalisation - crisis - war</p>	<p>The 2007 global financial crisis and the Eurozone crisis were a turning point in the world order of global capitalism once created by the American empire. China's state interventionist exit strategy from the crisis proved superior to the West's austerity-based exit strategies. As a result, China came out hyper-competitive from the crisis. For the West, this was a fork in the road: emulate or rein in China or both. As a result of a double strategy of emulation and containment, capitalism has become increasingly postliberal. Based on the key findings from my new book "Der postliberale Kapitalismus: Renationalisierung – Krise – Krieg" (Papy Rossa, Cologne, release date: 1 September 2024), this paper seeks to highlight the main trends of postliberal capitalism, stretching from the U.S.-Chinese high-tech rivalry not least in the technologies of green capitalism, economic warfare, the new American and EU industrial strategies and "crowding in" policies, the changing foreign direct investment strategies of transnational capital, the renationalisation and illiberalisation of state forms, including militarization, and the shifts within mass consciousness and culture. The paper concludes by outlining the new asymmetric Trans-Atlanticism which helps explain why the European Union, understood as a condensation of a relationship of class forces, is "unwilling" to pursue a global strategy independent from the United States.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Theorising Imperialism [B102]</p>	
<p>Kai Koddenbrock and Carolin Voss: Walking a fine line: Germany and the Question of Imperialism</p>	<p>Imperialism is back to describe Russian expansionism. Yet the theoretical contours of the term imperialism are notoriously hard to pin down and its analytical added value is disputed. The term exists as a descriptor of government action to qualify Russia or the US as 'imperialist' states. It also denotes the structural logic of capitalism on the world scale which tends towards war, value extraction and the bifurcation of the world into core and peripheries. In this paper, we investigate this meaning of imperialism with a view to Germany focusing on military violence, on domestic state-capital relations, and the extraction of value from the Global South. More specifically, the paper focuses recent shifts in security and economic policy, on its corporate giants Volkswagen and BASF, as well as the quest for mineral supplies from the Global South. We argue that Germany can be – with some qualifications - called an imperialist state. In conclusion the paper shows that imperialism as an analytical term allows to go beyond the overly generic term of capitalism and is uniquely placed to make sense of a more openly violent world engulfed in war and crisis.</p>
<p>Ali Behran Ozcelik: Contesting Liberalism's Influence on Marxist Theories of IR/IPE in the Age of Multipolarity</p>	<p>Some eminent Marxist traditions in international relations (IR) and international political economy (IPE) held onto their theoretical frameworks and basic assumptions about the US-led liberal world order even when the formation of BRICS and the rise of China came to threaten it.</p> <p>For Panitch these testified to American success in managing global capitalism, for Robinson these were building blocks for a transnational capitalist state and for Bieler and Morton these were to be explained as successes of neoliberal capital accumulation. Even now, some Amsterdam School members suggest a convergence between the Chinese and American elites. Apparently, both Panitch and these different branches of neo-Gramscian IPE viewed the US-led liberal world order as almost self-sustaining and thereby</p>

	<p>unshakable. When looked closer, what brings together these scholars is failure to conceptualize the materiality of the State as a relatively autonomous entity from capital. It will be shown in this paper that the theoretical frameworks of these scholars actually suffer from economism since they derive the functions of the state directly from the assumptions of liberalism in IR/IPE. This renders them particularly weak in comprehending conjunctures where economic nationalism and geostrategic rivalry override the cost efficiencies of free-trade and explains why their theoretical output looked ever more underwhelming in a world marked by the decline of the US hegemony, rise of China and increasing multipolarity.</p> <p>Particularly sad here is that these authors tend to use Poulantzas to suggest American hegemony cannot possibly decline and Gramsci to suggest that the nation-state does not matter as a unit of analysis. These uses will be contested with textual evidence and it will be shown that the writings of both Poulantzas and Gramsci are actually highly relevant for conceptualizing the increasing importance of the “political” and the State in conjunctures marked by crises and hegemonic declines.</p>
<p>Oscar Talbot: Hungry, sticky barriers – War, ecology, and borders</p>	<p>Photographer Richard Mosse’s work <i>The Castle</i> uses IR military cameras to create landscapes of detention spaces . This work reveals both the horrendous conditions, aswell as the other ‘unseen’ historical aspect of these spaces. Many of these sites began life as military bases and were repurposed, a trend echoed from Greece, Turkey, the UK and Germany, as well as in the Netherlands where the WW2 concentration camps Amersfoort and s’-Hertogenbosch were almost immediately used as prisons, migrant detention centres, military bases, and ‘temporary accommodations’ for displaced people. In this paper, I present a historical and philosophical critique against border as a continuation of war.</p> <p>The existence of numerous other examples raises the prospect that these sites have a special danger to them; not simply in their construction and primary use, but also in their plasticity and resilience in the face of changing material conditions. The abolitionist and ecologist Mathiesen referred to this same similarity with both prisons and dams, both of which seem to tend towards additions rather than replacements, cementing themselves as “long-range historical process[es] rather than a short-term pragmatic measure” (Mathiesen, 1986, p. 91). I characterise this tendency as one of “hungry” institutions which continue to expand beyond their original function and adapt to externalities, and their resilience as a “stickiness”.</p> <p>Finally, I argue that this provides a novel analysis of a Marxist conception of war, through Balibar’s analysis of Marx and war through the lens of the anti-state state, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore’s notion of organised abandonment. I present a critique against the border-industrial complex that illuminates both its function as a technology of war that has itself migrated in to everyday politics, but also its ecological entanglement, an issue that continues to be overlooked in critical border studies or eco-Marxist traditions .</p>
<p>Sania Hashmi: Literally But Not Really: The Politics of a Disavowed Imperialism</p>	<p>Through my analysis of what Giovanni Arrighi has called the ‘Project for a New American Century’ launched through the War on Terror, I will argue that what marks the newness of this imperialism, from the old/first attempt to become a world state at the end of WWII, is a definitive shift from the denial of imperialism to its disvowal. Through an analysis of the crisis of capitalism after the collapse of the Bretton Woods System, I will show this shift from denial to disavowal as a necessary precondition for rescuing the claims of neoliberalism at home and abroad. I will show imperial disavowal as the subjective manifestation of the objective contradiction of the United States’ purely capitalist imperialism. Without territorial expansion on the agenda, for a purely capitalist imperialism to work, it would need a superstructural form that could justify the uninhibited and uncontained imposition of its finance capitalism on to the world, reinforced through an unparalleled and unprecedented military-industrial complex fighting an enemy that is omnipresent, and by virtue of being a civilizational Other, omnitemporal. And yet, in the leading analyses of this newness—especially David</p>

	<p>Harvey's <i>A New Imperialism</i> and Ellen Wood's <i>Empire of Capital</i>, both published in 2003—we see an erasure through disavowal of anti-Muslim racism as the logic of the US war machinery. The disavowal of an imperialism working through anti-Muslim racism thus allows for insidious forms of imperial gaslighting where good violence preemptively negates the possibility of bad violence, manifesting itself at home as what Judith Butler has called “disavowed mourning” where those killed by the US are erased in the same instance in which those killed in the US are mourned, thus drawing a common sensical distinction between, to borrow from Butler, “what counts as a livable life and a grievable death!</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 From Theory to Applied Research in Marxist Feminism and Social Reproduction Theory [B103] <i>Marxist Feminism</i></p>	
<p>Konstantinos Pinnikas: Materialised Bodies in conflict. A Marxist critique of materiality in Judith Butler's work</p>	<p>In recent years we are witnessing a proliferation of factors that increase the precarity and vulnerability of our bodies. The ever-increasing violence, aimed primarily at the most precarious and vulnerable among us, seems to confirm Judith Butler's approach according to which there are lives ungrievable, identities unintelligible, bodies that do not matter. We will attempt to show that despite a phenomenological validity and de facto verification of this conclusion, the theory through which Butler is led to it, inevitably leads to a strategic impasse. The individual is trapped within the Foucauldian knowledge/power nexus that defines the intelligible from the unintelligible, the grievable from the ungrievable, what does and what does not matter. If the lives of women, lgbtqi+, refugees and migrants are inevitably insignificant, then what are we left to do? Butler's theory identifies a contradiction between the individual and society but fails to resolve it. A Marxist critique should return to the question of matter and see how this impasse relates to the notions of the materiality and materialization of our own bodies. The predominance of contingency and the rejection of any prediscursive ontological determination of matter, brings about an alleged fluidity which allows apparently free wandering, trapped, however, within the limits set by the power, in other words within capitalism. Rejecting this standpoint might lead to the conclusion that thinking of our bodies as ungrievable, unintelligible, insignificant is fully part of the strategy of an alienating power that seeks to conceal the fact that we are just the opposite: not merely bodies that matter, but the bodies that are the driving force of humanity.</p>
<p>Ariana Nash: Living theory in a pandemic: Emma Donoghue's <i>The Pull of the Stars</i> as social reproduction feminism</p>	<p>In <i>Women and Work</i> Susan Ferguson argues that at stake in the devaluation of women's labor is the entire apparatus by which capitalism devalues life and life-giving labor. This frame is crucial for understanding the particular way in which sexism might be differentiated from and also interacts with racism, homophobia, and other forms of social division by which capitalism routes its exploitations and expropriations. However clear and well-articulated, such theories can remain abstract until we think through how such principles actually appear in lived experience. Emma Donoghue's <i>The Pull of the Stars</i> does just that—bringing to life theories of social reproduction feminism in its portrayal of maternity, the coercive social forces driving women to the domestic work of motherhood and entrapping them in it, and how crises like pandemic conditions further exacerbate capitalist devaluations of life and life-giving labor. In this work of realist historical fiction, the temporal frame and compressed dramatic action allow both for complex theoretical analysis and a relationship to the suffering that such theory indicates, leading to insights into various issues, including nursing as a space of dialectical interaction between waged and non-waged care work, maternal mortality as a kind of apex of capitalist negligence, motherhood as a position of potential coercion, queer identification as a potential catalyst for recognizing exploitative social relations, and an example of how a process of recognition can in turn lead to radicalization. Further, the novel layers a real historical person alongside the central fictional characters, thereby asking for this imaginative work of stepping outside the bounds of historical narratives to domestic spaces that can otherwise remain hidden. Literature, which can appear passive or unproductively cathartic, thus remains a key tool in anti-capitalist struggle.</p>

<p>Esra Karadas Ekinici: Racialized & Gendered Unseen Workers. Displaced Kurdish Women in Pink-Collar in Germany</p>	<p>In this paper, I will analyze gendered and racialized social reproduction practices through pink-collar workers who have experienced forced displacement. I will do it by asking about the effects of displacement on social reproduction. I will also ask what makes pink-collar work unique and possible for Kurdish women in Germany. The rigid separation between production and reproduction under capitalism has created a gendered and racialized labour hierarchy. Migration patterns have surged in the last 50 years, with many from the global south moving to the north for “better”; exploitation. Predominantly women migrants now fill domestic roles abandoned by native women entering the formal workforce, perpetuating this cycle of inequality. The “pink collar” jobs , which are created by categorizing social reproduction, develop on the axis of - gender/migration/social reproduction. Therefore, this process has globally mainstreamed both gendered migration and racialized - and previously gendered - social reproduction. In light of this theoretical background, my paper draws a line of analysis on the gendered and racialized labour process of pink-collar Kurdish migrant women in Germany. The growing number of Kurdish women in Germany have also experienced unique challenges at the intersection of ethnic, gender and class identities. The most common obstacles are limited job opportunities, domestic labour liability, male-dominated working conditions, Turkish-Kurdish confrontation, and integration problems. This situation leads women, who are seen as the providers of social reproduction, to pink-collar jobs. In the post-war period, women in our target group, who have no previous work experience, generally define house cleaning, child/elderly care and home-based work as “familiar jobs” . In my fieldwork, I will interview 10 pink-collar worker Kurdish women aged 35-50 who were displaced by forced migration after 2015. Methodologically, the multi-sited and feminist ethnographic method is adopted to make visible the statistically invisible data and challenges 5 , and gendered and racialized forms of social reproduction at the micro level. The use of ethnographic methodology allows for more realistic assessments at the micro level, as it includes field and practical data.</p>
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Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15
Philosophy and the Critique of Political Economy [B104]
Western Marxism

<p>Felipe Ribeiro: Adorno's Natural History as a Critical Reformulation of Marx</p>	<p>The aim of my conference is to read Adorno’s concept of natural history as a critical reformulation of some of Marx's ideas. I’ll try to expose how Adorno is inspired by the marxist concept of real abstraction to present the real autonomization of social processes. However, since Adorno considers that Marx remained too optimistic concerning history, he then radicalizes the idea of real abstraction both diachronically and negatively. Domination of nature is the category through which Adorno reformulates the concept of real abstraction in slightly different groundings than those of Marx.</p>
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<p>Campbell Jones: Nature and the Critique of Political Economy after Adorno</p>	<p>This paper responds to Kōhei Saitō’s claim that Theodor Adorno “missed Marx’s point from the start”. Contemporary scholarship on the critical theory of nature and the critique of political economy in Adorno’s thought make clear the inadequacy of simply dismissing Adorno, or indeed “western Marxism,” on the basis that they jettisoned economics and politics in favour of philosophy. Recently published work by Adorno, along with new readings of Adorno proposed by Werner Bonefeld, Dirk Braunstein, Carl Cassegård, Deborah Cook, Chris O’Kane and others, elaborates a critical theory of society that is also a critical theory of nature grounded in the critique of political economy. The textual record shows that complaints about Adorno by Saitō and others are not so much wrong as they are misdirected, and would be better laid at the feet of associates of Adorno such as Herbert Marcuse and renegades such as Habermas and Honneth. While we have no interest in “defending Adorno” from severe critical scrutiny, the new Adorno readings presage a materialist dialectic in which nature, value, work, contradiction and abstraction are key moments. The point, for Marx and for us, is to change the world, and in order to do that we must at once celebrate the recent achievements of Saitō and others, while seeing how much further the critical theory of nature and the critique of political economy can be taken by reading Adorno.</p>
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<p>Cristina Catalina Gallego: Elements for a Critical Theory of Late Capitalism: Adorno and the Present</p>	<p>Adorno's Critical Theory pointed out fundamental elements of the social and subjective conditions of late capitalism. His theory highlights the implications of the principles of exchange and competition for the shaping of the relations of individuals with nature and others. The logic of capital imposes itself on the individual in a heteronomous manner and reproduces class antagonism. These phenomena became more acute during the twentieth century due to processes such as the concentration of capital, the increase of state administration, or the extension of commodification. In this context, the individual becomes more dependent on external instances for self-preservation. Impotence or fear thus constitute fundamental moments of the experience. So, individuals seek compensations that make them vulnerable to the claims of authoritarian movements. Adorno's diagnosis of late capitalism can be updated to analyze some features of the subjectivity of present-day capitalism, taking into account the transformations that took place with the so-called neoliberalism. Thus, the aim is to analyze how the neoliberal social and technical conditions affect the social and psychic constitution of the subjects: how fear and powerlessness are currently experienced and what subjective compensations are functioning nowadays.</p>
<p>Franz Heilgendorff: Concept, Categories and Critique: Approaching the Core of Marx's Theory of Revolution</p>	<p>One of the core questions in Western Marxism is how history and logic are interlinked in the sequence of categories in Marx's Capital. Thereby the (German) New Marx-Readings (Backhaus, Schmidt, Krahl, ...) established an understanding of critique that focused on a critique of categories, intending to restore the critique of society within the critique of political economy. They questioned the status of the categories of the critique of political economy and Marx's use of Hegelian categories. This was accompanied by a reorientation towards the critique of fetishism and provoked fundamental reflections on the ontological status of categories and dialectical thinking. It will be shown that all these questions could be synthesized by elaborating on the concept of categories in Marx's critique.</p> <p>Through a form-analytical approach, I will show in my presentation how the notion of categories expresses the core of the Marxist method as a critical analysis of society. I will also outline how social and epistemological critique should be carried out together. So far, few efforts have been made in both Eastern and Western Marxist analysis to re-examine the notion of categories within the history of philosophy and to link these insights to Marx's categorical critique. However, a central foundation for revolutionary theory emerges in the process of the scientification of metaphysics and the interweaving of social and epistemological critique. With Adorno, this entanglement expresses solidarity with metaphysics at the time of its fall. Building upon Krahl's insights, this novel approach to materialist dialectics emerges by focusing on the dynamic interplay between a concept and its categories. The distinction between categories and concepts leads to the heart of dialectical thinking as a theory that combines different strands of Western Marxism, unifying ideological critique, critique of science, and critique of the object itself. The lack of this clear analytical distinction has so far made it difficult to elaborate an understanding of materialistic dialectics.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Interconnections of Race, Class, and Imperialism (I) [B202]</p>	
<p>Michael Billeaux-Martinez, David Calnitsky: Five Interconnections of Race and Class</p>	<p>This paper proposes a five-part empirical typology of interconnections of race and class. We describe the mechanisms whereby (1) race is a form of class relation; (2) race relations and class relations reciprocally affect each other; (3) race acts as a sorting mechanism into class locations; (4) race acts as a mediating linkage to class locations; and (5) race interacts with class in determining other outcomes. Rather than insisting on one or another mechanism as the overarching framework for conceptualising the interconnections between race and class, we propose a theoretical integration of all five within a functionalist model. The model reconciles the empirical effects of race variables with a class-functionalist explanation of race. Our typology of interconnections is useful for situating concrete empirical phenomena, and our theoretical integration of those</p>

	interconnections offers a coherent explanatory system that captures the recursive causality of race and class.
Yorgos Karagiannopoulos: Class Matters: Class as a negative metaphysical glue of the social world	<p>Analytic social ontology extensively examines gender and race and class has been neglected so far (see Burman 2023). I offer a distinctively metaphysical reason for attending to class. Class, I argue, provides the metaphysical glue for instantiating the oppressive conditions of existence under which race and gender (currently) operate. To spell this out, I argue for the metaphysical primacy of mode of production [MoP] (Hirst & Hindess 1975) updated to a recent exploitation framework (Vrousalis 2023). Two qualifications. First, class primacy is not causal primacy but metaphysical (i.e., synchronic). Thus “black” or “woman” can in certain contexts be glued together because of the position the extension of such terms acquires in a specific MoP, e.g. “slave” as defined by MoP. Second, class primacy does not imply “workers” causal primacy. “Industrial worker”, “black”, queer” are causally efficacious (Haslanger 2012; Khalidi 2018) categories depending on context. Both qualifications are important for satisfying the broadly accepted desideratum of intersectionality: all systems of oppression are causally intertwined and thus we should attend to all.</p> <p>An interesting result: Class seems to be a necessary (insofar as it exists) constraint of human flourishing without any positive residue after its abolition. By contrast, after the sexual and racial revolution, there will be a proliferation of expressions (pluralist gender and sexuality; multi-racial societies). Thus, a class-based account of social ontology offers an explanation of what glues race and gender oppression together and reveals a constraint of their maximal liberation, namely the abolition of all classes.</p>
Luca Basso: Class and race lines. Between Sartre and Fanon	At the heart of the paper is the Sartrean critique of colonialism, understood not in abstract terms but according to a continuous intertwining with the critique of capitalism. The proletarian struggle and the black struggle, albeit based on complex coordinates and not immediately joinable, seem to overlap. Particular emphasis will be placed on the comparison with Fanon. The struggle in the countries of the so-called Third World is not socially undifferentiated, but appears inserted within a socialist movement, with its expansive character.
Christopher Law: The Politics of Absorption	<p>Early in Black Marxism (1983), Cedric Robinson cautions against a ‘biological metaphor’ according to which the ideology of the ruling class, and the narrative of its own historical success, is ‘mediated through the constructs of evolutionary theory’ (p. 19). Terms like ‘growth’, ‘decline’, ‘development’, ‘evolution’ and ‘decay’, Robinson argues, imply an overly unified understanding of how capitalism first emerged (and, for that matter, what capitalism actually is). That political concepts shape political imagination is clear. Beyond his popularisation of ‘racial capitalism’, little attention has been paid to Robinson’s own political vocabulary, however. This paper seeks to reanimate the conceptual dynamism of Robinson’s work by focusing on one of its most common, yet all but neglected, linguistic idioms: the verb ‘absorb’ and variations thereon. From Ireland to Islam, and across the Black Radical Tradition, Robinson marshals ‘absorption’ to trouble accepted accounts of domination, authority, and influence, and even to signal a form of historical, collectivised, non-violent resistance. To be absorbed is to enter a liberatory, impersonal process in which national characteristics matter less than socio-political transformation.</p> <p>Such a claim is surely at odds with the everyday politics of absorption, both today and at the time of the book’s publication. Itself a naturalised and naturalising category, ‘absorption’ generally operates as a quasi-empirical measure in nationalist, anti-migrant ideologies and (as in the case of Israel, where this meaning was formalised in the sociological work of Shmuel Eisenstadt and institutionalised through ‘Absorption Centres’) as a bulwark of settler colonialism. Can absorption be a mode of political resistance, despite its complicity with such ongoing histories? To navigate this question, I will turn to a potentially surprising source: an art-theoretical dispute in which Fred Moten challenges Michael Fried’s anti-‘theatrical’ celebration of absorption and thereby opens the possibility for its politicised ‘recalibration’.</p>
Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15	

Inquiries in Britain [B203] Workers Inquiry	
<p>Callum Cant: Things can only get...worse: Workers' experiences of polycrisis in Britain</p>	<p>"2008 marked a new stage in the development of capitalism in Britain. The relative stability of the previous 170 years was achieved through a ruling class strategy that combined aggregate real wage increases with a dialectic of political reform and repression. But since 2008, that classical combination been replaced by something new. Real wages have declined, the austerity-stricken state has shrunk dramatically, and political reforms that would benefit the working class have been excluded from the sphere of bourgeois politics. Taken together, these trends have produced a general and sustained decline in working class living standards. We are in a new period, one increasingly characterised by a shift from consent to coercion. Given a future likely characterised by extreme social instability, with interdependent sources ranging from the climatic to the geopolitical, this shift can and should be seen as marking the start of a new phase of class struggle in Britain.</p> <p>This paper illustrates this new phase by presenting the initial results of four case studies drawn from across the British economy, covering the logistics, manufacturing, health and food service industries via Amazon; Tata Steel; the National Health Service; and Deliveroo, respectively. By comparing the common experiences voiced by workers across these case studies, it is possible to both formulate conclusions on the nature of the polycrisis currently impacting workers in Britain, and generate some initial thoughts about the sociological study of crisis in the workplace. By beginning from workers' experiences, the goal is to start to articulate how this ongoing recomposition of class struggle is experienced in the hidden abodes of capitalist production and the state."</p>
<p>Jonny Jones: Spaces of conflict and competition in the making of a dockworker labour regime: England, 2013-2022</p>	<p>Labour Process Theory (LPT) has its roots in the work of Harry Braverman, who argued that under capitalism processes of production are "incessantly transformed under the impetus of the principal driving force of that society, the accumulation of capital" and that for workers this manifests as "a continuous change in the labor process..." (1998: 6). Contemporary LPT has grappled with the "connectivity problem", that is, the "disjuncture between the dynamics of the labour process at the point of production with the broader political economy shaping the nature of contemporary production" (Taylor et al 2015: 5).</p> <p>In this paper, I make an argument for how "real competition...antagonistic by nature and turbulent in operation" (Shaikh 2016: 259) operating through Global Production Networks and Global Value Chains, act as a meso-level processes connecting the macro level of the capitalist system to the micro level of workplace dynamics. Focusing on the port logistics sector in Britain, drawing upon extensive primary research with workers, trade union officials and senior managers, and through a close analysis of the firm level competitive strategies, I show how management attempts to impose decisions regarding the workplace regime play out across a variety of spatial scales, and give rise to opportunities and challenges for workers' organising.</p> <p>As well as contributing to an empirical understanding of successful workers' strategy, I show how we can conceive of a dialectical relationship between processes of real competition on the one hand, and the emergence of forms of workers' power that can be theorised as meso-level "power resources" which can arise in particular spatial configurations. Finally, I consider the ways in which these power resources can be constrained by, enabled by, or otherwise escape the limitations imposed by, the state.</p>
<p>Jonas Patrick Marvin: The Long 90s Were Really Long: Culture and Class Decomposition in Neoliberal Britain</p>	<p>Although Margaret Thatcher and the New Right were able to utilise conditions of deindustrialisation to spring Joshua Clover's 'affirmation trap', leaving the postwar era's most militant battalions of workers destitute and on the dole queue, this 'war of position' did not immediately neutralise radical class subjectivities. As the militant industrial worker exited stage right, other agents - notably municipal socialists and multicultural</p>

	<p>surplus populations - carried the embers of radicalism into a post-Fordist world. From the insurrectionary riots of inner-city England and the 1981 People's March for Jobs, to regional left municipalism and the emergence of new forms of countercultural space-making, young proletarians and radical leftists sought to make sense of, and challenge conditions of industrial obsolescence. The multiracial working class protagonism broached during the 1976 Grunwicks strike took on a younger postindustrial form in the Thatcher years. This paper charts the emergence of this agency and the efforts of both Conservative 'authoritarian statism' and Tony Blair's New Labour in seeking to deconstruct this subjectivity throughout the neoliberal period. By tracing the repressive legislative reforms of neoliberal governments; the emergence of 'privatised Keynesianism' as a response to workers' growing economic insecurity; the massive expansion and punitive reorganisation of the welfare state; and the reorganisation of economic space and housing away from Keynesian demand management and towards financialisation and global economic flows, I argue that the neoliberal project was profoundly invested in the question of population management as a tool for both the biopolitical and disciplinary evisceration of radical proletarian class subjectivities.</p>
<p>Seth Wheeler: Big Flame; Excavating Operiasmo's arrival in Britain</p>	<p>The socialist organisation Big Flame (1970-1984) emerged in Britain out of the post '68 campus based left; notable for their incorporation of the concerns of the women's moment, a commitment to anti-authoritarian organising practices and placing an emphasis of rank and file solutions, the organisation held a small, albeit not inconsiderable influence over the activity and trajectory of the domestic anti-parliamentarian left(s) throughout the 1970/80s. Building on my research conducted at the Working Class Library using their archive of Big Flame materials, this paper will explore how ideas belonging to Italy's Operaisti entered the lexicon and practices of the domestic left. The paper will also consider how Operiasmo's 'class compositional' analysis was understood and deployed within Big Flame, and what this understanding may say to contemporary intersectional approaches.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Fossil Capitalism and Transition (II) [B204]</p>	
<p>Sean O'Brien: Visions of Transition: Climate Fiction and the End of Growth</p>	<p>What can contemporary climate fiction tell us about the transition to a world after growth? As the climate crisis gathers steam, a heated debate has ignited on the environmentalist left between eco-socialists who promote green growth strategies such as the Green New Deal, and proponents of degrowth who argue instead that governments should actively impose limits on the expansion of their national economies. But economic growth is not a switch that can be turned on or off. The past half a century in the advanced capitalist core has been characterized by a protracted and pronounced slowdown in the rate of economic growth, a process of waning economic dynamism that, counterintuitively, has coincided with an explosion of carbon emissions. Building on the methodological insights of the energy humanities, whose leading theorists insist energy transition is not only a matter of technological innovation or policy shift but is fundamentally a question of cultural reckoning and remodeling, this paper begins from the premise that the transition to a post-growth society is already underway and will necessitate a radical rethinking of our most basic values and belief systems. It is here on the turbulent tides of a contested transition that climate fiction takes shape. This is not to suggest the genre offers prescriptive solutions to the crises of fossil-fueled climate change. Like science fiction, climate fiction "does not predict the future, but neither does it merely allegorize the present in which it is written. Rather," Steven Shaviro argues, it "envisages a futurity that already exists in the present moment" (2018: 428). Examining visions of transition in Jeff VanderMeer's Southern Reach Trilogy (2014), I ask how his novels grapple with the spatial scales and temporal horizons of global warming while reckoning with the impact of environmental transformation on human culture and society. In the first novel, Annihilation, VanderMeer imagines a world in transition as growth becomes cancerous, a cosmological transformation at the cellular level that promises nothing less than total annihilation. I argue that this work of climate fiction functions less as a rumination on an uncertain future than as a speculative</p>

	<p>mediation of exhaustive transformations currently unfolding in the economic and ecological organization of nature-society relations.</p>
<p>Nicholas Beuret: Broken green promises and the emerging installation economy</p>	<p>The global transition to a net zero economy is being organised through a turn to neo-mercantile policies. Politically this turn attempts to unevenly exploit the paranoid nationalism that characterises late industrialism in the West.</p> <p>These policies mirror the broad sentiment that life within the West has become a set of zero sum conflicts. Extending Hage’s (2003) thesis that neoliberalism has produced a scarcity of hope, we contend the steady erosion of socio-economic possibility through austerity and economic stagnation has produced a profound crisis of political legitimacy.</p> <p>Much of the discursive basis of green policy is to re-secure political legitimacy. The promise of manufacturing jobs and the rhetoric of national revival is the means through which legitimacy is meant to be resecured.</p> <p>Examining transition policies, we find not a manufacturing revival but broken promises. Focusing on the UK, this paper sets out how the gap between promise and reality resulted in the erosion of employment conditions and social hope. Exploring anti-green populism and union campaigns, this paper contends the broken promise forms one half of the emerging transition economy.</p> <p>The question of legitimacy is being further tested by the second half of this transition: the creation of an installation economy. Installation work comprises much of the green labour market in the West. Largely contract based, itinerant and precarious, it has more in common with Uber or Amazon than well-paid union jobs in manufacturing.</p> <p>This paper maps the composition of green labour within the transition, emphasising the role played by legitimacy within class recompositions. Drawing on Hage, it contends legitimacy and the space of socially assessable hope constitute a key element of the transition, shaping the grounds of workplace organising in green industries.</p>
<p>Angus McNelly: The Dialectics of Technology, Energy and the Green Transition</p>	<p>In this paper I unpack “technology” and “energy”, two of the key conceptual categories within debates over the green transition, in order demonstrate that, on a high level of abstraction, the need for energy transitions are structural transformations of the twenty-first century capitalist system and, on a more immediate plane of action, the ongoing green transition is driven by political (rather than technical) determinants. We argue that the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin the anglophone transition debates close off more radical conceptions of energy transitions and obfuscate the drivers of the need to move away from fossil fuels: colonialism and capitalism. I use Marx’s dialectical method, carefully constructed for the precise task of breaking concepts apart, in order to advance our arguments. Marx’s method of social inquiry is based on a philosophy of internal relations, and his dialectical method draws our attention away from objects towards the relations and processes that comprise social forms such the green transition. Drawing inspiration from Ollman’s excavation of Marx’s method as a ‘dance of the dialectic’, I focus on the processes and relations that underpin “technology” and “energy” in order to explore the theoretical shortcomings of socio-technical transition debates and the actually existing hegemonic green transition.</p>
<p>Dougie Booth: Carbon Constituencies and the Transition to a Democratically Planned Economy</p>	<p>Any emergent socialist polity will have to rapidly transform how it utilises the inherited productive forces created under carbon capitalism and simultaneously create new forces. Initially, socialism will inherit and be dependent upon carbonised productive forces and the vast constituencies of proletarians whose present existence is centred around them. Whilst socialisation will eliminate fossil capital, it will not eliminate the social tension inherent in the sociotechnical transformation from a carbonised to a green economy. This tension threatens to destroy any perfectly constructed theoretical model of democratic planning before it can even be implemented. If we seek to move beyond bureaucratic models of planning and avoid an anti-democratic ‘Climate Maoist’ future, we must begin</p>

to plan for the transition to a democratically planned economy (Wainright and Mann, 2018).

The planning literature has discussed how ecological limitations will be negotiated and/or calculated and then integrated into planning decisions (Hahnel, 2021, Adaman and Devine, 2022, Cockshot, Dapprich and Cottrell, 2022, Dapprich, 2022 and Saito, 2024). However, insufficient attention has been paid to the material development of carbon constituencies and how these constituencies will be integrated into emergent democratic planning institutions. Through this paper, I articulate the challenges posed by carbon constituencies and their dependency upon the continued utilisation of fossil fuel infrastructure. Referring to existing planning models, I demonstrate how carbon constituencies could undermine the determination of appropriate planetary boundaries and act as a bulwark against the institutionalisation of ecological constraint. Once the challenge of carbon constituencies has been laid out, I then proceed to explore various responses that socialists could pursue to overcome it. I conclude that there is no silver bullet fix to the contradiction and that proponents of democratic economic planning must collectively endeavour to provide a comprehensive political programme for integrating carbon constituencies into a fledgling socialist polity.

Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15

Open Questions in Marxist Theory [B205]

Tamara Caraus: There is no 'preferred' empire: Marx's decolonizing method

In 'The Future Results of British Rule in India' from 1853, Marx famously writes, "The question, therefore, is not whether the English had a right to conquer India, but whether we are to prefer India conquered by the Turk, by the Persian, by the Russian to India conquered by the Briton." In this text, Marx seems to be clear about his preference: "England has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating – the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia." This and other Marx' statements have been considered Eurocentric, and a range of authors (E. Said, G. Spivak, D. Chakrabarty, and others) have viewed as colonising either Marx's entire approach or only some concepts, such as class, value, abstract labour, etc. Equally, Marx's was defended against these accusations by the authors who point at his analysis of 'primitive accumulation', abandonment of the concept of the 'Asiatic mode of production', acknowledgment of the effects of the colonisation of Ireland, exchanges with revolutionary movements in Russia, attention to indigenous issues, etc. This paper argues that although some of Marx's statements and texts may be regarded as expressing views not free from Eurocentrism and colonialism, his method is a decolonizing method, and it will defend this hypothesis in three subsequent steps. First, it will argue that Marx's analysis of capital that reaches the world market displays the whole world as a unit of analysis and critique, which means an analysis of a totality as a substratum and of its moments. Usually the accusations of colonialism and imperialism are made from a position endorsing the nation-state as the unit of analysis and by attributing it to Marx. However, the colonising tool is the very framework of the nation-state, along with a generalised national outlook that expanded to the rest of the world. Thus, only when social science exits the exclusionary structure of the nation-state can decolonization be completed, and this can be done by going back to Marx's method. Second, the paper will argue that another decolonizing aspect of Marx's method is critique, which offers conceptual tools by means of which both to name the problem and to gain distance from oppressive (western) categories of thought. Marx's critique as a method anticipates what can be called the global critical vocation of post-colonial theories, which consists in a critical assessment of local history marked by global colonialism and of current practices that perpetuate colonial legacies. Third, the paper will argue that the global critical vocation of these theories is threatened by the perpetual risk of the reification of differences and origins as a locus of enunciation and situatedness. To learn how to avoid reifying the difference, we have to go back to Marx once again to see how his method neither dissolves (cultural, geographical, and others) differences nor reifies them (capitalism does both, according to the context), but

	<p>transforms them into interdependencies, as does his analysis of social relations 'congealed' in commodities, relations that involve the distant others.</p>
<p>Sauli Havu: Engels' problematic idea of the conflict between the mode of exchange and the mode of production in <i>Socialism: Utopian and Scientific</i></p>	<p>In the history of the reception of Marx's Capital, the interpretation of Engels has been an object of contention. Many authors (Backhaus, Heinrich, lately Søren Mau) have pointed out the existence of certain methodological differences between Marx and Engels (the debate on the historical vs. the logical). I aim to concretise this debate by concentrating mainly on Engels's text <i>Socialism: Utopian and Scientific</i>. There Engels presents a three stage model: private commodity production of individual producers, capitalist commodity production and socialism. The first ('simple commodity production') is wholly private both in regards to production and exchange, the second characterised by a contradiction between social mode of production and private mode of exchange and the third wholly social as regards to both. In capitalism, production is for Engels no more private, as he openly says in his Critique of the Erfurt Programm and in his additions and changes to Capital vol 3. Engels seems to understand the expression 'private production' as well the word 'social' in a partly different manner from Marx. Thus, Engels's conception opens the way to later ideas of 'state capitalism', 'finance capital', 'monopoly capitalism' and 'political capitalism', which prognose a fundamental change in the capitalist mode of production. This is because Engels paradigmatically connects private commodity production with pre-capitalist commodity production. His methodology thus leads to a certain diagnosis of times, which cannot in this stark form be found in Marx, for whom the private form of exchange cannot be separated from the mode of production or to be seen as a relic of pre-capitalism. In Marx, the contradiction between the socialised manner of production and the private mode of socialisation remains unsolved, despite the development of capitalism and the concentration and centralisation of capital, whereas for Engels it's already tendentially solved, pointing to an end-crisis of capitalism.</p>
<p>David C Perlman, Ashly E Jordan [online]: Epidemics: Extending a Historical Materialist Theory</p>	<p>Theories of human epidemics have generally addressed their demographic impacts (e.g., on the power of labor) and spread via 'trade.'</p> <p>Yet epidemics do not passively, or inevitably, 'spread along' trade routes. Rather, they reflect and part of, rifts in the human social metabolism with nature induced by the spread of capital relations, and the capitalist mode of production.</p> <p>Using dialectical historical materialism and the constructs of spheres of production, circulation, and reproduction, combined and uneven development, and metabolic and corporeal rifts engendered by capitalism, we examine historical and current epidemics, focusing on links to class struggle, characterizing cholera as the first fully capitalist pandemic.</p> <p>We consider metabolic and corporeal rifts as encompassing capitalist processes that adversely impact human 'corporeality' directly through labor processes, indirectly through socially constructed risk-producing environments, as well as fundamentally through alienated production processes disrupting previously 'sustainable' interactions between human and non-human species in nature. These rifts create unsustainable and epidemic-facilitating relations between human and non-human species.</p> <p>Epidemics have antedated fully developed capitalism, linked to changes in modes of production and to capital relations that preceded fully developed capitalism, highlighting Mészáros' emphasis on the need to go 'beyond capital' to sustain transitions out of capitalism. Yet epidemics are more tightly linked to fully developed capitalism, high velocity production and circulation, and the imperative for constant capital accumulation.</p> <p>Further, the accelerating emergence of epidemics in the later 20th century is temporally and fundamentally related to capitalist-production-induced breaching of Earth System boundaries and resultant Anthropocene. This is mediated through human contacts with</p>

existing 'pathogens,' anthropogenic species evolution, and their impact on populations unevenly subjected to by capitalism-induced rifts, with differential adverse impacts on workers, the poor and the oppressed populations.

Yet events such as epidemics can contribute to solidarities thus offering potential opportunities to strengthen labor and class struggle.

Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15
Revolutionary Papers: Radical History Review issue launch on Anti Colonial Periodicals of the Global South [Foyer of BGLT - part of exhibition

Periodicals played a key role in the creation and reproduction of left, anticolonial, and anti-imperial institutions, politics, and cultures in the Global South. The presenters of this panel will discuss tools they have developed to unpack the intellectual and political work that left, anticolonial periodicals have done in reproducing Marxism, socialism, and broader left formations around the Global South. And, the panel will introduce how periodicals from the past can be mobilised as part of political struggles against authoritarianism, fascism, empire, racism, capitalism, climate breakdown, and more. In a three-way discussion, the panelists will expand the definition of the periodical, the revolutionary, and the Global South and argue that materials like journals, periodicals, newspapers, etc. offer an alternate method for studying and practicing left anticolonialism. Through this discussion, the panellists will propose an analytical approach to periodicals that allows one to unpack the place of the journal in building left, anticolonial institutions, politics, and cultures—and open up the possibility of mobilising these journals as pedagogical material in education and movement contexts in the present.

The panel builds on the transnational research and teaching initiative, Revolutionary Papers (revolutionarypapers.org). This five-year initiative engages in conversations, collaborations, and co-productions with writers, artists, archivists, left organisers, and researchers, and includes a major international conference hosted at Community House in Cape Town, a site of historic anti-apartheid struggles and contemporary grassroots movements; collaborations with archives of progressive and radical materials (e.g. a forty-thousand-item collection on progressive movements in Pakistan); a co-edited research-based blog series on the archival remnants of African and Black diaspora anticolonial movement materials in Africa Is A Country, and a digital platform hosting a growing repository of digital teaching tools on periodicals from Palestine, Pakistan, Tunisia, South Africa, Cuba, India, and elsewhere.

Koni Benson: Periodicals as Counterinstitutional Infrastructure

Periodicals were one of the tools anticolonial movements used to build new worlds during the ruins and erasure of colonialism, imperialism, and authoritarianism. They functioned as radical alternatives to political or cultural institutions that either did not exist, had been repressed or destroyed, or were only active in the context of an existing colonial or authoritarian apparatus. As low-cost, flexible publishing venues, periodicals circulated easily, nurturing local and regional culture through the publication of new thinkers and the transmission of ideas and information. Many periodicals constituted alternative organizations in themselves, communities of left critique and action. And, many played an incubation role for new organizations and movements and, local and international networks, scenes, readerships and counter-publics. This paper looks at how periodicals functioned as incubators for the development of oppositional politics and culture and facilitated the formation of local, regional and global networks, drawing especially on left periodicals out of anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa and Namibia.

Koni Benson is a historian, organiser, and educator. She is a senior lecturer in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of the Western Cape, working with social movement archives and with student, activist, and cultural collectives across southern Africa. She is a co-convenor of the Revolutionary Papers project, and author of *Crossroads: I Live Where I Like* (illustrated by the Trantraal Brothers and Ashley Marais, forward foreword by Robin Kelley, PM Press 2021). Contact: kbenson@uwc.ac.za

Mahvish Ahmad: Periodicals as a Forum for Counterpolitical Ideas

Reading across periodicals can reveal how many became forums for the development of unique conceptual vocabularies on a collective scale. In this regard, the subject and method of revolutionary politics constitute one area of focus. A second, recurrent focus in radical papers dealt with conceptualising the spatial and temporal scale of revolutionary politics in various sites across the Global South. A number of periodicals became forums for new vocabularies meant to facilitate links between universalist visions of socialist, anticolonial worlds and the contingencies of particular struggles.

	<p>Should a movement to radically overturn an existing colonial order come from the factory floor or the rural hinterlands, through the worker or the landless peasant, for instance? Should they wait for capitalism's internal contradictions to manifest themselves into a crisis, or force this crisis to come about immediately through armed uprising? Though these debates are in one way quite canonical in major Marxist writings, periodicals offer us insight into a plurality of attempts to expand and apply the scale of revolution across various contexts in the decolonizing world. Drawing on a range of periodicals from revolutionary left movements in South Asia, especially Pakistan, but also Oman, South Africa, and Palestine, this paper investigates how periodicals became sites of experimentation for new counterpolitical ideas.</p> <p>Mahvish Ahmad works on the material legacies of anticolonial and left movements, archival practices and fugitive organising in sites of disappearance, and techniques of imperial and sovereign violence. She's She is a co-convenor of Revolutionary Papers, Archives of the Disappeared (with Mezna Qato, Yael Navaro, and Hana Morgenstern), and Tanqeed (with Madiha Tahir), and a trustee of the South Asian Research and Resource Centre (founded by Ahmad Salim). She's an Assistant Professor of Human Rights and Politics and Co-Director of LSE Human Rights at the London School of Economics. Contact: m.ahmad14@lse.ac.uk</p>
<p>Hana Morgenstern: Periodicals as Countercultural Experimentation</p>	<p>This paper interrogates how new anticolonial aesthetics, art practises, and print forms took shape through circulation between local, regional and international channels as well as how anti-colonial cultural periodicals contributed to literacy and political awareness. Periodicals fostered local literary and art scenes outside of the colonial sphere and the Western metropole, challenging and reconstituting the aesthetic and literary parameters of anticolonial and postcolonial cultural production. It examines how the periodical form pushed experiments in socialist realism, surrealism, regional poetics, practises of translation, and editorialising in a direct challenge to dominant nationalist, colonial, and neo-colonial constructions of what constitutes 'culture'. It draws especially on left, anticolonial periodicals out of the Middle East, especially out of the Arab left, and particularly out of Palestine.</p> <p>Hana Morgenstern is Associate Professor in Postcolonial and Middle Eastern Literature at Cambridge University and a Fellow at Newnham College. Dr. Morgenstern is a scholar of Middle Eastern literature and cultural histories of the Left, with a specialisation in Palestine and Israel, including Arab Jewish, Hebrew, Palestinian, and Arabic literary cultures. Her upcoming book Cultural Co-Resistance in Palestine/Israel: Anticolonial Literature, Translation and Magazines (2025), reconstructs a history of anticolonial Palestinian and Jewish literary and cultural collaborations, from the 1940s to the present day. Morgenstern is co-founder and co-investigator of Revolutionary Papers and co-founder of Archives of the Disappeared, an interdisciplinary research initiative for the study of communities, social movements, spaces, literatures, and cultures that have been destroyed through acts of political repression and mass violence. Contact: cm894@cam.ac.uk.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 The Great Driving Right Show: Cars, Climate Collapse and the Inverted Crisis [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]</p>	
<p>Richard Seymour</p> <p>Zetkin Collective: Tatjana Söding, Jacob McLean, George Edwards and William Callison</p>	<p>In a world suffocating on exhaust fumes, the Right seeks to enlist us in their latest culture war: the scorched earth defense of automobility. Fossil fascism, having reanimated fossil capital's climate denialist apparatus, alights on that endangered species of petromodernity, freedom of the road, as a bulwark against 'globalist' designs, from low emissions zones to fifteen minute cities.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Neoliberalism and the Rise of the Far-Right [G3]</p>	
<p>Felix del Campo: Depoliticisation and State Form: Gender, Race</p>	<p>The political landscape following the 2008 financial crisis has challenged a wide range of established positions on the nature and character of liberal democracies, as well as critical</p>

<p>and the Neoliberalism of the Far-right</p>	<p>accounts of neoliberalisation as a purely economic doctrine interested in reducing the liberal state to a mere skeleton. As a broad range of critical accounts have demonstrated, the last two decades are marked by an escalation of social antagonisms within civil society met by a strengthening of the illiberal and authoritarian dimensions of the (neo)liberal state. The fortification of borders, the political patrolling of citizenship, and the re-naturalisation of traditional gender roles meet the escalation of police repression against civil disobedience –specially carried out by climate activists on a warming planet–, while work becomes both a right and a duty -as suggested by new cuts into the meagre welfare benefits available for few and the rhetoric of the “return to work”. The political articulation of the above is more explicitly accomplished by contemporary far-right formations, whose relation to neoliberalism’s reproduction remains unclear. Existing accounts of authoritarian neoliberalism tend to see the latter two –the political imposition of economic needs– as the salient marker of a neoliberal form of governmentality, while the former are conceptualised as ideological and political manoeuvres, if not antagonistic to the neoliberal state form. This article propose a new theory of the (neo)liberal state that integrates these tendencies by engaging with the latest works on Racial Capitalism, Social Reproduction Theory, queer Marxism, and Trans-gender Marxism. I will argue that we can conceptualised the far-rights political naturalisation of race and gender, and its expulsion from the capital-labour relation, as a historically contingent form of expression of authoritarian neoliberalism.</p>
<p>Savio M. Cavalcante: How does neoliberalism really explain the current rise of the far-right?</p>	<p>The goal of this communication is to attempt to identify the structural causes behind the current surge of the far-right in capitalist Western societies. To do so, I start with the general explanatory model found in much Marxist analysis, suggesting that the rise of the far-right is a consequence of the global spread of neoliberalism, mainly after the collapse of soviet socialism. Although adequate in general, it necessitates a deeper analytical effort to understand the various causal connections. I propose exploring four dimensions: a) the ideological impacts of neoliberalism overall; b) the political consequences of “authoritarian neoliberalism”; c) the ideological effects of “progressive neoliberalism” and d) the broader social and economic effects of neoliberalism. The first dimension concerns the creation and imposition of “neoliberal subjectivity” on individuals, as initially outlined by M. Foucault. Yet, I highlight a practical aspect often overlooked by Foucault’s followers: the renewal of a small-proprietor ideology even within wage-earning groups, exacerbating the “isolation effect” (N. Poulantzas). In the second dimension, I revisit theories regarding the erosion of democracy from within, obviating the need for external assaults. Here, the political fallout entails the normalization of an authoritarianism capable of maintaining formal aspects of democratic regimes. The third dimension delves into how the “progressive” strain of neoliberalism (N. Fraser), championing multiculturalism and diversity, undermines the capitalist State’s power to “represent unity,” built on traditional notions of a “peoplenation” (N. Poulantzas). Finally, I argue that while neoliberalism succeeded in dismantling alternative models, it fails to provide a viable alternative, capable of fostering social cohesion. In conclusion, I offer two assertions: a) the different combinations of these effects in each country elucidate the current potency of the far-right, and b) the concept of neofascism proves most fitting to characterize reactionary mass movements arising within the framework of neoliberal capitalism.</p>
<p>Victoria Fomina: ‘The New Cypriots’: Anti-Cosmopolitanism and Far-Right Resurgence in Contemporary Cyprus</p>	<p>This paper explores the relationship between the culture of anti-occupation protest that emerged in Cyprus in the wake of the 1974 Turkish invasion and the recent resurgence of far-right nationalism and militarism on the island. It focuses on commemoration of Anastasios Isaac and Solomos Solomou—two Greek-Cypriot protestors killed in a confrontation with Turkish Cypriots during a 1996 anti-occupation rally. I explore two collective mobilizations—the events organized by the far-right National Popular Front, an offshoot of the fascist Greek Golden Dawn, and the memorial motor-processions held by the Initiative in Memory of Isaac and Solomou. Denouncing Cyprus’s government for its “betrayal” of national interests, both groups pledge to continue active struggle for “the liberation of the island” by keeping the memory of the nation’s “fallen heroes” alive.</p>

	<p>I suggest that the popular appeal of this reactionary public culture in Cyprus needs to be understood in reference to the island’s dramatic economic and political transformation over the past four decades. Starting in the late 1970s, Cyprus’s economy grew steadily due to reorientation away from fishing and agriculture toward finance and service industries. Labelled the ‘Cypriot miracle,’ this process entailed brisk transformation of the country’s rural areas into gentrified ‘vacation paradises’ for foreign tourists, accompanied by growing anxieties about the loss of ‘the Greek national spirit’ and ‘communal ethos.’ I argue that the National Popular Front and Initiative’s mobilizations reflect attempts to revive the culture of anti-occupation protest, which shaped the postwar generation but suffered a radical decline following EU accession in 2004. Rooted in emotionally charged ethno-religious symbols and images of “blood and soil,” this public culture—particularly attractive to unemployed and disgruntled middle-class youth—derives its appeal from promises to restore a sense of solidarity “fractured” by the island’s rapidly changing cultural and demographic landscape.</p>
<p>Lucas Crivelenti e Castro: The contemporary crisis of liberal democracy: the connectivity between neoliberal theory, neofascism and inter-imperialism</p>	<p>Capitalist society, based on liberal and moral principles of atomized subjects, faces a crisis in the internal and external relations of central and peripheral countries. Although it is not an unprecedented phenomenon in history, we intend to analyze the ideological, political and economic characteristics that led the world towards contemporary catastrophe and barbarism.</p> <p>According to our hypothesis, the intensification of international rivalries and the rise of neo-fascism are directly related to the implementation of neoliberal policies. In this way, we aim to demonstrate how the bases of neoliberal theory – legal-normative foundation to structure the sovereignty of the market and the intrinsic price system (ordoliberals and Hayek); continuous and progressive liberalization of countries' external accounts; strict rules for conducting fiscal and monetary policies (monetarists of different spectrums); trade opening with integration of global production chains – resulted in the growth of socioeconomic inequalities internal and external to countries. On the one hand, it feeds the xenophobia, the proliferation of fake news, the persecution of intellectuals, left-wing politicians and the academic-scientific discourse and, the other, customs protectionisms are lifting among the main global powers, the imposition of sanctions by the United States on its opponents and the returning of wars.</p> <p>However, it is also intended to develop the idea that the neoliberal theoretical foundations themselves relies on the dismantling of democratic society, because, as Hayek argued in an interview with the Chilean newspaper El Mercurio, the purpose of his argument goaled at building and maintaining the sovereignty of the market and the price system linked to it, even if democracy had to be annihilated. The austerity of fiscal and monetary rigidity is another example of restraint of democracy to favor the market. These prescriptions resulted in the historical examples of Pinochet, Bolsonaro and Milei. In the article, we will develop all these co-relationships.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 From Commodification to a Politics of Commoning and Solidarity [G51]</p>	
<p>Tim Mahoney: The Cultural Accumulation of Belonging: the Commodification of ‘Community’ and Reclaiming Solidarity</p>	<p>This paper highlights the commodification of 'community' within a neoliberal framework, moving beyond the Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft binary. While the concept historically emphasized shared struggles and bottom-up solidarity, its malleability allows for manipulation by ruling ideas. Looking at recent histories of the co-optation of “identity politics,” community-by-consumption, and the flattening effect ‘community’ plays in our popular discourse, the paper argues for a conception of ‘community’ that is explicitly distinct from its general, embedded-in-market-thinking usage. Employing a political imaginary to disentangle the authentic meaning of 'community' from its commodified form, the paper emphasizes the need to distinguish between active associations and passive placements within fabricated groups. Reclaiming the politically salient essence of 'community,' rooted in solidarity and shared challenges, is thus crucial for fostering collective action in a capitalist regime.</p>

<p>Ali Yalçın Göymen: Re-assessment of Micro-political Subjectivity at the Time of Social Cohesion Crisis: The Case of Commoning</p>	<p>My paper takes shape in context of the current need for defending the cause of labour against the global rise of the authoritarianism and questions the relation between the state of the political subjectivity that champions socialism and the phenomenon I call the social cohesion crisis. The aim of the paper consists of making the true nature of the social cohesion crisis visible, assessing the potential of the political subjectivity shaped by the contemporary micro-political movements, and discussing the possibilities of a new understanding of commoning. On that regard, the central question that will be sought to be answered is, how can commoning as a form of political subjectivity can be re-defined apart from its micro-political maxims so that it could be a more competent response to the authoritarian tendencies that stem up from the conditions created by the social cohesion crisis? This question could also be derivate as the following: what are the main constituents of the social cohesion crisis? Which effects does the social cohesion crisis possess on the political subjectivities of the citizens? How can the far-right be able to exploit the effects of the social cohesion crisis? How effective can be the micro-political subjectivity at strengthening the behavior of the citizens against rising authoritarianisms? How effective are the commoning movements in establishing revolutionary current in times of the social cohesion crisis? What theoretical measures can be thought of in order to strengthen the commoning movements? In that respect, the paper demonstrates that under the conditions created by the social cohesion crisis, relying purely on micro-political premises sets limits to the efficiency of the commoning movements on establishing a counter-political subjectivity against the rising authoritarianism. Thus, a philosophical re-definition of the commoning as a revolutionary political subjectivity will be present. In that sense, labor and publicness will be introduced as commons to overcome the micro-political limits that weakens the commoning movements.</p>
<p>Yener Ciraci: Reframing Social Movements in the Context of Commodification, Exploitation and Domination</p>	<p>There are various arguments that the characteristic structure of contemporary social movements is changing. This change has led to theoretical breakthroughs that attempt to go beyond the mainstream in understanding today's social movements. At this point, both Marxist class analysis and 'double movement' in the Polanyian sense have come to the fore in various forms. More precisely, the combination of Marxism and Polanyian literature provides an important framework for reconceptualising the practice of social movements in social space over the last 40 years.</p> <p>The attempt to extend Marxism in a Polanyian literature is not new and has been expressed in various forms, especially in the neoliberal period. According to Polanyian literature, since the 1990s, social movements have been positioned against the process of 'commodification' or the creation of 'imaginary commodities'. At this point, it is stated that social movements centred on 'exploitation' do not emerge as before. On the other hand, Nancy Fraser states that since the 1960s, there has been a convergence between movements struggling for 'recognition' and anti-market movements and that we can speak of a 'triple movement', adding 'domination' to commodification. Nevertheless, there has also been a significant increase in 'traditional' working class mobilisations that focus on problems in the workplace and the production process and struggle against 'exploitation'. In short, social movements are shaped as a result of the 'conditioning' created by different social mechanisms, namely commodification, domination and exploitation.</p> <p>Although various debates continue about the possible course of contemporary social movements, it is important to re-historicise social movements and to articulate how different mechanisms of social power in different fields affect these movements and how they relate to each other. In this sense, juxtaposing Polanyi and Marxist literature would be an important first step.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Digital Commodities, Value, and Artificial Intelligence [R201]</p>	

<p>Liam Mullally: Occult objects: encryption and the commodity form</p>	<p>In recent decades, following the publication of generalizable standards of encryption, such as the Advanced Encryption Standard (AES), new techniques have been innovated for the enclosure of information. At the same time, and despite promises of expanded access and limitless reproduction of information via the internet, non-access has become integral to the experience of digital capitalism today.</p> <p>Grappling with this accumulative regime requires sensitivity to the logics of capital accumulation and to the technical construction of digital commodities. Historical reflection reveals that both encryption and the commodity form are implicated in occult logics: they seek to obscure their objects and alienate their would-be users, instead requiring access via mediation (exchange value, perhaps, or a cipher).</p> <p>My paper argues that while the commodity has always contained an occult aspect – indicated in Marx’s gothic account of commodity fetishism – networked communication (and the extreme ease of reproduction through it) has made it increasingly central to capiylal accumulation, which must now be guaranteed via encryption. Neither the commodity nor encryption have left this collision unchanged: encryption, once a technology of secrecy, has been reimagined as one of privacy; the commodity, meanwhile, exerts new techniques of control on use. Together, they are mobilised to discipline circulation and restrain online gift-economies (what Richard Barbrook once called “cybercommunism”), to render information-commodities obscure. The cost of access might be money or attention, but it is also surrender to the overbearing apparatuses of digital rights management (DRM) technology.</p> <p>Beyond its cultural implications, this regime poses methodological problems to a range of disciplines, for whom data and objects of study (APIs, cultural objects or even digitized text) are increasingly withheld or, more often, offered with extreme limitations on use. This juncture, I therefore argue, requires a methodology and a politics of decryption.</p>
<p>Luis Arboledas-Lérida: A Marxist critique of the theory of ‘knowledge rents’</p>	<p>The theory of ‘knowledge rents’ has gained prominence in the last years within those circle of radical thinkers that aim to explain the specificities of capitalist production and capital accumulation in ‘science-intensive’ sectors of the economy. According to this perspective, the value of knowledge-intensive commodities is not determined as in the case of ‘physical’ commodities, i.e., according to socially necessary labour time. Relatedly, it is argued that the price of knowledge-intensive commodities does not resolve itself into costs of production plus the average rate of profit, as in the Marxist theory; rather, their sale yields ‘knowledge rents’, ‘intellectual rents’, or ‘technoscientific rents’. This conference paper aims to subject the theory of knowledge rents to a Marxist-informed critique, a procedure which is justified, among other things, on the grounds that the majority of its supporters have a Marxist background or nominally endorse Marx’s theories of value and surplus value. Whilst there are several angles from which the materialist, Marxist critique of the theory of knowledge rents can be developed, this conference paper in particular delves into the notion of ‘rent’ underlying the theory of knowledge rents, and contrasts it to Marx’s theory of ground-rent. Specifically, the analysis will discuss: 1) the absence of any consideration of profits, or the average rate of profit, in the theory of knowledge rents; 2) the reduction of every form of ‘knowledge rents’ to monopoly rents; and, consequently, 3) the conception of knowledge rents as drainage of value from other sectors of the capitalist economy. The presentation aims to demonstrate that the theory of knowledge rents is profoundly incompatible with Marxism, and that the notion of ‘rent’ on which it rests is at variance with Marx’s notion of ground-rent. This conference paper should also be regarded as an opportunity to push forward a proper Marxist conceptualisation of the political economy of science and technology.</p>
<p>Alan Diaz: Value as a Digital Technology</p>	<p>There is a growing body of literature in the field of media studies which works with a broader understanding of the digital that does not reduce it to the existence of particular</p>

	<p>devices or technological implementations, but rather insist on thinking it more broadly as an operation of abstraction grounded on a way of representing the real through its discretisation. Working in this register, in the last couple of years a handful of authors have tried to establish a link between digital abstraction and value-mediated social relations by approaching value as a kind of digital technology that precedes electronic devices and computers by several centuries. Such a line of inquiry attempts to lay the ground for a critique of the digital which focuses on the questions of abstraction and social form and tries to construct historical and conceptual bridges between digitality and value. In this presentation, I will examine the work of Seb Franklin and Jonathan Beller, authors who draw from Marxian theories of abstraction to draw mediations between digitality and value as associated forms of abstraction. I will trace the methodological roots of this line of argument to the ideas of Alfred Sohn-Rethel and compare it to similar arguments, particularly those of Boris Hessen and Henryk Grossmann, as well as the more recent work in the field of historical epistemology (Peter Damerow and Jurgen Renn). By navigating this constellation of authors, my aim is to answer the following question posed by Franklin: what are the “structural isomorphism[s] between discrete symbolic mediation” and “the formalising logic of capital”?</p>
<p>Caio Antunes, Peterson Pessôa, Lénin Tomazett, Joana Freitas, Marcel Sousa: Artificial intelligence and value theory</p>	<p>The Theory of Value, as developed by Marx – notoriously from Smith and Ricardo –, constitutes what could be called the soul of the capital system – in the Aristotelian sense, as ψυχή [psychê], or anima, that which gives life to something. From the category of Work, Marx arrives at the profound determination [Bestimmung] of value based on the–socially necessary – labor-time and how, in the determination [Bestimmtheit] of the working-day (with support from machinery, within large-scale industry), disputes are articulated over the proportion between the intervals A-B and B-C, or socially necessary labor-time for the reproduction of labor-power and surplus-labor time. Such disputes directly and indirectly affect other central economic categories, such as constant and variable capital, dead and living labor. In recent years, “artificial intelligence”, i.e., computational methods and tools that allow software to perform tasks autonomously or semi-autonomously – thus emulating “intelligent behaviors” –, have been progressively used as important work tools in several economic sectors, with the aim of reducing (“optimizing”) the time required by repetitive tasks carried out by low-skilled workers, as well as complex work carried out by “creative” professionals (programmers, writers, team managers etc.). With the massive spread of cloud computing and the progressive digitalization of labor, large transnational corporations in the technology sector have invested significantly in the development of ways to “maximize the performance” of processes, which has led, on the one hand, to a significant reduction of maintenance costs and, on the other, mass layoffs. In a word: I.A. it has been increasingly used as a way of eliminating living labor and, therefore, valuing capital.</p>
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Book Roundtable: Struggles for the Human: Violent Legality and Politics of Rights Post-Capitalism [RB01]</p>	
<p>Speaker: Lara Coleman (Struggles for the Human: Violent Legality and Politics of Rights. Duke, 2024)</p> <p>Respondents: Robert Knox, Demet Dinler, Tor Krever</p>	
<p>Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15 Book Launch Roundtable: <i>The Automatic Fetish</i> [RG01]</p>	
<p>Speakers: Carlos Velasquez, Amy De'Ath, Jules Gleeson, Charlie Bond and Fred Carter</p>	<p>This panel will convene the author and three panelists to discuss some of the animating central themes of <i>The Automatic Fetish</i> (Best, Verso, 2024). <i>The Automatic Fetish</i> argues that the dynamic that Marx seeks to theorize with the contentious base/superstructure metaphor remains at the heart of Marx’s critique of political economy in <i>Capital</i>, and in</p>

<p>Respondents: Beverley Best</p>	<p>his critical theory of capitalist sociality, tout court. The Automatic Fetish elaborates this dynamic at the heart of Marx's critique by following, step-by-step, the material prepared for Capital III, characterizing it as particular theory of motion that Best refers to as a 'perceptual physics.' The Automatic Fetish posits the question of determinacy at the heart of Capital III, and argues that the elaboration of this specific mode of historical determinacy forms the bridge between the analyses in volumes I, II, and III. In fact, it is precisely what is often found objectionable about the base/superstructure metaphor, namely, its so-called 'economic determinism,' that orients and coheres the analysis in Capital III – even if we will need to name and characterize it differently than have Marx's reconstructors. The Automatic Fetish carries out an extended illustration of the specific-to-capital mode of determinacy that is the thrust of Marx's critique of political economy and the way in which the movement of value and value's social forms is at its core. A close reading of Capital III clarifies that the base of the base/superstructure metaphor is the singular dynamic that Marx calls 'capital' itself – a social relation that invents a world in its image, a particular mode of sociality that Marx calls 'value'.</p>
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Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15

Struggles from Below: Palestinian Anticolonial, Communist and Labour Histories [Khalili Lecture Theatre]

This panel aims to provide an analysis of Palestinian politics amid the ongoing genocide in Gaza, through an internationalist lens. We will delve into Palestine's history, from the early 20th century through pivotal events such as the Nakba, the military occupation, and the Intifadas, to understand the colonial and imperialist roots of the current crisis. The discussion will explore the internal political dynamics within Palestine. Panelists will examine Palestine's geopolitical significance within the Middle East, analysing the influence of neighbouring countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon, and the involvement of regional powers and efforts at normalisation with Gulf Cooperation Council states. By linking local and international dynamics, we aim to reveal the broader economic and political forces at play and how capitalist and imperialist interests have shaped the region.

<p>Mai Taha: Insurgent Social Reproduction: On the Home in the 1936 Palestinian Revolution</p>	<p>While the home in Palestine has been a target of relentless demolition, and displacement from its stable physical structure – as manifested most concretely in the precariousness of the refugee tent from 1948 onwards – it has historically also been a place of culture, labour, and resistance. Indeed, the home is always becoming, constantly remade with every demolition and every displacement. In this paper, I argue that the home embodies these contradictions: both a crime scene and a revolutionary space; a site of colonial surveillance and destruction, and a grounding site of labour and reconstruction. To engage with these tensions within the home, I return to the revolution of 1936-1939 against the British Mandate and the settler colonial project, a snapshot in the long and ongoing Palestinian revolution. But instead of only looking for revolutionaries in the barricades and the mountains, I look for them in the kitchens, in the bedrooms and in the living rooms. This paper thus pivots off the Marxist-feminist tradition to argue not only that socially reproductive labour has been historically undervalued, but that it has also played a revolutionary role. I imagine the home as a space of resistance –almost like a battlefield, it harbours weapons, food, water, and rebels. The home became a zone of engagement during the revolution and became a space from which an alternative political imaginary of anti-colonialism was assembled and practiced.</p>
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<p>Nimer Sultani: "First-class colonisers": Zionism and the "Existential" Logic of Elimination</p>	<p>This paper will focus on Zionist attempts to make an exception to the condemnation of ethnic cleansing, colonialism and genocide.</p>
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<p>Shireen Akram-Boshar: Recentring Indigenous Resistance in the Settler Colonial Analysis of Palestine</p>	<p>This paper examines and amends the settler colonial analysis of Palestine. Many analyses in this tradition have emphasized the eliminationist impulse of settler colonialism. More recent work has highlighted a tension between exploitation and elimination. This paper goes beyond most analyses in centering indigenous resistance as a key determinant of Israel's strategic shifts between exploitation and elimination in its settler colonial project in Palestine. The class and social struggles of the Palestinian people are thus placed at the heart of the analysis.</p>
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<p>Erica Augenstein: Palestinian Transnational Labour Organizing and the Construction of Counter-Hegemony</p>	<p>In the decades that followed the Nakba, some of the earliest Palestinian organizations that formed and operated across the Arab world were called General Unions. These included, the General Union for Palestinian Students, the General Union for Palestinian Workers, among others. These organizational efforts coincided, in the 1950s and 1960s, with ballooning oil extraction across the Arab Gulf and resulting increases in labor migration into the region. This paper considers Palestinian transnational labor organizing, particularly in the Arab Gulf, as a generative core of labor organizing across the Arab World and as an essential part of the globally and regionally integrated struggle for Palestinian national liberation. Palestinians in the Arab Gulf also participated in producing a thriving radical print culture that constituted the formation of a counter-hegemony led and fostered by Palestinian workers.</p>
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Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15
Contradictions and Experiments in Literature [BBK-MAL-251]
Marxism and Culture

<p>Nesrin Degirmencioglu: A Revolt Against Uneven and Combined Development: Postmillennial Experimentation in the Novels of China Miéville and Hasan Ali Toptas</p>	<p>Leon Trotsky's concept of 'uneven and combined development' was developed primarily to examine the condition of modernity in Russia before the revolution of 1917. Beginning in the 1970s, however, the imposition of neoliberal programmes across the core and (semi-) peripheries of the world-system accelerated capitalist growth and transformed urban, national and global spaces ever more clearly into sites of uneven and combined development. The turn to neoliberalism signalled an advanced level of domination of local environments by global economic forces, and in turn triggered the refunctioning of apparently outmoded literary forms in order to connect the concrete manifestations of uneven and combined development with increasingly abstract modes of perception and experience. In this paper, I argue that the return to the genres of allegory and fantasy in the works of such writers as China Miéville and Hasan Ali Toptas can be regarded as a response to the neoliberal dynamics of urban and global transformation. I examine how globalized capital produces coexistent yet different temporalities in the core and (semi-)periphery alike and analyse the generic protocols by which allegory and fantasy respond to these economic and social changes through the conjuncture of irrealist representation and the transformation of urban infrastructure. Focusing on the treatment of these literary modes in works by British and Turkish authors, I examine their differential appropriations in the core and the semi-periphery of the world literary system in order to reveal how genre can be used as an analytical tool to map the aggravated condition of uneven and combined development from the 1980s onwards.</p>
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<p>Evgeni V. Pavlov: Alexander Bogdanov's Socialism(s): Reading Red Star as a Dystopia</p>	<p>Alexander Bogdanov's Red Star – a short 'science fiction' novella published in 1908 – is ostensibly presented as a 'utopia' but a closer reading of its main message reveals that it is best approached as a 'dystopia' that challenges our understanding of a (possible) future socialist society. In this paper we argue that read against Bogdanov's own revolutionary theory and experience, Red Star represents a pessimistic vision of the immediate aftermath of the Revolution of 1905 and, later, Bogdanov finds further proof of his initial assessment in the post-revolutionary developments of 1917-1918. We frame our discussion of Red Star within two sets of texts: Bogdanov's (optimistic) political writings from the revolution of 1905 that call for a democratic republic (ex. leaflets written on behalf of Bureau of Committees of the Majority, the Central Committee of the Party, and the St. Petersburg Committee of the Party) and Bogdanov's (pessimistic) assessments of the causes and potential outcomes of the revolution(s) of 1917 (primarily his text 'What Have We Overthrown?' from 1918). Red Star, read as a dystopia, then contains a number of warnings that are still relevant today.</p>
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Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15
Under the Surface of Canonical Figures in WM [BBK-MAL-252]
Western Marxism

<p>Gianluca Pozzoni: Colletti, Anderson, and Western Marxism</p>	<p>This paper begins with a critical examination of Perry Anderson's 'Political and Philosophical Interview' (1974) with Lucio Colletti as an important yet underexplored</p>
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	<p>source of inspiration for Anderson's 'Considerations on Western Marxism' (1976). The paper assesses the similarities and differences in Anderson's and Colletti's accounts of the intellectual history of Western Marxism, the causes of its decline, and the possibility or impossibility of its resurgence. By comparing and contrasting Anderson's and Colletti's respective views, the paper examines the relative weight of 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' explanations of the fortunes of Western Marxism in each account, concluding on the unintended consequences of one-sidedly emphasising either aspect to the detriment of the other.</p>
<p>John Eustice O'Brien: Merleau-Ponty's Dialectic Adventuring and Western Marxism</p>	<p>The proposed contribution will focus on the analysis by Maurice Merleau-Ponty of the concept of 'dialectics' in his essay on Western Marxism. Analyzing work by Lukac's and others from the first half of the 20th century, M-P insisted that deflating emphasis on scientific socialism was necessary, viewing technology as a derivative of social conditions and not its determinant. He also argued for rejection of the superlative sense of revolution into socialism as if an attainable 'sublime accomplishment', of a once-and-for-all nature.</p> <p>Why did Perry Anderson's discussion include but a short footnote on M-P's work? It will be argued that this indicated a common misunderstanding of M-P's general perspective; articulated as a materialist and social-philosophical phenomenology rather than of an idealist-psychological form more evident in Husserl and Heidegger.</p> <p>Anchored in both the Marx of Capital as well as Early Marx, M-P reconceptualized rather than rejected key ideas in those original works. Importantly, while Marx had proposed the 'laws of motion' of history, M-P's contribution was to establish how dialectic-dynamics are its motor-force. This because the movement of history is marked by 'tormented relations' and 'interminable exchanges' between 'subject and object', altering constantly from one to the other and back again. This pertains for institutional relations as normative orders, only because they are emergent—as Marx pointed out, from human social-relations.</p> <p>The importance of M-P's treatment of dialectics and Marxism was not just for reviving debate about dialectics, but for demonstrating the dynamic qualities of the movement of history as materialist-phenomenon. To arrive at that conclusion, rather than 'turned on its head' as conventionally referenced from the work of Marx, M-P treated that announcement as proposing the dialectic be 'put on its feet'. With its dynamics being horizontal rather than vertical, dialectic interplay propels the movement of history, following a track like a forward inclined mobius ribbon, tying in history and possible futures, synthesized in an institutional present, fraught with contradictions, forever engendering further revolutionary potential.</p>
<p>Matt Myers: Eric Hobsbawm's Marxism</p>	<p>This paper will explore the development of Eric Hobsbawm's Marxism. It will provide a full overview of his oeuvre and parti pris, survey the state of the literature on his life and work, and provide a critical commentary on his conception of class politics and his relationship to the Communist movement. It will identify the underlying core of Hobsbawm's intellectual approach and political commitment using published and unpublished sources, and draw conclusions on his contemporary relevance and historical significance for the study of 'Western Marxism' and the Marxist approach to history.</p>
<p>Matteo Mameli: On Timpanaro's "Fragmentary Marxism-Leopardism"</p>	<p>Perry Anderson's "Considerations on Western Marxism" contains two interesting notes on Sebastiano Timpanaro. Anderson lists what he considers to be the distinctive features of Timpanaro's work, which, in some but not all respects, "presents a genuine and manifest contrast with the norms of Western Marxism." Anderson also discusses Timpanaro's views in other writings, including an article published after Timpanaro's death. Using Anderson's remarks as a starting point, we will address what Timpanaro, in "On Materialism", describes as his "fragmentary Marxism-Leopardism." Timpanaro's attempts to rearticulate "the links between the struggle for communism and the struggle against nature" remain relevant and worthy of consideration. We will explore some core elements of Timpanaro's philosophical outlook and address their implications. In doing</p>

so, we will also pay attention to some of Timpanaro's texts that have not been translated into English.

Friday, 11:30AM – 13:15

Book Launch: Immanent Externalities [BBK-MAL-253]

Marxism and Culture

Speaker: Rebecca Carson

Respondents: David McNally
and Zoe Sutherland

In this important new book, Rebecca Carson develops the concept of 'immanent externalities' to grasp the non-capitalist life processes produced by – and necessary for – capitalist reproduction. *Immanent Externalities* thus considers the category of reproduction by means of a philosophical re-reading of the three volumes of Marx's *Capital*. In doing so, the book locates capitalism's fundamental contradiction as that between the reproduction of profit-driven activity and ecologically situated human life, suggesting new orientations for theory and practice today.

Friday, 14:15 – 16:00

Book Launch Roundtable: *Marxism and the Capitalist State* (Palgrave, 2023) [B102]

Alyssa Battistoni: *State, Capital, Nature: State Theory for the Capitalocene*

Rob Hunter: *The Capitalist State as a Historically Specific Social Form*

Stephen Maher: *From Economic to Political Crisis: Trump and the Neoliberal State*

Eva Nanopoulos: *To Embrace or To Reject: Marxism and the 'War-Emergency Paradigm'*

A roundtable discussion panel featuring several editors and contributors to *Marxism and the Capitalist State* (Palgrave, 2023), a new collection of essays on Marxist state theory and the critique of the state. Special attention will be paid to the role of the capitalist state in: the ecological crisis, social reproduction, primitive accumulation, and war as an organizing framework for public power (including, but not limited to, military operations)—all of which are prominent themes in the volume. An overarching concern will be to explore the question of the specificity of the capitalist state; although the contributors come from a variety of traditions, they all refuse to reduce the state to a mere superstructural epiphenomenon, while at the same time do not suppose that in capitalist society the political is somehow independent from the economic.

This book builds on the recent revival of interest in Marx and Marxism, calling for a renewal and refinement of Marxist state theory. It aims to provoke and encourage new debates and critiques that build on—but also update and extend—the rich tradition of Marxist analyses of the capitalist state, including the well-known debates of the 1970s. The chapters present a dynamic and diverse constellation of arguments and perspectives on a range of topics, from general re-appraisals of the capitalist state to investigations of contemporary challenges—including digitalisation, the ecological crisis, the coronavirus pandemic, social reproduction, and critical political economy. What they share is a commitment to an understanding of the specifically capitalist character of the modern state and its significance for any serious discussion of the causes of our current age of global catastrophe and the overcoming of capitalist social relations.

Ample time will be left at the end of the discussion to take questions from the audience.

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-031-36167-8>

Friday, 14:15 – 16:00

Struggling Against the State and Oppressive Feminisms [B103]

Marxist Feminism

Jenny Morrison: *Representing Scotland: Gender, Devolution and Social Reproduction*

The international trend towards 'progressive' neoliberalism in the closing decade of the twentieth century is well-recognised. Dominant forms of feminism have increasingly shifted towards a politics of recognition that displace, rather than enrich, a politics of redistribution. Capitalist institutions have taken up this language of recognition and representation while restating capitalism's social reproductive disembedding of 'productive' labour from which gender inequality arises. This work explores how such trends play out in the case of devolved Scotland, taken as a specific form of institutional articulation.

Since the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, popular discourse has held Scotland as an example of a progressive nation with 'feminine' political values of consensus,

	<p>participation and high levels of gender representation. Scotland has seen marginally higher public spending than in Westminster, yet the devolved period has also seen the accelerated embedding of marketisation in Scotland. I argue that in and through the devolutionary process a various politics of representation and participation has displaced the politics of redistribution and redeemed an accelerating process of appropriation. This process absorbs institutional feminism and deploys their values as evidence of feminist success. The emergence and institutionalisation of this process can be traced to the origins of devolution in the social neoliberal politics of New Labour, Scottish nationalism as a response to the crises of the British state in the lead up to the 2014 referendum and its apogee in post-referendum Scotland.</p>
<p>Eleonora Roldán Mendivil and Josh Platzky Miller: Capital, Social Reproduction and 'Race' in Peru and South Africa</p>	<p>"Marxist and feminist theorising about Social Reproduction (SR) has seen a resurgence in recent years, and may be one of the most fruitful areas of political thought currently being explored. Crucially, Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), as a specific Marxist engagement with SR, does not treat social hierarchies and differentiation as 'flat', such that class, sexism, racism, homophobia, and others are conceptually or politically equivalent. Nor does it presuppose these relations as separate existences that later 'intersect'. Rather, SRT offers a lens to explore the historical construction of forms of oppression around an understanding of the central axis as the production and reproduction of life itself, and how aspects of this are politicised to form particular kinds of exploitative and oppressive social relations.</p> <p>After outlining what a historical-materialist critique of feminist theory looks like, and why this is important, developing a line of argumentation that dates back to Socialists such as Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin in Europe and José Carlos Mariátegui in Peru, we outline the core theoretical concerns and premises of SRT, focusing especially on the dialectical relationship of relations of production to relations of reproduction. Further, we build on this work to argue that a SRT lens helps make sense of our points of focus, gendered and racialised class relations in modern capitalism, in a materialist and non-essentialist way. In the final section, we show how this understanding of SRT can advance political critique and organising, especially in the Global South. Our examples will discuss the crisis of social reproduction in relation to the crisis of imperialism with examples from South Africa and Peru, where the authors have conducted research on historical and contemporary questions concerning the relation of capital, Social Reproduction, gender, and 'race'."</p>
<p>Tanya Serisier: Hashtag Feminism and the Militarisation of Sexual Violence: Understanding #BelieveIsraeliWomen</p>	<p>In late October 2023, a number of hashtag campaigns were launched by supporters of Israel's bombardment of Gaza. These campaigns, most prominently #BelieveIsraeliWomen and #MeTooUnlessUrAJew, sought to harness the political legitimacy of mainstream 'hashtag' feminist activism against sexual violence in support of the Israeli military campaign on the basis of claims of systemic sexual violence committed by Hamas on October 7th. Since the launch of these campaigns, Israeli government sources have repeatedly tied objections to Israel's actions or support for Palestinian liberation to support for sexual violence, an association that has been repeated by governmental representatives from countries such as France and Canada. In this presentation, I interrogate the underlying logics and rationale of this campaign, asking what it might tell us not only about longstanding patterns of using the spectre of raped women as a justification for war, but also about the political limitations of contemporary mainstream Western feminist responses to sexual violence.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Structural Marxism Reconsidered [B104] <i>Western Marxism</i></p>	
<p>60 years ago, Althusser and his students started the meetings that would culminate in Lire le Capital and Pour Marx. Through a reading centering on Marx's late works, incorporating theses from structural anthropology and Lacanian psychoanalysis to reconceptualize historical materialism, Althusser's circle produced a true break in Marxist interpretation. Many have criticized structural Marxism, pointing out how it downplays revolutionary subjectivity, arbitrarily denies the</p>	

<p>influence of Hegel on Marx, naturalizes ideology, and falls into a positivist trap in its historical analysis—in line with the criticisms against structuralism in general. In recent years, however, the structuralist spirit of bringing together the social and natural sciences and accounting for the structures unconsciously produced by our actions has undergone a renaissance. The “ontological turn” of the social sciences traces its origins in Lévi-Strauss’s work, “new materialist” accounts have reconfigured agency in light of physics and biology, complexity sciences have expanded our understanding of how both natural and social systems are organized, and Marxist accounts such as Social Reproduction Theory and Value Form Theory have shown the continuing pertinence of interpreting Marxism through a structural lens. In this panel, we propose to reconsider the role of structuralism and the idea of “structure” for Marxism. By working through several fields—category theory, philosophy of science, ethnology, linguistics, materials science—we intend to show that structural accounts remain vital to making sense of contemporary capitalism and rethinking political action.</p>	
<p>Aaron Berman: Is There a Uniquely Marxian Concept of Social Structure?</p>	<p>There is an implicit concept of social structure at work in the critique of political economy. However, this concept of structure cannot be readily identified with any of the candidate equivalents that have been trialed over the course of 20th century Marxist philosophical research. I claim that the critique’s concept of structure is not identical to 1) the Hegelian concept of system, 2) the post-Saussurian concept of differential structure, nor, 3) the Spinozist concept of singular immanent composition. I will sketch reasons for rejecting each of these identifications and suggest some alternative paths forward in explicating what I take to be the late Marx’s sui-generis kind of ‘structuralism’ by drawing on contemporary philosophy of science and analytic metaphysics.</p>
<p>Allan M. Hillani: Historical Materialism as Relational Materialism</p>	<p>In my paper, I propose to show the contribution of structuralism to Marxist analysis in a way that is distinct from Althusser’s structural Marxism. If, on the one hand, Althusser was able to decenter the subject and to give prominence to relations of production in social analysis, his notion of social structure is still fundamentally functionalist. Instead, I want to explore the contribution of anthropological structuralism (as proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss) to understand how material relations are fundamentally symbolic, and how symbolic processes are fundamentally material (in line with Kojin Karatani’s interpretation of Marx and Mauss). The consequence is that a materialist account is shown to be an account able to recognize the relational constitution of social reality. I then move on to show that the relational character of social reality should not be restricted to its “social” dimension. Rather, it opens up the possibility of understanding matter in general as relational, an approach that is in line with contemporary studies in physics and biology, as shown by “new materialist” approaches (which, unfortunately, often tend to dismiss Marx’s materialism). A consistent materialist account across the natural and social sciences is pertinent because it can provide a new understanding of what agency entails, how social arrangements are produced, and how social and material change can be attained.</p>
<p>Gabriel Tupinambá [Online]: Value, Structure, and Political Organization</p>	<p>In this talk we will propose that developments in mathematics and logic in the last fifty years—specially in a field called category theory—have brought about a new concept of structure that, albeit preserving some of the crucial features of the structuralist paradigm, opens up new possibilities for Marxism to connect social analysis, political economy and political organization. To demonstrate this, we will propose a basic reconstruction of the logic of value from the first volume of Capital, an interpretation that connects the money-form to the construction of a structure that ‘sees’ certain differences but not others. We will then show that, unlike previous approaches to value theory (both formal and informal), this new interpretation has the benefit of establishing a common grammar for analyzing both political economy and leftist political organization.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Interconnections of Race, Class, and Imperialism (II) [B202]</p>	
<p>Hessa Alnuaimi: The British Racialisation of Gulf Arabs: Colonial Market Discipline and Historical Materialism</p>	<p>This paper explores the British racialisation of Gulf Arabs as noble and ancient, a perception rooted in their role within the global capitalist market. Through British and European travel writing, Gulf Arabs were often depicted as more civilised compared to other colonised populations in the Global South. Although often critiqued through the lens of Orientalism, this racialisation is not merely a romanticised exotification of Gulf</p>

	<p>Arabs; rather, it reflects their role in service of the global market. I argue that this distinction arose primarily because of their alignment with and service to global capitalism, particularly in their role in disciplining populations or movements considered disruptive to market stability. These populations included 20th-century migrant workers and other Gulf Arabs who disrupted the capitalist integration of the Arabian Peninsula. Interestingly, disruptive Gulf Arabs were racialised in colonial discourse as not truly Arabs and subsequently exiled, demonstrating the centrality of capitalism to racial formation. Utilising historical materialism and decoloniality frameworks, this study examines how colonial market discipline was enforced, focusing on British Empire archival materials from the mid-twentieth century. This research not only uncovers the mechanisms behind this racialisation but also highlights its continuity in contemporary Western public discourse about Gulf Arabs. By doing so, it contributes to a deeper understanding of the intersections between race, colonialism, and global capitalism. This sheds light on broader colonial and capitalist dynamics, such as the way capitalism informs racialisation and how local populations were managed when integrated into the global market.</p>
<p>Victor Chung: (Almost) No Necessity Theorists About Racial Capitalism</p>	<p>Recent literature about the relationship between racism and capitalism has tried to argue that racism is not necessary (i.e. is contingent) to capitalism. Three accounts include William Conroy (2023), Soren Mau (2023), and Julian Go (2021). Common to these theorists is the idea that they are responding to a longstanding theoretical tradition which has upheld the thesis that racism is necessary to capitalism (call this the ‘Necessity Thesis’). In this paper, I argue that these theorists have had their interlocutors’ positions mistaken; upon a closer reading, it turns out that none of their interlocutors actually endorse the Necessity Thesis. To do this, I consider each of these authors’ reconstructions of their interlocutors and argue that their reconstructions are flawed.</p> <p>Go (2021), in reconstructing Nancy Fraser’s (2022) account of the necessity debate, claims that her argument aims to establish the Necessity Thesis. However, I defend Fraser’s argument by distinguishing between strong logical necessity from a weaker structural necessity, arguing that she is only committed to the weaker structural necessity claim which is at a lower level of abstraction than Go claims.</p> <p>Mau (2023) claims that “[t]he popular point of view among radical scholars today seems to be that racism is a necessary element of the capitalist mode of production, meaning that the capitalist mode of production would be impossible without the existence of racialised hierarchies”, in response to Peter Hudis (2018), David McNally (2017), and Himani Bannerji (2005). However, I argue that these authors do not endorse this claim. Charitably read, these authors make the epistemological claim that we cannot know, and this epistemological claim does not imply the Necessity Thesis.</p>
<p>Christopher Jones: 1772: Race, Racialisation and Capitalism</p>	<p>The paper will introduce the subject by referring to the differing 1950 and 1951 UNESCO statements on ‘race’ and racism which indicate the ways in which the ‘concept of race’ has been alternatively conceived of as either biologically or socially constructed. Taking these theoretical positions as constitutive of two differing and oppositional historical accounts; the way in which, ‘race’ was thought to function in the early modern British colonies of North America, the paper will draw attention to the work of Winthrop D Jordan and Theodore Allen who exemplify these opposing positions through their historiographical application and political orientation; holding respectively, on the one hand, that ‘race’ is a natural biological category and, on the other, that it is a ‘ruling class social control formation’.</p> <p>The paper will problematise the apparent simplicity of this neat bifurcation; firstly, by drawing attention to the Fanonian phenomenological account of our lived and racialised experiences; and, secondly, by examining a turn of the century debate between Michael Banton and Robert Bernasconi on the question of the ‘invention’ of the ‘concept of race’ in the work of Immanuel Kant. Their differing responses to this question will be shown to underscore different antiracist strategies and to have an urgent contemporary and juridical relevance in what Banton’s 2002 book calls, <i>The International Politics of Race</i>.</p>

	<p>The paper will explain how this debate and the ‘invention thesis’ on which it turns was itself related to an African critique of Eurocentrism in Philosophy that, beginning with Kant, extended into the work of Hegel, Marx and the critical tradition more broadly. Given that discursive context the paper will then demonstrate why it is necessary to address Kant’s ‘concept of race’ in the precise historical and material context of its construction. Engaging with this necessity will contribute to the ongoing work of repair and social emancipation.</p> <p>Presenting a critical reading of an important 2023 study of this material - Kant Race and Racism – the paper argues for the urgent re-cognition of an underappreciated moment in the mid-18th century – 1772 – social movement for the abolition of enslavement. In particular the campaign centred here in London.</p>
<p>Alex de Jong: The Dutch role in the 1965 counter-revolution in Indonesia</p>	<p>In late 1965, the Indonesian army initiated a coup against president Sukarno and organized the mass murder of hundreds of thousands, primarily targeting members and supporters of the Communist Party, the PKI. Recent historical research has shown the extent of the role of Western intelligence services like those of the US and Britain in enabling the military coup. But so far, the role of the former colonizer, the Netherlands, has not been examined. This paper will examine the Dutch government’s view of the rise of the PKI, its knowledge of earlier internationally backed attempts to subvert Sukarno’s presidency and its response to the military coup and subsequent mass murder. The research shows that, despite claims to the contrary, the Dutch government was aware of the role of the army in the violence and looked for ways to give concrete support to the new military regime.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 International Inquiries (I) [B203] <i>Workers Inquiry</i></p>	
<p>Rafael Do Nascimento Grohmann: Organising Homeless Workers, Occupying the Tech: Solidarity and Technology in a Brazilian Social Movement</p>	<p>This article analyses the organising process of the Homeless Worker Movement in Brazil - the largest urban social movement in Latin America - in relation to its technology division. In 2019, after the Far Right's victory in the Brazilian elections, the Homeless Worker Movement in Brazil decided to create a technology division with the aim of building technologies to organise workers and provide job opportunities for homeless people. What does it mean for a social movement for housing rights to have a technology sector? In fact, they are looking to occupy technologies from the workers’ perspective, building notions of digital sovereignty from the perspective of working class and class struggles. During this period, this technology division became a space to organise, on the one hand, tech workers - who were dispersed and without prior organisation - and, on the other, homeless workers, who began to organise themselves in the cleaning and construction sectors. This occurs especially through a project entitled Hire Who Struggles, currently with 300 workers. This project works through a virtual assistant that connects activists of the movement with people in need of services such as cleaning, painting, care work and assembly. The virtual assistant works through WhatsApp - the most used social media platform in Brazil, and offers jobs to homeless workers who have no means of income. Building on a Workers’ Inquiry approach, the presentation demonstrates how the Homeless Worker Movement in Brazil articulates solidarity between class fractions within a social movement, articulating labour organising and tech activism in a social movement. The presentation analyses the different phases of this organising process since 2019, considering the learning processes of workers while organising, the meanings of organising to them, and the coalitions built during this process - for instance, now, they are part of a broader coalition with informal workers in the city of Sao Paulo.</p>
<p>Lavanya Nott, Dana Kopel, Thalia Ertman: Palestine Solidarity at UCLA: Reflections from UAW 4811 Rank-and-File</p>	<p>Our submission presents an analysis of recent Palestine solidarity organizing at the University of California, Los Angeles, in response to the escalating genocide in Gaza. As graduate student workers and rank-and-file members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 4811, we and our comrades have led these efforts within our union for the past</p>

	<p>half-year. In doing so, we have come up against a number of structural barriers to internationalism, our analysis of which shapes our approach to this work as necessarily a multifront struggle.</p> <p>On the one hand, we struggle against the university, with its numerous material entanglements with Israeli occupation and apartheid, primarily through the University of California's massive investment portfolio, and the military-industrial complex broadly. Funding from the US Department of Defense and private military contractors enables a significant portion of STEM research at the UC. Simultaneously, the UAW's position on the Israeli assault on Gaza—viewed by many as pathbreaking—must be understood as the result of sustained rank-and-file pressure, often in opposition to union leadership. The UAW's structural embeddedness in US imperialism has endured despite the election of reform leadership, evidenced by its continued alignment with the Democratic Party and the persistence of a form of business unionism—even among local union leaders at the UC—that alternately suppresses and co-opts Palestine solidarity efforts spearheaded by the rank and file.</p> <p>In the US, it has not been labor but the student movement at the forefront of the recent struggle for Palestinian liberation. As both students and unionized workers, we are uniquely situated to leverage our collective power in this struggle. Our submission will reflect on some aspects of rank-and-file organizing, including our strategic approaches to both the intransigent liberalism of the union and the structural position of US universities as investors in war and apartheid.</p>
<p>Mehdi Shakarchi: Iraq's Ministry of Industry and Mineral: between Ba'thism and neoliberalism</p>	<p>Since the US-led invasion in 2003, workers in state-owned enterprises under Iraq's Ministry of Industry and Minerals (MIM) have led a protest campaign against efforts to downsize and privatise their places of work. Based on various primary sources including Baathist material, interviews with MIM workers and participant observation amongst SOE workers, I argue that the campaign is driven in part by the belief amongst MIM workers that the Iraqi state in the post-2003 period has reneged on its responsibilities both to workers and to the national economy. MIM workers' belief is informed by the lingering traces of the post-colonial moral economy, which made up part of a broader attempt at hegemony. Beyond material factors, part of this moral economy entailed the sense propagated by post-colonial regimes and primarily the Bath regime that state workers were making a meaningful contribution to the development and protection of the nation in a manner which was akin to military service, particularly during periods of war and sanctions. The imposition of a neoliberal reform program in the wake of the US-invasion saw workers and public industry enter a period of declining productivity and stagnation which has spurred workers that are otherwise ambivalent towards or in many cases strongly opposed to Baathism, to defend the pre-2003 productivist moral economy as a partial solution to the economic and political crises associated with the neoliberal period.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Revolutionary Aesthetics and Social Transformation in Latin America [B204] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Jean-Ganesh Faria Leblanc: Revolutionary epic and decadence in art: dawn and dusk in José Carlos Mariátegui</p>	<p>19th century literary criticism is unanimous in declaring the epic poem a disappearing form. Nonetheless, reference to the epic and to epicity is omnipresent in Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui's texts, both of art critique and political analysis. In other words, as an aesthetic form, the epic is not limited to the epic poem, and finds expressions whenever an Absolute is appealed to. This plasticity and the strong parallel it allows between artistic creation and political action and theory is at the core of his historicist interpretation of the links between history, aesthetics and politics. The paper purports to show how Mariátegui's literary theory is intrinsically woven into his analysis of the historicity of social forms. Thus, looking for the epic in the Peruvian national literature, he sheds light on the slow process of decolonization that takes the shape of a growing integration of the lower classes and oppressed groups of Peruvian socio-economic formation. Indigenismo is the latest trend of this current, much in tune with a global</p>

	<p>assessment of a decadence of capitalism and bourgeois social forms – economically as well as aesthetically. The epic is the link that explains the synchronicity of the wave that sweeps the world in the aftermaths of the First World War and the Russian Revolution. In Mariátegui's words, it is the aesthetic and political expression of the rise of a new social subject: the masses, the multitude. Shattering the rigid frontiers that separate the literary and the political analysis, he puts in practice a radical and historical materialism where art and politics are but expressions and social forms of a common source. The dawn of a new epic is the dialectical opposite of the bourgeois dusk and its nostalgia.</p>
<p>José Manuel Iglesias Granda: Aesthetics and Social Emancipation from a Latin American Marxist Perspective: Technology as a 'Trojan Horse' within Capital</p>	<p>"In the face of attempts to posit complicities between the arts and reactionary political agendas, Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez' work is characterized by the direct connection between artistic creation and social emancipation, and by its defense of art's political and revolutionary dimension. Sánchez Vázquez was one of the most prominent representatives of Marxism in Latin America and one of its pioneers in the region. Our philosopher paid special attention to the question of the socialization of artistic creation as an enabling basis for revolutionary praxis and, in this regard, devoted interesting reflections to how technology could be an instrument for an aesthetically based social revolution. These reflections remain unpublished in his archive.</p> <p>Our paper seeks precisely to expose and analyze these ideas of Sánchez Vázquez. Briefly, Sánchez Vázquez's political conception of aesthetics can be explained as follows: the aesthetic dimension of life would lead to an elevation of social consciousness that would make it possible to lay the foundations for a revolution. Within this framework, Sánchez Vázquez conceives that technology can contribute to aestheticizing everyday life and socializing artistic creation due to the dialectical character he attributes to it. Without forgetting their conditioning by exchange value, technical objects of everyday use could be bearers of political values of an aesthetic-revolutionary nature. In this sense, technical objects could act as a kind of 'Trojan Horse' within the capital.</p> <p>From these coordinates, Sánchez Vázquez's proposal acquires interest by entering into dialogue and revisiting classic approaches within Marxist aesthetics that sought to combine the aesthetic with the technical-industrial and the political, such as those of William Morris, Russian constructivism or some developments of the Bauhaus. Another interesting aspect of this proposal lies in its utopian character; these are texts from the 1990s in which the author tried to find possibilities for revolution even after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Considering Sánchez Vázquez, we can ask ourselves: is it time today for an art and technology utopia?</p>
<p>Maurício Ianês: Authorship and Alienation: Capitalism, Authorship and Exploitation in Art and Everyday Life</p>	<p>Creative authorship and the aestheticisation of daily life have been approached historically as forms of opposing labour and social alienation within the capitalist and the art market systems. In this view, authorship is the result of the connection between propriety to the subject that produces it through one's labour (Marx). Aesthetics has a role in this relationship by supposedly developing human capacities to their fullest, restoring the bonds between individuals and society, and to what Marx called species being, by operating outside of capitalism. The supposed emancipatory tools of art and aesthetics could then be used to subvert capitalist exploitation and question the art market forces, thus rebuilding a sense of community in a society torn apart by the impact of the economic system.</p> <p>I aim to address this view critically, since if art in the modern and contemporary sense has been produced and subjected by these very economic forces, the redistribution of the creative potencies in society will impose the same mechanisms on the individuals and groups involved therein.</p> <p>Thus, authorship shows itself as an alienating structure, for it becomes a performative tool that shapes subjects towards self-exploitation and adaptation to capitalist modes of production. This investigation is at the core of my PhD research, in which I address the problems posed by the modernist and contemporary proposals of unification of art, aesthetics and daily life as modes of production of speculative value. In this context, I</p>

	<p>hold a specific focus on contemporary Brazilian art and the representation of the self by artists through social media, which has intensified pressure on the working class, racialised and gendered groups.</p>
<p>Gianfranco Selgas: Designing the Mineral City of the Future: Socialisation of Nature, Enviroing Media, and the Guayana Project in Venezuela</p>	<p>In the 1960s, the Venezuelan government founded the Corporación Venezolana de Guayana (CVG) to study and develop the mineral-rich southeastern region of the country. Seeking to diversify the economy and industrialize the nation, the CVG asked the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University to act as consultants for the region's development. In what came to be known as the "Guayana Project," development and modernization theories became interwoven with the decision-making fabric of the state and with a "socialization of nature," or the combination of a set of productive forces under the impulse of capital where some humans integrate material substrata into society, actively changing features of the earth. I depart from a Marxist ecological critique (Bellamy Foster, Malm, Moore) and Latin American Marxist thought (Arboleda, Coronil) to explore the modes by which planers projected and acted upon Guyana are key to understanding how the CVG and the Joint Center turned into a cultural and discursive object of knowledge the extreme socialization of the biosphere. I argue that they managed to do this at two levels: first, the material—i.e., geo-engineering and geo-managerial processes—and second, the symbolic, which used technical enviroing processes—e.g., maps, reports, photographs—involved in the recursion between environmental epistemology and environmental change and the scale and intensity of human interventions and the subsumption of labor to integrate the natural environment into the social. By analyzing a series of publications and visual materials edited by the Joint Center and the CVG, I focus on the material possibilities of the Guayana Project as one of Latin America's most relevant case studies for understanding the conceptual shift toward environment-making. This was indicative of a larger and systematic processual understanding of technical media and capitalism in making and making known the earth.</p>

Friday, 14:15 – 16:00

The State, Bureaucracy and Party Rule [B205]

<p>Daniel Gámez: Governing by Duplicating: Bureaucracy and the Flesh in the Anahuac</p>	<p>The Anahuac, a lacustrine environment that hosts Mexico City, has seen the consolidation of a nationalist-corporatist regime in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that follows patterns of colonial accumulation since the early sixteenth century. After the creation of a two-tiered republic by Iberian colonizers, the colonial state sought to incorporate a class of Indigenous intermediaries whose ideal role was to supposedly civilize their own kin through evangelization and policing. In turn, nationalist political channels have taken up this task by systematically damaging Black, Indigenous, and racialized self-determination through internal colonial power dynamics. However, there is a crucial transformation that radicalized the oppressive power of state structures: the rise of political parties. Guided by modernist principles of civilization, Western-like citizenship, and ethnocide, political parties smother political autonomy and increase dependency on centralized institutional apparatuses. Thus, the curtailment and slow suffocation of Black, Indigenous, and racialized autonomy is one of the pillars of nation-state formation.</p> <p>This paper deals with one modality of party rule, consisting on the irregular recruitment of violent groups of thugs that exert violence on the flesh and bodies of anticolonial, grassroots autonomous activists. Their tactics are aimed at deterring the people from independent organizing, as well as weakening communal life within Indigenous communities in the Anahuac. To curtail political autonomy, many faces are recruited, including members of the community itself, exacerbating contradictions driven by internal colonialism and racial capitalism. In such context, the paper argues that republican state governance in Abya Yala is a continuation of colonialism, providing the programmatic foundations for every single political party. From neoliberals to progressives, a deep conviction about the masses as backwards, damaged, and deficient, is constantly exercised to reproduce nation-state governance."</p>
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<p>Roberto Saenz: Book presentation: "Marxism and the socialist transition. Volume I: state, bureaucracy, and power"</p>	<p>As we mark the centenary of Lenin's death, we are witnessing a new global stage that closes the previous one, which was governed by the political center and the unilateral dominance of the United States. We are entering a new stage that updates the trends of crisis, war, revolution, reaction, and barbarism, with a whole set of motivations specific to the 21st century.</p> <p>A new world is beginning where, although the extreme right currently dominates it, there is a perspective of a rebound, a resurgence of the extreme left, of radicalization and polarization. The restart of the historical experience of the proletariat, expressed in the new sectors of the American and global working class that begins to organize, poses a stage where the return of anticapitalist and socialist revolutions in the 21st century is feasible and necessary.</p> <p>The relaunching of the fight for socialism compels us to confront both political-epochal and theoretical-strategic issues: to take an exhaustive, theoretical, political, and strategic, not only historical, stock of the experience of Stalinism, which meant the frustration of the first emancipatory experiences of the working class. That frustration has little investigation in the renewal of contemporary Marxism but is fundamental for the relaunching of the struggle for socialism in the 21st century.</p> <p>This book collects the threads of continuity between the vibrant, whole, comprehensible work of Marx and Engels, the revolutionary Marxism of Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Gramsci, and Christian Rakovsky, the valuable contributions of marxists from Eastern Europe and contemporary studies to draw radical conclusions from the experience of the former USSR and other non-capitalist states of the 20th century. A strategic contribution to the socialist revolutions that are forthcoming, seeking to reconnect the theory of revolution with the perspective of the emancipation of the working class and all humanity.</p>
<p>Ramiro Andrés Manini: Economics and politics in the transition to socialism: the relevance of Christian Rakovsky's insights to the re-launching of the socialist perspective in the 21st century</p>	<p>The development of the Left Opposition (LO) in Russia, with its debates, ruptures and capitulations, is a school of revolutionary politics linked to the struggle for the emancipation of humanity. In classical Marxism there is a dialectical preeminence -that is, with multiple determinations- between the social relations of production and the political and ideological superstructure. In Marxist studies of bourgeois revolutions historical necessity and social relations continually impose themselves on the subjects in struggle. Thus, in the French revolution, the petty bourgeoisie appears to carry forward, through the full exercise of its political power, the historical tasks of the bourgeoisie.</p> <p>This paper seeks to trace the evolution of the conception of this relationship in the LO for workers' revolutions. From the first public documents, the famous Declaration of the 46 and Trotsky's letter of December 1923 "The new course", passing through the debates between Trotsky and Preobrazhensky on the occasion of the capitulation of the latter when the Stalinist bureaucracy decided to advance in forced collectivization and accelerated industrialization, up to the counterpoints and nuances between the mature conceptions of Trotsky in classic texts such as The Revolution Betrayed and Rakovsky, one of the last old Bolsheviks who led the LO in Russia.</p> <p>There are brilliant intuitions in the LO, which, together with the balance of the experience of the revolutions of the last century, are fundamental to update Marxism in the face of the forthcoming proletarian revolutions. In the socialist revolution, unlike the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, there is no economic automatism that works: the imposition of the historic interests of the proletariat, the advance towards a true transition to socialism, cannot be the product of an abstract necessity, but demands that it be the working class itself that holds political power in its hands.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Roundtable: Labour Organising Against Complicity in Israel's Genocide [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]</p>	
<p>Marion Lieutaud Rafeef Ziadah Nadia Vogel Ray M</p>	<p>On October 16th, 2023, as Israel's genocide in Gaza intensified, Palestinian trade unions issued a powerful and urgent call to workers and trade unions internationally to "end all forms of complicity with Israel's crimes—most urgently halting the arms trade with Israel, as well as all funding and military research." This panel will analyse the labour</p>

<p>Jack Davies</p>	<p>organising efforts that followed, highlighting the successes and obstacles across various sectors.</p> <p>We will discuss multifaceted campaigns like ""Stop Arming Israel"" and ""Block the Boat,"" which organise arms factory workers and dockworkers to stop handling weapons destined for Israel. Speakers will discuss organising workers in the university sector to sever ties with arms manufacturers. Contributors directly involved in these organising efforts will share how they built these campaigns, lessons learned, and the significance for broader movement organising with workers and trade unions. This will be a critical discussion on building worker to worker solidarity, rank and file organising for Palestine.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Trumpism and the New Far-Right: Between Conservatism and Fascism [G3]</p>	
<p>This panel discusses contemporary examples of reactionary authoritarian politics around the world, focussing on Trumpism. It contends that these examples occupy a middle space between classic conservatism and classic fascism. This fits a particularly dangerous combination of popularity and menace, simultaneously utilising the standard democratic apparatus and appealing to extra-parliamentary forces. The panel will also provide some provisional observations as to how the left might best combat such reaction.</p>	
<p>Dan Davison, Sacha Marten: Right-wing “centrism”: an international disorder</p>	<p>This paper will argue that forms of reaction like Trumpism are roughly analogous to centrism in its historical Marxist sense, oscillating between the far right’s ‘reformist’ non-fascist wing and its ‘revolutionary’ fascist wing. While historical socialist centrism was seen as weak and indecisive, as long as its unstable coalition holds, far-right ‘centrism’ can create a threatening synergy on the right. Comparing Trumpism with, inter alia, the Modi regime in India and the Conservative government in the UK, the paper will consider the subjective and objective factors in the success or failure of far-right ‘centrism’.</p>
<p>David Renton: Gaza and permanent revolution on the right</p>	<p>This paper will discuss authoritarianism, Gaza, and the US presidential election. It will consider what kind of authoritarian rule a second Trump administration might plausibly bring into effect without necessarily converting the US into a one-party state and how the Democrats are facilitating rather than blocking the worldwide shift to the right, including through the Biden administration’s response to the ongoing slaughter in Palestine.</p>
<p>Aminah Sheikh: The Right Wing is Organising in Canada. Can the Left learn to stop them?</p>	<p>With the rise of the reactionary right wing movement, and authoritarian nationalist governments. We should refer to socialist thinker Clara Zetkin, the founder of the international socialist women’s movement. In her lifetime she saw the rise of Nazism, and lived through Mussolini. Her analysis of fascism and concrete lessons can inform us on how we must organize revolutionary struggle amongst the masses. This struggle to organize is happening as the right is gaining political influence and power across many provinces in Canada. Throughout this pandemic, right-wing groups have gained followings by tapping into people’s rage, attacking the “elites,” and portraying themselves as fighters for the common people. This is why we have seen the rise of the new right wing Peoples Party of Canada and the “Freedom Convoy,” both of which formed early in the pandemic in opposition to vaccine mandates. These groups called for, and engaged in direct actions at international border crossings, occupied the streets of Ottawa, and harassed people during the quarantine and lockdown on a daily basis. They are the Canadian iteration of the January 6ers in the US and have grown more sophisticated than their American counterparts. Understandably, peoples’ growing discontent with the cost of living, the war in the Ukraine, inflation, and the ongoing health crisis has pushed many to seek alternative answers. With their fascile analysis broadcasting loudly across social media – and increasingly mainstream media – many people are being drawn into groups on the right, which can no longer be called fringe. By all accounts, the reactionary right is now rising across Canada. In the the shadow of this rising right, it seems the labor movement and the left at large are not organizing new</p>

people, and are, in fact, hemorrhaging members. While the left remains static, the right has reinvented and morphed itself to appeal to diverse groups of people across the country. From conspiracy theorists and reactionary new immigrants, to anti-statist libertarians, and even open fascists, the new right has welcomed each of these groups. This ascendant right is a fragmented but growing movement that will define the next decade of Canadian politics. Therefore, it is our duty to understand their rise and counter them. It is important for us to not become jaded as organizers and activists. Too many have become sucked into pessimism and lack hope for something greater. But we should have hope. The tactics of the right are actually better suited to an inclusive, multiracial, working class movement and party. It is incumbent on us to recognize and realize this.

Friday, 14:15 – 16:00

Value Form, Labour and Technology in Socialist Transitions [G51]

Post-Capitalism

Johannes Fehrle and Anna Saave:
 Designing Paths to Post
 Capitalism Rethinking
 Technology and Labour as
 Mediators of Societal
 Transformation

Technology (Foster and Clarke 2020) and labor (Barca 2019) serve as crucial mediators in the metabolism between human communities and the natural environment. To date, labor and technology mediate society-nature-metabolisms (Pineault 2022, Becker/Jahn 2006) along dominant imaginaries and structures, such as fossil capital (Malm 2016), the modern/colonial gender system (Lugones 2007), and ecological modernization (Kern 2019) – with outcomes that are both unsustainable and unjust. In response, we not only examine the pivotal roles of technology and labor in shaping the societal relations with nature, but also ask how these mediators can be influenced in ways that will lead to more sustainable and equitable futures: (How) can we use design and planning in order to transform societal relations to nature? Our focus lies on exploring mechanisms for steering these mediators towards enabling more sustainable and equitable socio-economic systems. We will pay particular attention to technological innovation processes, environmental and spatial planning, and new approaches to work. The overarching question is: Has ‘sustainability by design’ become possible through changes in the mediating functions of technology and labor? To answer this question we will examine if and how we can achieve such transformative designs. While technological innovation has long been hailed as the primary driver of change, by e.g. ecomodernists, we ask in how far we can steer technological innovation towards sustainable ends within the current political economic regime. Similarly, class struggles and demographic shifts have historically shaped labor relations. But how believable are promises of deliberate planning for new forms of work in order to foster greater sustainability and social justice? Synthesizing discussions about labor and technology in light of the current political economic regime and its hold on these mediators is crucial when beginning to trace pathways towards postcapitalist futures.

Matthew Cole: "To Each according
 to their Contribution" Rethinking
 Marx and Vulgar Socialism in the
 Age of Platforms

What claim can the working class make on the products of their labour in the age of platform capitalism? The debate over workers’ share of the product is most famously discussed in Marx’s Critique of the Gotha Program, which deconstructs the idea that under socialism workers will receive the “undiminished” or “full product” of their labour. Yet, he also claims labour-power is exchanged in a relationship of equivalence for wages. Must then workers simply accept the state-sanctioned appropriation of unpaid labour and surplus-value? No, since Marx also argues notion of equivalent exchange is actually a ruse. Capital exchanged for living labour-power is already “alien labour, appropriated without equivalent” and must be replaced in that exchange “with a surplus”; the relation between capital and labour only appears as “a mere semblance” of equivalents”. Where does this leave his critique of bourgeois right and the claim by so-called “vulgar socialists” that each and every worker has a right to share in the products of their labour – whether that means “to each according to his contribution” or Lassalle’s “the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society”? Moreover, what relevance does this have to capitalism today? The world is awash in new forms of capitalist property and methods of extraction via digital platforms – from the multi-level networked infrastructures of Amazon, Google and Apple to algorithmically-managed labour services of Uber and Deliveroo and the increasingly dystopian generative capacity of OpenAI. The digitalisation of the capitalist system has left its mark

	<p>on nearly every sector – from warehouses to hospitals and manufacturing –and is increasingly colonising human sociality. How might emergent forms of property such as intangible assets complicate Marx’s critique and our understanding of workers right to the share of the products of their labour?</p>
<p>Roberto Mozzacchiodi: Charles Bettelheim and the Value Form: The Problem of the Real Socialisation of the Productive Forces in Socialist Transition</p>	<p>This paper will revisit Charles Bettelheim’s seminal texts ""On the Transition to Socialism"" and ""Calculation and Forms of Property,"" to intervene in contemporary Marxist debates surrounding Marx’s value form theory and the question of post-capitalist planning. Specifically, this paper will examine how Bettelheim's interrogation of commodity categories within the framework of socialist transition provides a critical theoretical framework that remains relevant for understanding the potentialities and obstacles in achieving a socialist society today. By reconstructing Bettelheim's insights regarding the persistence of commodity relations, and thus of the value form, during the transition phase, this presentation seeks to elucidate the complexities of socialist transformation and the challenges inherent in overcoming capitalist modes of production.</p> <p>A key feature of Bettelheim’s appraisal of socialist transition is the particular structure of labour processes and production in general inherited from capital, which Marx referred to as ‘different kinds of labour carried out independently of each other’. Here, Bettelheim highlights the existence of relations between producers and units of production that preclude cooperative relations organised on a social scale - objective conditions evident in the interfaces between privately owned enterprises. For Bettelheim, the persistence of commodity categories during socialist transition underscored practical challenges for socialist planning stemming from the real subsumption of the productive forces to capitalist social relations.</p> <p>In his time, the issue of the non-correspondence between the productive forces and the new socialist production-relations was of central importance for Bettelheim. This discrepancy explained the continued calculation of the social utility of different types of labours in monetary terms within actually existing socialist plans. Thus, in view of the goal of the real socialisation of productive forces - a material prerequisite for an ‘effective measurement’ of social utility and the de-statisation of the plan - Bettelheim emphasised the necessity of understanding the specific forms of this non-correspondence. This attention to the contradictions engendered by the non-correspondence between formal and real modes of socialist appropriation could serve to better ground contemporary theorisations of post-capitalist futures.</p>
<p>Jonathan Blaney, Tim Graves, Danny Milum and Marty Steer: Marx, Engels, Guevara and ChatGPT</p>	
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Hegel and Marx [G51a]</p>	
<p>Giannis Ninos: The role of Hegel’s Logic in Marx’s critique of Ricardo’s ‘faulty architectonics</p>	<p>In my presentation, I argue that Hegel’s theory of finite cognition serves as the methodological foundation for Marx’s critique of classical political economy. Drawing from Grundrisse and providing textual evidence, I demonstrate the Hegelian framework underlying Marx’s assessment of previous political economists’ methods, particularly focusing on the section ‘On the Method of Political Economy’. I contend that Marx’s method in Capital diverges significantly from the abstract to the concrete method he describes as the ‘scientifically correct method’ in the Grundrisse, a point often overlooked in discussions of Marx’s method. To support this claim, I focus on Marx’s critique of Ricardo in the Manuscripts of 1861-1863. There Marx acknowledges Ricardo’s scientifically method of investigation while critiquing the ‘faulty architectonics’ of this method. In what follows, I offer an interpretation of Marx’s critique of Ricardo’s method through the lens of Hegel’s critique of finite cognition. I argue that Ricardo’s methodological deficiencies are akin to the deficiencies of synthetic cognition as</p>

	<p>presented by Hegel in the Science of Logic. In synthetic cognition, the external relationship between the moments of the concept, namely universality, particularity, singularity, results in the incapacity to immanently derive the economic categories and leads to a lack of historicity. Emphasizing the importance of concrete historicism in Marx's method, I highlight the advantages of the speculative or systematic-dialectical method employed in Capital, which allows Marx to overcome the deficiencies of synthetic cognition and the limitations of classical political economy. Therefore, my presentation underscores the centrality of Hegel's theory of cognition in Marx's critique of Ricardo's 'faulty architectonics', a matter which is widely underexplored in the Marxist scholarship.</p>
<p>Ernesto Ruiz-Eldredge Molina: Hegel's Rebel and the "ruthless critique of the existing order" (Marx)</p>	<p>In Hegel's Pöbel (2011), Frank Ruda attempted to address what would be the main tension that Hegel left unresolved, namely the philosophical status of the "Rabble". It is a question of rethinking that which seems to be an immanent element of bourgeois society, but which is nevertheless concealed by it. This enquiry has successfully drawn attention to what is perhaps the highest moment of Hegelian philosophy of right, the moment of Sittlichkeit, in order to find in it an enormous tension latent in a somewhat marginal passage of the Hegelian corpus.</p> <p>It is possible, however, to approach Hegelian political philosophy itself at another point that could be considered critical for the philosophical system as a whole: what can be called the 'figure of the rebel' in the framework of Hegelian thought. Indeed, in the analysis of the will at its most indeterminate, Hegel tries to clarify the character of "negative freedom": it is a will that evades all possible inscription in existing institutions, the gesture of its negation aims at a complete refounding of society. Dealing with the figure of the rebel implies that it is no longer a question of the economically impoverished, potentially outraged social extraction, but of a subjective figure of the indignation in action. By apparently excluding the figure of the rebel from the further figures of the ethical life (Sittlichkeit), a Pandora's box is nevertheless opened: for having carried out this exclusion, it is legitimate to inquire the Hegelian philosophy about its positive figure of indignation against the established order, as well as about the theoretical cost of apparently excluding a certain figure of rebellion.</p> <p>In this paper we will reconstruct, first, the Hegelian figure of the rebel within the framework of Hegel's criticism of the Terror period of the French Revolution. As we will see, according to Hegel, a confusion of the true sense of freedom leads to a dynamic of mere destructiveness, which is ultimately a self-destructiveness. Secondly, I will attempt to explore what might be speculated as a positive image of what rebellion might be in Hegel's view. Having done this in the second part of my exposition, I would then like to suggest that a theory of the "good rebel" nevertheless shows far from the real meaning of Hegel's approach to the figure of the rebel. I will then be able to analyse the concept of 'negative freedom', trying to understand in what sense Hegel understands 'negativity' in his dialectic of the individual will. In doing so, I will attempt to defend the thesis that the supposedly conservative implications of what I call Hegel's theory of the rebel paradoxically demonstrate its relevance to the idea of rebellion in general in our time, in a sense that encounters Marx's famous call for "a ruthless critique of the existing order".</p>
<p>Anna Beria: Concrete Universality and Commons from Spinoza and Hegel to Marx</p>	<p>Spinoza, as well as Hegel, have traditionally been pivotal but oppositional figures for the critical Marxist theory. Against this more traditional and historical-reception-oriented view of the incompatibility between them, recent scholarship has argued for their complementary and compatible readings. This has therefore transformed Marxist thought as well, without externally demarcating it as either Spinozist or Hegelian and instead, reading this 'or' as inclusive. But this contemporary literature rarely directly addresses the convergences and divergences between the 'final moments' in these great philosophical systems, in other words the third kind of knowledge in Spinoza and absolute knowing (or the absolute method) in Hegel, and what can their complementary reading suggest for looking at the 'final moment' in Marx, or the understanding of the revolution/proletariat/class in and for itself, as well as/or communism.</p>

	<p>This paper will attempt to precisely do this. To this end, I will try to look at the transition to the Third Kind of Knowledge in Spinoza and the role of the notion of the 'common' there, together with the transition to the Absolute Knowing in Hegel and the respective role of the notion of the Common as well as of Concrete Universality there (which, according to Althusser, is comparable to the role of the Common Notions in Spinoza). In doing so, this paper will prepare the ground for the comparison between these respective transitions, and the transition from the Capitalist society to Communist Society, or the passage from 'the realm of necessity' and reason to the 'realm of freedom' or revolutionary practice in Capital vol. III in Marx, with its relevant use of the concept of the Common and Communism there.</p>
<p>Lauren Langman: Hegel, Marx, and the Dialectic of Change</p>	<p>Although capitalism has always been a system of class conflict, alienation and exploitation of workers, to produce surplus value, and the dehumanization of subalterns, following the crisis of the Keynesian-Fordist era, and embrace of neoliberalism, contemporary globalized capitalism has taken especially onerous turns given the rapid growth of the precariat, inter-imperialist conflicts in a nuclear age, bloody wars in Ukraine and Gaza and the looming "sixth extinction" of climate change, the future looks pretty bleak- or does it? That said, a Hegelian Marxist understanding of history, and especially the role of progressive social movements, offers an alternative perspective insofar as the movement of Spirit through history, or for Marxists, the Telos of a humanistic, classless society is impelled by social movements, that dialectically understood, portend a progressive outcome, notwithstanding the extent to which the reactionary mobilizations from Brexit to Trump, Orban, Erdogan, Modi, etc, seem to be the order of the day.</p> <p>But as we know, authoritarian dictatorships may gain power but do so with a half-life of their own demise, Mussolini hung from a lamppost, Hitler committed suicide, Brazil overturned Bolsonaro and Chile ended the reactionary legacy of Pinochet. Progressive, emancipatory social movements over the past several hundred years have enabled rapid social changes, but at the same time, have challenged both the economic power of capital, and traditional, essentialist, hierarchical, privilege granting identities leading to a variety of reactionary backlashes- which may foster short-term palliatives, but in the long run, engender contradictions and what Hegel called "concealed fronts" that become realized in progressive transformations. Thus, as Gramsci put it, more recently by Fraser and Achcar, the current interregnum, dominated by reactionary forces, fuels a variety of progressive mobilizations that promise to grow, negate and overcome the reactionary movements of today.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 The Challenges of a Marxist Ecology [R201]</p>	
<p>Camilla Royle: In defence of Engels' ecology</p>	<p>In the popular book, Marx in the Anthropocene, Kohei Saito argues that Marx was a degrowth thinker. Saito's work has been controversial for its assertion that Marx, in later life, found his worldview in crisis, forcing him to distance himself from historical materialism and to stop invoking the liberatory potential of the development of productive forces. Saito builds his argument in part by drawing a distinction between Marx and Engels on ecological questions. Engels, according to Saito, primarily conceived dialectical processes such as metabolism as universal and transhistorical laws, evident in society and nature. Societies must seek to understand these laws in order to satisfy our needs in a manner that avoids the "revenge" of nature. This differed significantly from Marx's project of integrating questions of nature into his political economy to ascertain how capitalism reorganizes and disrupts the metabolism between humans and nature. However, Saito's book is focused on Engels' Dialectics of Nature and he has relatively little to say about earlier works such as The Condition of the Working Class in England. This paper will argue that the early Engels, contra Saito, indeed pursued a project of integrating political economy with ecology. This perspective allowed him to recognize not only that humans have transformed the biosphere but also to begin to outline how this relationship influences human lives in different ways according to class. It is an</p>

	<p>approach that accounts for the contradictions inherent in the capitalist production of nature. The paper will discuss these issues through the case of sewage contamination of water supplies, an emerging ecological problem in Engels' time and again in ours.</p>
<p>Håkan Thörn and Carl Cassegård: Nature interest: Capitalism, environmental action and social structure</p>	<p>Through the concept of nature interest we intend to make a contribution to the theorization of the relation(s) between society and nature in capitalist society by emphasizing their practical dimension as well as their anchoring in class interest and other structurally defined positions. While ecological Marxism has devoted substantial attention to the theorization of the capitalist domination of nature, it has overlooked how resistance to instrumental nature interest has produced several alternative nature interests. We will demonstrate how an analysis of these alternative nature interests reveal how diversity, tension and alliances within the environmental movement can be understood in relation to the historical and structural positioning of various movement actors. Our concept of nature interest has similarities with, but also differs from, notions of 'ecological interest' based narrowly on threats to workers' livelihood. Our concept of nature interest is more general, being designed to capture the dual aspect of material interest as theorized in ecological Marxism: in the universal historical sense of how the reproduction of human species is anchored in a relation with nature, and how this relation is conditioned by the relations of production, property and power specific to capitalist society. This means that our concept of nature interest does not only refer to those groups that have an interest to defend themselves from environmental threats, but also those who have an interest to extract resources from, and destroy, nature for the sake of capital accumulation. Such a conceptualization also makes it possible to capture the contradictions inherent in some of the nature interests articulated by environmentalists and other groups that acts to resist environmental threats – such as those favoring ecological modernization, based on a combination of continued capital accumulation and regulation of economic practices causing environmental destruction.</p>
<p>Pedro M. Rey-Araújo: The 'Temporal Rift' within the Capitalist Social Metabolism</p>	<p>In his <i>Marx in the Anthropocene</i> (2022), Kohei Saito introduces the term 'Temporal Rift' to refer to the temporal dimension of the metabolic rift which emerges as the social metabolism is prominently mediated capital. The concept, however, is not developed any further. This communication provides a rhythmic reading of the social metabolism that conceives it as a dynamic orchestration of heterogeneous natural rhythms (human and non-human), collectively mediated by social relations, themselves with a rhythmic character (e.g. Fracchia, 2023).</p> <p>It is argued that, once the ensemble of concrete labour practices is predominantly subsumed by capital, that is, once the collective mediation of the social metabolism adopts a capitalist 'form', a 'temporal rift' emerges within the social metabolism with two distinct dimensions. On the one hand, the collective mediation disrupts the rhythmic conditions of reproduction and regeneration of the two poles it mediates, namely, human bodies and their non-human natural environment, which are forced to comply with capital's own context-specific reproductive requirements while disregarding their own. On the other hand, the collective mediation of the social metabolism is itself internally fractured. While a significant portion of the ensemble of labour practices are subsumed by capital, myriad others remain articulated through direct personal relations. These latter practices are made to occur not in a time of their own choosing. Rather, their terms of occurrence are constrained to better fit capital's reproductive needs. Therefore, capital's domination of the myriad processes it mediates is thus comprehensive albeit internally differentiated.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Socialist Planning (I): Socialism and Emergent Control [RB01] <i>Post-Capitalism</i></p>	
<p>The socialist economy is often conceived of as a highly centralised affair. This centralisation, it is argued, is necessary to ensure the coherence, rationality, and motivation, of the various component parts. Cybernetics, however, teaches us that any viable economy must be based upon a blend of decentralised and centralised components. This panel will focus on the role of</p>	

emergent control in socialism, how the flexibility of self-organisation produces a harmony between planning and flexibility through empowering the system's elements.	
<p>Ferdia O'Driscoll: Transcending the "Soft vs. Hard" Budget Constraint in Socialism using Self-Determination Theory</p>	<p>Does historical experience really prove that socialism is impossible due to human nature? The famous Hungarian economist and reformer Janos Kornai introduced the concept "Soft Budget Constraint" (SBC) to describe a situation in which enterprises face insufficient financial discipline and therefore stagnate in conservatism and waste. Kornai first used this concept to analyse the observed failures of "really existing socialism" in the Eastern Bloc, where the SBC was used to sustain employment, exchange favours, and maintain social stability. To promote dynamism and accountability, he recommended moving towards a "Hard Budget Constraint" (HBC). Eventually, Kornai concluded that that socialism couldn't function with a HBC either, and decided that since it was trapped in a Soft-Hard Budget Constraint dilemma, full socialism was impossible. In short, that dilemma is between the protective and conscious but inefficient and corrupt Soft Budget Constraint and the efficient and dynamic but myopic and heartless Hard Budget Constraint.</p> <p>Most postcapitalist proposals continue to slide up and down this Soft-Hard Budget continuum in futility. After all, Kornai was right that socialism is impossible while trapped in this dilemma. However, the dilemma only obtains under an unexamined assumption: the prevalence of controlled motivation, whereby people are motivated to act by the carrot and the stick.</p> <p>This presentation will show that socialism can transcend the SBC-HBC dilemma and achieve willing and effective coordination, combining innovation, efficiency, social responsibility, and multi-criteria decision-making. There are two primary factors: (1) investment decided through negotiated coordination and Multi-Criteria Decision Assessment by affected stakeholders, and (2) a climate of autonomous motivation. By applying Self-Determination Theory (SDT), the leading psychological theory of human motivation and wellbeing, we see how autonomous motivation can be systematically supported through the satisfaction of the 3 basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness.</p>
<p>Donal O'Coisdealbha: Implications of modern industrial organisation for the socialist economy</p>	<p>In modern capitalist industry, the Toyota Production System (TPS) and its derivatives are ubiquitously applied in the medium and high complexity production and retail sectors. Contrasted with the old Fordist 'batch-and-queue' production methods, the TPS is superior not only from a technical-organisational perspective, but also contains highly important lessons for the social relations of the communal mode of production of the future. The implications of TPS have thus far been insufficiently studied in the Marxist literature.</p>
<p>Nick Rogers: Goal Directed Economic Coordination</p>	<p>This presentation engages with the contradiction between concepts of economic planning that involve centralising all decision-making, and the socialist vision of an egalitarian, democratic and cooperative society composed of engaged citizens who make the key decisions about their lives, their communities and their workplaces. Rejecting the commodification of human relations that is retained in models of market socialism, Rogers argues that socialist economic management should be reconceptualised as goal-directed economic coordination. Socialist planning should not entail ex-ante central control of everything. Building on capitalist lean manufacturing and just-in-time production techniques, a non-commodity-based socialist economy could respond flexibly to consumers and cater for the decentralisation of many economic decisions. Services and production units based in communities would be subject to local democratic control. At the same time, accountable central institutions would debate those issues in which everyone needs to be involved and coordinate the operations of the economy in line with democratically determined social goals (such as the measures needed to tackle the environmental crises threatening the planet). Rogers maintains that only in an economy that works in this way, can we realistically envisage the withering away of the state, as an institution that stands separate from society.</p>

<p>Sebastian Loschert, Peter Scholl, Andre Kistner: Firm Based Planning in the Socialist Economy</p>	<p>The GIC (Group of International Communists) has developed a decentralised planning system based on labor-time accounting that consistently abolishes money, market and value. This decentralisation is specific in that there is no central plan or formal hierarchy of plans required. Instead, worker-led companies file plans and organise their economic activities through self-management. They calculate the labor time content of their products, simply by adding inputs and their own labor. The resulting “prices” are published along with their plans, hence there is no intrinsic need for central calculation of the labor time content of products or distribution via Input-Output Tables. Decentralisation of the planning process does not necessarily imply economic fragmentation. Branch organisations of companies may encompass significant portions of the economy. In general, companies, as envisioned by GIC, play a crucial role in a communist society’s (re-)production process. Most importantly, they do not own their means of production; they only manage them on behalf of society. Moreover, each plan constitutes a promise to society. To which degree a promise has been fulfilled can be observed through the transactions of labor time flowing to and from a company. Associated producers will need to agree on institutions and frameworks for exercising plan control: labor time accounts for companies, issuance of work certificates for consumer products, and mandatory, equitable rules for plan approval. This enables society to manage the flow of products and services autonomously and consciously. Politically and strategically, this system could serve as a basis for a communist economic vision that has been lacking in the left for decades. It necessitates the fight for socialization, workers' councils, and cooperatives. The appealing demand that each hour of work should count equally for all workers is imperative within this system. Along with exploitation, this system abolishes the class structure of society, its inequalities and hierarchies.</p>
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Friday, 14:15 – 16:00
Thinking the History of Sexuality [RG01]
HMSPEN

<p>Colin Wilson: Social Construction, Social Reproduction and the State: Marxism and the History of Sexuality in the Longue Durée</p>	<p>This paper aims to bring together three key elements in a Marxist analysis of sexuality, drawing on a wide range of examples in Britain and the US since the mid-nineteenth century. First, it addresses the social construction of sexuality, in terms not just of same-sex desire but the dramatic changes in heterosexuality since the 1960s, such as the acceptance of serial monogamy. Second, it locates the roots of these changes in the need to ensure the social reproduction of the working class, for the most part within the privatised family – addressing, for example, changes between dominant family forms in the postwar welfare state and those in the context of neoliberal austerity. The third element of this analysis is the key role of the state in seeking to create strategies for social reproduction, and thus for “family life” and sexuality. The role of the state is, of course, underplayed in the original Foucauldian account of social construction, but is also often insufficiently stressed in Marxist accounts of social reproduction, and the paper seeks to address this, highlighting the contradictory pressures on the state as it seeks to ensure the social reproduction of the working class. These pressures include the state’s need to preserve social order on capitalist terms – to make clear that its agents are the ruling force in society – and its need to act within dominant ideologies around sexuality, and in ways that respond to the short-term political demands of politicians and other actors. This is a wide ranging paper which, while illustrating each of its arguments with specific historical examples, seeks to help develop a longue durée Marxist understanding of the history of gender and sexuality.</p>
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<p>Shambhavi Sharma: MSM and the Homosexual: A counter-history of progress of queer movement in India</p>	<p>A poster from the first anti-HIV/AIDS discrimination protest organized by AIDS Bhedbhav Virodhi Andolan (ABVA) in 1992 reads: Gay Manifesto! Gays of the World Unite, You have nothing to lose but your chains! Over 30 years later, a primary material distributed in Delhi Pride March 2023 is a sticker linking the struggles for the right to privacy and rights of sexual minority groups with the words: Privacy is liberty, Privacy is Dignity.</p>
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	<p>The definition of a queer subject in India involves various exclusions, noted in secondary literature. I aim to track these exclusions vis-a-vis the logic of privacy. In various ‘progressive judgments,’ privacy has been read as a right to bodily autonomy, primarily through <i>Roe v. Wade</i> (1973) and <i>Lawrence v. Texas</i> (2003). Privacy, in key judgments of 2009 and 2018, has been hailed as a positive right linked to the development of personhood, as opposed to a negative right to physical/geographical privacy against state intervention. The turn away from equality towards privacy has been interpreted as a strategic choice by lawyers. Rather than a strategic choice, I argue that privacy is part of the neoliberal moral universe, framing the only language available in defining issues around sexuality.</p> <p>Does the right to privacy create new spaces for organizing in a neoliberal context where the public sector has rapidly diminished? What makes a right-wing regime amenable to the selective recognition of sexual minorities? Criticisms of the legal approach have focused more on who gets left out rather than critiquing the values invoked by both the state and those appealing to it. Through archival material, including legal documents, legal research material, minutes of meetings, posters/pamphlets, and fieldwork among two LBT organizations in India, I examine the tension between assimilation and liberation within queer politics in India. While this material pertains to queer politics emerging in metropolitan India, it is necessary to examine the story of linear progress towards ‘modern human rights’ while its transformation into ‘the’ truth is underway in the mainstream.</p>
<p>Tulio Bucchioni: <i>The Sexual as Social: The Brazilian Homosexual Faction and the Emergence of Queer Marxism in Late 1970s Brazil</i></p>	<p>In the 1980 International Workers’ Day, Brazilian homosexual activists defied civil-military authoritarianism and widespread cisheteronormativity to take to the streets in solidarity with metalworkers protesting the intervention of the dictatorship ruling the country since 1964 in the unions of the São Paulo industrial hub known as the ABC. Among the organizers of a homosexual commission for the protest were the members of the Homosexual Faction (HF) of the Brazilian Trotskyist organization Socialist Convergence (SC). Considering this a pioneering alliance of homosexual activists with the labor movement in Latin America and a pivotal event for the construction of a global genealogy of twentieth-century radical homosexual and gender and sexual non-normative politics, I ask: what radical sexual politics and liberation imaginaries were like in Brazil in the late 1970s and early 1980s? By focusing on the Marxist theoretical and political production of the HF, I argue that the group was the first to propose an interpretation of the sexual as social from a trailblazing Latin American queer Marxist vantage point. Behind such formulation was not only an analysis of the historical interplay between wealth and capital accumulation, private property, and cisheteronormative patriarchy, but also a fierce anti-cisheteronormative critique of the social and historical process that the group defined as “socialist bureaucratic counter-revolution” in the Soviet Union and Cuba. Additionally, informing the proposition of the sexual as social is the association made by the HF of rearrangements in social reproduction after the 1920s rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and the 1970s neoliberal-turn in the United States with patriarchal dispossession and the reinforcement of reified gender and sexual identities in both contexts. As part of a global network of radical activism, the study of the HF contributes to a renewed understanding of the internationalist horizons and flows that globally shaped radical sexual politics in the twentieth-century.</p>
<p>Jana Kujundzic: <i>Abolition through a queer Marxist lens</i></p>	<p>This paper argues for the abolition of police and prisons through a queer Marxist perspective that traces the criminalisation of gender non-conformity in colonialism as well as illuminating the revolutionary movements led by trans and queer folk. Carceral capitalism is seen as a driving force for increasing criminalisation and expansion of the carceral state relating to the behaviours, practices and modes of existence pertaining to queer sexuality and protests in the UK. Drawing on the examples of bourgeois morality</p>

	<p>enacted in the law, this paper will demonstrate how its convergence with carceral capitalism is aimed at disrupting progressive social movements and further criminalising and ostracising intimate encounters of trans and non-binary youth. When it comes to drawing the lines as to what is sexually permissible or requires intervention, a strong argument will be made against the state punitiveness of so-called deviant sexualities and for community-based solutions based on feminist ethics of care combined with politics of redistribution. A moral panic around queer sexuality is nothing new and the conservative calls for ‘protecting the children’ will be uncovered as nothing more than reactionary tendencies aimed at upholding the status quo. State criminalisation of marginalised groups is constitutive of class-based and gendered social relations of capitalism. Furthermore, as other queer Marxist academics and activists have argued, there is a need to better connect the issues of mass incarceration, excessive policing, and control cultures with those of gender and sexual justice.</p>
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Friday, 14:15 – 16:00

Pashukanis at 100: Law, Strategy, Social Change (II)

[Khalili Lecture Theatre]

This panel, engaging with Pashukanis' work and Marxist legal theory more generally, seeks to interrogate law's potential role in revolutionary transformations. It pays particular attention to law's limiting function in this regard. The panel further reflects - on this basis - on what role law can play in the particular strategic and tactical mobilisations of social forces addressing capitalism and imperialism.

<p>Dave Whyte: Law's Quick Fix? Ecocide, Social Transformation and the Pitfalls of Criminalisation</p>	<p>Those calls come from indigenous activists and those in the global periphery, to NGOs and political actors in the core. What unites these calls is both a sense of urgency (that something needs to be done fast) and a need for international action. It is those demands – the need for a quick and plausible fix – that international law assume a very specific allure to those who seek the necessary transformative change. Yet ultimately, the proposed crime of ecocide is unable to tackle the social reality of ecocide and may indeed compromise further our ability to do so. At the same time it argues that it is neither desirable nor possible for us to simply ‘abandon’ the law; until the system of production is transformed, environmental struggles will necessarily be forced to reckon with law and to demand regulatory outcomes.</p>
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<p>Tor Krever: Palestine, Anti-Imperialism and the Limits of Human Rights</p>	<p>In his recent book, <i>Red Internationalism</i>, Salar Mohandesi offers an historical study of the rise of human rights as the dominant idiom of internationalism and global justice. He traces their emergence to the decline of anti-imperialism, with a particular focus on Vietnam as a key reference point for European radicals and their turn from anti-imperialism to the language of human rights. My paper considers the consequences of this turn for contemporary left-internationalism, in particular in the context of the Palestinian struggle for national liberation. In the 1960s and 1970s, the language of anti-imperialism unified a politically diverse international movement with a shared commitment to an emancipatory politics of resistance-to aggression, exploitation, colonial and neo-colonial domination-but also to overturning the international system that undergirded such ills. By the turn of the century, anti-imperialism had disappeared as a unifying pillar in the left internationalist imaginary, displaced by the language of human rights and international law. The Palestinian struggle for self-determination, the paper argues, mirrors this broader trend. It was a key reference point and inspiration for an anti-imperialist internationalism. Today, both the Palestinian leadership and civil society and the broader internationalist solidarity movement frame their resistance in international legal terms: the (il)legality of occupation, the infringement of human rights, allegations of war crimes, appeals to international criminal law institutions, and formal legal invocations of apartheid. The foregrounding of human rights and international law in Palestinian resistance, the paper suggests, is a direct product of the dissolution of anti-imperialism. This approach can reveal how the juridification of political praxis and the appeal to human rights and international law may in fact weaken contestation and resistance and channel politics into other, less radical forms of resistance.</p>
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Robert Knox: Racialisation, Revolution and the Power of the Legal Form	
Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Contemporary Literary Interventions [BBK-MAL-251] <i>Marxism and Culture</i>	
Thomas Williams: Miserable Capitalism: Literature as Catalogue of Strategic Destitution	<p>Contemporary literature and literary analysis have come to be seen either as an arm of bourgeois entertainment in the culture industry or separate, autonomous works of art able, at best, to reject capitalist reality through form. Rather than an opposition between a radical leftist critique and the furthering of capitalist hegemony through mass-produced commodities, it is the binary itself that is a crucial component of capitalist ideology. While not a false opposition, it works to convince us of literary limitation and keep capitalist reality in its place: its limit point is a critique of the state of things and is thus defanged of its political potential. Nevertheless, there are certain works which confront and reject this hypothesis: they show our attempts to change or transform the given world and the difficulties this provokes. Their cataloguing of our strategic destitution is a strategic act:</p> <p>people do not know how to change their lives and confront impediments. The failures of individual strategies and strategizing do not negate their strategic function. Instead, they demonstrate its continued necessity despite and because of these failures. In my presentation, I offer three literary works which contribute to this cataloguing of strategic destitution. First, Virginia Woolf's <i>The Waves</i> is able to enumerate strategic limitations by showing the objective limitations of why she cannot live; why capitalism is a strategic impediment. Second, Samuel Beckett's <i>The Unnamable</i> poses the novel as a series of problems to be resolved. How does one make a novel when characters do not exist, resources have all been killed off or dried up, and there is no temporal trajectory or semiotic signification? Finally, in <i>Blood and Guts in High School</i>, Kathy Acker uses myriad formal strategies to explore psychosocial breakdowns and navigate out of them. Changing strategy on the levels of form and content does not change the structural conditions that produce misery or allow satisfying closure. As in Woolf, the end comes only in death. Capitalism is always one step ahead: escape is foreclosed despite her apparent strategic mutability.</p>
Judith Solty: Character Masks of Contemporary Capitalism: Anti-Capitalism and Its Limits in Fien Veldman's Novel "Xerox"	<p>When Siegfried Kracauer began researching his famous study "The Salaried Masses" (1929), people looked at him bedazzled. "It's all in the novels," he was told. Thanks to communist politics of culture, there was indeed a time when working-class writers portrayed working environments realistically and thus criticized them. At the turn of the millennium, it seemed as if the well-heeled protagonists of (post-)modern literature no longer had to do any work at all. It was only as a result of the global financial crisis that work occasionally reappeared in literature, but mostly only as a "tragedy of the top performers", expressing the fear of social decline among the so called "professional middle class."</p> <p>Against this backdrop, a novel that tells the world of work from below is an event. Fien Veldman's 2024 debut novel "Xerox" is one of the intellectually richest Marxian work of fiction in recent years. It functions as an ideology critique of upward social mobility, New Work, digital capitalism, and the idea of self-fulfillment through work. It testifies to the de-qualification of labor power, a capital-driven Fourth Industrial Revolution and feminine labour. Moreover, it accomplishes this with plenty of intertextual referencing, from Herman Melville and Franz Kafka via Wilhelm Genazino, Nanni Balestrini and J.J. Voskuil to Richard Powers and Dave Eggers. This paper will outline the relevance of Veldman's novel, highlight the literature scholar's artistic craftsmanship and conclude with a problematisation: The degree to which in the counter-revolution neoliberalism even the most radically anti-neoliberal working class literature is inclined to constructing the life of real workers merely or predominantly as powerless victims of social structures of exploitation. As much as revealing the truths of capitalist class society is liberating, the</p>

	<p>lack of showing a way out risks doubling such structures in art, possibly reinforcing the prison.</p>
<p>Lara Alonso Corona: Hydra of the Future Revolution: The many avenues of recent radical science fiction</p>	<p>Problematizing Darko Suvin's idea that Science Fiction is "an imaginative framework alternative to the author's empirical environment", current leftist speculative fiction appears as a kind of hyperrealism, more equipped to describe the experience of living under late capitalism than other genres.</p> <p>But it doesn't stop at describing.</p> <p>These (mostly queer) authors write with a decidedly anticapitalist (often explicitly Marxist) approach, going beyond the binary of utopia/dystopia to lay the foundations of the real radical work to be done.</p> <p>Breaking off from the mainstream, Linda Stupart's "Virus" marked a watershed moment for speculative fiction linked to leftist politics, imagining a utopia of violent feminist revenge, communized cyberspace and cleansing body horror. Very influenced by Stupart, the quirky, experimental science fictions of Isabel Waidner fight back against the wave of xenophobia in the wake of Brexit and Austerity.</p> <p>Coming from the global south, Benjanun Sriduangkaew, whose works include "Methods Devour Themselves", (co-written with Maoist philosopher J. Moufawad-Paul) uses post-colonial theory to skew the gaze of white imperialism traditional in SF.</p> <p>S.J. Klapecki's "Station Six" situates labor conflict inside a space station where the protagonist faces progressively violent exploitation in a future form of capitalism that feels so familiar. And in "Everything for Everyone" Marxist thinkers M.E. O'Brien and Eman Abdelhadi, lay a roadmap for a world where the communist horizon is no longer an horizon, starting with the liberation of Palestine in 2052.</p> <p>These are some of the most representative examples of a new wave of revolutionary sci-fi. Building from genealogies of Marxist interest in science fiction, but centering the conversation in today's voices, this paper seeks to explore the way in which radical speculative fiction can not only shed a light on our current fight against the capital, but provide concrete answers on how to do it.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Class, Ontology of Labour and Social Reproduction [BBK-MAL-252]</p>	
<p>Glenn Rikowski: Labour-Power-Points</p>	<p>Following a brief outline of labour-power through Marx, Ciccarelli (2021) and my own work, it is argued that the fragmentation of Marxist work on labour-power undermines what is critical for its understanding in contemporary society: the notion that labour-power is a 'unity of the diverse' (Marx). In Marxist theory and empirical work today, labour-power as 'unity', as a unified social force within humans, is sacrificed to its 'diversity'. The result is theorisations and empirical research that split the study of labour-power into seemingly competing projects; either as arguments regarding whether the key focus should be on the social production of labour-power through education and training, or the social reproduction of labour-power through the family and domestic labour. This paper argues that labour-power is better viewed through its various diversities that constitute its unity. Each of these diversities is a spectral (but real) point in analysis of labour-power, but its unity blends the pinpointing analysis of its diversities. These labour-power diversities are social forms of its social re/production that are manifested in and through various institutions in capitalist society. In this light, the following diversities of labour-power and their institutional forms can be viewed directly through the work of Marx: the social production of labour-power (e.g. in education and training); its social reproduction 1 (e.g. through the family and domestic labour); social reproduction 2 (e.g. through state pensions, unemployment benefits); maintenance of labourers 1 (e.g. through consumption, food); maintenance of labourers 2 (e.g. through</p>

	<p>health, and mental health services). These labour-power diversities constitute a web of social forms shaping labour-power in contemporary capitalism. The paper ends by exploring some recent empirical examples illustrating how moving between the spectral points of labour-power and its diversities solidifies their unity in analysis.</p>
<p>James J. Brittain: Exploring Subsistence Through a Lens of Social Reproduction: Marx's Movement in Thought Toward Wages [1840s]</p>	<p>Recognizing the correlative goals of profit maximization and objectives to ensure its stability, capital approaches wages with a careful equilibrium. More than the simple remittance for a loss of self, Marx's early attendance to the topic also suggests the proletariat – and those (unwaged) who assist their reproduction – is remunerated only that which affords the barest rate of subsistence. Throughout the 1840s, Marx augments this critique. While sustaining the line of exploitation, a more complex draft is sketched. Accessed and external to the workplace, but wholly dependent on the wage-form, a less-rigid expression of subsistence comes to assist capitalist (re)production. Broadening the confines of its early appraisal, the value of labour power is greeted by the issue of necessities, as "life involves before everything else eating and drinking, housing, clothing and various other things". It is in the remainder, the under-acknowledged addendum of 'various other things,' that this paper centres its discussion. Complimenting biological and generational interpretations of social reproduction theory, it thinks with some of the important contemporary contributors while moving in a unique direction. To secure the extraction of surplus value, the argument, following Marx, suggests a broader "quantum of ... subsistence" is interpreted, which maintains the proletariat outside the mode of production while restricting them to the "bare existence as a labourer". As Marx richly deciphers the importance of "the cost required for maintaining ... and for developing" the worker, he stretches how needs are partially afforded though never met. Through the sanctioning of "new means of subsistence," sectors of the proletariat are individually granted limited avenues for emotional, mental, and physical rejuvenation, which dually distance class struggle. Exploring how the working class is primed for social reproduction, albeit under-satiated, so does this help navigate one location of the system's persistence. By deepening analyses and the discussion of subsistence, a greater understanding is provided of how capital secures its own reproduction through the manipulation of the proletariat's.</p>
<p>Rodrigo Roncato Marques Anes, Priscilla de Andrade Silva Ximenes, Renato Barros de Almeida: Gyorgy Lukács, ontology of social being and professor's labour</p>	<p>This paper aims to understand the relevance of the theoretical foundations produced by Gyorgy Lukács regarding the ontology of social being to reveal the contradictions experienced by professors in contemporary times. The professors, as a worker whose social function is directly related to education, has historically been called upon to meet the demands of capital. The immaterial characteristic of professors' labor is understood as an indispensable tool to guarantee the reproduction of the current mode of production, as well as the dissemination of essential ideas to promote the control of the working class and the permanent adaptation of conduct converging with ideological directions favorable to greater possibility of accumulation. It is no coincidence that in recent decades, with the advancement of productive restructuring, we have witnessed global investment in reforms affecting the professor's formation, the centrality of which is to guarantee greater control and adaptation of professor's labor to the logic of proletarianization. The theoretical path produced by Lukács regarding the ontology of the social being provides elements to expose how the professor's labor undergoes profound changes with the development of social forms of work, particularly when subjected to alienated labor. In detail, it exposes how work, a condition of human existence, promotes the human being's ability to act teleologically, organizing the properties of nature to produce something new, guaranteeing the exercise of consciousness. This metabolism is never finalized, but when it becomes more complex, as happens with the professor inserted in the demands of alienated labor, it ends up distancing it from its original form, the one that would enable the teleological exercise aimed at emancipatory formation.</p>
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Book Roundtable: <i>Burnout: The Emotional Experience of Political Defeat</i> [BBK-MAL-253] <i>Post Capitalism</i></p>	
<p>Author: Hannah Proctor</p>	

<p>Discussants: Demet Dinler, Lara Coleman, Nihal Elaasar</p>	
<p>Friday, 14:15 – 16:00 Book Roundtable: Art and Emancipation [BBK-MAL-254] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>John Roberts Angela Dimitrikaki Kim Charnley</p>	<p>Neoliberalism is often evoked as a project of life’s total subordination to the value form, which leaves no working place outside the capitalist division of labour. In this model, art is sometimes evoked as merely one among many tools used to exert soft power, with no relationship to the repressed radical needs of workers and others whose creativity is unmet by the social division of labour.</p> <p>In his recent book 'Art and Emancipation' John Roberts argues, by contrast, that art is an ‘incomplete’ commodity, which eludes the demands of ‘socially necessary labour time’ and generates resistance to the value form because of its profound inefficiency. Indeed, the more art is exposed to technological and social transformations wrought by capital’s ‘moving contradiction’, the more potential art has to challenge what capital posits as reason and social development.</p> <p>Over the last thirty years, Roberts argues, this artistic resistance is manifest most clearly in collaborative, discursive and pedagogic art, which tends to manifest as an ‘unfinished sociality’: offering in place of encounters with an art object, a non-linear passage through and across a multiplicity of non-totalisable sets of signs and clusters of information.</p> <p>According to Roberts, these practices are not just an attempt at compensating for the alienation produced by the capitalist sensorium and the system of value; they are, rather, attempts to hold open a gap between use value and exchange value, where questions can be asked about what kinds of needs art might meet in a radically different society.</p> <p>Professor John Roberts is joined by Dr Angela Dimitrakaki and Dr Kim Charnley in a discussion about problems explored in 'Art and Emancipation', especially the limits and potentials of art’s relationship to emancipation under neoliberalism.</p>
<p>Friday, 16:15 – 18:00 Interrogating Inequality, Ecocide, and Social Justice: A Marxist Perspective on Environmental Sustainability and Resistance [B102]</p>	
<p>Isabelle Darmon: What does it mean to put the “reduction of inequality at the very heart of environmental policy” (or politics)?</p>	<p>The last few years have seen a multiplication of calls for placing the struggle against inequality and injustice at the heart of environmental activism and politics, through links between human and planetary wellbeing (Hickel 2019 – who coins the phrase quoted in the title here, Raworth 2012, Gough 2017, Rockstrom et al 2023; also see IPCC 2022), or through a more radical vision of climate change as a working-class issue (with the working class encompassing both productive and reproductive labour) (Barca 2012 and 2020, Huber 2022, Arsel 2023). Yet the articulation of environmental sustainability and social justice is often addressed from concerns with unequal environmental exposure or participation, as opposed to considering the fight against inequality as a structural condition for environmental sustainability, as is proposed by Marxist scholars. And the implications of such a structural relationship, even when it is recognised, are not always fully drawn. I propose to address these through the notion of inequality-unsustainability nexus, whereby environmental ‘outcomes’ claimed by ‘green’, ‘sustainability’ initiatives are likely to be cancelled out through dynamics of reproduction or even entrenchment of class, gender, racial inequalities. Work by critical geographers and political scientists on the “contradictions of the climate friendly city” (Rice et al 2019), the dynamics of sustainability and counter-sustainability fixes (Miller and Moessner 2020), and the coupling of industrial and agricultural sustainability transitions with industrial or agricultural sacrifice zones suggests this. Such dynamics create unsustainability on both ends, through the concentration of wealth at one end and through lack of support infrastructures at the other end, though unsustainability is on incomparably higher levels</p>

	<p>at the wealthy end. Adopting a nexus approach shows that the reason why fighting against inequality has to be at the heart of environmental politics is not only to reduce environmental inequality, but also to make sustainability real.</p>
<p>Carlos Frade: The genocide-ecocide nexus and its relationship with inequality: social theory confronts climate change</p>	<p>This paper is an intervention in two different fields: first, in an incipient scholarly literature and debate on the notion of genocide-ecocide nexus, and thus on the inseparability of genocide and ecocide; and, secondly, in social theory's wavering labours to seriously come to grips with climate change. The link between these two fields is inequality. The context of this intervention is what the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (TPP), an international court of opinion based in Rome recognised as a most active expression of the global struggle for justice, has aptly called 'the most persistent war of our time, and the most difficult to win': a war which 'is being waged against nature and the "peoples of nature" by large corporations supported by states and the minority who run them'.</p> <p>Inequality in the theoretical framework this paper seeks to develop (inequality which also stands for domination, oppression, exploitation and therefore colonialism and imperialism) is thus both what should bring those two fields closer and that around which the problems of ongoing ecocide and impending climate disaster will be addressed. The proposed tasks are very complex endeavours, and while there is an emerging literature on which this paper can rely, the paper will just be an initial approach. The challenges to be faced are thus twofold: first of all the fundamental one of how to address climate change, but then how to deal with the rather heterogeneous disciplinary fields implicated in the research, all having considerable theoretical problems of their own: genocide studies, 'environmental' sociology, as is often still called, green criminology and an emerging ecological social theory, to give it a provisional name.</p>
<p>Liam Mcloughlin: Integral State of Mind: The Psychology of the Australian Climate Movement</p>	<p>As the climate crisis intensifies, growing and distinct bodies of academic literature are exploring political questions of movement strategy and psychological questions of climate emotions. Thus far, little research has connected the two. Predating the "affective turn" in sociology by nearly a century, co-founder of the Italian communist party Antonio Gramsci recognised the significance of emotions in achieving political transformation. Gramsci argued that the development of a close relationship between movement leaders and the people, reason and passion, knowing and feeling, is critical to the prospects of an emerging hegemonic project capable of challenging capitalist rule. The passions of the people can enrich the understanding and knowledge of these leaders, and movement leaders can help develop the understanding, knowledge, and "good sense" of the people. For Gramsci, close attention must be paid to this relationship to understand the movement of history. In the context of what the International Governmental Panel on Climate Change (2018) describes as the urgent need for "rapid, far-reaching and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society", examination of the relationship between the knowledge of climate movement leaders and feelings of the people is needed. This study draws on 33 semi-structured interviews with Indigenous, environmental, trade union, and Greens party activists to shed light on the strength of the sentimental connection between the movement and general population in Australia. Analysis of interview data leads to three arguments about the psychology of the Australian climate movement. Firstly, that an "integral state of mind", meaning paternalistic, moralistic, and driven by technical knowledge rather than heart and spirit, has captured movement consciousness. Secondly, that this psychology disconnects the movement from Indigenous communities and their ways of being and knowing. Thirdly, that it disconnects the movement from the working class, broadly and diversely defined. This article contributes a unique perspective to the academic literature on climate movements. It is hoped that the implied argument for a closer relationship between movement leaders and public sentiment will also contribute to activist strategizing for the future.</p>
<p>Friday, 16:15 – 18:00 Oliver Cromwell Cox and the Global Social Construction of Race [B103]</p>	

<p>Roundtable discussion</p> <p>Michael Goldfield Ashok Kumar Charles Post Satnam Virdee</p>	<p>This article examines certain of the ideas of Oliver Cromwell Cox, a Trinidad-born scholar whose major work has largely been ignored until recently. Cox argues that racial classifications and racial antagonism are unique to capitalism; they did not exist prior to its emergence. "Race" is a global social construction, both in its origins and today for the convenience of the bourgeoisie, in their exploitation of labor, resulting in enormous profits for capitalists. This article examines Cox's arguments, explicating them, at times giving further support, while modifying certain aspects. It also argues that Cox's insights and his unsurpassed global breadth are a useful and important starting point for understanding and changing the modern world.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
Israel and American Power: Rogue Sub-Imperialisms and Foreign Policy Intellectuals [B104] *Sponsored by Conter*

<p>Roundtable Discussion</p> <p>David Jamieson Ed McNally Daniel McGregor</p>	<p>The destruction of Gaza and the resulting global protest movement has revived debates about the contemporary relevance of theories of imperialism. However, the very ferocity of Israel's behaviour highlights the need for rethinking how regional oppressors operate in the wider context of American geopolitical/geo-economic decline.</p> <p>On the one hand, much of the movement has been hamstrung by caricatured ideas of an omnipotent Israeli lobby that supposedly shapes American foreign policy. On the other hand, many Marxist accounts have not moved beyond accounts of Israeli behaviour as dictated by the imperial metropolis: as a "watchdog" in an oil-rich region, first for the interests of the British Empire and then for the United States. Finally, the growing influence of "decolonial" theorising in the movement has tended to reimagine relationships of oppression in cultural terms.</p> <p>Materialist accounts have thus struggled to keep pace with the apocalyptic turn of events. This panel brings together scholars who are working on the puzzle of Israel from a Marxist approach to international relations. The goal is to present a fresh understanding of how Israeli and American interests align; how multipolarity has changed the stakes of Israeli oppression and Palestinian resistance; and how pro-Israeli intellectual forces have (and have not) shaped the behaviour of US foreign policy.</p> <p>This panel is sponsored by Conter.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
Interconnections of Race, Class, and Imperialism (III) [B202]

<p>Tavo Espinosa and AK Norris: The Racial Oppression of Black Americans: U.S. Imperialism at Home</p>	<p>Following the mass Black Lives Matter protests of 2020, references to "structural racism" that is "endemic to capitalism" have become common. In this paper we offer the original argument that Blacks were never fully integrated into a classical capitalist mode of production in the U.S. Instead, they were incorporated directly into a fully formed imperialist mode of production in the crucible of the first World War, i.e., belatedly. This enshrined a profitable differential in the price of labor between whites and Blacks, resulting in the extraction of relative surplus value based on the forcible devaluation of the Black labor force compared to its white counterpart. It is well established that the exploitation of slave labor in the 19th century became the basis for the development of industrial capital. We draw on a complementary new body of research that shows that, crucially for the development of imperialism, it was also the basis of the rise of finance capital and a superstructure of credit. Racial segregation—the institutional exclusion of Blacks from the free exchange of land and money capital—supported the predatory practices of finance capital which continue to this day.</p> <p>Drawing on Marx's writings on slavery and the Civil War, and applying his labor theory of value, we show how the extraction of surplus profits and the symbiotic relationship with the financial system is intrinsic to the domestic features of imperialism. We link these phenomena with the features of imperialism identified and popularized by Lenin. In the context of new unionizing drives in the American South, applying the labor theory of value to the imperialist stage of capitalism can provide the necessary theoretical tools</p>
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	for revealing the link between the racial oppression of Blacks in America and the international fight for the emancipation of labor from wage slavery.
Jonas Grahn and Magnus Granberg: Concrete universality and racial capitalism: The Johnson-Forest Tendency on the afterlife of slavery and revolution	In this paper, we explore a concept of concrete universality by reconstructing the analysis of race and class in the U.S. during the post-war strike wave by Raya Dunayevskaya and C.L.R. James of the Johnson-Forest Tendency (JFT). Concrete universality was a lesser-known trope in the materialist-dialectical arsenal of traditional Marxism. However, the concept found its way into some of the heterodox Marxisms on the fringes of the traditional paradigm. Today, this lineage informs a vast field of Marxist and anti-racist theorizing concerned with “practically true” abstractions, concepts and universals. However, from a historical point of view, this field seems to be undergoing a process of diremption, becoming polarized between two self-contained circles, with studies of the “abstract domination” and “real abstractions” of capitalist power on the one hand and theories of “insurgent” universalities and revolutionary social forms on the other. Against this background, we argue that theories of racial capitalism and concrete universality may benefit from the JFT’s work on race, which they approached as a concrete and practical reality at the heart of the economic base of U.S. capitalism and, at the same time, a locus of revolution where “black masses as vanguard” prefigure and generate new ideas of universal liberation through struggle.
Emre Telci: Racism, War, and Capital Expansion: Understanding Modern Imperialism	The embodiment of 21st-century imperialism reveals itself through more explicit forms of racism and domination. The ongoing wars in Ukraine and Palestine, while having different implications, share crucial outcomes for the global working class. It is imperative to address Ukraine and Palestine as two paths pursued by capitalism, cloaked in imperialism, to delay its crises. On one hand, the need for the geographical expansion of capital imposes an urgent agenda. Revisiting early 20th-century theories of imperialism can be valuable for understanding the necessity of the ongoing war in Ukraine as a response to the developing contraction and stagnation in the world economy. What links the Ukraine issue to the other war, Israel's genocide, is mass persuasion. Racism and colonial hierarchy remain among the most significant tools of consent in the Western world within the framework of global capitalism. Both wars hold existential importance in consolidating the Western world internally and in propagating racist ideology among the working classes in the West. While capital's class consciousness is this robust, it is crucial to elucidate the meanings of these wars for the working classes. Standing in solidarity with the Palestinian people remains both an ethical and pragmatic duty. Similarly, advocating for peace in Ukraine is also part of this obligation.
Friday, 16:15 – 18:00 International Inquiries (II) [B203] <i>Workers Inquiry</i>	
Angelo Moro, Francesca Gabbriellini, and Arianna Tassinari: A working-class road to radical industrial democracy: Workplace industrial relations and workers mobilisation in the ex-GKN factory in Florence	Can workplace industrial democracy be a tool of transformative working-class empowerment in the contemporary context of liberalised industrial relations? We argue that in the presence of specific historical legacies and organisational circumstances, radical forms of workplace industrial democracy can contribute to the strengthening of workers’ structural, associational, societal and ideational power resources, even under hostile conditions of labour-capital balance of power. After providing a conceptual definition of radical industrial democracy, we develop our argument by showing its workings in practice in a salient case of industrial restructuring, that of the former GKN plant in Florence, Italy. Since summer 2021, GKN workers have undertaken a long-lasting mobilisation against the plant closure and for its reindustrialisation, in the perspective of a productive reconversion compatible with the concept of just transition. Based on ‘militant’ participatory research and the active engagement of the authors within this movement, we show how the practices of radical industrial democracy embedded in the GKN plant played a key role in shoring up workers’ power resources, supporting the long-lasting mobilisation and the convergence with other social movements. Our findings underscore that radical industrial democracy can be a key

	<p>asset to cultivate autonomous working-class power. It needs, however, to be backed up by broader institutional and political infrastructures to lead to transformative outcomes.</p>
<p>Gabriel Rosenman: Solidarity Strike Funds in France: The Rise of a Class Activation Device</p>	<p>This proposition intends to discuss a key element in the workers' movement's tactical repertoire : solidarity strike funds. Since 2016, France has been shook by several mass political strikes (Gall, 2013). Despite unions' efforts, these strikes didn't really spread beyond public transportation, but they triggered massive displays of financial solidarity : hundreds of on-line strike funds sprouted, raising more than 10 millions euros. Unlike permanent union strike funds in Britain or the US, dedicated to union members' and fueled by their dues, these new ephemeral funds are intended for any strikers (whatever union they belong to or not) and fueled by crowdfunding. Made possible by the rise of the internet and social media, they represent a tactical answer to the way governments and management handled industrial conflicts since the last economic crisis (Vandaele, 2016). Most of all, their recent multiplication not only suggests a form of radicalization in the class struggle, but also a strategic attempt at articulating each strike to a global class conflict (Rosanvallon, 1988). At the intersection of class structure (Wright, 1997) and class consciousness, solidarity strike funds indeed raise the issues of workers' solidarity (Delalande, 2019), class boundaries and alliances. Seizing solidarity not as an ahistoric value but as a practice, produced by experiences of struggle (Fantasia, 1988) with an ever moving social perimeter (Kelliher, 2021), solidarity strike funds can thus be interpreted as « class activation devices ». This communication will intend to build the case for solidarity strike funds, both from an academic and from a militant perspective : it will be based both on a 10 years experience as a railroad worker and union organizer, and on a current doctoral research in political science (EHESS), combining ethnographic observations of strikes, interviews with union leaders, statistical analysis of donations and exploitation of union archives.</p>
<p>Marion Beauvalet: Proletarianization of Managers in France: An Analysis of Social Class Restructuring through the Study of Work Time Control Tools</p>	<p>Management tools occupy a central place in the world of work. They constitute "cognitive traps designed by management to produce a univocal representation of the organization and thus order the actions to be undertaken" (Maugeri, Metzger, 2014). While there is certainly a widespread diffusion of these tools, their usage is less studied (Benedetto-Meyer, 2021). Among these tools, timesheets are used in an increasing number of companies, regardless of their industry or size. They are an "electronic time-tracking sheet" (Linhart, 2015), which is part of a larger system of control of work time by the employer. They are filled out regularly, often on a weekly basis, although this can vary and are used in consulting and research professions and more broadly must be filled out by a significant proportion of managers in companies. What impact does this have on those who have to complete them? We focus on the perceptions of managers, and the impact of these tools on their work, both in terms of practices and how they perceive their work. We rely on 45 semi-structured interviews conducted between 2022 and 2024. These individuals were recruited on LinkedIn or through referrals. The interviews reveal tensions related to professional identity issues, work time, and the feeling of loss of autonomy. In some situations, these timesheets can also have a strong impact on professional practices by limiting them. In this presentation, we will argue that management tools, exemplified by timesheets, contribute to the restructuring of social classes by proletarianizing managers, increasing their degree of exploitation, and symbolically degrading their work—something Braverman had already analyzed for other professions in <i>Labor and Monopoly Capital</i>. We will pay particular attention to the class consciousness that this tool awakens among the interviewees and the conflicts it generates within capitalist companies.</p>
<p>Abraham Assaily: Within and Against the Law: An Operaist Approach to the Development of the American Labour Law Regime</p>	<p>This paper will attempt to reconceptualize the history of American Labour Law through an Operaists understanding of capitalist development, and the role that Worker's Inquiry can play in disrupting that development. The implicit approach which many progressive labour historians take towards labour regulations is one of reconciliation with the state. Most see the laws that govern</p>

workplaces as hard-won victories by the working class. Statutes such as the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) are lauded by progressive labour historians as hallmarks of a by-gone age of labour power and militancy. And, doubtlessly, these regulations came about due to the strength of the labour movement, and they certainly improved the lives of many workers.

But this is an incomplete view, one which ought to be tempered by an Operaists understanding of capitalist development. In broad terms, Operaists argued that the development of constant capital, specifically productive technologies and methods of capitalist planning, occurred in response to the struggles of the working class. (Workers' Struggle in Capitalist Development). As the working class develops new forms of independent power, capital will seek to outmaneuver them through new methods of production, and as new methods are imposed in the workplace the proletariat will attempt to subvert these technologies for their own ends. Through a short reading of the history of American labour law, I hope to show that labour regulations are one type of this technology, one which legitimizes and institutionalizes certain forms of workplace organizing as a method of preventing the free development of workers' power.

To conclude, I will argue that Worker's Inquiry is an invaluable tool for the overcoming of the pitfalls of the law. That only through Inquiry can new forms of independent workers' power, outside the regulatory regime, be discovered and used to overcome the current labour status quo.

Friday, 16:15 – 18:00

Marxist Madness: Materialist Approaches to Mental Ill Health [B204]

'Critical approaches' toward mental ill health, madness and therapeutic care are witnessing somewhat of a resurgence in academic and activist thinking—with organising against psychiatrically-justified detention, oppressive therapeutic practices and 'treatment-industrial complexes' in healthcare increasingly becoming the targets of critical analysis and action. For Marxists interested in these struggles, however, much of this inquiry can appear untethered from the bread and butter of our approaches to social phenomena: whither ideology? Are social relations obfuscated here? What are the roots of mental distress, the functions of mental healthcare infrastructure in our social totality? Overall, how do contemporary developments in the arena of expressing and treating distress relate to capitalism's current configuration, its crises and its direction? This panel explicitly addresses these questions, connecting developments in critical medical humanities and psychosocial studies to historical debates in order to consider mental ill health as it is situated in the current conjuncture. Covering different perspectives on the ways in which madness and sanity are regulated, administered and maintained, the panel addresses the pathologies which govern and confront our social order.

Becka Hudson: Ideology, imprisonment and the individual: the subsumption of trauma

Contemporary political struggles and thinking have turned increasingly towards the abolition of both imprisonment and psychiatric detention as part and parcel of a struggle out of capitalism. Much of this work has necessarily read psychiatric practice in detention facilities deterministically: one is trapped in carceral logic, read pathologically, and undone as an individual. In openly social-democratic as well as purportedly radical confrontations with this problem, attention to prisoners' life histories and social location has been presented as a way out. An emphasis on social deprivation, traumatic experience, and individual acts of subversion have been offered as routes to humanise, fuel resistance, and ameliorate the situation of those categorised criminally sick. It's their material conditions, stupid!

This paper problematises this approach. It does so by considering the recent integration of trauma-talk into the vast mental health infrastructure of the British prison estate, a case which demonstrates that emphases on social vulnerability, distress and poverty are readily subsumed into the repressive apparatus of the prison. Drawing on research, the paper traces how discussions of trauma, social deprivation, and oppression have been subsumed into classificatory practices that assess prisoners' risk, categorise them as pathological, and assess their prospects for release. In this way, clinical life histories which explicitly emphasise deprivation, trauma and oppression have come to constitute an extension of confinement - intensifying surveillance and helping to grow British prisons. The paper draws on Althusser and Pashukanis to make sense of this—presenting

	<p>ideological apparatuses and the legal form as crucial tools to apprehend how (actually existing) material forces readily subsume talk about material conditions into accounts of clinical, criminal personhood. Lastly, the paper asks how our approaches might change when we understand how institutions routinely constitute people, institutions, and ideology with tools appropriated from radical critique.</p>
<p>Eoin Fullam: Automation of Mental Health Treatment as a Commercially Competitive Enterprise</p>	<p>Automated computerised mental health interventions are becoming increasingly popular, and are becoming increasingly viewed as acceptable alternatives to human-delivered interventions. Apps like Headspace and Calm have entered the realm of legitimacy in which they are deemed as effective, accessible, and inexpensive mental health tools. The simulation of psychotherapeutic-style treatment via chatbots is also gathering pace: the addition of an interlocutor in the form of a companionable and therapeutic persona provides the user with the impression that their woes are being heard, in addition to being attended to.</p> <p>There are a number of mental health apps that incorporate a chatbot, who's job is to deliver the treatment in the form of CBT or Mindfulness-based interventions. Competition between the companies which make these apps influences app-design decisions, and consequently influences the mental health interventions and the treatment experience of the users. This paper traces this dynamic in terms of interconnected concepts of treatment effectiveness and commercial viability.</p> <p>The constant revolutionising of technologies is not a natural condition of technological progress, but is a requirement of capitalism. This requirement conforms to the "capitalist 'laws of motion': the imperatives of competition and profit maximisation, a compulsion to reinvest surpluses, and a systematic and relentless need to improve labour-productivity and develop the forces of production. Technological automation of mental health treatment, under this rubric, will have profound effects on our understanding and experiences of mental suffering, this paper seeks to add to a critical assessment of this phenomenon.</p>
<p>Evan Sedgwick-Jell: The Cultural Logic of Mental Health</p>	<p>It appears impossible to be against 'mental health' as a positive goal for the individual. It is this seeming consensus that is taken as a means of investigating its ideological force, and developing new Marxist approaches to its understanding.</p> <p>This paper suggests a shift in understanding ideologies of mental health as a dominant contemporary form of subjectivity. As opposed to numerous criticisms of paradigms seeing mental illness as rooted in bioorganic cause and an individualization of social problems, I will examine precisely those mental health approaches seeking to contradict medicalisation and individualisation. Theories and paradigms taking in the environment, social determinants, and community work, become a particular conception, which in critiquing the functionality and atomizing nature of existing paradigms, at once insidiously function as a collective imaginary proposing to save capitalism from its worst caprices. Jameson's 'cultural logic' is proposed as means of seeing mental health "as a cultural dominant: a conception which allows for the presence and coexistence of a range of very different, yet subordinate, features".</p> <p>Thus mental health is viewed not simply as a powerful ideology structuring subjectivity that must be demystified, but rather a cultural logic that has come to inhabit the entire apparatus of socially organised mental healthcare, and indeed social relations themselves, and thus can only be demystified through interventions of movements to challenge their existing organisation. This will be examined specifically in a discussion of Universal Basic Income and 'social prescribing' in the popular psychology of Johan Hari, and broader mental health policy. The argument will be developed that these are reformist projects, which while appearing to centre the social, aim to target individuals with social policies, as opposed to collectively challenging the basis of capitalist social organisation.</p>

<p>Hannah Proctor: The Loony Left: The Pathologization of Dissent, Carceral Psychiatry and Responses to Soviet Punitive Psychiatry in late Cold War</p>	<p>In 1976, the Soviet government agreed to release dissident Vladimir Bukovsky into exile in Britain in exchange for the release of Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalán Lepe who had been imprisoned under Augusto Pinochet. Bukovsky was a victim of psychiatric abuse who played a key role in relaying information about the misdiagnosis and abuse of 'sane' dissidents in Soviet psychiatric hospitals to psychiatrists in Western Europe. Bukovsky became something of a public figure in Britain, serving as an informal advisor to Margaret Thatcher's government, a political alliance which, along with his connections to Russian nationalist émigré groups, provoked confusion among some of the British liberals who had campaigned for his release.</p> <p>Mark Hurst has argued that the public prominence attained by British campaigns against the political abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s should be understood in the context of the emergence of a 'human rights paradigm' but he does not explore the wildly divergent political views of individuals involved in them, nor does he consider how British discussions of human rights violations in the Soviet Union intersected with those relating to other contexts in the same period. Was the political abuse of psychiatry specific to 'actually existing socialist' contexts or was psychiatry as a discipline generally vulnerable to abuse? Could comparisons be drawn between state socialist systems and right-wing dictatorships? And where did capitalist democracies fit in?</p> <p>This paper will discuss responses to revelations of psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union in Britain, exploring the debates the issue provoked within the anti-psychiatry movement and discussing the Royal College of Psychiatrists' fraught discussions about whether similar practices could be observed in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, South Africa or closer to home in the treatment of political prisoners in Northern Ireland.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00

Marxism and Radical Pedagogy [B205]

<p>James Foster Evans: The Ideology of Pedagogies: Authoritarianism in Education</p>	<p>To teach is a moral and political act. To expand on this idiom, I add that pedagogies are ideological. Today, education has lost its legitimacy. Authoritarianism is the dominant view in education. 'Traditional' pedagogies are instrumentalised in response to poor behaviour from students, such that the function of the teacher has shifted to the role of control. These pedagogies are used as an answer to factors external to the classroom. I argue that these forces, spearheaded by Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs) and free schools, are reactionary to the crisis of racial capitalism, finding its manifestations in education. From a shortage of teachers to an attention crisis due to technology, traditional pedagogies have been declared as the answer to this crisis, when they are in fact the effect of this malaise. This is a contradictory problem: liberalism has created the conditions for this crisis, allowing reactionary forces to naturalise these problems. In many cases, these pedagogies achieve good results for working-class pupils. The progress 8 scores are held up as evidence as the highest standard of teaching, and thus the argument is made that we must return to didactic, traditional approaches. This, I argue, is ideological in a critical sense. These pedagogies appear just, unchangeable, and as the only response to the crisis of education- exemplified by the concept of 'analytic atomism'. This means these pedagogies neglect the interconnectedness of schools within a capitalist society, by treating issues in education as isolated. Specifically, they decontextualise the politics of education, creating false binaries and justifying the domination of these pedagogies. Hence education is perceived as illegitimate, with the re-legitimation being sourced from the cause. A further descent into an authoritarian control of pupils, which adds to the carceral state, are conceived as the only solution to the crisis in education.</p>
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<p>Sam Hamer: Freire and the incoherent politics of Critical Pedagogy scholarship</p>	<p>Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' frames Marxist rhetoric as a struggle between oppressor and oppressed. Historical materialism and its ideological consequences become reframed as the oppressor's consciousness in the oppressed, necessitating</p>
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	<p>education to identify the oppressor within the oppressed and to struggle with the oppressor out there, to achieve liberation from the oppressor/oppressed dialectic. Freire’s framework and its legacy through the ‘critical pedagogy’ discipline raises interesting questions regarding the role of scholars and their theories in effecting social change. While critical pedagogy has been undoubtedly successful in penetrating the cultural consciousness, I will use critical pedagogy’s own logic and identify several problems with critical pedagogy scholarship as it relates to the liberation of the oppressed. I will discuss a problem with the individual character of critical pedagogy scholarship, a problem with the adoption of critical pedagogy scholarship outside of academia and finally how these problems manifest themselves in incoherent political praxis. As a Marxist branch of academia, I think these problems with critical pedagogy scholarship are relevant for other Marxist branches of academia as well and speak to how we as Marxist scholars can relate to our fields.</p>
<p>Scott Ritchie: A pedagogy of solidarity: Resisting capitalism’s disabling processes in a primary grades classroom</p>	<p>"Primary education under capitalism serves as an ideological apparatus to construct productive workers who will participate in the extractive economy and consent to their own exploitation. However, some school children are marked as deficient—impaired, disabled, and mad—incapable of being good workers who facilitate capitalist accumulation. Just as capital banishes incapacitated workers to the reserve army of labor, so too do school children learn to “surplus” and “disable” their peers who do not meet school norms.</p> <p>In this paper, I use a revolutionary Marxist perspective to analyze empirical data from a grade 1 United States classroom where students were teasing a neurodivergent classmate and excluding her from participation. I explore how the teacher intervened by using critical literacy to design a curricular unit on hidden disabilities that would engage her students in transformative, disability justice, and how students built a community around their disabled peers.</p> <p>Along the way, I explore how disability is a relation under capitalism rather than an identity; how nature gives us diverse bodyminds but it is capitalism that disables us; how the education system in capitalist societies is a vehicle for the dissemination of ruling class ideologies of productivity; how some school children are surplus and labeled as incapable of being good workers who facilitate capitalist accumulation; and possible solutions—what educators, parents, caregivers, and others can do about it.</p>
<p>George Souvlis and Fotis Koutsopoulos: Transforming the higher education from below: dejuntaization and universities in Greece in the Metapolitfesi conjuncture</p>	<p>The aim of this paper is to examine the role of the student movement in the first phase of the transition to democracy in Greece after the collapse of the Junta regime. By focusing on the initiatives launched by the student body during the first two years (1974-1975) of “metapolitfesi” (regime change) in all universities across the country, such as the formation of “committees for de-juntaization”, the organization of counter-courses, the abstinence from formal higher education courses and the participation in strikes, we will highlight the ways in which forms of transitional justice implemented from below transforming radically the institutional landscape of the tertiary education since then. The purging of junta’s collaborators from the higher education system was one of the most urgent demands in the post-1974 period, given the role that students had played in the destabilization of the regime with the Athens Polytechnic uprising in November 1973. The victory of Konstantinos Karamanlis and his newly formed conservative party, New Democracy, in the first elections of the Metapolitfesi era in November 1974 prompted the student movement to take a radical stance regarding its role in the process of purging the universities’ personnel who had supported the junta regime by actively participating in it, fearing that the cleansing from above would be fairly smooth. Taking into account the existing literature that considers these institutional reforms in higher education as a project from above related to the “genuinely democratic convictions” of the party of New Democracy that was in power at the time, we will show how the different political repertoires and discursive formations were deployed on behalf of the</p>

	<p>student movement in order to address the authoritarian past at a time of mass mobilization and democratic transition: demands that were crystallized in the removal of nearly 10% of all university personnel from the structures of higher education, implementing a radical version of transitional justice from below. In order to reconstruct the political imaginaries and organizational activities of the student body, we will use material from interviews with key student activists of the time, archives of student organizations of the period, universities' archives, resolutions of the Special Disciplinary Council for the Purge of University Staff, newspapers, journals and personal diaries. In this way, we aim not only to show the crucial role that the student movements played in the general democratization process of the country, but also to reinterpret the institutional and popular "achievements" of Metapolitefsi as achievements won through the struggles from below.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
The Work and Thought of Marina Vishmidt (I): Contributions to Marxist Thought [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/ DLT)]
Marxism and Culture

<p>Jack Segbars: Infrastructural Critique performing against the Division of Labour</p> <p>Ciarán Finlayson</p> <p>Kerstin Stakemeier</p> <p>Danny Hayward: "Exhilarating negation of violent and necrotic social stasis": Marina Vishmidt's Infrastructural Critique</p>	
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
Global Crisis and the Far-Right [G3]

The norms and institutions of representative governance and liberal rights are under increasing pressure from the extreme-right and various forms of authoritarianism. Over the last decade, liberal rule has been destabilized by the political and economic volatility associated with the capitalist crisis beginning in 2007-08, the most serious conflagration in the world-system since the Great Depression. Of course, these proximate catalysts of instability built on decades of intractable neoliberal commitment to market discipline and austerity by states around the world, as well as the unending War on Terror led by the United States and its allies. This interdisciplinary and multinational panel explores the contention that the most salient threat to the liberal-democratic form of rule at present is not fascism per se, but a wider set of anti-democratic phenomena and inclinations.

<p>Alison Ayers, Alfredo Saad-Filho: "In the Time of Monsters": The Crises of Neoliberalism and the Spectre of Fascism</p>	<p>The era since the Great Recession of 2008/9 has witnessed the rise and increased sway of numerous authoritarian-right movements, regimes, and leaders across the globe. Such political developments remain inadequately understood; yet several commonplaces have emerged. First, a tendency to eschew critical enquiry of the range of forces on the radical right, in favour of collapsing such political developments into generalisations such as 'populism'. Second, such over-generalisations have commonly elided analysis of neofascist forces, strategies, and processes. Third, despite some engagement with 'economic' factors, examination of these political developments has largely eschewed the underlying organic crisis of neoliberal capital accumulation. This article critiques such commonplaces. The first section problematises the category of 'populism' as largely inadequate in understanding the complexity of forces and dynamics on the radical right. The subsequent section argues that an emergent or immanent neofascism exists within such political developments, outlining eight theses on the spectre of neofascism and the conditions that underpin the rise of elements of fascist politics. The final section concludes with key aspects for an anti-fascism, arguing that opposing neofascism entails the transcendence of neoliberal capitalism itself. A meaningful alternative to neoliberal state and capital requires us to look again to socialism.</p>
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<p>Richard Saul: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, the Geopolitics of the Western Far-Right and the Fractures Within the Liberal International Order</p>	<p>Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 triggered an unprecedented geopolitical crisis in Europe. Putin's aggression revealed the longstanding imperial ambitions of the Putin regime alongside the articulation of a far-right infused ideological alternative to the post-war liberal international order. Coming at a time when far-right ideo-political currents have been making significant electoral gains across parts of the liberal-democratic heartland – some of which have longstanding connections with Russia – the current conjuncture appears to reveal a profound crisis in both the international and domestic sources of liberal order. This paper seeks to address this 'poly-crisis' conjuncture through an examination of the responses of the Western far-right to Russia's war on Ukraine and what this means for the future of the liberal international order. And it seeks to do so through addressing the following questions: has there been a consistent far-right response (and what accounts for the various responses) to Russia's aggression? Has Russia's aggression benefited the Western far-right? What are the stakes for the future of the liberal international order (and the wider social and political constituencies associated with it) of the 'Putinization' or 'Russification' of the Western far-right?"</p>
<p>Rodrigo Nunes: Entrepreneurialism and the Far Right</p> <p>Pedro Fiori Arantes: Rebellion, left and right in the mirror of democracy</p>	<p>Rodrigo Nunes and Pedro Arantes discuss the dizzying situation of Brazilian politics amidst the irresistible rise of the far-right and its insurgent base of supporters. In this thematic session, with Juan Grigera as a discussant, the two authors will present their latest research on the far-right's ability to act and transform history, contrasted with the paralysis of the institutional left, which has assumed its role as managing order, pacification, and conciliation in one of the most unequal, racist, and violent societies in the world. Rodrigo Nunes will explore the far-right's influence in Brazil through entrepreneurial activism and neopentecostal "prosperity theology," and how these small entrepreneurs align with a mafia state led by factions tied to gangster capitalism, their security forces, and paramilitaries expanding business and predation in the country. Pedro Arantes will discuss how the far-right attack in Brasília Palaces on 8 January 2023 reveals contemporary Brazil's dilemmas and fractures, highlighting the motivations and risks taken in defence of beliefs to change history's course.</p>
<p>Friday, 16:15 – 18:00 Perspectives on Ecological Marxism and Conflicts in Forestry and Agriculture [G51a]</p>	
<p>Cannelle Gignoux: The concept of ecological crisis in ecological Marxism</p>	<p>In this talk I would like to show that the ecological crisis, despite the claims of the "metabolic rift school" to have proposed an exogenous framework for the crisis (O'Connor critique, has been conceptualised for the most part in terms of a crisis internal to capitalism. Whether by K. Saito or J. Moore, the claim to develop a theory of the objectivity of nature has been subsumed under the social paradigm. If the irreducible contradiction of the project of the school of metabolic rift reveals the ambition to transcend the endogenous interpretation of the crisis, its abandonment of the analytical framework of the dialectic of nature in favour of a social explanation redoubles the capitalo-centric gesture of J. Moore. My hypothesis is that James O'Connor's theory of the 'second contradiction', which refers to a crisis of underproduction caused by the rising cost of raw materials, manages to articulate a theory of crises while maintaining the ontological framework of the objectivity of nature. Although this theory is internal to the capitalist mode of production, it envisages the conditions of production as being produced outside the circuit of capital. In this sense, this theory manages to grasp the exteriority of nature and the effects of the ecological crisis on non-human forms of life, as well as the cause of the cause of environmental destruction. Taking O'Connor's work as a starting point, I would like to show the potential of his reflections for thinking through both the causes and effects of capitalism's ecological crisis.</p>
<p>Jonas Van Vossole: Crisis in three eco-Marxist perspectives on the labour/nature relation</p>	<p>This presentation aims to comprehend the notion of crisis through three ecomarxist approaches, with the goal of identifying points of articulation. While not pretending to provide conclusive overview, the study serves as a research agenda and an intellectual exercise within a context marked by multiple divergences. Beginning with an examination of the Stalinist, social-democratic, and hippie-bourgeois perspectives on</p>

	<p>nature and society - assessing their responses to the ecological and climatic crises of capitalism - the text contextualizes the relevance of ecomarxism.</p> <p>Subsequently, the study delves into three primary eco-marxist approaches, aiming to understand how notions of economic and ecological crises emerge within each framework and to identify overlaps, advantages, contradictions, and points of convergence. The three perspectives we focus on are categorized as follows: (1) a focus on the commodity as the starting point, associated with the World-Ecology school and scholars like Jason Moore; (2) an emphasis on social reproduction theory, with notable proponents including Maria Mies, Silvia Federici and Stefania Barca; and (3) an analysis centred on the concept of the metabolic rift, popularized by John Bellamy Foster and the Monthly Review journal, drawing from Marx's insights on agriculture and the urban-rural relationship.</p> <p>Central to this study is the concept of crisis, which is approached as the central concept in critical theory, serving as a perspective that reveals underlying contradictions of a system and as a call to action. The study examines the role of crisis within each eco-marxist perspective, aiming to better understand the consequences of their differences and the possibilities for articulation. It illustrates the different interpretations of crisis and its implications for social and environmental change. The study concludes by exploring potential points of convergence among the diverse ecomarxist perspectives, highlighting the importance of dialogue and marxist synthesis in addressing the ecological challenges of our time.</p>
<p>Ella Petrini: Forestry's dual conflicts - Work and the environment in industrial forestry</p>	<p>This paper centres on work in the industrial forestry the midst of two ongoing crisis– the intensification and growing precariousness of labour, and the environmental pressures exerted by the industry.</p> <p>The Swedish forestry workers' union describes strong downward pressure on working conditions in the industry due to fierce international competition and increased demands on profit distribution. The labour process of industrial forestry has undergone significant mechanisation and routinisation. Until the late 1970's, the labour process included all parts of the life cycle of a planted tree – from plantation, grubbing and thinning, to the final cut. Today, these tasks are performed by different work teams and organisations. This division of labour reflects a segmentation of the internal labour market in forestry – with machine drivers permanently employed by the forestry companies, grubbing and thinning subcontracted to local operators, and plantation organised as seasonal labour carried out by migrant workers. Meanwhile, the dominance of clear-felling and the production rate of industrial forestry are increasingly being questioned. Environmental movements and researchers draw attention how the Swedish forestry model threatens biological diversity and the forest's capacity as a carbon sink.</p> <p>The paper presents initial findings from an ongoing PhD-project that examines the life histories of forestry workers in Sweden and how socio-ecological conflicts are interpreted by trade unions. Data consists of focus groups and life history interviews with forestry workers, and semi-structured interviews with representatives from trade unions. Following Barca's (2014) call to centre the labour process as a socio-ecological process, the contribution addresses what interlinkages can be discerned between changes in the labour process and the environmental impact of industrial forestry, and probes deeper into how alienation impinges the possibilities to politicise the labour process and forestry's operations from the vantage point of labour.</p>
<p>Toby Leon Moorsom: Capitalist Agriculture and Environmental Drivers of Conflict in Africa</p>	<p>This article surveys current patterns of militarization and conflict in Africa, which derive from the expansion of capitalist social relations and commoditization of land amidst global crisis. Most countries are again being relegated to decades of indebtedness and greater austerity. This limits capacities for redistribution, state welfare and emergency-response provision. Agricultural changes underway are propelled by multilateral donor spending programs claiming to build climate resilience yet are making countries more</p>

	<p>susceptible to conflict. 22 years ago, one of Africa’s most important development economists, noted, “insecurity over land is not a major preoccupation of African peasants” (Mkandawire, 2002, 194). Thus, peasants were mostly victims of armed conflict, but not participants in it. This cannot be said today, and this fact may be the most important change in the dynamics of conflict in Africa. Facing demands of feeding rapidly growing populations, policy approaches toward agriculture have focused on “commercialization”, “farming as a business”, “value chain enhancement”, the massive expansion of contract farming, and ironically, export-led agriculture (Idrissu et al. 2022, Moorsom et al, 2020, Maswi, et al. 2022, Ayeb and Bush 2019). They are predicated on the expansion of private titling of land, within constitutional frameworks established post 1990. Though uneven, this has led to consolidation, displacement, rural to urban migration, (alongside jobless growth) “land grabs”, corruption and rent seeking by elites (Hall, et al. 2015). While formal titles have reduced in-group conflicts over land, they exclude customarily layered, inter-group access to resources, water and grazing lands, especially along rivers, wetlands, and coastal areas (the latter also being under intensified pressures of in-migration) in many cases creating rifts between different ethnolinguistic groups who, in the past have often been culturally and materially intertwined to varying degrees (Mandani, 2009). While there is dynamism among youth, realities are grim, and few wish to farm.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
Privatisation of Education in Brazil: Dimensions of Casualization of Labour Among Education Professionals [R201]

<p>Maria Vieira Silva Caio Antunes Joana Freitas João Doreto</p>	<p>Brazilian society has witnessed the intensification of private sector logic in the public sector and the redesign of the State's role as a provider of social rights. The privatist actions of companies’ “social arms” in public schools have had an impact on multiple aspects of their dynamics. In this panel, we will specifically focus on the implications of privatization on work relationships of education professionals in the Brazilian states of Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Norte.</p> <p>The substrates for the study, with a qualitative predominance, were collected from documents and educational data extracted from the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira.</p> <p>After mapping the institutes and foundations in the two states, actions referring to private programs with greater capillarity are presented and, in parallel, the following aspects are observed: data relating to temporary work contracts; bonuses and gratifications; career plans and wages; unionization rate; initial training of education professionals; working hours; inputs relating to the physical infrastructure of schools; number of students per classroom; activities demanded by private institutes. Based on empirics and contributions from Marxist theories on the category of work, the study identifies properly ideological aspects of the concept of corporate social responsibility, in a manner contiguous to the processes of precariousness and intensification of the labor of professionals who work in the implementation of privatization programs.</p> <p>The paradoxes and superficiality of business actions to improve educational provision and working conditions of teachers highlight the ideological nature of private companies through a systematized intervention aimed at adopting commercial principles in the public sector and weakening the paradigms of education criticism.</p> <p>Keywords: Work relationships; Privatization of education; Intensification of work.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
Theoretical and Cultural Struggles in India [RB01]
Marxism and Culture

<p>Aritra Bhattacharya: Tradition, ideology and emancipatory</p>	<p>What relevance do past traditions of performative resistance against Brahmanical hegemony in the Indian subcontinent have in contemporary struggles for the</p>
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<p>struggles: Reflections from Maharashtra</p>	<p>emancipation of marginalised groups, aside from supplying the forms, idioms and myths to carry political content? Can and do such traditions, including those currently controlled by Hindutva proponents, provide the tools to reinterpret the political – to connect the personal with the social, and shape what Gramsci calls ‘metaphysical events?’ Does engagement with such traditions complicate one’s relationship with emancipatory ideologies like Marxism and Ambedkarism?</p> <p>This paper examines these questions via close reference to the life and work of Annabhau Sathe (1920-1969), a prominent shahir (performer-poet aligned with emancipatory movements) from Maharashtra (a state in western India), whose literary corpus spans hundreds of songs and poems, around 20 plays/theatrical acts, 13 collections of short stories, 33 novels, and one travelogue.</p> <p>Though often represented in popular literature and discourse as a Communist in early life who became an Ambedkarite in his mature years, Sathe was in fact a member of the Communist Party of India for most of his political life who also identified as Dalit; he was from the Untouchable Matang/Mang community, and revered BR Ambedkar, whom he knew personally. He played a key role as artist and organiser in most major political struggles of his time – including the nationalist movement, the working class movement and the movement for a separate state of Maharashtra for Marathi speakers.</p> <p>The paper refers to select incidents from Sathe’s life and his writings to tease out answers to the overarching questions posed earlier. Additionally, it foregrounds his departures from the ascetic modality of Communist self-fashioning (Dasgupta, 2014), and his resonances with the Gramscian idea of the organic intellectual.</p>
<p>Prabuddha Ghosh: Religion, myth and Leftism: Failure and Triumph of the Indian leftist authors</p>	<p>Religion, myth and mystic are inseparable from the socio-cultural reality of India. Often the rightist political parties use them to champion their own political agenda. Extreme-rightist organisations in last few decades started to reinterpret or misinterpret mythologies and used Hindutvavad as the violent tool to rule the oppressed. They are using religious beliefs and values to propagate hatred against the minorities and to satisfy the majoritarian viewpoints. Though the religious beliefs,, supernatural faith, religion-coated rituals and re-interpretation of myths are quite common in Indian people through ages. How did the Indian authors respond to the religious beliefs of the common people? Did the so called progressive authors search the root of religious belief and orature-myth relation in depth? Did they reject such practice of the common people by tagging it regressive and irrelevant? In India, culture and rituals are often entangled with religious practice. As most of the leftist authors were ignorant to the religious practice and interpreted it mechanically as ‘the opium of the people’, they ignored that Karl Marx also mentioned religion as ‘the sigh of the oppressed creatures, and the soul of the soulless world’. Religion and the concept of supernatural faith are used by the ruling class to rule over the oppressed mass; but at the same time these things cannot be wiped off overnight. Myths, propagated through orature and rural practice, cannot be rejected only as ‘regressive’, rather they are part of the culture. Some authors of the Indian subcontinent found the subversive power of the myths and oratures and used it to challenge the cultural hegemony. But is it enough to fight against the religious-political discourse of the extreme-rightist organisations? how did the leftist authors reconcile the regressive elements and the progressive idea to deal the characters/events born out of Indian reality?</p>
<p>Juvaria Syed: Homographic Politics in the Poetry of Kashmiri Progressive Poets</p>	<p>Abdul Ahad Azad (1903-1948) and Dinanath Nadim (1916-1988) are considered to be the most prominent Kashmiri poets of the twentieth century and the pioneers of the “modern age” of Kashmiri literature. Azad, whose poetry along with the poetry of Ghulam Ahmed Mehjoor (1885-1952) considerably influenced Nadim, is considered to be the progenitor of “progressive” literature in Kashmir. Influenced by the Tarraqi Pasand Tehreek of India, a progressive literary association was formed in Kashmir under the banner of Cultural Front in 1947 with Nadim as its poster poet and general secretary from 1949 to 1957. If progressive literature was considered to be influenced by anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and Marxist ideology, then both Nadim and Azad were</p>

“progressive” writers. While both of them were self-avowed Marxists, Azad was never formally a part or a participant of the “movement” or the “association”. Even though Azad and Nadim’s poetry is considered to perfectly align with the ideals of the “progressive movement”, Azad’s poetry, Nadim’s early and late poetry and the ideals of the “progressive association” reveal such differences in their essential stances that only a retrospective construction of the historical account of the movement could overlook, especially when constructed with a gaze that privileges optimistic politics over politics of dejection. In my essay, I will argue that both the poets whose literature was committed to “progressive ideals” used similar leitmotifs, symbols, and themes in their poetry and, on the surface, seem to seamlessly be linked to form the lineage of progressive writers of Kashmir sharing “anti-feudal”, “anti-imperial” and “Marxist” convictions but their ideas of “progress”, their faith in the idea of leadership and the significance of hope and despair in revolution, as reflected in their writings, differ in a way that is easy to miss but, if missed, only serves to augment the sketchy and schematic history of the progressive literary movement as written in literary and historical accounts of the movements. A comparative analysis of selected literary texts of the two poets could, first, reveal the fraught nature of what is now simply described as the progressive literary movement of Kashmir and, second, expose how the conflation of optimism and revolutionary romanticism with “progressivism” and pessimism or despondency with fatalism and resignation was the project of a specific kind of politics with which the association writers had to negotiate post-1947.

Avishek Konar: Semi-Feudalism, Semi-Colonialism and Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution - A Theoretical Cul-de-Sac for Indian Communists

Despite considerable variations, both the parliamentary left and the extra-parliamentary CPI(Maoist) of India, are in agreement that India is ‘semi-feudal’ and ‘semi-colonial’. The most uncompromising adherents of this thesis are the CPI (Maoist)s, whose most recent political program of 2021 states that the relations of production in India have not changed ‘fundamentally’, and hence their political program requires little revision. In political-economic terms, much of the arguments revolve around the inequitable land ownership at the heart of surplus extraction; the pervasiveness of tenancy in the countryside; the role of merchants, usury, and unequal exchange; and the prevalence of unfree labour as evidence of ‘semi-feudalism’. In social terms, semi-feudalism means ubiquity of caste-based atrocities, gender-based oppression, and religiosity and superstition—all of which, it is believed, should disappear with the ushering of capitalism. In political terms, semi-feudalism means that the Indian independence in 1947 was a sham, and a bourgeois-democratic revolution will lead to true political freedom for Indians. A belief in semi-feudalism is thus consistent with an intellectual commitment to the Stalinist 2-stage program to first bring about a bourgeois-democratic revolution. This perspective has led to cross-class alliances for the Maoists, and electoral alliances (often unprincipled) with bourgeois parties and irresolute anti-capitalist struggles for the parliamentary left.

This paper focuses not on the disagreements among the Indian communists but rather on their unanimity on key political questions. I argue that the semi-feudalism semi-colonialism thesis does not withstand critical scrutiny, neither theoretically nor empirically. Once we adopt the perspective of ‘real competition’, as opposed to ‘perfect competition’ derived from neoclassical economics, as well as allow that capitalism has an uneven and combined character, we can reconcile all the empirical observations of stagnation and crisis in agriculture, persistence of backward technology, and prevalence of relations of exploitation which have pre-capitalist origins with the presence of capitalism in India. I argue that a labour process that is formally subsumed to capital is still capitalistic even when it resembles pre-capitalist social relations. The challenge is to not simply posit that pre-capitalist forms of oppression, like caste atrocities, exist in capitalism, but to explain why they persist. I argue, using the seminal work of Botwinick (1993), that the process of real competition generates mechanisms which produce differentiated outcomes across and within industries (persistent wage disparity). If disparity and graded inequality are capitalist phenomena in general, then it can use pre-existing social hierarchy as rationalisations for outcomes resulting from capitalist real competition.

<p>Friday, 16:15 – 18:00 Social Reproduction, Marxism, and the Contestation of Bodies [RG01] <i>HMSPEN</i></p>	
<p>This panel will discuss sites of social reproduction as important spaces for both working-class formation and politics. Considering capitalism not only as an economic system but as a social totality, the panel will explore how forms of domination are tied to the logic of capital but not reducible to it: the intention is to disentangle the relationship between production, reproduction of class relations, and social reproduction. Scholarship on social reproduction has theorised how these economic and extra-economic spheres are internally related, highlighting the contradiction between value-forming and life-making activity which represents a site of tension, and as such, o, potential struggle.</p> <p>As Marxist interventions into social reproduction theory have insisted on the need to view extra-economic forms of domination as linked to capitalist social relations, the panel strives to explore how gender and sexuality represent strategic and contested terrain, inseparable from the social totality. Panelists will examine gender and sexuality as specific determinations of capitalist social relations, therefore considering class in its concrete and dynamic form, and struggle in its historical and intertwined manifestations. Emphasis will be placed on the dualities arising from the tensions between labour as alienated and labour as creative activity, between life-making for capital and life-making for ourselves: the production of gendered bodies as living and working bodies, the organisation of sexuality enabling normative regimes and meaningful forms of kinship, the struggle for means of survival and means of desire. These elements all work together informing how class and class politics are differently formed and experienced through the particularities of gender and sexuality.</p>	
<p>Alan Sears: Alienation and the Social Reproduction of Gendered Sexualities</p>	<p>The regime of sexual liberalism in contemporary capitalist societies is built on contradictory conditions of freedom and compulsion, so that members of the working class feel a degree of bodily autonomy grounded in self-ownership while alienating their most human capacities. Sexual liberalism is the historical product of feminist, queer, anti-colonial, anti-racist and class struggles, as members of the working class have mobilized to realize their bodily autonomy and meet their wants and needs, winning partial victories confined within the limits of capitalist reproduction.</p> <p>Sexual liberalism organizes social reproduction around the formation of contractually regulated relationships based on sexual attraction, through which members of the working class sustain themselves by aggregating their monetized and reproductive labour. These relationships are organized around a system of gendered sexualities, in which social identities are defined in relation to the orientation of our desire towards the same gender, another gender, or all genders.</p> <p>The broad spectrum eroticism of embodied fulfillment and human connection is contained in conditions of alienation, as labour is severed from the inherent fulfillment of wants and needs. Rather than realizing themselves through their life-making labour, members of the working class must alienate their most human capacities and work in conditions in which they control neither the product nor the process of production. In conditions of erotic containment rooted in alienation, the labouring body is desexualized and desire is directed through the channels of gendered sexualities. This paper examines the formation and reproduction of gendered sexualities in conditions of capitalist alienation.</p>
<p>Isadora Andrea Seconi: Variegated Social Reproduction: the Matter of Trans Embodiments</p>	<p>Theories on social reproduction have devoted their efforts towards understanding the entanglements and tensions between the social processes of life making and of capital. Reproduction can be understood as a terrain invested by both capitalist and extra-capitalist forms of domination, which establish a variegation of shared relations to conditions of reproduction. I am interested in examining social reproduction as a condition for capital's social form, and trans embodiments offer crucial insights to analyze this potential aspect of SR.</p> <p>While all labor is embodied labor, not every labor-power, meaning not every body, is created equally. Trans bodies, unlike cis bodies, make evident the ways gendered bodies are not effortlessly and readily made, but a product of work. First, this analysis inquires how the making of trans bodies can be understood as a process enabling the sale of labor power. In this framework, bodies appear as labor power's preconditions, organized</p>

	<p>around production's capacity requirements, within which immanently appear non-capitalist norms of gender acceptability.</p> <p>Drawing from accounts of class as determined by the conditions of total social reproduction, this analysis will widen its focus on capital's circulation, inquiring human life not only as replenishment of labor-power but as central for all stages of value-form circulation. As we consider the working class also as buyer of commodities whose consumption enables social reproduction, this perspective offers other interpretations for the reproduction of trans lives. Under capitalism, trans bodies necessitate the mediation of money, of the market, in order to access their means of self-affirmation, to reproduce themselves as trans bodies: labor power figures as a premise for the body. Through this framework, it is possible to inquire the market as a contested arena that organizes the conditions of trans body possibility.</p>
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<p>Sean Isaacs: Time, alienation, and social reproduction</p>	<p>Recent interventions in Marxist theory have centred time as an entry point into investigating the unevenness of capitalist totality, the contradictory nature of capitalist temporality, and the persistence of multiple and diverse temporalities despite the tendency of capital to subsume all forms of life under the hegemony of abstract labour time. While these important works have pointed towards these sites of contradiction as potential points of struggle, the relationship between revolutionary politics and these theorizations on time remains relatively less developed. This paper will argue that Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) represents a theoretical and practical site of such a politics. While SRT does not have an explicit theorization of time, or even a unified politics, it contains the foundations for both.</p> <p>This paper will interrogate the tension internal to the dual form of labour, considering Marx's insight that the production of commodities requires specific and concrete creative activity, while at the same time subsuming the latter to abstract labour-time. For SRT, the persistence of conscious, creative human activity – the fact that the production of value requires the creation of use-values – represents a central contradiction for capitalism. Even as workers are alienated from their own labour power, their capacity to create remains essential to commodity production. The sphere of social reproduction represents a unique location, connected to capitalist production yet temporally distant. This places social reproduction struggles in an important strategic position, as an expression of a politics struggling against the alienation of capitalist society and aiming to exert meaningful control over the labour process by reclaiming control over the time in which we exert our creative activity. This paper will articulate such a strategic politics, grounded in SRT and emerging from the contradictions internal to capitalist temporality.</p>
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Friday, 16:15 – 18:00
Socialist Planning 2: Participation and Rationality [Khalili Lecture Theatre]
Post-Capitalism

Socialism is often cast as the “conscious” coordination of society, in contrast to the automatic and inhuman chaos of capitalism. But in a complex world of many different stakeholders, how can this conscious control be achieved in a harmonious manner without subordinating society to a single central authority? And without the all-pervasive, one-dimensional, discipline of market forces, how can postcapitalism ensure efficient decisions and responsible behaviour? This panel will show the way towards a new postcapitalist civilization, where conscious and humane multi-criteria coordination is achieved through the self-organisation and participatory planning of the masses.

<p>Aaron Benanav: Constructing a Socialist Investment Function</p>	<p>This paper considers how we might construct a socialist investment function. When it comes to investment designed to meet human needs and wants in an emancipated society, people will need to evaluate their options in terms of multiple, overlapping goals: they will consider not only the efficiency of proposed additions to (and subtractions from) productive capacity, but also the work satisfaction, fairness, sustainability, aesthetics, and so on that each proposal entails. Given uncertainty about future states of the world and about what our collective aims should be—as well as about how we should trade our aims off against one another—there will likely be no single, optimal investment plan to which everyone can agree. Under these conditions, socialist investment will need to be organised as a conflictual political process, with democratic procedures for choosing among possible plans. This paper describes how investment</p>
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	<p>planning could be organised as an open, experimental process, in which everyone – not only as individuals but also as members of associations – participates in constructing the future. In this open-ended planning process, people will be encouraged to periodically reconsider what they think our goals should be, how progress towards these goals should be measured, and how to make tradeoffs across different goals in cases where choices have to be made.</p>
<p>Pat Devine: Participatory Eco-socialist Planning via Social Ownership and Negotiated Coordination</p>	<p>Unlike market socialism or electronic socialism the model actively involves the different social owners, i.e. groups that will be affected by the decisions made and implemented, talking to each other and making their different interests known through a deliberative participatory process in which they negotiate an outcome all can live with. It is a learning process through which the social owners become aware of one another's current preferences and in doing so modify their own preferences. This involves multi criteria decision in the context of the cooperative and solidaristic values that would characterise a self-governing ecosocialist society.</p>
<p>Martin Schmidt: Postcapitalist Utility Functions and Democratic Economics</p>	<p>Democratic economic planning faces the challenge of assessing, weighing and combining the multi-faceted interests of a global economy. Utility in a postcapitalist world is found not merely in maximising the gains of a single self-interested actor but in global welfare and inclusion, maintaining a livable and thriving environment, and eliminating oppressive social and working conditions. Where these aims conflict, tradeoffs must be considered to find suitable compromises. This presentation considers different methods such tradeoffs can be quantified and contrasts their informational value, practicality and susceptibility to misuse.</p>
<p>John O'Neill: Rationality without optimisation</p>	<p>Central to early stages of socialist calculation debate was Mises's rejection on socialist planning on the ground that, in the absence of a single cardinal measure of value for production goods provided by market prices, rational choice between the alternative uses of resources is not possible. Lange and later market mimicking models of socialism respond by claiming shadow accounting prices can be employed by planners to achieve socially optimal outcomes. Those models of socialism make two assumptions: 1. value commensurability – rational choice requires a single price metric of the comparative value of all resources; 2. optimality - price valuation determines an optimal equilibrium outcome. This paper re-examines Neurath's criticisms of both assumptions in his defence of an economy in kind. The paper places these arguments in the historical context of the different concepts of rationality employed in the socialist calculation debates. It considers their relationship to the contributions of Sen and Wiggins to more recent debates on commensurability, comparability and rational choice. It considers their implications for understanding the ecological dimensions of the socialist calculation debates.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 The Struggle of Ideas: The Italian Communist Party and Philosophy after the Second World War (II) [B102] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>The two panels aim to interrogate the complex relationship woven between the cultural policies of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) after World War II and the contemporary philosophical debate. The purpose is to analyse a fundamental, as well as problematic, chapter in Italian cultural and political history, which to date has not been adequately studied. Specifically, the papers offer two perspectives of analysis. The first perspective pays particular attention to the relations established between the PCI and the Italian and European philosophical world, investigating some significant historical turning points, such as the reactions to 1956 or the encounter with feminism. The second perspective, on the other hand, focuses on some philosophers who offered their contribution, militant and intellectual, to the life of the Party, in an attempt to highlight the role they played in the evolution of the theoretical framework of Italian Marxism.</p>	
<p>Matteo Cavalleri: Ideal Causes and Possible History. Philosophy, Democracy and Capitalism in Franco Rodano</p>	<p>The contribution aims at reconstructing some essential features of the philosophical thought of Franco Rodano (1920-1983), Italian anti-fascist, founder of the Communist Catholics Movement and the Christian Left Party, and then member of the Italian Communist Party, within which he developed an intense dialogue with Palmiro Togliatti</p>

	and Enrico Berlinguer. The bi-univocal correction proposed by Rodano of communism and catholicism will be analysed; a fundamental step in his theoretical-political project aimed, on the one hand, at the search for a necessary secularism and, on the other, at the thinkability of a revolutionary politics and a democratic society. To this end, the relationship between Rodano and Claudio Napoleoni and the elaboration of the concept of 'possible history', with which Rodano rearticulates the relationship between ideal and structural dimensions, will be addressed.
Emanuele Lepore: The Sign of A New World. Nicola Badaloni and the Marxism of Antonio Gramsci (1975)	
Carlotta Cossutta: Widows of Lenin or Daughters of Irigaray? The Italian Communist Party and Feminism between Emancipation and Liberation	The debate between the Italian Communist Party and the feminist movement has been diverse and tumultuous. This essay delves into their complex interaction, considering the broader relations between feminism and communism. It also takes into account Italy's distinctive history of women's struggles, with a focus on the 1970s. It illuminates the theoretical disparities rooted in the tension between emancipation and liberation, and the interplay of the symbolic and material. Finally, it analyzes the outcomes through the lens of the PCI women's section's 1986 document "Dalle donne la forza delle donne. Carta itinerante" [From Women, the Strength of Women: Itinerant Charter], emphasizing its connections with sexual difference feminism.
Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Politics of Asylum [B103]	
This panel aims to organize a discussion on the themes explored in the book Iranian Refugees in Transit, composed of independent papers that speak to the theme of Politics of Asylum. In this way the book will be presented in dialogue with the works of the other panelists and current debates.	
Maral Jefroudi: Book Presentation Iranian Refugees in Transit	Iranians Refugees in Transit tells the history of Iranian refugees as they transited through Turkey following the 1979 revolution. The discrepancy between the homogenizing discourse on refugees and their actual diversity is explored through examining the formation of the political refugee identity, the complex negotiation of womanhood during transit and performativity as a survival strategy. The necessity of adopting an intersectional perspective, one cultivated through a deep understanding of the prevailing social, economic, and political dynamics of the era is underscored. Employing a critical historical analysis of the international asylum system, and advocating for the need to reorient the debate from the people in move to the paradox of borders, the book offers insights into the dynamics of the current 'refugee crisis'.
Rassa Ghaffari: Digital Infrastructures in Contemporary Unauthorised Migration Industry	This paper discusses the diverse routes traversed by unauthorized migrants from Iran to Turkey and onward to the European Union. Within this framework, the role of gender is often under-evaluated, as migration and border studies remain predominantly gender-blind fields. By looking at the role of digital infrastructures in facilitating border crossings to and from Turkey, the contemporary role of Turkey as a migration and transit hub will be discussed. This aspect will consider how digital technologies, such as mobile applications, social media, and online communication platforms, influence migratory patterns, access to resources, and the negotiation of gender dynamics among Iranians (un)authorized migrants.
Paola Rivetti and Tatiana Montella: The rise of the carceral state: criminalising migrants and solidarity	Taking stock from the hunger strike launched by Maysoon Majidi, a Kurdish-Iranian asylum-seeker and activist who is detained in Italy with the accusation of being a smuggler, we reflect on the historical and political transformation of migratory policies and regimes vis-a-vis Iranian citizens in the course of the past decades. The experience of Iranian migrants and asylum-seekers is analysed against the background of the general

	<p>criminalisation of migrants and forms of solidarity with and among them. While the carceral mentality determining the current policies impacts on all migrants, the positionality of Iranians is theorised as peculiar, as many expressions of solidarity that have often been directed to Iranians fighting their state by European authorities, citizens, and civil society organisations. The arrest of Maysoon Majidi highlights the many contradictions that exist in such expressions of solidarity and calls for an urgent reflection on the contemporary forms of carcerality.</p>
<p>Nisrine Chaer: Queer Refugees in Times of Dutch Homonationalism, the Dangerous Straight Male Refugee and the Limits of Safety</p>	<p>The self-image of a tolerant, progressive and homo-friendly Dutch state is often opposed to images of Arab/Muslim cultures as ‘backward’ and thus homophobic. In this context, MENA LGBTQI+ refugees often feel forced to choose between two supposedly incompatible forms of safety, which are directly opposed culturally, socially, and historically. This paper discusses the weaponization of the concept of safety by LGBTQI+ organizations to advocate for specific policies promoting sexual and gender justice concerning LGBTQI+ refugees. Simultaneously, it explores how LGBTQI+ refugees deploy the notion of safety as they grapple with and navigate the escalating homonationalist and Islamophobic regimes prevalent in the Netherlands.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Capitalising on the Illusions of Immaterial Wealth: A Marxist Analysis of Big Tech Dominance [B104]</p>	
<p>Vali Stan: Illegible, intangible: Towards a political economy of internally generated intangible assets</p>	<p>Today, numerous transnational corporations increasingly prioritize the development of immaterial capital over physical infrastructures, diverging from historical trends in capital accumulation. As a result, we should expect their balance sheets to reflect this development via ever-increasing reserves of intangible assets. Nevertheless, current international accounting standards largely hinder firms from financially reporting intangibles that are both generated by and used within the firm. This leads to diminished reliability of financial data, impeding regulators’ ability to effectively monitor and tax gains from the underlying assets. In turn, this illegible status of a substantial portion of intangibles may bear significant socio-economic ramifications, exacerbating disparities in income and wealth between, on one hand, labor and capital, and among advanced and developing economies, on the other. In recent years, the heterodox political economy literature has produced insightful research on the general traits of intangibles and their distributional effects, while placing much less emphasis on firms’ largely undisclosed holdings of internal intangibles. This presentation advances a research agenda that synthesizes past Marxist and post-Keynesian scholarship on immaterial assets while illustrating the need for additional studies on conceptualizing and quantifying what I term “illegible intangibles”. Using financial statement data, I explore the widening gap between S&P500 corporations’ investments in and stocks of intangible assets since the 1990s, contrasting this with the more modest disparities between investments and stocks of physical capital. Additionally, I examine industry-specific variations in this divergence, with a focus on large information and communications technology firms (the so-called “Magnificent Seven”, namely Apple, Microsoft, Alphabet, Amazon, Nvidia, Meta and Tesla). Furthermore, I outline avenues for future heterodox research exploring the nexus between illegible intangibles, investments in advanced technologies like artificial intelligence, economic stagnation, and inequality.</p>
<p>Stephen Maher, Scott Aquanno: Amazon: Monopoly and Competition</p>	<p>This paper assesses the competitive basis of Amazon’s market power, challenging recent claims that the firm is leading a fundamental transition to a possibly post-capitalist “techno-feudal” economic order. It begins by developing a Marxian theory of competition and monopoly in corporate capitalism, arguing that these should not be seen as opposite ends of a continuum, but rather dialectically interconnected. It then shows how Amazon has been able to construct and reproduce a form of monopoly power whereby it has leveraged its control over commodity capital to impose and exploit differentials in turnover time. As it argues, the exploitation of labor within Amazon’s logistics, warehousing, and delivery systems, and not the collection of rents from operations such as Amazon Web Services, has been the foundation for the firm’s ability</p>

	<p>to finance its strategy of aggressive investment and expansion. Indeed, despite its high margins, AWS is a relatively small part of Amazon's overall operations, primarily supporting its unique vertically-integrated structure and maximizing the efficiency of the advanced logistics that are the foundation of the firm's market power. The paper then concludes by reflecting on the implications of these findings for different approaches to organizing Amazon workers and disrupting the firm's operations.</p>
<p>Cédric Durand: How Silicon Valley Unleashed Techno-Feudalism: The Making of the Digital Economy</p>	<p>"The New Economy never arrived, instead we have regressed towards darker times. Have we already entered the age of techno-feudalism?</p> <p>Inequality, stagnant productivity, endemic instability... The new economy of the nineties promised a new era of freedom and prosperity fuelled by IT. It didn't deliver. Certainly, algorithms are everywhere, but this does not mean that capitalism has become civilized</p> <p>In the hands of private corporations, the digitalization of the world drives us toward an even darker future. The return of monopolies, the dependence of subjects on platforms, the blurring of the distinction between the economic and the political, all epitomize a systemic mutation. Information and data networks push the digital economy in the direction of the feudal logic of rent, dispossession, and personal domination.</p> <p>Techno-feudalism brings a fresh genealogy of the Silicon Valley consensus and its aporias. It disentangles the principles of an emerging system-wide rationale. Large firms compete in cyberspace to gain control over data sources. Subjects are attached to the digital glebe. In this new economic order, capital is moving away from production to focus on predation."</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Reimagining Ideology and Transformation through the Colour Line: Insights from W.E.B. Du Bois and Jotirao Phule [B202]</p>	
<p>Joshua Miguel Makalintal: On the Problem of the Color Line as a Problem of Ideology: Determining the Contours of W.E.B. Du Bois' Critical Theory</p>	<p>What is the relevance of the critique of ideology in our current age of anger and atrocity? And what can we learn from the radical sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois in this regard? Recent reappraisals of his sociological thought within the academe fall short of explicitly scraping out the lineation of a Duboisian critical theory. The following thesis modestly seeks to remedy this gap. Drawing on Du Bois' ideology-critical works and on contemporary critical-theoretical literature emphasizing his Marxist and anti-imperialist thought and practice, it intends to discuss two objectives. First, to recover Du Bois' historical-materialist approach and retrieve its critical potential. And second, to harness his subversive thinking to reinvigorate the essence of transformative social critique. This involves not only unveiling the conditions that enable the prevailing of structures and processes of political and epistemic domination, but also tying such criticisms to open-ended emancipatory agendas aimed at social change and ideological transformation. The thesis considers Du Bois' revolutionary work as contributory to such programs of emancipation, whose immanent critique of the imperial is rooted from the inherent antagonisms of an existing racialized social structure of the capitalist world system, which serves as the prime basis for building what he called the global color line. It moreover illustrates how Du Bois transfigured the spaces and experiences embedded in the color line as an analytical anchor to locate sites of ideological struggle, solidary resistance, and other liberatory practices of worldmaking. Hence, through this transfiguration, Du Bois further complicates as well as sharpens the contours of critical theory and counterhegemonic theorizing by rethinking the normative value of the critique of ideology as an indispensable method of transdisciplinary and transformative social analysis—aimed not only at unmasking but also confronting and resisting the tenacious augmentation of the contradictions, crises, and catastrophes of our world.</p>
<p>Radhika Saraf: 'Slave' or 'Proletariat'? Between Race and Caste in Jotirao Phule and W.E.B. Du Bois</p>	<p>"In colonial America, race has been articulated as imperative to understanding capitalist development, but in colonial India, caste has not received similar attention even though it is the fundamental axis of stratification, under which Dalits—formerly known as untouchables—were subject to ritualised slavery. In the late 19th century, the erstwhile</p>

	<p>Bombay Presidency, a major centre of British power in colonial India, was forced to supply cotton for Britain's industries amidst the American Civil War, leading to widespread famine and pauperization of Dalit agrarian labour. In response, there emerged an anti-caste movement, whose founder Jotirao Phule, was inspired by the Black emancipatory struggle in America. Thus, dedicating his seminal text <i>Gulamgiri (Slavery)</i> [1873], to formerly enslaved Blacks, Phule compared Dalits and Blacks while delineating the role of caste in the class structure of the changing rural economy. In this paper, I draw comparisons between <i>Gulamgiri</i> and W.E.B. Du Bois' <i>Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880</i> [1935], which, explicates the role of slavery in the American Civil War and post-war Reconstruction.</p> <p>If for Phule, Dalits played a crucial role in the capitalist agrarian economy as the rural proletariat, Du Bois describes slave workers as the "Black Proletariat," thus expanding the very category of the "proletariat" to include slaves, who had hitherto been excluded by Marx. So doing, he transforms the site of revolution from orthodox working-class struggle in the West to the "freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown, and black." In this paper, I revisit this insistence to (i) clarify the category of caste as constitutive of class; (ii) make comparisons between race and caste in racial capitalism; and (iii) amidst the ongoing genocide in Palestine, examine the import of the "colour line" in identifying the site for contemporary radical politics.</p>
<p>Ian Zuckerman: <i>Free for a Brief Moment in the Sun: Crisis Politics and Dictatorship of Labour in Du Bois' Black Reconstruction</i></p>	<p>One of the most provocative and striking terms in W.E.B. Du Bois' magnum opus, <i>Black Reconstruction</i>, is his famous characterization of the Reconstruction governments as a "dictatorship of labor." Many biographers and scholarly interpretations of <i>Black Reconstruction</i> treat Du Bois' coinage as an antiquated, even quaint, feature of his relatively delayed enthusiasm for Marxism. Others keep the phrase at arm's length, seeing it as an unpleasant reminder of the great intellectual's goodwill for Stalin and Mao near the end of his life. This paper attempts to reinstate Du Bois' concept of the dictatorship of labor to the central place he reserves for it in the political theory of <i>Black Reconstruction</i>. I do so by focusing on two different contexts that are relevant for our understanding of the place of dictatorship in this text. The first context has to do with the conceptual history of "dictatorship," from the Roman Republic and its revival in early modern republican political thought, the revolutionary governments of the French directorate, to the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Marx and Lenin. The second context is the social and political circumstances in which <i>Black Reconstruction</i> was conceptualized, researched and composed, in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Drawing on Du Bois' speeches, editorials and political commentaries from this period, I argue that for Du Bois, Reconstruction's dictatorship of labor served as a heuristic for scrutinizing the transformative democratic potentials, and the oligarchical and white supremacist pitfalls, contained in the emergency politics of the early 1930s. With one eye on the tragedy of Reconstruction, and the other on the promise of interracial class consciousness during the Great Depression, Du Bois argued that "political backlash" - the theme for this year's WPSA annual meeting - or what he called the "counterrevolution of capital," could emerge endogenously from the contradictory elements of dictatorship's telos, reimposing the logic of oligarchy and white supremacy as fatal constraints on American democracy. Du Bois' concept of "dictatorship" as a heuristic helps us assess the potentialities and dangers of crisis politics in our own day.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Art and Culture [B203] <i>Workers Inquiry</i></p>	
<p>Katja Praznik: <i>Can Art Workers Unionise? Contradictions in Organizing Art Workers</i></p>	<p>Reflecting and presenting the recent unionization process of self-employed and freelance art workers in Slovenia, the paper will unpack the concept of art work as a form of invisible labor and its salience for organizing workers in the field of art and cultural production. The paper will discuss the ways in which the invisibility of labor and a hyper individualized attitudes toward creative work obscure class relations and how these</p>

	<p>tensions impact the potentials for unionization in the field of cultural production. Situating the discussion in the context of post-Yugoslav transformation of labor regimes and dissolution of labor identity of art workers, the paper will analyze obstacles related to self-employed workers' labor organizing and collective bargaining as well as effective methods and models of unionization. While hegemonic attitudes and conceptions about art often obscure that art is also a form of labor and a site of labor exploitation, including self-exploitative practices that are based in class privilege, the paper will address the ways in which art workers become protagonist in labor struggle for their own labor standards and collectively organize on the basis that they are also workers.</p>
<p>Steff Hui Ci Ling, Bobby Malone: From Inquiry to Town Hall: Art Workers on Worker Identity and Political Formation</p>	<p>This paper presents preliminary findings from the art workers' inquiry circulated last year as well as recent fieldwork conducted while organizing an art workers' town hall at a hosiery warehouse and artists' studio in Queens, NY. In an art workers' inquiry circulated last year, it began by asking if respondents identify as an artist, art worker, or worker (some or all). Half did not identify as a "worker" or as an "artist", almost none identified exclusively as a "worker," but interestingly, three quarters of respondents identified as an "art worker." These responses suggest that while a worker identity alone does not resonate with art workers, the distinction of working in art does. Artists have historically resisted politically identifying with the working masses however tend to identify as art workers to execute political campaigns, most recently, participation in global strikes and boycotts of cultural institutions complicit with the genocide in Gaza. Does this reflect a political opportunity to strengthen worker identity among art workers and develop solidarity with workers' movements and organizing? Open solidarity with Palestinian liberation has been experienced through employment loss in a sector that operates largely on purchasing labour power in exchange for symbolic capital despite injections of surplus value from state and extractive capital into its institutions. By asking artists if they identify as workers, the inquiry enjoins artists to align materially in decolonial struggle. The presentation will share perspectives from the inquiry to the town hall organized with filmmakers, art educators, and labour organizers where we continued inquiring into the prospect of cultivating a worker identity to ground shared struggles and political relationships between art workers and towards participation in broader movements for labour and liberation.</p>
<p>Benjamin Anderson: (Im)Material Interventions: Creative and Cultural Workers' Responses to Precarity and the Housing Crisis</p>	<p>It's only been a matter of years since the prophets of creative classes and creative cities bent the ears of policy makers and scholars alike, heralding the inevitability of a creative transformation of work and a concomitant growth in urban vibrancy. A decade or so later, it is glaringly obvious that the uberization of everything, the financialization of urban housing stocks, and the proliferation of "creative" AI tools have all contributed to a further precarization of creative and cultural work, this compounded by an ever-growing housing and cost of living crisis.</p> <p>This paper is intended as a preliminary agenda for a series of co-research initiatives bringing together the interests and insights of creative and cultural workers. It highlights the interrelated struggles of creative workers globally, particularly as these intersect at the nexus of creative practice, working conditions, and housing security. As a whole, the project will attempt to amplify the voices of workers in their attempts to challenge housing and employment precarity through workplace organizing, housing activism, and artistic/cultural production.</p> <p>The eventual research will use ethnographic co-research between the researcher and creative workers, organizers, and activists in Canada, Ireland, and the UK. The particular shape of these interventions will be emergent, based on the ways in which workers in each of these contexts are currently challenging their conditions. This initial presentation will formulate the theoretical and political scaffolding upon which this multi-stage project will be built.</p>

<p>Ed Emery: <i>Sea Songs, Migrations and Class Composition: An Inquiry for our Times</i></p>	<p>There is a growing interest in cultural representations of labour, for instance in literature and film. For this paper I take as my starting point the centrality of song to the work experience throughout history. Song is necessarily qualified as an integral element of “inchiesta / inquiry”.</p> <p>The paper will draw on two case studies on which I have been working: the pan-Mediterranean sponge fishing industry of the early twentieth century; and the trans-Mediterranean small-boat migrations of the early twenty-first century.</p> <p>Today’s migrations offer themselves under a variety of optics. They are processes of class composition in formation. They are also industries in their own right, with their own productivities, both local and international. In themselves they invite our attention as researchers into labour processes. But they are also subjectivities in (trans)formation, and as such qualify themselves as “war machine” [Mille plateaux]. Based on recent fieldwork in North Africa I argue for a view of migrants as “diasporic musicating subjects of resistance”, as exemplified in the musics of harraga (illegalised migration; burning of passports, personal identities etc).</p> <p>My concern is, on the one hand, to incorporate song as a category of analysis within “workers’ inquiry”; and on the other, to reframe migration discourse around notions of class composition and resistance.</p>
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Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15
Book Launch Roundtable: *The Communist and the Revolutionary Liberal in the Second American Revolution: Comparing Karl Marx and Frederick Douglass in Real-Time* [B204]

<p>Speaker: August H. Nimtz</p> <p>Respondents: Kevin B. Anderson, Brian Kelly and Gregory Slack</p>	<p>This real-time comparative political analysis, published by Brill as part of the Historical Materialism Book Series, offers a unique look at two historically consequential figures with two very different theoretical and political perspectives, both of whom expertly examined the most contentious issue of the nineteenth century. The Communist and the Revolutionary Liberal reveals how two still competing political perspectives, liberalism and Marxism, performed when the biggest breakthrough for the millennial-old democratic quest after the French Revolution occurred - the abolition of chattel slavery in the United States. By juxtaposing the political thought and activism of Karl Marx and Frederick Douglass, Nimtz and Edwards are able to make insightful observations and conclusions about race and class in America.</p> <p>Despite their profound political differences - explained by Engels’s claim about the two very different roads to freedom of the slave and the proletariat, which were on full display during the European Spring, Reconstruction, and the Paris Commune - Marx and Douglass were on the same political page from April 1861 to April 1865. This book documents and explains their convergence and divergence for the first time.</p> <p>Towards a definitive account of Marx’s neglected writings on race, class, and revolution in the U.S. Civil War, this book launch brings together an interdisciplinary panel to discuss Marx’s philosophy of race, the interplay between the slaves striking for freedom and the battlefield progress of Union troops in the revolutionary upheaval of the Civil War, and the convergences and divergences of the revolutionary liberalism of Frederick Douglass and the communism of Karl Marx.</p>
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Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15
Value Theory [B205]

<p>Nikolaos Chatzarakis: <i>The Law of Value as Conservation of Energy</i></p>	<p>In 1997 George Caffentzis attempted to explain “why machines cannot create value”, delving deep into Marx’s theory of value and explanation of machinery. Recently, Ian Wright came back to this issue in an article in <i>Cosmonaut</i>, while Atle Mikkola Kjösen wrote a series of papers arguing that machines are the products of labour (and thus cannot create value). All defended the position that (exchange) value is produced by labour alone. Moreover, Caffentzis’s main argument implied that labour is</p>
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	<p>'transformation' in the way that physicists understand it – the change of energy from one form to another; in this regard, 'traditional' machines can be perceived in a purely thermodynamic manner (where they produce mechanical work by expending at most as much energy as they were given), while 'modern' machines (including AI) can be understood similarly to Turing's automata (where again an equivalence of input and output must be preserved). As a result, Marx's Law of Value becomes analogous to a Law of Conservation of Energy in the economy. The present work seeks to clarify this position and claim a 'physical' foundation for value to be due to labour alone. In our perspective, labour processes are transformations of energy (from chemical energy stored in human muscles and neurons or raw materials extracted from nature, to electrical, mechanical, chemical, etc. energy tied to the products) where machines are functioning in the way Caffentzis described. This perspective seeks also to explain why the 'transformation' problem is important and consistent in the Marxian framework and why the labour theory of value is the tool to connect the different layers of analysis in Marx. Finally, we argue that capitalist economies function due to the supply of labour and thus full automation is impossible under private property.</p>
<p>John Smith: Rate of exploitation \neq rate of surplus value</p>	<p>In pursuit of a 'general theory' of capital, Marx made two key simplifying assumptions. The first, equality of capitals (premised on absence of monopoly and of national borders) was relaxed by Lenin in his theorisation of imperialism. The second, equality of proletarians (premised on free movement of labour, resulting in a single value of labour power and a uniform rate of exploitation), was also suspended by Lenin, but he didn't elaborate – partly because, while colonies and neo-colonies had become subjected to the rule of capital (via imperialist domination), they'd yet to be subsumed by it (i.e., pre-capitalist social relations continued to prevail).</p> <p>In the century since, Stalinist and Eurocentric deformations of Marxism have substantially blocked its further development. Lenin's innovations were turned into a dogma by the former and disowned by the latter, while Marx's simplifications of the capital/labour relation have been left untouched by both.</p> <p>Nothing is more central to Marxism than the theory of exploitation, especially its capitalist form, so the general failure of Marxists since Lenin to move beyond ground captured by Marx 150 years ago (or, arguably, to even reach this ground), incapacitates it. There are important exceptions, notably Marini and others associated with the Marxist Theory of Dependency - but even they were hampered by simplified concepts of exploitation, super-exploitation and value of labour power that were adequate for Marx's purpose but are inadequate for theorisation of contemporary imperialism.</p> <p>The undeveloped state of the theory of exploitation is exemplified by widespread conflation of 'rate of exploitation' with 'rate of surplus value', and equation of super-exploitation with absolute impoverishment . This provides the starting point for this paper, which argues that what we need is not so much a theory of super-exploitation, but a better, richer, more concrete theory of exploitation and of its capitalist form.</p>
<p>Ingrid Hanon: Value and Productive Labour after the new interpretations of Marx</p>	<p>Drawing on manuscripts and unpublished texts from the Marx Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA2) collection, the paper explores Marx's notion of productive labor and contrasts it with interpretations offered by scholars in the Italian Autonomist and German Wertkritik traditions. On one hand, proponents of the autonomist tradition refer to the spread of value production beyond the confines of the factory and advocate for an extended notion of productive labor that encompasses a broader range of activities beyond traditional waged work. On the other hand, scholars in the value critique tradition argue for the increasing exhaustion of productive labor under conditions of advanced capitalism, which may lead to capitalist collapse. The paper explores the tensions surrounding the notion of productive value among these trends, contrasts them to Marx's own writing on the topic, and assesses the implications of these divergent interpretations for analyses of capitalist exploitation. By engaging with the rich archival material available in the MEGA2 editions, this paper aims to elucidate this conflicting debate and propose new avenues for reflection on the dynamics of value formation.</p>

<p>Conrad M. Herold: A Marxian Approach to Unequal Exchange: Methodological Comments on the International Circulation of Value</p>	<p>The current revival of theories of international unequal exchange is proving essential to understanding the possibilities and challenges of class struggle in the current reactionary phase of capitalism, where globalization has led to nationalism and xenophobia. While many important analytical advances have been recently presented, there remain important shortcomings and lacunas in the contemporary contributions. Three basic disappointments with the current revival of Marxist theories of unequal exchange are discussed. First, the continued dependence on Gernot Köhler's exchange rate deviation index (ERDI) as the core theoretical construct used to identify and measure unequal exchange is here assessed and found misleading and inappropriate. The theoretical foundations and the empirical calculations are a recognized important contribution, but using the ratio of two prices to calculate unequal exchange cannot be called neither robust nor Marxian. Second, as with Emmanuel and Amin, we find a complete absence of any substantive incorporation of the Marxian theory of rent, by which extractive and primary commodity exporting areas might increase inward flows of value. And third, we discuss the continued use of the nation-state as the foundational unit of analysis, at the expense of class and class struggle as the relevant dynamics. Elements of an alternative methodology are proposed in concluding remarks.</p>
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Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15
Political Marxism and the Conditions of Economic Development and Nondevelopment (I) [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]

Steve Miller, Department of History, The University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) and Xavier Lafrance, Department of Political Science, Université du Québec à Montréal, present papers on the divergent social property relations of England and France from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Charles Post, Sociology Professor at the borough of Manhattan Community College, will chair the panel and offer a critical evaluation of Miller's and Lafrance's presentations. Steve Miller presents the theory of Robert Brenner and Spencer Dimmock on the transition to capitalism and on the consequent change of England's economic, demographic and political trajectory. The paper critically analyzes the two main Marxist alternatives to this thesis, namely Paul Sweezy and Immanuel Wallerstein on the expansion of the market into a capitalist world system, and Patricia Croot, David Parker and Terence Byrnes on differentiation within the peasantry as the impetus for the transition to capitalism. Xavier Lafrance sheds new light on the political economy of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon by analyzing Proudhon's writings as a socialist working-class program for the non-capitalist social property relations of nineteenth-century France.

<p>Stephen Miller: Political Marxism and its Critics on the Origins of Capitalism in England</p>	<p>This paper describes the unique capitalist trajectory followed by England from the 1400s onward, namely rising agricultural and labor productivity, the separation of economic exploitation from political power, the dependency of households on the market for their reproduction and the consequent changes to fertility rates, competitive market pressure and the attendant spatial separation of economic activities, and the decline in food costs and the resultant expansion of the home market. According to Robert Brenner and Spencer Dimmock, this unique trajectory resulted from what Karl Marx described as "Primitive Accumulation," the expropriation of the peasants, turning them into commodified labor power during the fifteenth century. In particular, the lords proved unable to maintain the feudal impediment to the peasants' freedom of movement but succeeded in establishing property rights over much of the land and in imposing the right to raise fines on inheritances and other property transfers, thereby undermining the peasants' hold on the land or their direct non-market access to subsistence. The paper critically examines the two main Marxist alternatives to this portrayal of the transition. First, Paul Sweezy and Immanuel Wallerstein held that the expansion of the market culminated in a capitalist world economic system. Second, competition and differentiation within the peasantry, according to Patricia Croot, David Parker and Terence Byrnes, brought into being a social stratum of yeoman farmers, who expropriated other rural inhabitants and paved the way for capitalist relations of production.</p>
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<p>Xavier Lafrance: A False Solution to a Now Irrelevant Problem: Situating Proudhon in his socio-economic context</p>	<p>This paper situates Proudhon's thought, and "mutualist" plan to emancipate the working class, in the set of social property relations that defined the French socio-economic context of his time. I initiate a critical dialogue with William Clare Roberts on his rich treatment of Proudhon's thought, and of Marx's incisive critique of the latter, in</p>
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	<p>his Marx's <i>Inferno</i>. Roberts shows that Proudhon believed, like many socialists of his time, that exploitation was based on "force and fraud." Merchant-bankers used monopolies and their control of money/credit to enrich themselves through rent-seeking schemes. The later detached prices from the real value of products, determined by the labor embedded in commodities, and allowed exploiters to appropriate a surplus in the sphere of circulation. Proudhon proposed a mutualist alternative. He believed that competitive markets could allow producers to discover the real value of their product and engage in equal exchange. The uprooting of exploitation also called for the provision of credit cheap enough to maintain independent producers freely engaging in market exchange. I will show that Proudhon's analysis reflected his socio-economic context. Merchant bankers really did control markets through systematic monopolistic schemes and imposed interest rates through their control of credit. Much of the peasantry possessed insufficient land and was forced to engage in ancillary industrial production. Yet direct producers maintained and developed customary regulations of labor processes until the closing decades of the nineteenth century, ruling out the subsumption of commodified labor by capital. Surplus extraction thus took place in circulation and through state channels, also denounced by Proudhon. Where Proudhon went wrong was in believing in the eternal truth of concepts developed by political economists, and in trying to apply them to the French non-capitalist context. Moreover, Marx's critique remains key to explaining why Proudhon's mutualist and market-based solutions to the exploitation of the working class was bound to fail.</p>
<p>Charles Post: Comments on Miller and LaFrance</p>	
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Mid-Century Modernism and the Historic Avant-Garde [Khalili Lecture Theatre] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Aleksei Ziniuk: Nikolai Chuzhak: Realism, Futurism & Productivism of the Soviet avant-garde</p>	<p>The aim of this paper is to contribute to a re-orientation of the theory and historiography of the Soviet avant-garde by examining one of its central – albeit heavily under-studied – proponents, Nikolai Chuzhak (1876-1937). Unfortunately, only two of his essays have been translated into English, despite his significant theoretical influence on the development of 1920s Soviet avant-garde art. To critically understand the progression of movements from futurism to constructivism, productivism, and factography, which defined Soviet art of the 1920s, Chuzhak's work is essential.</p> <p>Chuzhak was a member of People's Will in the 1890s, joined the Bolsheviks in 1904, and was arrested two years later, leading to his exile in Irkutsk, Siberia. There, he edited local periodicals and worked as a literary critic, developing an idiosyncratic dialectical materialist art theory. This theory fused critical or negative aspects of realism with futurist aesthetics of dynamism and fluidity, informed by contemporary developments in Russian poetry and literature. After the February Revolution, he became a central figure for avant-garde cultural producers in the Far East by founding a futurist art group named 'Creation' (Tvorchestvo) and editing several newspapers in Chita, Vladivostok, and Irkutsk. As a founding member of Mayakovsky's LEF (Left Front of the Arts), he later emerged as a key theorist of factography, the final phase of productivist art in the Soviet Union before the onset of Stalinism.</p> <p>This paper will bring Chuzhak's earlier untranslated writings from his exile, compiled in 'Towards a Dialectic of Art' (1921), into dialogue with his later conceptualization of art as life-building and the production of facts. The goal is to demonstrate his understanding of dialectical materialism intertwined with Russian futurism, re-coded as 'hyper-realism,' in a project aimed at establishing Marxist aesthetics as a science of the evolution of artistic forms grounded in everyday life (byt).</p>
<p>Matthew Grumbach: Refuelling the Fascist Revolution: Art, the</p>	<p>This paper examines why the fascist state continued to support the avant-garde during the totalitarian phase of Italian fascism when civil society experienced increasing</p>

<p>Avant-Garde, and the Italian Fascist State, 1936-1943</p>	<p>repression (1936-1943). Contrary to liberal accounts that view state-society relations under fascism in terms of repression and censorship, Italian fascists consistently supported the avant-garde and did not institute prescriptive art policies. Using archival methods, I present novel evidence about lesser-studied art initiatives and acquisition records that show how the fascist state made deep investments in the avant-garde during the later years of the regime, even in the face of a conservative backlash. Building on Gramscian theory, I argue that the avant-garde was enmeshed in processes of mobilization and subjectivation, and helped fascists articulate a unifying image of the modern nation-state that, unlike folklore, did not risk strengthening non-national solidarities and centrifugal social forces. I also show that investment in the avant-garde stemmed from the contradictions of the dual state, specifically the problem of sustaining the fascist movement and preventing bureaucratization after the seizure of power. Fascists in the cultural bureaucracy believed art could help reinvigorate the fascist movement in power and that to capture art's unique vitalistic energy, the state had to limit its intervention in the artistic labor process and to protect the relative autonomy of art. To explain this approach to art policy, I draw on Göran Therborn's work on the state and analogize state-artist relations under Italian fascism with formal subsumption. Taken together, my findings highlight how the avant-garde was essential to national-unification and hegemony — with implications for our understanding of visual art, mass politics, and authoritarian systems.</p>
<p>Nicholas Jones: Reactionary Modernism and Revolutionary Realism: The Contestation of Human Nature in Interwar Germany</p>	<p>Reactionary modernism, the combination of technological enthusiasm with a romantic and antirational nationalism, decisively shaped interwar German culture. Hugely influential and embraced by fascism, reactionary modernism emerged out of the ""Fronterlebnis"" of World War I. According to its most famous proponent, Ernst Jünger, the wartime unleashing of technological power shattered decadent civilian life and reconnected soldiers with a national identity based on primal human nature. Crucially, however, such ideas did not go unchallenged, and my paper complicates traditional accounts of interwar Germany by examining a previously overlooked Marxist literary tradition that directly challenged the reactionary modernist worldview.</p> <p>Connecting interwar German realist novels by socialists like Alfred Döblin, Siegfried Kracauer, Heinrich Mann, and Arnold Zweig, my paper maps a literary tradition that highlights how World War I heralded not the emergence of authentic human nature, but rather the catastrophic realization of humankind's total alienation from its creative powers under capitalism. Challenging Jünger's rigid dichotomy of civilian and military life, this tradition insists upon continuity, connecting the battlefield to the metropolis and arguing that all such modern capitalist environments suppress the natural symbiosis of a humanity that consciously shapes its surroundings and that is, in turn, transformed by them.</p> <p>My paper contends that this interwar tradition ultimately sought to combat such self-destructive alienation, which persisted after the War. The novels foreground the difficulty of political resistance to fascism's post-war mobilization of reactionary modernism, and my paper shows how the works aimed to intervene aesthetically into this precarious political landscape: Their realist reworking of external reality challenges the alienation they depict by literarily modelling a creative symbiosis with real-world environments. In this way, my paper argues, this overlooked Marxist literary tradition remains highly pertinent to contemporary debates about the political potential of art in our own era of ecological alienation and resurgent fascism.</p>
<p>Nikolay Sarkisyan: Revolutionary (?) Subjectivity and Aesthetic (Self)Understanding of the Lumpenproletariat: From Marxist</p>	<p>The 19th and early 20th century Marxism was often suspicious of the lumpenproletariat, but this attitude shifted in the 20th century as the revolutionary potential of this group became more widely recognized. The lumpenproletariat played a significant role in the struggle for independence in third world countries like Algeria and Guinea, which was described respectively by Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral. In the first world, there have been instances where this class acted as a revolutionary force, such as the Black Panther</p>

<p>Ambiguity to Post-Soviet Red-Brown Literature</p>	<p>movement in the United States. This raises the question: Does the lumpenproletariat possess revolutionary subjectivity? Can it serve as an independent force for social transformation? Without a distinct political leadership, the lumpenproletariat has shown the capacity for mutiny and revolt against the dominant order, often in hysterical, violent, and criminal forms, lacking any ideology, essentially turning the bourgeois world inside out. This image was reflected in Pasolini's <i>Ragazzi di vita</i>. Drawing on Fredric Jameson's thesis that the third world literatures are always national allegories, I want to explore the aesthetic (self)understanding of the lumpenproletariat. Specifically, I will focus on the phenomenon of Russian post-Soviet 'red-brown' literature, which addresses the theme of the lumpenproletariat or, more broadly, the declassé. My aim is to demonstrate how this (self)understanding of the lumpenproletariat can help us make sense of the current actions of contemporary bourgeois Russia and what this reveals about the international imperialist order.</p>
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Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15
Marxist Ethics, Morals, and the Partisan Ethos [G51]

<p>George Sotiropoulos: Against ethics, beyond fairness: Recovering the partisan ethos at an age of global war and environmental devastation</p>	<p>This paper will argue that one of the necessary conditions for the Left to overcome its apparent weakness and the "sense of helplessness" that accompanies it, is to recover what will be conceptualized here as the "partisan ethos", whose paradigmatic form – hence the term – was the ethos of the Partisan. Moving "against ethics" and "beyond fairness" is precisely this ethos' practical substance.</p> <p>While the current spread of imperialist wars may be plausibly compared to the rivalries of the early 20th century, which eventually culminated in World War, a striking difference is the all-apparent absence of any revolutionary potential in the current conjuncture. Rather, the prevailing standpoint in anti-war mobilizations like those for Gaza is an essentially ethical one, summarized in the plea toward aggressor states to stop their actions. The call, to be sure, makes perfect sense, not only given the urgency of the events but the aforementioned absence of any revolutionary dynamic. Still, if a circular logic, which ends up reifying the current balance of forces, is to be avoided, it is necessary to challenge the prevailing ethical disposition – present also in the Left – in positive terms, as a form of political logic/rationality. In these terms, the paper will argue that the latter is informed by two key precepts: the primacy of ethics vis-à-vis politics and an idealist conception of justice as fairness, manifest in the idea that the victims of war and genocide do not deserve the lot fallen upon them. It is as part of a critical engagement with these two precepts that the paper will be led to the partisan ethos and the figure of the Partisan, as the content and form of a political subjectivity that sublates ethical judgment and the logic of fairness, to recover a militant experience of justice as emancipation.</p>
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<p>Michael Wayne: When the Right Makes Sense: Left Moralism, Liberal Hegemony and the Reactionary Power Bloc</p>	<p>It is political practice 101 to try and avoid giving your enemies good grounds on which to sound reasonable and therefore 'make sense' on some issues. Today a new 'left' moralism is in the ascendancy which is a gift to the right. One form it seems to take is to castigate 'majorities' as intrinsically oppressive to specified minorities. The language of cis-gender, white privilege and heteronormativity are subtly classifying majorities along these axes as belonging to an oppressor class. The only appropriate response is expiation not materialist evidence based analysis. Critical interrogation of these constructs becomes difficult because in the simple moral absolutes of the discourse, minorities are only ever virtuous and the rights claims associated with them are the only possible rights claims we can conceive. Class meanwhile is disavowed. All of this speaks to a profound erosion of the philosophical principles of the left and its best political practices. The left has succumbed to what I call PERL (Post-Enlightenment Radical Liberalism). The irony is that waves of philosophies promoting fragmenting identities and linguistic nominalism has fed into a political idiom of identity essentialism. These avant-garde positions on majorities are leaving open goals for all shades of the right to make advances, win assent in all sorts of public conversations, channel people away from the left and into the opposing camps and generally make those molecular interventions that little by little</p>
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	<p>change the landscape. Given the in-built advantages of corporate and state power which the right already enjoys, the left will handicap itself perhaps fatally by these errors. Not until it can re-assert its own philosophical principles coherently and insist on its right to independently assess philosophical assumptions and political rights claims, will it be able to come out of the shadow of liberalism's hegemony.</p>
<p>Peter Hallward: On Moral Incentives</p>	<p>In his last years as a member of Cuba's new revolutionary government, Che Guevara devoted more and more time to debates over the relative importance of moral and material incentives, in the domains of labour and economic policy, political education, and international solidarity. Although often dismissed as idealist or passé, these debates retain intrinsic interest, not least as a way of framing a much wider and older range of questions regarding political actors and their motivations or intentions. How far is an actor shaped and empowered by the way they think they *should* act? In particular, should a social class like the proletariat or peasantry be understood only in terms of its material relation to the means of production, rather than also in terms of its 'political psychology', its relative clarity and determination, its tendencies to hesitate, to vacillate, to commit, to persevere, and so on? How far should any political actor be understood in terms of what it most fundamentally wants and values, and what it is willing to do in order to pursue what it most wants? In this talk I propose to provide an overview of how we might approach such questions, with brief reference to Marx, Lenin, and Luxemburg, along with Che himself.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Who is the Subject of the Ecological Revolution? [G51a]</p>	
<p>Tania Gomez: The political subjectivity in the planetarian condition: in search for a radical method of reclaiming back the earth together</p>	<p>To announce amid the climate crisis that "we are all in this together" entails not only that not a single human can escape the climatic challenge (the Planet and us), but also that the process that give way to the ecological upheaval, the global unification of imperial capitalism since the 16th century, forcefully connected our histories (the global and us). The togetherness of the climate challenge is not, however, an answer or a method in itself, as it is just an inevitable challenge can take many forms. Thus, the problem of how to ground our sense of mutuality in conditions of extreme mutability (Savransky), of how to inhabit this Earth together, an old and fundamental question of political thought, is revisited in the new planetary setting. In an attempt go beyond universal (imperial) cosmopolitanism, the Planetarian Proletarian or a cosmopolitical alliances, this presentation (based on an ongoing PhD project) aims to bring forward a radical way of traveling back together to "the land", produced in the radical ecological struggle sustained by indigenous and non-indigenous allies.</p> <p>By following the ways in which an activation of the ecological was cultivated by paths of ecoterritorial radicalism in Latin America, I argue for the attention into the way subjects with "inhuman properties" are able to surpass their imposed status as passive matter and towards "living labour"(Dussel) that can design life around mutual responsibilities denied by logics of private property. This "going back to the seed" was only possible through uneasy encounters, mutual transformations and controversies in political struggle against imperialism, latifundism and latter extractivism in Latin America, that exercised a "tiger's leap into the past" activating a generative past for the future (in Walter Benjamin's terms). For the presentation, I will focus on the first stage of this tradition with the case of Peasant Indian land revolution in Cuzco 1961-1970 (Peru).</p>
<p>Joshua Butler: Moving beyond capitalism and repairing the metabolic rift: finding the revolution in the relationship between the worker and nature</p>	<p>This paper draws from Marx's theory of the Metabolic rift, and the disharmony between humans and nature, to explore the relationship between the environmental crisis, capitalism, and the worker. Illustrating the importance of locating who/what is being threatened by the environmental crisis, I argue that climate change is not a threat to capitalism, but a threat to any revolutionary capacity of the worker. This is explored in two ways. First, I counter the argument that some theorists have made that the environmental crisis will end capitalism; however, as I will demonstrate, before that</p>

	<p>happens climate change will have long done away with the working class, who were/are most affected by climate change. The environmental crisis cannot be the mechanism to end capitalism—whether it is possible or not. Second, I argue that the environmental crisis—though ignited because of capitalism—exists beyond it. Employing Marx’s metabolic rift, I argue that this rift came to fruition under capitalism, though its repair will not come with the end of capitalism alone. The capacity to repair the metabolic relationship between humans and nature comes from the revolutionary capacity of worker that seeks to end capitalism. The revolutionary capacity of the worker is built on their ability to address the disharmony between humans and nature, and it is the threat of climate change that threatens this capacity, along with capitals need to accumulate till the very end.</p>
<p>Paul Guillibert and Frédéric Monferrand: Comrade Latour?</p>	<p>The issue raised by Bruno Latour and Nikolaj Schultz's *On the Emergence of an Ecological Class: A Memo* (2022) is of the utmost importance for struggles in the Capitalocene (Pignarre 2022 ; Gould and Lewis 2023) : what is the political subject of the ecological revolution? Through what struggles, alliances and fronts will it be constituted? On the basis of what common experiences? Unfortunately, their political will and economic blindness make it impossible to answer these questions (Guillibert and Monferrand 2023 ; Stevenson 2024). The idea of an ecological recomposition of the proletariat (Moore 2015 ; Balaud et Chopot 2019) opens up an imaginary more revolutionary and more fertile than an ecological class embodied by green parties. It maintains the political centrality of the concept of class, based on a shared experience, between humans and non-humans, of exploitation, domination and dispossession. In this presentation we will focus on the main limits of Latour and Schultz's *Memo* trying to sketch what does it say about contemporary critics of ""production"" in political ecology (Charbonnier 2019).</p>
<p>Kristoffer Willert: Mobilising an anti-capitalist, ecological bloc: A new common sense</p>	<p>Capitalism is destroying our planet. The fight against the climate crisis is necessarily a fight against capitalism. This calls for building an anti-capitalist and ecological bloc. Much work has been done in recent years within “green thinking” to outline how such a bloc could and should mobilize itself and what kind of theory is best suited for aiding such a mobilization. In this paper, I aim to show that the theoretical trench warfare between eco-Marxism and posthumanism/new materialism is stupid and does not resemble the alliances evolving in the real climate struggles under a common anti-capitalist and post-anthropocentric narrative. A common anti-systematic and anti-capitalist narrative is growing immensely these years, as I’ll show from a few cases – spanning from what has been seen as more ‘moderate’ to more ‘radical’ movements and activists. Just like the climate movements on the streets, in the fields, and in the forests have shown that there is no contradiction in merging anti-capitalist blockades of extractivist infrastructure with more-than-human sensibilities, animal ethics, and conceptions of care, so should eco-Marxists and posthumanists appreciate that they share a set of fundamental ideas although they often proceed from different methodological premises and stylistic preferences. To assist the anti-capitalist and ecological bloc on the streets, we need a theoretical, ecological bloc that downplays methodological and stylistic differences and instead highlights common aims and strategies. If there’s no opposition – but rather coalition – between struggles against the fossil economy and permacultural gardening or regenerative farming, why should there be between the eco-Marxist focus on capitalist destruction and post-anthropocentric conceptions of care for the more-than-human?</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Alienation and Indifference: Marxist Digital and Cultural Theory [R201]</p>	
<p>Aneesa Peer: Safe Space Revolutionary Dialogue: A catalyst from alienation to conscientization</p>	<p>This paper presents preliminary results of a worker-based enquiry targeting NHS workers in mental health. The enquiry follows a methodology inspired by the work of Frantz Fanon in Algeria, and in the tradition of Marx, who sent out 25,000 questionnaires across France in 1880, highlighting the importance of the direct experience of the workers</p>

	<p>and placing the socio-economic and political context as the basis for a dialogue about power relations in the workplace. This innovative methodology is applied in NHS mental health services. It provides an anti-colonial, anti-capitalist and anti-patriarchal lens to recognise new knowledge formation through the privileging of the subjugated discourse of the worker. This allows a critique of the political, economic, and social power imbalances within the ontology and epistemology of our everyday practice in mental health care. Under current neoliberal policies the NHS – the largest employer in the UK – includes large numbers of alienated workers, who are systematically prevented from engaging with patients and other mental health workers in a humane and mutually beneficial manner. Instead, there is a privileging of monetarised outcomes and Key Performance Indicators which have little to no bearing on the care being provided. Many mental health workers describe this as ‘tick-box working’ and ‘soul destroying’ by nature and design. At the same time, several NHS Trust reports show a systematic silencing around such issues as discrimination, hierarchy, quality of care, lack of support from managers, lack of value at work, etc. As workers navigate dialectically within mental health from critical modernism to more postmodern ways of working, away from the psychiatric lens, Safe Space Revolutionary Dialogue can offer a pathway to a reflexive experience of conscientization, between two polar mind-states.</p>
<p>Nikola Zmijarević: Before the Garden Dies...: Cultural Dissonance in the Spectacle of the Met Gala and the Reality of War-Torn Gaza</p>	<p>This paper proposes an analysis of the cultural dissonance evident between the opulent displays at the 2024 Met Gala themed based on J. G. Ballard’s short story “The Garden of Time” and the stark realities of life in war-torn Gaza. Employing a framework that integrates Marxist theories of commodity fetishism, ideology, and cultural hegemony, this study delves into how the spectacle of the Met Gala serves not only as a display of haute couture but also as an embodiment of capitalist excess and alienation, themes that are, ironically, also present in Ballard’s story. It contrasts this with the visual and lived experiences of Gaza, where material deprivation and the daily struggles for survival exemplify the destructive impacts of capitalist geopolitics and imperialism.</p> <p>The research draws on Marx’s concept of commodity fetishism to explore how the glamorous commodities showcased at the Met Gala mask the labor conditions under which they are produced and the socio-economic structures that sustain global inequalities. Furthermore, it applies Gramsci’s theory of cultural hegemony to examine how media portrayal of such events perpetuates a normalized vision of capitalist success and opulence that diverts attention from global suffering and conflict, effectively maintaining dominant class interests.</p> <p>Additionally, the paper engages with the notion of ideology as articulated by Althusser, analyzing how cultural events like the Met Gala and Israeli LGBTQ+ propaganda, which weaponizes Western liberalism, function as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) that propagate idealized forms of life and values, aligned with capitalist ideologies. This theoretical approach is used to critique how these spectacles distract from the historical issues manifest in places like Gaza, thereby sustaining the capitalist status quo.</p> <p>The profound disjunction between the entertainment of elites in capitalist societies and the material conditions of those living in conflict zones, contributes to the discourse on global inequality by highlighting how capitalist systems obscure and perpetuate disparities through the spectacle and its consumption in mass media.</p>
<p>Eleonora Antonakaki Giannisi: The Anatomy of Indifference</p>	<p>In this paper, I will identify indifference as a key problem in the present historical moment. I aim to offer a brief Marxist and psychoanalytic theory of indifference, which becomes crystallized as a phenomenon with industrialization and financialisation in modernity. I will elaborate the relation between indifference, in its logical dimension as the cancelling out of difference, and, the blasé attitude, in its affective dimension as the lack of reactivity to stimuli. One of the most important philosophers that have thought about indifference in modernity is Georg Simmel. Simmel writes in <i>The Philosophy of</i></p>

	<p>Money that “money, not only shows the indifference [Gleichgültigkeit] of pure economic technics, but, so to speak, is indifference [Indifferenz] itself”. This statement will be the point of departure for this paper. In it, I will be answering the three main questions that derive from it. The first point to tackle is the unfolding of the indifference of pure economic technics. I will thus first deal with the relation between money, indifference and technics and concentrate the analysis on Simmel’s blasé attitude [Blasiertheit] under the domination of the technicity of money economy. Secondly, I will proceed by positing a significant difference between indifference qua Gleichgültigkeit and indifference qua Indifferenz in German. I will suggest that the former [Gleichgültigkeit] adheres to the historical phenomenon of indifference tied to money economy whereas the latter [Indifferenz] seems to be a term with metaphysical implications. From there, I will move onto the final question which approaches the issue of what indifference itself is and what its relation to difference is, which will loop back into the relation to technology today. More specifically, I will end the paper with an allusion to digital theory, which deals with questions of differentiation and discretization in computation.</p>
<p>Benoit Dillet: Politics as a battle of images: Lordon’s media theory</p>	<p>Frédéric Lordon is a well-known figure in French radical politics and theory. While being a leading voice and visible actor in the last decade of anti-government protests, Lordon has also an unusual trajectory from heterodox Marxist political economy to Spinozist affect theory. In this paper I aim to focus on Lordon’s little-known media theory. I argue that an important element of his move away from economics, monetary and financial questions was his emphasis on the role of images in social and political struggles. In <i>Figures of Communism</i>, he argues that to make communism desirable and arrive at positive affects, we need a new ecology of images. ‘Politics... is a battle of images’ (Lordon 2021: 16). He points to political graffiti as ‘an affective machine’ that is worth more than 30 years editorials from centre-Left newspaper <i>Libération</i>.</p> <p>Constructing a perfect edifice of political theory is not enough, only an intervention in the physics of images is necessary to conceive and desire communism as a reality. Capitalism feeds off people’s misery, communism will only emerge by investing the domain of the imaginary — not a hopeful imaginary but a joyful and immediate one. ‘The historical fatality of communism is that it has never taken place and yet it is crippled by disastrous images’ (Lordon 2021: 16). I reconstruct the structure of Lordon’s media theory by dialoguing with strands of French media theory as well as Spinozo-Marxist affect theory. In his recent work on affective politics and communism, Lordon makes it clear that images and the imaginary play a significant role. A way to engage in the field of external stimuli is to intervene in the distribution of the sensible, to show a new image (a ‘dialectical image’) that pierces through the current visual and social order.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Socialist Planning (III): Can Socialism Solve the Ecological Crisis? [RB01] <i>Post-Capitalism</i></p>	
<p>How do we navigate eco-catastrophe within the framework of a socialist society? With a focus on proposing concrete institutional-systemic solutions, rather than just diagnosing the issue, participants will explore strategies for ensuring human society operates sustainably within biophysical constraints while maintaining a high quality of life for humankind. This discussion aims to chart a path towards a global ecological society that respects planetary boundaries without sacrificing democratic values. Join us as we tackle the intersections of sustainable resource use, environmental health, and ecosystem integrity within the context of socialist, democratic, and libertarian principles.</p>	
<p>Rabea Berfelde: A Critical Theory of Socialisation</p>	<p>Socialisation revolves fundamentally around the (re)appropriation of infrastructures - i.e. their dissociation from private ownership. The aim of socialisation is to build collective and democratic decision-making power over economic sub-sectors as well as their management for the common good. The contribution develops the contours of a critical theory of socialisation for the present. It argues that to take socialisation seriously as a transformative strategy requires going beyond abstract discussion of capitalism in general and focusing on key fields of conflict where difficult questions of ownership and democratic control arise. The contribution develops the contours of a critical theory</p>

	<p>of socialisation by discussing the example of agrarian land and energy infrastructures, which are understood as central to a socio-ecological transformation. The question of how and why to socialise landed property and energy infrastructures is approached by discussing historical examples of attempts at socialisation, contemporary visions for a common good oriented management of these central infrastructures as well as the failures of the current property and market structures.</p>
<p>Simon Hannah: Reclaiming the future: Socialist democratic planning in the face of climate crisis</p>	<p>With economic crises growing and climate catastrophe looming the question of democratic planning of the economy is back on the agenda. This talk examines the basics of economic planning, starting with Marx's criticisms of capitalism before developing a basic guide to what greater democratic planning might look like. Drawing on the work of Marx, Samary, Soper, Mandel, Mezaros, Cockshott & Cottrell and Benanav talk is intended for people relatively new to economics that gives a summary of types of planning and how it will be an improvement on market driven capitalist economics. It makes the case for an ecosocialist, democratically planned economy as the best way to reduce economic and consumptive waste and to ensure a good standard of living within planetary boundaries.</p> <p>The clock is ticking down towards runaway global warming, alongside the other ecological crises, and the need for a clear post-capitalist alternative to endless growth on a finite planet is pressing even more urgently. At this point even if runaway global warming cannot be stopped, we will need a democratic plan for our society and economy to ensure the best chance for survival alongside other species on the planet. It makes a case for a challenge to scarcity as a mode of life under capital and the way in which scarcity shapes our thinking and creates the basis for reactionary politics based on relative privilege of some against others (migrants, the poor, etc).</p> <p>Instead of capitalist economics and scarcity relations the talk proposes a replacement based on a society of radical abundance focussing on universal services for all. This would see the socialisation of economic power, participatory democracy within the workplace but also wider social control of investment and development, the abolition of the social division of labour and the progressive removal of the law of value as an economic regulator and its replacement by a social plan of production.</p> <p>The talk also examines the political approach to achieve such a society, to mitigate against the problem of presenting a better society without a strategic view for how people actually live and struggle to achieve radical change. This involves a methodological intervention focussing on the types of movements and political action that needs to occur to challenge capitalism in such a way that it can lead to a rupture towards socialism; specifically independent working class organisation, transitional demands and dual power in both workplace and the political sphere. The presentation is based on my forthcoming book Reclaim The Future: A Beginners Guide to Planning the Economy (November, Pluto Books)</p>
<p>Samia Mohammed: Planning for Freedom: Freedom beyond ecological destruction in a socialist economy</p>	<p>Much of the renewed discussions around alternative, post-capitalist political economies is motivated by an escalating climate catastrophe being so obviously bound to and triggered by our current capitalist mode of production. But how do we guarantee that, for example, a socialist or communist society we try to envisage and create does not become equally destructive? Does history not show us that so called actual existing socialism in the 20th century was itself quite ruthless regarding the relations to non-human (and human) nature it established? In my contribution, I want to evaluate how far a specific strand of current discussions on post-capitalism, namely proposals for a non-market, planned socialist economy, hold the promise and potential of a less ecologically destructive socialist mode of production and organization of economy and society. I will try to argue that the restructuring of human-nature relations through democratic socialist planning seems to be the very condition to an emphatic understanding of freedom today, which in turn does not rely on or realize itself on the cost of extractivism and exploitation of natural resources. This not only includes new forms of collectively relating to each other and the world (in new forms of</p>

	labour division, e.g.), but also demands a renegotiation of conventional understandings of the notions of necessity and freedom in their distinctness as well as their interdependence.
<p>Pedro H. J Nardelli, Harun Šiljak, Rodrigo Santaella Gonçalves: Commons-based Ultra-Scalable Polycentric Social Planning for Multi Tier Allocation of Heterogeneous Resources</p>	<p>The close relationship between economic growth and climate change has been empirically and theoretically demonstrated. The specific type of economy that emerged with the first industrial revolution is still in place, supporting and supported by the stock nature of fossil fuels. Against strong scientific evidence of the impossibility of decoupling between economic outcomes and material dissipation of profit-driven social production processes, techno-optimists still claim that the green growth is the only feasible path toward sustainability in its many dimensions as indicated by the widespread seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN. In this presentation, we will discuss how multi-agent simulations can be employed to prove feasibility of a highly scalable in-kind, commons-based political economy. Our proposal is a polycentric planning method that will be developed to govern the heterogeneous resources directly available or socially produced. The sustainability of this political economy shall be assessed in terms of social-ecological metrics that quantify flows and stocks of energy and matter involved in production and consumption processes. In specific terms, our aim is to construct a new scalable political economy without the mediation of money in all its functions. Social production and reproduction services will be based on the management of disaggregated labour time offered by agents to perform a set of socially productive and reproductive tasks; in this sense, we expect to treat disaggregated labour time as commons available at the production sites (revisiting the GIK's The Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution). Circulation and distribution will be based on commons, where the access to the socially produced wealth and services will be constructed case by case through a proposed institutional framework to ensure that supply and demand are matched while storage is managed accordingly. Socially distributed planning in polycentric scenarios and the social theory behind COMMONSIM multi-agent simulations provide the background of this proposal, always avoiding to introduce possible surrogates of money in all its social functions. Moreover, the proposed political economy shall incorporate the aspects of the social ecology, and thus, our political economy can be proved materially sustainable in contrast to the unsustainable social ecology of capital, even in its 'greened' versions.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Violence, War, Sexuality [RG01] HMSPEN</p>	
<p>Jess Fournier: From Resistance to Resilience: Sexual Violence Activism and Cold War Politics</p>	<p>This paper historicizes the rise of resilience as the primary idiom of both liberal and Left feminist anti-sexual violence activism in late 20th century and early 21st century United States. Specifically, I examine how the collapse of the Soviet Union and its attendant visions of women's rights influenced global perspectives on sexual violence as a political issue.</p> <p>Analyzing the 1970s-1990s World Conferences on Women and 1990s US feminist-prison abolitionist conferences, the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), and the United States' Violence Against Women Act (1994), the paper establishes a range of competing visions of sexual violence as a social and political problem for feminist activists during the Cold War. I argue that the 1990s ascendance of international human rights frameworks as the "ethical transcendence of the politics of revolution and counterrevolution" (Robert Meister 2010, 7) led to a hegemonic vision of sexual violence politics grounded in individual and collective risk avoidance. At once an individual criminal act and an index of failed states (Rana Jaleel 2021, 88), a resiliency model of sexual violence shifted the 'costs' of sexual violence onto individuals and communities rather than articulating sexual violence as a form of structural injustice.</p>

	<p>Depoliticized as a medical or public health concern, sexual violence became increasingly isolated from broader Left feminist mobilizations.</p> <p>In the post-#MeToo era, Marxist analyses of sexual violence as core to capitalist oppression have become even more crucial. I end this paper by discussing the implications of my research for contemporary anti-sexual violence movements.</p>
<p>Anna Simone Reumert: Towards a Political Economy of Sex in Lebanon's Civil War</p>	<p>What role does sex play in war? In a political climate where sex has become a weapon of words, and a prod for culturalist accusations, this paper brings sex back into the discussion of economic relations. Based on oral historical research with former militia fighters, civilians and artists who lived through and documented the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), I argue that militias used sex work and the threat of sexual violence to network and govern. Scholarship on the war has in the past decade broadened the "war story" by foregrounding women's perspectives as fighters and political actors, and by adding complexity to militiamen's narratives, but it has yet to examine the war's political economy from an intersectional perspective. I present two arguments that contribute to feminist political economy and to scholarship on warfare, sex and gender.</p> <p>First, whereas cultural production of and from the Lebanese civil war has tended to portray sex work as a zone of neutrality and even peace because warring factions met in the brothels, I show that sex enabled cross-sectarian relations of exchange and extraction precisely because sex was deeply implicated in the politics of the war. In a war where civilians were often kept immobile and enclaved, sex became a weapon of mobility; militias used sexual violence and the threat of it to exchange information and goods across factional lines, and to block women's and femme-identifying residents, who would in turn mobilize their sexuality to gain mobility.</p> <p>Secondly, by revealing the systematic nature of sexual violence in this war, I argue that violence often was the price of relational protection in this networked war economy. Specifically, I examine how militias used sexual violence, and the threat of it, as a disciplinary tool to govern within their 'own' sectarian-based constituentices, through a logic of patron-client protection. The latter argument upsets the notion that this was a war fought across sectarian lines only.</p>
<p>Yağmur Çağatay: Economies Of Visibility Surrounding Disclosures Of Sexual Violence In Turkey</p>	<p>Since the 2010's, disclosures have become a crucial mechanism within feminist circles at universities in Turkey as a response to the shortcomings of institutional complaint processes regarding sexual violence. Disclosure refers to the act of revealing or making known the incidents of sexual violence experienced or witnessed by individuals, including the identification of the perpetrators involved. Hence, this paper will focus on the complexities of sexual violence disclosures within university settings in Turkey while examining the relationship between individual narratives of sexual violence, feminist activism, reactions from third parties, and social media. Since disclosures are frequently subjected to scrutiny by third parties, through the framework of "economies of visibility," it will scrutinize the ways in which disclosures navigate and comply with supply and demand dynamics, which are defined by gendered structures and neoliberal frameworks. In this sense, economies of visibility require compelling and detailed narratives of sexual violence that are not only engaging but also marketable and consumable. In this process, the credibility of the narrative and the extent of its circulation depend on how much it complies and aligns with these economies of visibility. By analyzing the reactions to disclosures and the decision-making processes of feminists during the publicization of disclosures, this study also unpacks the nuanced negotiations and internal divergences among feminists. This research and its data are based on a portion of the research I conducted for my master's thesis through in-depth interviews and participant observation. All in all, this paper calls for a critical reevaluation of the political implications of deprivatization of sexual violence experiences on social media. Doing so underscores the intricate connections between the representation of sexual violence, the discourse on visibility and credibility, and the broader feminist politics.</p>

<p>Peter Drucker: Queer Geopolitics in a Time of Clashing Imperialisms</p>	<p>The homonationalism defined and explored by Jasbir Puar has increasingly become an integral feature of a deepening global divide between North American and Western European imperialisms and other powers challenging them, such as China, Russia and Iran. Heteronationalism allows reactionaries, usually complicit themselves in the imposition of neoliberalism, to posture as defiant nationalists by scapegoating supposedly alien LGBTIQ people. Homonationalism and heteronationalism reinforce each other in clashing attempts (respectively) to repress and use LGBTIQ people. The introduction of same-sex marriage in Taiwan contrasts with stalled progress on LGBTIQ issues in the People's Republic, while Ukraine (dubiously) profiles itself as sexually progressive. In the Middle East, more complexly, Hamas' role as an integral part and leading force of Palestinian resistance against a new Nakba poses dilemmas to Palestinian queers faced with the organization's resolute heteronormativity. The rise of the far right on both sides of this 'pink line' exposes far-right divisions, with far-right currents in much of Western Europe, Israel and the Americas inconsistently promoting a homonationalist linkage of LGBTIQ rights to imperial pretensions, putting them at loggerheads of the 'anti-Western' far right (despite the role of e.g. Putin as their sometime ally and patron).</p>
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<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Book Launch Roundtable: <i>Against the Crisis: Economy and Ecology in a Burning World</i> [Khalili Lecture Theatre]</p>	
<p>Speaker: Ståle Holgersen</p> <p>Respondents: Alyssa Battistoni, David McNally and Lukas Slothuus</p>	

<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Marxist Re-Readings of Classical Literature [BBK-MAL-251] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Adity Singh: Ares the Gold-Broker in Bodies: The Critique of War and Wealth in Aeschylus' Agamemnon</p>	<p>In the Agamemnon, Aeschylus develops an image of Ares, the god of war, as a broker who exchanges gold for bodies, returning them at best as ashes. Throughout the play, there is a sustained critique of war and excessive wealth, interwoven into the overarching theme of justice. This critique is brought forth sharply, playfully, questioningly, and critically, without providing a final resolution, which unfolds across the trilogy.</p> <p>Traditionally, the play is interpreted as the story of the fall of a great man, the warrior-hero Agamemnon, sacker of Troy, at the hands of his evil and conniving wife Clytaemnestra—a woman too clever for her own good. However, reading the play through a leftist lens reveals a different narrative. Clytaemnestra, while by no means a sympathetic character, appears justified in many of her actions, while Agamemnon emerges as a narrow-minded warmonger, too far gone in his arrogance to realise the import of his choices. The Chorus, while weak and obsequious, still manages to offer a sharp social critique. Cassandra, doomed to her fate, starkly highlights the injustice of the status quo. While there may not be many sympathetic characters in the play, it nevertheless offers a complex emotional landscape that critiques power structures, war, hypocrisy, excessive wealth, and even religion.</p> <p>In this paper, I will present this alternative reading focusing specifically on the critique of war and wealth offered in the play, which can provide a critical lens for reinterpreting the various events and characters in the play. I offer this reinterpretation as an example of what Benjamin calls 'brushing history against the grain', which can reveal how events and texts, often co-opted by reactionary interpretations, can be reclaimed as cultural heritage for the people, perhaps as they were originally intended to be.</p>

<p>Matt Finck: <i>Cosmology and Catastrophe in Victor Serge's Life and Works</i></p>	<p>In 1943, amidst the aftershocks of an earthquake that rattled Mexico City, the exiled revolutionary and author Victor Serge confessed to a troubling sense of interconnection as he gazed at the stars. Like the looming possibility of further tectonic activity, he wrote in his notebook of his frequent sense of impending cosmic catastrophe. Serge's novels, poems, and personal materials contain diverse astronomical allusions and images that chronicle his experience within revolutionary movements of the early twentieth century. Although these images often describe the events of war and defeat, Serge's cosmological ideas also point to the possibility of a renewed revolutionary socialism which salvages hope from catastrophe. This presentation will explore the cosmological imagery in the work and thought of Victor Serge. Serge inherited a fascination with the natural sciences from a variety of legacies of the nineteenth century revolutionary tradition: the works of the French anarchist geographer Élisée Reclus influenced Serge during his youth. Nikolai Kibalchich, Serge's cousin, was prominent in both family and revolutionary lore. A pioneering rocket scientist, Kibalchich was a member of Peoples Will, and assassinated Tsar Alexander II. Yet Serge never presented cosmological reflections and images systematically in his work. In his later novels such as <i>Unforgiving Years</i> and <i>Last Times</i>, and in poems such as "Constellation of Dead Brothers," astronomical imagery serves as a symbol of reflection on the defeat and losses of decades of revolutionary struggle. In other works, such as <i>The Case of Comrade Tulayev</i>, the astronomical sciences form an alternative cosmological worldview for several characters. For the protagonists, the natural sciences have taken the place of religious reflection. Reading across Serge's oeuvre, this presentation deepens our understanding of Serge as a writer and revolutionary. It offers insight into the role of the natural sciences in revolutionary political culture.</p>
<p>Nikolay Karkov: <i>Between a (Socialist) Rock and a (Racialized) Hard Place: Dimitŭr Dimov's "Epistemic Break" of the mid-1940s</i></p>	<p>Between 1938 and 1951, the time of publication of his first and third finished novels, Bulgarian writer Dimitŭr Dimov's writing underwent a stark metamorphosis. His first novel <i>Poruchik Bentz</i> (<i>Corporal Bentz</i>), culminates in a colonial pact between noble West European men of war as distinct from both blood-thirsty North African soldiers and a "treacherous" woman of Middle Eastern origins, while the unfinished first draft of what would later become his 1951 masterpiece, <i>Tyutyun</i> (<i>Tobacco</i>), also boasts a half-Senegalese side-kick who loves cleaning public bathrooms. By contrast, the completed and far more ambitious <i>Tyutyun</i>, a panorama of interwar life written in an explicitly anti-capitalist key, also includes a wide variety of racialized, sexed, differently abled and altogether less than perfect characters fighting on the side of the imminent communist revolution.</p> <p>In this text I propose to read Dimov's evolution as a by-product of two intersecting processes: his deepening understanding of historical materialism, on the one hand, and the socialist takeover of the country in 1944, on the other. Working in tandem, the two factors produced what could be called Dimov's own "epistemic break." Yet, in the final analysis, the epistemic break proved limited, as indicated by the lingering presence of racialized tropes and scenes in Dimov's final published novel. Accordingly, I interpret Dimitŭr Dimov's <i>Tyutyun</i> as indicative of not only the promises and perils of mid-century socialist radicalization of an individual author, but also of the historically uneven progress of historically existing socialism in Eastern Europe. I argue that, similar to Dimov's work, Bulgarian (and East European) socialism constituted a process of actual but incomplete decolonization, and that socialism and historical materialism's no less actual but also limited treatment of the problematics of race and racialization undermined the resilience of the socialist project in the twentieth century.</p>
<p>Christian Hogsbjerg: <i>George Orwell, Animal Farm and revolution</i></p>	<p>George Orwell's <i>Animal Farm</i> as an explicit political fable and unmistakable allegory of the Russian Revolution and the rise of Stalinism is still widely seen as a powerful warning against the idea of revolution in general. As Robert Colls notes in his 2021 afterword to the Penguin edition, 'Orwell called it "A Fairy Story" but there was nothing gentle or unworldly about events he described ... of one thing we can be sure. <i>Animal Farm</i> is a very bad place for animals and no advert for revolution'. Even some writers</p>

	<p>coming from the revolutionary left accept the essential argument that ‘Animal Farm is a “right wing” book by a “left wing” writer’. Yet Orwell himself disagreed when it was put to him that Animal Farm showed revolutions always descend into tyranny, writing to Dwight Macdonald that ‘I meant the moral to be that revolutions only effect a radical improvement when the masses are alert and know how to chuck out their leaders as soon as the latter have done their job’. This paper will demonstrate the critical Trotskyist and radical influences on Orwell’s writing of Animal Farm, which is best understood as a revolutionary classic within a broader anti-Stalinist literary tradition.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Book Launch Roundtable: <i>Inventing the New: History and Politics in Jean-Paul Sartre</i> [BBK-MAL-252]</p>	
<p>Speaker: Luca Basso</p> <p>Respondents: Giorgio Cesarale, Vittorio Morfino and Panagiotis Sotiris</p>	
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Class, Labour, and Movement [BBK-MAL-253]</p>	
<p>Joseph Choonara and Bob Carter: The Treatment of Capital and Class in Contemporary Employment Studies</p>	<p>Recent debates surrounding the publications of works such as Thomas Piketty’s “Capital in the 21st Century” or “Social Class in the 21st Century”, by Mike Savage and collaborators, have helped revive academic interest in class and inequality. However, the long retreat from classical conceptions of social class means that these debates have tended to downplay or ignore the reciprocal interaction between class, on the one hand, and work and employment, on the other.</p> <p>One common thread emerging from the two works mentioned, and much of the discussion about them, is the unsatisfactory treatment of “capital”. Capital is defined in loose economic terms by Piketty and, in Savage et al, using Pierre Bourdieu’s attempt to extend the capital concept beyond the economic terrain, creating a multiplicity of “capitals”. These seemingly contrasting approaches in fact complement one another, with neither adequately grasping the relationship between capital and class.</p> <p>This paper proposes a third approach, drawing on the classical Marxist approach to capital as a social relation, which can offer a way out of the impasse of class theory dramatised by the works of Piketty and Savage. A sophisticated Marxist class theory can restore the linkage between class and employment, illuminating the structure and dynamics of contemporary societies, and the capacities and interests of particular class groups within it.</p>
<p>Lucile Franchet: Flexibilisation policies and labour market structures in France</p>	<p>This doctoral research critically examines labour market flexibilisation policies in France, challenging the mainstream narrative that links flexibilisation with economic growth and reduced unemployment. Adopting a class relational perspective, it redefines labour market flexibilisation as a transformation in the social relations of production, facilitating the increasing rate of exploitation in many countries. This study analyses these policies as a manifestation of a concrete capitalist class struggle to (re)produce an exploitable labour force, influenced by neoliberalism and the 1970s profitability crisis. Focusing on France, this research uniquely combines a socio-historical analysis of the French labour market, quantitative macro-economic data, and a mixed-methods case study of France Télécom. This approach reveals the nuanced forms of flexibilisation in France, particularly in the context of diminishing union density and evolving collective bargaining. The thesis aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the power dynamics between capital and labour, offering insights into the covert strategies of French capitalism in response to economic challenges since the 1970s.</p>
<p>Neil Warner: The political economy of everyday practices in</p>	<p>This paper argues for an approach to the political economy and party politics that pays more attention to the everyday practices of different actors, and the asymmetries in</p>

<p>the study of political parties and labour movements</p>	<p>interest and mobilisation on different issues which may emerge from the structuring of these practices by different actors' political and economic positions. More attention should be given to how and why different issues resonate with different actors, and how this resonance relates to their everyday experience. This can be done by drawing on practice-oriented approaches which have become popular in sociology but are neglected in political economy and the study of political parties. This focus on actors' everyday practices and experiences should not, however, neglect the structuring of those practices by political and economic positions, which can be done by drawing on Gramscian ideas and reinterpretations of Marx's theory of commodity fetishism. This argument is illustrated, using examples from political responses to the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s in the UK and Sweden. In these cases, whereas Social Democratic and labour movements parties prioritised questions related to workplace control and wages, they did not mobilise on questions related to control over investment, where employers, conservative and liberal parties mobilised more strongly. These variations can be related to the degree to which these policies resonated with the everyday experiences of party leaderships and supporters, which was in turn structured by their political and economic positions.</p>
<p>Gianluca Tatarelli: A heterodox Marxist analysis of the class structure of contemporary Italy: theoretical reconstruction and empirical evidence</p>	<p>Despite its significance, structural Marxist class analysis has always been a relatively under-researched field. In spite of some insightful albeit isolated works (Das, 2017; Livingstone, 2023), scholarly attention has deteriorated even further in the last two decades. In my contribution, I try to make a case for a revival of this crucial research field by presenting some stylized results of a theoretical and empirical study of the Italian class structure in European comparison.</p> <p>In the first part, I try to sketch the structure of what I present as a possible reconstruction of a unified Marxist theory of social classes in contemporary capitalism, which focuses particularly on the problems of the identification of the "middle class" and the internal stratification of the working class. I highlight, in particular, 1. the (finite) plurality of sources of inequality and 2. the (definite) plurality of objects of inequality. I hint at the major conceptual innovations in relation to traditional Marxism, express the theoretical debts with other traditions, and indicate the main theoretical and empirical differences with non-Marxist theories of social classes.</p> <p>In the second part, I provide some empirical evidence supporting the relevance of this theoretical framework for the analysis of a number of socio-economic phenomena, drawing on Italy as a case study in a European framework. I explore, in particular, the relationship between class structure and the appropriation of social surplus and "occupational welfare." I also show some results that suggest that Marxist class analysis is an appropriate key to understanding a variety of other social phenomena — from electoral behavior to social values.</p>
<p>Saturday, 9:30 – 11:15 Revisiting Young Marx's Thinking of Human Emancipation [BBK-MAL-254]</p>	
<p>Svenja Bromberg: Reading (the young) Marx against his own limits: 'Human emancipation' between Enlightenment and Materialism</p>	<p>"In this paper I will return to Marx's concept of emancipation as he develops it in 'On the Jewish Question' (1844). A common and tempting impetus that we find for example in Joan Scott (2012) and Sara Farris (2014) is an enthusiastic embrace and defence of Marx's notion of 'human emancipation' against the merely limited forms of religious and political emancipation. One strategy of such approaches is to identify Marx's notion of human emancipation as proto-materialist, thereby justify at least a certain continuity with his later work and advocate for a contemporary embrace of human emancipation (in the vein used in the early texts). On the other side of the spectrum (Koselleck, Laclau, Tosel, Haider) we have theorisations that agree we can't simply find and use a Marxian concept of human emancipation to update a Marxist emancipatory theory for the present due to the centrality of issues such as the plurality of emancipatory struggles, the failure of certain Enlightenment /modern ideas and promises (philosophy of history;</p>

	<p>universality), the question of the singularity of political situations and the problem of organisation (which includes the question of the emancipatory subject; the lack of a pre-given guarantee / foundation; and lack of finality of emancipatory progress). I want to suggest that a contemporary return to the early Marx's notion of human emancipation requires something different still. As my starting point I take Marx's conception of the different stages of emancipation as if they were separated by a clear limit or border, which seemingly can be overcome once and for all. Central to my analysis of the early Marx's language, conceptual terminology and style of argumentation are passages from OJQ such as:</p> <p>"Political emancipation is, of course, a big step forward. True, it is not the final form of human emancipation in general, but it is the final form of human emancipation within the hitherto existing world order. It goes without saying that we are speaking here of real, practical emancipation."</p> <p>"Only the criticism of political emancipation itself would have been the conclusive criticism of the Jewish question and its real merging in the "general question of [our] time."</p> <p>On the basis of these and other key conceptualisations, this paper develops a serious reckoning with the so-called Enlightenment baggage that Marx brings to this very early attempt of trying to formulate his own materialist counter to the merely philosophical (idealist) and bourgeois forms of religious and political emancipation that he finds in the work of his interlocutors (Hegel, Rousseau, Young Hegelians, revolutionary liberalism) as well as in the political achievements of the moment, especially the bourgeois revolutions and struggles for Jewish emancipation. This is done by excavating the Enlightenment, and specifically Kantian (rather than Hegelian) overtones in the early Marx's diagnosis of the present that he puts forward in terms of a linear progression from religious to political to human emancipation.</p> <p>A further central argument of the paper is that it doesn't make sense to try and read OJQ or the concept of emancipation in the abstract; or to transpose it abstractly to a different moment of political struggle. Instead, we need to confront the historical, geographical and political – in short conjunctural - specificity with which Marx imbues his use of these concepts. This is done along 4 thematic lines: 1) the struggle for Jewish emancipation in Europe; 2) the French revolutionary context; 3) the 'age of questions'; and 4) the normative horizon of the human 'species'.</p> <p>On the basis of this analysis, the paper will, in a final part, outline some principles of a materialist concept of emancipation for the present that returns to Marx against some of his own Enlightenment limits.</p>
<p>Kaan Kangal: Young Marx and the Wood Theft Debates in Prussian Rhineland in the Early Nineteenth Century</p>	<p>This paper revisits young Marx's 1842 account of wood theft law. It intends to pursue a balanced approach both to his strengths and limitations without being uncritically hagiographic or dogmatically dismissive. Marx's take on the wood theft question prompted him for the first time to pay due attention to the interconnection between political power, social property relations and the law as a superb instrument of class domination. The weakness of Marx's account was that he was not fully informed about the Prussian forest regulations in the beginning of the 1840s and wrongly presumed that the 1841 bill intended to dispossess peasants of their traditional usufruct rights. This shortcoming does not invalidate Marx's spirited endeavour but sets considerable limitations to it.</p>
<p>Juha Koivisto: The Ideal</p>	<p>"For the everyday mind, it can seem astonishing that Marx pursued the overthrow of existing conditions, but at the same time acted very critically towards the ideals. Even the >categorical imperative< of the young Marx, >to overthrow all conditions in which man is a degraded, enslaved, abandoned, contemptible being< (1/385-386) focuses on the practical negation of the negative instead of its negation in ideality. Marx and Engels criticised the hypocritical discursive glorification of ideals abstractly opposed to reality as useless for intervening thought (eingreifendes Denken) that starts from historically produced contradictions and possibilities. Instead of confronting the factual, unattractive</p>

being with the unreal, beautiful ought, they endeavored to theoretically explain the formation of such a dualism of two realms, making their critique of Ideals an integral part of their theory of ideological forms and practices. Their aim, as Gramsci noted, was to give >a new form< to the endeavors expressed in ideal form or >to renew these endeavors <, but >not to destroy them< (Q 1, H. 1, § 29).

This is a preliminary translation of the entry 'Ideal' from the Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus (Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism)."

Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

The Passionate Intelligence of Rosa Luxemburg Amid the German and Russian Revolutions: Verso’s Publication of Volume 5 of Luxemburg’s Complete Works [B102]

The panel will open a discussion of the just-published fifth volume of Rosa Luxemburg’s writings, encompassing the 1917 Russian and 1918–19 German revolutions. The discussion will explore: her contributions on revolutionary strategy and the transition to socialism; her deep commitment to radical democracy; her conceptualizations of the mass strike; her critique of the bureaucratic conservatism afflicting the German Social Democratic Party; and her horrified yet grimly analytical examination of the violence and brutality of World War I. Attention will be given to her final year of life – while deeply inspired by Russia’s 1917 upsurge, she was compelled to critically analyze its fatal limitations, and in the revolutionary chaos sweeping through Germany in 1918–19, she gave voice to the revolution’s final testament: “I was, I am, I shall be.”

Paul LeBlanc: Luxemburg, Revolution, Communism

The effort to produce a “complete works” of Rosa Luxemburg, by the evolving team gathered in and around the editorial board, has so far resulted in Verso publishing six stout volumes of writings (including a preliminary collection of correspondence), with two volumes on economics and three volumes of revolution. Most of this material is published in English for the first time – enriching our understanding of Luxemburg’s thought and times. Aspects of Luxemburg’s writings in the just-released fifth volume include: 1) elaborations which provide greater insights into the mass strike, as a conceptualization and reality; 2) further insights into the bureaucratic-conservative degeneration of Social Democratic Party of Germany and of the Second International; 3) an evolving analytical understanding of the First World War; 4) a complex and illuminating “internal critique” of the Bolshevik Revolution. In addition to this, the editors of this volume engage with a variety of issues, including: the continuing global relevance of Luxemburg’s thought; broad historical dimensions of the mass strike as a reality; substantial common ground shared by Luxemburg and Lenin, as well as questions dividing them; and the often hotly contested question of who has greater claim to Luxemburg’s legacy.

Rida Vaquas: The 1905 Revolution as a Model for Revolutionary Virtues in Luxemburg's Thought

My paper will seek to draw out the connections between Rosa Luxemburg's analysis of the 1905 Russian revolution and her political activity during the 1918-1919 movement. A frequent criticism made by Luxemburg's former allies, in particular Karl Kautsky, is that she considered the Russian proletariat as the ideal in terms of action, especially after 1905. and failed to consider that the methods effective in Russia were not necessarily effective in Germany or Western Europe. If Bernstein imported reformism from his time in England; it is supposed that Luxemburg smuggled in revolutionary fervour from her time in the Tsarist empire. My paper would seek to show that firstly, as Luxemburg herself was well aware, that the activity of the Russian workers, and of committed socialists under the empire, was not exceptional - either in the strategy behind it or in the actions themselves. Rather, they were following established traditions and ideas about political activity that had been discussed in the Second International. Her admiration for socialists in the Russian Empire was rooted in her admiration for their exemplification of what she understood to be necessary ways of acting. The second part of my paper will hence attempt build the connection between her 1905 and 1918-1919 writings by elaborating on her concept of revolutionary virtues.

Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

Feminist Resistance [B103]

Marxist Feminism

<p>Ankhi Mukherjee and Rajdeep Roy: Harvesting Gender Inclusivity and Social Change: Investigating the Role and Agency of Women in Farmers' Protest in India in the 21st Century</p>	<p>This paper investigates the role of women in the contemporary Farmers' Protest in India, locating their struggle within the wider ambit of protests led by women on a global scale. Farmers' Protest started in India in September 2020, protesting the three Farm Acts. This paper focuses on the gendered dynamics of the Strike, analysing the demands of gender equality within the agrarian community by challenging the traditional notion that Farmers are usually men. As a result, women are continuously put in the sidelines. By interrogating the exclusionary language and practices that sideline women farmers and reinforce patriarchal norms, this paper aims to emphasise the significance and dire need of gender inclusivity in Indian society, especially in the agrarian communities. This paper attempts to understand the interstice among gender, caste and class that shapes the political activism of Farmers' Strike through Marxist lens. Furthermore, it throws a light on the socio-economic aspects that influences the agency of women as a Farmer and her activism within the current political landscape in India. This paper studies the role of women in Farmers' Protest in India from diverse positions, such as, farmers, activists, reporters, drives the tractors, as well as caretakers, who cooks, cleans and prepares for the protesting crowd. It presents an ethnographic account of women farmers, by conducting qualitative interviews with women participants in the farmer protests, and content analysis of media representations and activist narratives, circulated mainly through citizen journalism. Situated within the intersectionality between Marxist frameworks of Historical Materialism and Feminist theories, it aims to provide a nuanced understanding of agency of women in protest and political activism. To conclude, by locating the farmer protests within a global context, this study attempts to facilitate cross-cultural solidarity and efforts on the level of transnational advocacy for agrarian rights and gender equality.</p>
<p>Lucely Ginani Bordon: The theoretical expression of the International Women's Strike in Argentina</p>	<p>The International Women's Strike (IWS) movement on March 8 (International Women's Day) reached its apogee in 2017 with an unprecedented wave of feminist transnational solidarity. The reach of the movement found expression not only in terms of the concrete organizing of feminist collective action but also through the organic intellectual production of strategic political theory in the form of manifestos, journals, pamphlets, popular books, calls to action, posters, and many other political documents. Thus far, social scientific inquiry into the IWS has focused mainly on sociological investigation into the varieties of feminist collective action that have emerged in particular national contexts around specific demands. The effervescence of theoretical production on strategic political questions by organic intellectuals of the movement has been comparatively neglected. Responding to this gap in the literature, this paper will analyze the theoretical expression of the IWS movement in Argentina, arguably the epicentre of the international resurgence of this new feminist wave. In the context of the IWS, Argentina witnessed among the most robust cycles of feminist intellectual production anywhere in the world. Two main questions are asked. First, what are the predominant thematic patterns and strategic political contributions discernible within the multiplicity of theoretical expressions associated with the IWS in Argentina? Second, what is the character and significance of the internal tensions and sometimes even schisms, over political strategy within the theoretical productions of the movement? To this end, the research aims to offer a new understanding of the IWS movement in Argentina by focusing on the theoretical contribution of its organic intellectuals - a form of theoretical production that flows from the collective praxis and political imagination of the latest wave of feminist movements in the region.</p>
<p>Birke Jessing Friedländer: In Defense of Democracy: Fantasy for the state in Brazil</p>	<p>On January 8, 2023, thousands of supporters of the former far-right president in Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, stormed the national congress, supreme court, and presidential palace in Brasília. They were calling for a military intervention to overturn the elections results from November, 2022, where Lula da Silva from the Worker's Party had won and, thereby, returned to power. The coup-attempt by the bolsonarista movement has sparked traumatic memories in Brazil of the military dictatorship (1964-1985) during which thousands were tortured, murdered and disappeared. The central response from the left</p>

	<p>has been to call for severe punishments of the golpistas/terroristas (coup-mongers/terrorists) and against amnesty – referencing the Amnesty Law of 1979 that granted impunity for all political crimes during the dictatorship including the military’s own. The left has also rallied behind the Federal Supreme Court justice, Alexandre de Morães, in charge of the investigation into the coup-attempt, as has several memes have gone viral celebrating the possible imprisonment of Bolsonaro and his supporters. This begs the question what anti-fascism looks like in world with increasingly powerful, confident and violent far-right political movements. I want to explore how the state for the left, as for the far-right, has become a fetishized object, which is invested with phantasmatic fears and desires that conceal the class, gender and racial relations of the state and its central actors.</p>
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<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Beyond the Canon of Western Marxism [B104] <i>Western Marxism</i></p>	
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<p>Christoph Jünke: Perry Anderson's "Western Marxism" and the German Left</p>	<p>Perry Anderson's groundbreaking work on "Western Marxism" develops his views and theses not least from an interpretation of the historical development of German Marxism in the 20th century. But how were his theses and arguments received in Germany itself? Although translated into German as early as 1978, his book has met with a rather restrained reception there and, where it has occasionally been treated in more detail beyond a conceptual-formal reference, has met with a rather negative reception. A widely read author in West Germany in the seventies, Anderson disappeared from the political and intellectual debates of the 1980s. Moreover, a recent new book-edition of his "Western Marxism" in a leftwing publishinghouse sets the fox to guard the chickens and makes, in an essay published in that same book, a prominent representative of the "Frankfurt School" into Anderson's equally spiteful and unobjective interpreter. Against this background, the paper aims to trace the historical paths of the German Anderson-Reception, and to show why the book and its views so far had so little "success" in Germany – and what this says about Anderson's theses itself and the state of Marxism in Germany.</p> <p>Christoph Jünke, is a German Historian and leftwing author. He studied history and social science at the universities of Cologne and Bochum, taught history at the FernUniversität in Hagen, and now works as an independent scholar. He is chairman of the Leo Kofler-society and author of numerous books and articles on the German Left, German History and the History of socialism, Stalinism and the New Left, including "Leo Kofler's Philosophy of Praxis: Western Marxism and Socialist Humanism", Leiden: Brill 2022 and Chicago: Haymarket 2023.</p>
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<p>Marco Cerotto: The Development of the Western Marxism. An European Neo-Marxism of the Sixties and Seventies?</p>	<p>This paper aims to investigate the birth of neo-Marxism in Italy and in Germany, in order to ascertain the existence of a European neo-Marxism. During the last century, several attempts have been made to define as 'Western Marxism' the political thought of some intellectuals who departed from both Classical Marxism and of the orthodoxy of Soviet Marxism. One of the first to attempt this path was Maurice Merleau-Ponty, but it is certainly the British scholar Perry Anderson who deserves the credit for having fully elaborated a definition of Western Marxism.</p> <p>In this paper, I aim to investigate both the emergence of Italian neo-Marxism – especially the operaismo of the 1960s and 1970s (Panzieri, Tronti, Negri) – and the Neue Marx-Lektüre original reflections developed in West Germany (Backhaus, Reichelt, Krahl). The significance of Italian neo-Marxism resides in its innovative analyses of the technological factory, the connection between production and circulation, and the consideration of working-class subjectivity. In contrast, the intellectuals of the German neo-Marxism, in particular Backhaus and Reichelt, developed a new reading of Marx's Capital, called 'logical-categorical'. The logical-categorical reading claimed the primacy of the logical aspect to understand Marx's concept of value, but above all aimed to re-</p>
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	<p>read Capital in the developments of mature capitalism. The originality of Krahls path is marked by his attitude towards politics, and in his reading of the developments of neo-capitalism, especially in the new political protagonism emerging in the society of his time.</p> <p>In conclusion, the necessity to develop a research on European neo-Marxism is justified by a recognizability of a common trait — apart from the same ‘genetic’ theoretical dimension — and of an innovative intellectual production of the Neo-capitalism of the Sixties and Seventies.</p>
<p>Lucie Rondeau du Noyer: Not your average Marxist. Retracing the intellectual life of H�el�ene Legotien (1944-1980)</p>	<p>Since the assassination of H�el�ene Althusser (n�ee Rytman) on 16 November 1980, the question of whether to continue reading her husband's works has often been raised. Her own life and the texts she signed under the pseudonym Legotien from 1944 onwards have received far less public attention.</p> <p>Having shown that H�el�ene Legotien left behind far too many texts and archival traces to be reduced to the status of a voiceless victim, I will use this corpus to examine how she remained a Marxist and self-proclaimed ""Bolshevik"" after the Second World War, despite two main obstacles. On the one hand, she was systematically sidelined by the French Communist Party, even though she had been an ardent Communist militant between 1932 and 1944. On the other, she had to work in professional environments that, at first sight, were hardly compatible with the expression of communist ideas.</p> <p>Retracing Legotien's political, professional and intellectual trajectory between 1944 and 1980, and unearthing her hard-to-access writings, is not just a way of paying tribute to her. Indeed, the main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that in writing the history of ""Western Marxism"" in general and Althusserianism in particular, it is always fruitful to focus on more than just academia and well-established mass political parties.</p>
<p>Renata Guerra: Ruy Fausto and the limits of dialectics</p>	<p>This paper examines the conceptualization of the limits of dialectics by the Brazilian philosopher Ruy Fausto. In his project to reconstitute dialectical logic—started in the 1970s and unfolding over more than three decades—Fausto aimed to present dialectics as a rigorous critical theory of the modern social forms, following Marx's critique of political economy and the logical and political difficulties it entails. In line with the logical approach of the Neue Marx-Lekt�ure, Fausto investigated the problem of a materialist conception of dialectics and the differences and proximities it establishes in relation to speculative dialectics. The main point of his reconstitution is the idea that the analysis of the limits of dialectics is intertwined with the investigation of its foundations, so that the path to the logical foundation of the capitalist social form presents itself at the same time as the path to the abyss, and therefore to its collapse. Three points is discussed in Fausto's reconstitution of dialectics. Firstly, I address his interpretation of the truth content of Hegel's philosophical system, formulated as a response to Marx and his interpretation of the mysticism linked to Hegelian dialectics. Secondly, I consider Fausto's characterization of Marxian dialectics as a limited and negative dialectic on a theoretical level, in which the role played by the understanding in the critical presentation of economic categories is stressed. Finally, in the light of these two points, I discuss his contribution to the debate on the meaning of dialectics and its critical importance for social theory.</p>
<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Ideology, State, and Class [B202]</p>	
<p>Matteo Polleri: Normativit�e as Ideology: from Foucault to Marx and Engels</p>	<p>In this talk I will stress the frontal opposition between Michel Foucault's "genealogy" of "norms" and Karl Marx's "critique of ideology", questioning whether this should be considered a fundamental point of divergence between Foucault's analysis of power and the Marxist theories of capitalism. In the first part, I will discuss the specific critical points on which this divergence is commonly based, focusing on Foucault's epistemological and ontological objections to the Marxist notion of ideology. In the</p>

	<p>second part, I will problematize the frontal opposition between Foucault's "genealogy of norms" and the Marxist "critique of ideology". By commenting on some of Foucault's writings of the 1970s, I will suggest that Foucault's objections to the Marxist critique of ideology conceal his creative use of Marx's and Engels' insights. The talk thus focuses on and problematizes one of the main conceptual alternative underlying contemporary conversations in critical theory: the alleged opposition between the critique of social norms inspired by Foucault and the Marxist critique of ideology.</p>
<p>Paolo Gerbaudo: Neither mental nor material: Laclau and Poulantzas on the status of ideology and class</p>	<p>"Ideology once again tops the agenda of contemporary political theory amid the perception that we are traversing a phase of ideological transition away from the hegemonic period of neoliberalism. Yet, many questions about the nature of ideology remain unanswered. In this article, I propose that we need to go back to the debate between Poulantzas and Laclau on the nature of ideology on the sidelines of the far more famous debate between Poulantzas and Miliband on the nature of the capitalist state. Poulantzas and Laclau attempt to provide an answer to a pivotal question raised by their main intellectual inspiration, Louis Althusser, and his analytical Marxism, providing diametrically opposite answers. For Poulantzas ideology is always class specific, rooted in the material interests of a specific class or class fraction. For Laclau the opposite is true: ideology is independent from class structure and only associated with certain classes and/or class fractions temporarily, depending on the specific historical conjuncture. This thesis goes on to inform Laclau's vision of populism as a transversal political logic, irreducible to any class substratum. I propose that a perceptive view of ideology needs to move beyond these two absolutist positions, acknowledging the nature of ideology as a process of articulation of class fractions and their respective interest and the cohesive factor in a "historic bloc".</p>
<p>Carl Wilén: Against Compromise - Pashukanis and Poulantzas on the Autonomy of Law</p>	<p>Emerging from a decade of neglect in the 1990s, the matter of rights, law, and the state in Marxist theory has returned to prominence. As the field has expanded, two genealogies stemming from the 1920s and the 1960s, respectively, have taken center stage. One of these genealogies originates in the thought of the Soviet legal theorist Evgeny Pashukanis and his theorization of the relation between the legal form and the commodity form. The other is rooted in the 'Franco-Italian theory strand' and the thought of the Greek-French social theorist Nicos Poulantzas and his theorization of the relative autonomy of law. The present paper engages with these genealogies by developing three arguments. First, the return to Pashukanis and Poulantzas has tended to start with the end product, despite Pashukanis's concept of the legal form being directly tied to a critique of formalism and instrumentalism, just as Poulantzas's concept of relative autonomy is directly tied to a critique of voluntarism and economism. Moreover, this neglect is all the more troubling in that the negative and positive premises are clear-cut and transparent in neither of these cases. Second, in contrast to Poulantzas's concept of relative autonomy and the critique of subjectivism and objectivism, Pashukanis's concept of the legal form negates the problematic of base and superstructure. Therefore, against various attempts at a synthesis between the Pashukanian and Poulantzian genealogies, a compromise would maintain, rather than supersede, the significance of a debate about the relative autonomy and pseudo-causal significance of the economic, political, and ideological instances or levels. Third, while compromise is untenable, Pashukanis is dependent on conceptual concretization. In this setting, Poulantzian theory undoubtedly contributes to the problem of the legal form and capitalism, granted that it is subordinated to the Pashukanian genealogy and is limited to functioning in terms of local yet significant supplements.</p>
<p>Kira Brenner: Decentering Europe: Autonomist Marxist State Theory and States in the South</p>	<p>Claudia von Braunmühl (1979) highlights two key deficiencies in Marxist state theory: first, nearly all theorisation around the state has been drawn from the advanced capitalist economies of the global North, excluding histories of colonialism and imperialism from discussions of the state. Second, she highlights that nearly everything about the internationalisation of the state is drawn from the "development of underdevelopment"</p>

discourse. In the nearly five decades since this was written, Marxist state theory continues to be drawn primarily from the experiences of states in the global North, specifically Western Europe. This paper aims to interrogate some of the Eurocentrism in Marxist state theory, including, but not limited to Poulantzas's understanding of the "normal" state to be democratic and his disinterest in the impact of American capital on formerly colonised countries. This paper will draw from other key authors of Marxist state theory, including Miliband, Jessop and Therborn. It will also build on a nascent autonomist Marxist theory of the state, which sees the state form as being changed by working class struggle. This view, which sees working class action as the primary driver of capital accumulation, is particularly useful in understanding postcolonial and Southern states, as it uses a significantly expanded conceptualisation of the working class. This understanding draws on some of the limited autonomist Marxist writings on the state, including Antonio Negri, Mario Tronti, and Mariarosa Dalla Costa.

Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

The Legacy of Harry Braverman in Worker Centred and Directed Research [B203]

Workers Inquiry

It has been 50 years since the publication of Harry Braverman's groundbreaking book *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. Inspiring numerous debates over skill, valorization and management, Braverman's work is remembered as one of the guiding texts of labour process analysis (LPA) and has been instrumental in critical inquiries of the labour processes of industries ranging from heavy manufacture to software design.

As the global capitalist system becomes more complex, diffuse, and seemingly impervious to challenge, a nuanced understanding of the exercise of capitalist power at the point of production is a necessary weapon in the working-class arsenal. Moreover, as the momentum of the current cycle of working-class and union organizing portends, the appetite for collective action is growing ever stronger, particularly as working conditions worsen, the environmental crisis escalates, and inequality compounds.

Recognizing this critical juncture, the papers collected here speak to the critical insights of the Braverman text and the manner by which they can be applied to worker-directed and worker-centred scholarship today. Representing a selection of texts from an upcoming special issue of *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, the paper attempt to mobilize Braverman's legacy as a way to support and understand workers' movements today.

Tom Hctor & Joana Almeida:
 "Lumpenproletarianisation",
 Care Work and the Question of
 "Unproductive Labour":
 Theorising With and Beyond
 Braverman's Labour and
 Monopoly Capital

Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* offered a path-shaping account of the processes which shaped the labour process of modern capitalism. Braverman charts the process of proletarianization in ways which are still fundamentally true of capitalist development today. Braverman's observation that the creation of a large industrial reserve army of labour 'encourages the investment of capital in forms of the labor process which require masses of low-wage hand labor' (Braverman, 1974, p. 388) is prescient. Since the 1970s, the expansion of low-wage productive labour has been in tandem with an increasing demand for (paid and unpaid) care work, a consequence of the increasing integration of women into the workforce presented by the requirement for the provision of care within families.. Linking together Braverman's (1974) observations about the changing composition of the labour force and his discussion of unproductive labour, in this article we argue that an exponential expansion of "unproductive labour", far from being socially useless, has circumvented the potential barrier, identified in *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, to the further expansion of low-wage work. The goals of this article are threefold. Firstly, it offers a discussion of the now rarely underutilised category unproductive labour as a means to explore the massive expansion of paid and unpaid care work in modern Western economies. Secondly, it combines Braverman's underdeveloped discussion of unproductive labour with social reproduction theory as a means to make sense of the ways in which care work has become both critical to the continued valorisation of capital in countries of the Global North as well as increasingly subject to the processes of value production. Finally, we argue that Braverman's deskilling thesis pre-empts aspects of the literature on precarity as it applies to care work, with increasing expansion in the care sector combined with increasing

	<p>managerialism and worsening conditions. We argue that this process might be best understood as a form of “lumpenproletarianisation”, where service workers in already undervalued occupations are pushed into barely survivable social and economic conditions even as their work becomes more indispensable to the valorisation of capital and reproduction of labour.</p>
<p>Arianna Introna: Harry Braverman’s Hauntology of the Capitalist Mode of Production: An Autonomist Disability Perspective</p>	<p>My article will explore the relevance of Harry Braverman’s Labor and Monopoly Capital for studying the formation of the socioeconomic and political phenomenon of disability under contemporary capitalism on the one hand, and the contribution to anti-capitalist politics that a standpoint of struggle internal to disability can afford on the other. It will do so by putting into conversation Braverman’s discussion of the universalisation of the capitalist mode of exploitation, and the habituation this depends upon, with recent studies of the political economy of disability. Braverman foregrounds both the ways in which capitalism comes to envelop every social relation, and the difficulty with which it reproduces its domination. Such difficulty resides in the resistance of individuals to becoming habituated into the capitalist mode of exploitation. Capital needs to enforce subordination to the process whereby humans are transformed into workers: this enforcement is a process that requires constant and generational renewal, and that will never deliver complete compliance.</p> <p>As Ioana Cherasella Chis has recently demonstrated (2023), the contemporary oppression of disabled people is produced by a ‘disabling capitalism’ within a framework in which disability and anti-capitalist emancipation are entangled. Putting Chis’ insight into conversation with Braverman’s work, I will first suggest that a political standpoint internal to disability illuminates ways in which the othering of disabled people based on the intractability that bodyminded non-normativity presents to capitalist exploitation generates subject positions well-placed to resist habituation. Secondly, I will propose that by symbolically universalizing disability, namely by appreciating how it already belongs within the working class, disability resistance to habituation becomes available for the whole of the working class. In the spirit of Nivedita Majumdar’s ‘radical universalisms’, or universalisms that are ‘deeply anchored in lived experience’ of the particular in a way that ‘encapsulates the universal’ (Majumdar 2021), the habituation afforded by lived experience of disability encapsulates the possibility for resistance to habituation that all working-class subjects possess, if differentially.</p>
<p>Anna Zoellner & Angus Dixon: Production Line TV Rationalisation in Factual Television Production</p>	<p>Scholarship on creative production highlights the challenges for management from an economic perspective (e.g. Caves 2000, Bilton 2007, Smith and McKinley 2009). Such work discusses the potential value of “loose control” in the creation stage of production (Ryan 1992), offering workers greater levels of creative and workplace autonomy (see Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011). Nevertheless, as commercial and non-commercial media organisations alike operate in an increasingly competitive environment, business management continues attempts to rationalise processes and exercise control, applying commercial logic to creative production processes. This article investigates the impact of such attempts in television production.</p> <p>Drawing on semi-structured interview with British television workers at the beginning and the end of the production chain, the article analyses recent occupational and processual shifts in the production of unscripted factual TV programmes. Rather than focusing on challenges for managers as is a typical focus for business and organisational studies literature, we explore the impact on workers from a critical cultural labour perspective drawing on Braverman’s (1974) theories of monopoly capitalism. In particular, we discuss implications of the reorganisation of the production flow from an single linear auteur based model to a Taylorist multi-linear mode of production, which aims to achieve more output in less time and to be less dependent on individuals in this process but also facilitates what Braverman observed in the 1970s: de-skilling, alienation and adverse working conditions.</p>

	<p>Findings validate Braverman’s concerns about “scientific management”, showing strong parallels between his claims about working class exploitation and the middle-class workers that make up the majority of the British TV labour market. Our results demonstrate that the managerial transformation of production processes and shifts in the division of labour not only contribute to exploitative practices in unscripted TV production but cause the separation of conception from execution. It also causes, like Braverman observed, a form of creative alienation as labour processes disassociate cultural workers from their ‘product’ through a splintering of traditional theories of authorship. Specifically, we show how rationalisation leads to occupational convergence, excessive workloads, contested creative authorship and inter-departmental conflict, while resistance to these conditions is limited in the context of a precarious freelance labour market.</p>
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<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Book Roundtable on Heide Gerstenberger’s <i>Market and Violence</i> [B204]</p>	
<p>Speaker: Heide Gerstenberger Respondents: Alex Colás, Maïa Pal, and Charles Post</p>	<p>Once poor people had to offer their capacity to labor as a commodity on labor markets, and the economic agents taking part in market transactions were legally free to conclude contracts, the exploitation of human labor could function without the use of direct force against laborers. This panel celebrates Heide Gerstenberger’s prize-winning work, engaging critically with the argument that impersonal power should not be confused with the real history of capitalism: because the legal freedom of economic agents was and is often restricted, contracts have been and are falsified, and many labor conditions were and are different from those that are considered acceptable in a certain society. The analysis of the real history of capitalism suggests that capitalists tend to make use of any means available for the dispossession of poor people and for the unbounded exploitation of laborers. The term “unbounded exploitation” refers to the limits of exploitation that are set by governments and societies. This roundtable will approach the issue of such limits from a historical and sociological perspective.</p>

<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Book Roundtable: Overshoot: How the World Surrendered to Climate Breakdown [B205]</p>	
<p>Andreas Malm Wim Carton Alyssa Battistoni Adam Hanieh Inea Lehner</p>	

<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Ernest Mandel and Late Capitalism [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]</p>	
<p>Cédric Durand Peter Green Riccardo Bellofiore Michael Roberts Alan Freeman</p>	<p>Ernest Mandel's book <i>Late Capitalism</i> is the first major synthesis to have been produced by the contemporary revival of Marxist economics. It represents, in fact, the only systematic attempt so far ever made to combine the general theory of the ‘laws of motion’ of the capitalist mode of production developed by Marx with the concrete history of capitalism in the twentieth century. A landmark in Marxist economic literature, <i>Late Capitalism</i> is specifically designed to explain the international recession of the 1970s and is an invaluable guide to understanding the nature of the world economy today. Its reedition offers the opportunity to assess its continued relevance.</p>

<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 NATO, Ukraine and Russia: The European Question in an Era of Emergent Multipolarity [G3] Sponsored by Conter</p>	
<p>Vladimir Unkovski-Korica</p>	<p>The return of major conventional war to Europe demands a re-conception of imperialism in Europe. Yet, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has been met either with paralysis,</p>

<p>Gregor Clunie</p> <p>James Foley</p>	<p>recourse to inappropriate historical analogies, or retreat into discredited humanitarian nostrums.</p> <p>Narratives focusing on national self-determination, de-colonialism, and a war against oligarchy and autocracy have likewise failed to elucidate the modern roots of the war in new constellations of imperial competition, political economy, state transformation and post-Soviet geopolitics.</p> <p>Marxist accounts have not kept pace with the events of the last two years. This interdisciplinary panel seeks to remedy these failings by examining the causes and consequences of the war; the political economy of renewed US hegemony in Europe, and; the domestic reception of the war in western states readying themselves for a century of confrontation.</p>
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Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

Cultural Critique and the Historic Left [G51]

Marxism and Culture

<p>Monique Lima de Oliveira and Marco Antonio Perruso: Documents of culture: a study on the Rio de Janeiro Working Class Memory Archive</p>	<p>With this work, we present a study on the Rio de Janeiro Working Class Memory Archive, linked to the Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (AMORJ-IFCS-UFRJ). The AMORJ includes 1555 titles of periodicals of the social movements, parties, among others working class organizations. Founded in 1987, it comprises two archive resources and over seventy collections, between 1902 and 2000.</p> <p>As Raymond Williams points out, in <i>Modern Tragedy</i> (2002), we trust that “the present, at any time, is a factor in the selection and in evaluation”. Therefore, we focus on the function of memory as a collective trace and we comprehend, like Antonio Candido that “art is a symbolic system of interhuman communication”, and as such it interest us (Candido, 2006). This two-way street between art and society reverberates in different layers. From the perspective of our research, we distinguish: 1. The social position of the artist, the influence of society (and time); 2. The configuration of the work and 3. The public. In other words, the work is what links artist and public, medium and message. So, we ask which arts were published in the newspapers of the struggle against the entrepreneurial-military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985), in the periphery of capitalism and against the barbarism of conservative ‘modernization’? Or, the function of the culture in those documents. With this question, we delineate the problem and challenge ourselves to search for arts and organic artists that are in the documents of the Archive. We imagine that aspects of what we studied will emerge through the artistic expressions, as revolution and counter-revolution; democracy; class struggle; capitalism and anticapitalism etc. Which, we hope, can contribute a “small memory to a time without memory” (pequena memória para um tempo sem memória).</p>
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<p>Alex Alvarez Taylor: Romantic Anticapitalism, ‘Kulturkritik’, and the Social Tradition</p>	<p>The Marxism and Culture stream’s “Call for Abstracts” rightly draws attention to the threat posed by a pessimistic cultural sphere that, turning its back on present society, locates the future in a return to tradition. Today, with rising interest in Marx’s social critique and falling interest in postmodern discourse, the very notion of cultural critique faces fresh scrutiny. Despite their differences, value-form theory, Habermasian social theory and Marxism all coincide in their shared hostility to Kulturkritik and “romantic anticapitalism”. Like “late capitalism” and “Western Marxism”, these have become familiar terms that say very little about the historical debates that gave rise to them. How did Kulturkritik and romantic anticapitalism come to acquire almost universally negative connotations for the “social tradition” of the Left? As well as German fascism, the answer, I claim, is partly to be found in changing attitudes towards Romanticism in the mid-19th century, namely with Arnold Ruge and Theodor Echtermayer’s liberal critique and equation of Romanticism with political reaction. This equation was uncritically taken up in the late 19th century by Franz Mehring and others. It was later revived by the simplified Cold War reception of Lukács’ critique of pre-war German culture. Despite the</p>
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	<p>dominant Cold War narrative of a calamitous 'Sonderweg' from Romanticism to Hitler, some critics in the DDR grappled with whether they—as a young nation attempting to build a progressive identity—ought to hand over the compromised but rich legacy of German Romanticism to the bourgeois Germany of the Federal Republic. The kinds of questions they raised are still relevant to the contemporary discussion. Can the Left afford to hand over the monopoly on forms of cultural critique—with their emphasis on experience, social pathology and subjectivity—to the Right? Can it learn from such neoromantic currents while maintaining a clear friend-enemy distinction? The specialised academic scholarship on Romanticism has—like the German scholarship on Marx—used the post-1989 context to pursue a less politically interested reading of its main authors. This tendency is beginning to be felt in the Marxian scholarship, which increasingly looks to distinguish between progressive and non-progressive forms of Kulturkritik.</p>
<p>Chris Wortman: Marx with Blanchot: May '68 and/as the Communism of Writing</p>	<p>In this essay I examine the politics of literary style in the writings of Marx, Blanchot, and Adorno. While each of these thinkers possesses a distinct literary style which is inextricable from their theoretical concepts and systems—a relationship which I will explore throughout the essay—I also intend to use Blanchot and Adorno's aesthetic theories to inform my understanding of a politics of style. Marx's texts will serve as a model for the role of literary style in constructing a critical theoretical system which furnishes it as part of a Marxist political project; I will enlist Adorno and Blanchot as theorists of literary style to consider style as conceptually reflecting this political end, with emphasis on their notions of negativity. To paraphrase Ludovico Silva in Marx's <i>Literary Style</i>, the "conceptual skeleton" of Marx's 'corpus' is fleshed out in the "expressive musculature" of his style (19). I want to understand how these stylistic muscles flex themselves, moving Marx's theory and critical thought more broadly toward an emancipatory political horizon. The category of style, rather than literary language or form, best captures the specificity of expression, and stands between subjectivity and these objective modes. Caught between several supposed dualities—nature and culture, materiality and ideology, the written and the unwritten (Hartley, 2017, 13-15)—I suggest that style is the intellectual medium of mediation. Herein lie its political stakes, not only for how and why we theorize, but also for making legible the cultural styles and structures which are ossified within capitalist ideology.</p>
<p>Jamila Squire: A/traverso: One of A Thousand Little Machines</p>	<p>"A/traverso, the movement sheet produced by Franco 'Bifo' Berardi and others from 1975-1981, was one of thousands of revolutionary news sheets circulating Italy during the close of the 1970s. The printed word, to paraphrase Lenin, acted as the scaffolding around which Italy's historic 'autonomia' movement was constituted, characterised as it was by the mass youth refusal of work and experimental culture drawing from influences including William Burroughs, Mayakovsky, Deleuze & Guattari. Using the metaphor of the 'little machine' (a term adapted from Deleuze & Guattari) this paper will explore how movement sheets were constitutive of autonomia — and their production and distribution are as fundamental to the history of the movement as their content is.</p> <p>This paper draws upon a recently published volume of essays by Franco 'Bifo' Berardi, of which I was a co-editor. I will use the example of Italy's 1970s movement sheets not only to explore autonomia's history and ongoing legacy, but also to discuss media production as a pedagogical and organisational tool for contemporary social movements. In contrast to the thick social bonds necessitated by the design, production and dissemination of the printed word, political communication today is mediated by social media, digital dissemination and the siloing off of political communication to designated experts and working groups. By drawing on the history of A/traverso, this paper will explore:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To what extent does the material production of media produce different social affects within social movement groups with regard to political subjectification and mutual learning?

	<p>- To what extent are the media techniques employed by social movement groups constitutive or reflective of their modes of organising?</p> <p>- In what ways does the use of social media de-synchronise political decision making/ action from political communication? And what can current social movement activists do to renew spaces of collaboration, discussion and debate?"</p>
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Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

Marxist Perspectives on Sustainability, Food, and Subsistence [G51a]

<p>Finian Worrall: Is Ecosystem Management Exploitation?</p>	<p>The aim of my paper is to interrogate the political and ethical grounds of ecosystem management through the lens of environmental Marxism and social reproduction theory. Ecosystem management forms part of the dominant environmental response framework widely adopted by national governments and by major international bodies like UNEP and the CBD. Its general aim is to ensure the sustainability of ecosystems by maintaining or improving ecosystem 'health', defined in terms of stability, integrity, and resilience. This goal is facilitated through large-scale conservation and restoration programs in which scientific experts map, monitor, and intervene in ecosystem processes. Although ecosystem conservation and restoration is typically viewed as a way of resisting the ecological destruction of capitalism, I argue that it should rather be viewed as a form of exploitation or appropriation, a way of securing the productive, ecological basis of capital to ensure future accumulation. I draw on the work of Jason W. Moore to explore the reproductive role of ecosystems and to reconsider the place of 'ecosystem services' in commodity production. I suggest that the focus on ecological 'health' and the physical performance of ecosystems central to ecosystem management programs obscures this productive role and reduces environmental problems to questions of biophysical risk. Finally, I examine the ethical basis of ecosystem management to argue that the 'good' which ecosystem management does must be understood in a limited sense as the functional enhancement of a biomechanical system rather than caring for or improving the well-being of living organisms. This biomechanical emphasis is, I argue, inherent in the definitions of ecosystem 'health' and 'integrity' which are the central goals of ecosystem management.</p>
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<p>Leila Ben Abdallah: Eating the Metaphor</p>	<p>In <i>Cannibal Capitalism</i>, Nancy Fraser finds promise in identifying contemporary neoliberal crises in health, social reproduction, economics, natural environment, and democracy as cannibalistic: capitalism's ceaseless appetite for profit leads to consumption of its own societal order deemed 'extra-economic.' Expanding our understanding of capitalism to include extra-economic crises, Fraser's theory of cannibal capitalism brings under one framework structural injustices beyond class exploitation to include gender domination, imperial oppression, dispossession, and racialized expropriation. Though Fraser incorporates theories of colonialism, imperialism, and racial domination within her analysis, decolonization remains absent in her theory of dismantling cannibal capitalism. This paper reads <i>Cannibal Capitalism</i> through Jack D. Forbes and Oswald de Andrade, two 20th century intellectuals whose work makes palpable a genealogy of cannibal metabolic life that complicates Fraser's 'cannibal capitalism.' I argue that Andrade's <i>Manifesto Antropófago</i> and Forbes' <i>Columbus and Other Cannibals</i> consider political, social, and psychic functions of cannibal logic that Fraser neglects. Presenting Western civilization and modern historical consciousness as <i>wétiko</i>, a specific cannibalism where consumption, profit, control, ignorance, and extraction of indigenous lands and bodies inform the modern political order, I argue that Forbes' texts troubles Fraser's theory by emphasizing <i>wétiko</i>'s predation of capitalist systems and, more importantly, its psychosocial manifestation as 'consumptive sickness' infecting land, people, and resources. Like Forbes, Andrade identifies cannibalism within the context of European colonization and its manifestations in the postcolonial world. But Andrade also identifies in anthropophagy an antidote against structures dependent on consumptive drives: that of collective resistance that subverts patriarchal order, economies reduced to the notion of production, and value of labor. In reading Fraser against Forbes and Andrade, I argue that we are better equipped to understand the cannibalism within her own analysis and the necessity of bringing decolonial approaches to political analyses to untangle crises of consumption.</p>
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<p>Sara Marano: Food and value. A feminist marxist approach</p>	<p>My speech will focus on the topic of means of subsistence, and in particular on food, within the works of Karl Marx. What drives my interest in this direction is the revival of the ecofeminism debate around the «subsistence perspective»: confronting with the global ecological crisis, any realistic perspective of social change must take seriously into account the challenge of establishing a hierarchy of needs and of meeting essential needs in a different, more sustainable way. This is considered as necessary in order to imagine anti-capitalist alternatives on both ecological and social level. But how can we treat this problem without limiting to moral injunctions?</p> <p>Our proposal is to focus on this issue in a conceptual framework that keeps together historical materialism, ecofeminism, and Food Regime Studies. To do so, I will propose a reading of some passages of Marx's Misery of Philosophy, Discourse on the question of free trade, and Capital in order to question the link between cheap food, formation of wages and social needs within the framework of Marx's theory of value. I will try to show that Marxian analysis of food in the capitalist mode of production is at the core of his political ecology, in the sense that it has the merit of pointing to the intersection of the sphere of agricultural production and that of workers' consumption, between the land and workers' bodies.</p> <p>I will then discuss John Bellamy Foster's analysis on this issue, and I will put it in relation to Food Regime studies perspective, and to Jason's Moore acknowledgment of food as one of "the four cheaps" (labor, food, energy and raw materials) that capital need to appropriate to assure is globalized expanded reproduction. I will close the reading with some reflections on food regime in the current imperialist war regime.</p>
<p>José Sarrión: Contributions of Marxism to a new sustainable subject</p>	<p>Half a century has passed since the emergence of the first currents of ecological Marxism. Given that the ecological crisis has become more radical during these decades, the aim of this paper is to contribute to delimiting the contributions that Marxism can make to the study of the theoretical-conceptual conditions of a new sustainable subjectivity. To think about the theoretical-conceptual conditions of a new sustainable subjectivity to face the ecological catastrophe, I provisionally highlight 2 starting ideas: How to study the neoliberal emotional subject defined by the 'culture of desire' and the logic of indefinite growth. With regard to the culture of desire, we can find interest in Marx's analyses systematised by Ágnes Heller on the production of alienated needs by the generation of exchange-value, combined with the studies of modes of subjectivation in Lukács and Gramsci. About the logic of indefinite growth, as Marx is the first thinker that studies this logic in philosophical perspective (without projecting ecological consequences, but only glimpses), this logic is connectable with the theory of 'metabolic breakdown' (Bellamy Foster). The main hypotheses of this paper are: 1) we can glimpse that contributions from Marxism on processes of subjectivation can illuminate the mechanisms through which the 'culture of desire' is imposed on the neoliberal subject, as seen in Heller's critique of the alienation of needs and Gramsci's notion of hegemony; 2) Marxian analyses on the logic of indefinite growth (emphasised by Harich and Foster) may provide an understanding of the unfeasibility of such a logic on a finite planet; 3) Ecomarxist proposals, in dialogue with other currents, can contribute to desirable axiological features in a New Sustainable Subject (in particular Harich's 'ecological imperative' which acts as a material limit of conduct). A fourth Secondary Hypothesis could still be added, which we could formulate as follows: There is an intimate and implicit connection between ecological Marxisms and subjectivist Marxisms (as Gramsci and Lukács, for example). We can find a line between this subjectivist Marxisms of Gramsci and Lukács, which the founders of Ecological Marxism. It is relevant to mention that Wolfgang Harich was a disciple of Lukács, as was Ágnes Heller; while Manuel Sacristán, besides being a translator of three of Lukács' books, considered himself a Marxist of Gramscian inspiration. As we have already said, we work from the hypothesis that there is an intimate and implicit connection between ecological Marxisms and subjectivist Marxisms. Although the explanations offered by Marxism about the processes of subjectivation are not sufficient in themselves to characterise the enormous problems of the present, we cannot ignore other phenomena of subjectivation such as those characterised by Foucault, for example. Nevertheless, Marxism provides valuable</p>

	<p>perspectives. Let us not forget that Gramsci anticipated such advanced studies as those on Puritan sexuality, as a prelude to the new Fordist man (Q22). The special attention Marxism pays to the connection between economic structure and modes of subjectivation gives it an interesting role in the theoretical description of the sustainable subject.</p>
<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Western Marxism transmissions [R201] <i>Western Marxism</i></p>	
<p>Kaan Kangal: Friedrich Engels and the Problem of the Beginning of Western Marxism</p>	<p>This presentation problematises Perry Anderson’s claim that Western Marxism began with a decisive rejection of Engels’s philosophical heritage – by Korsch and Lukács’ in their respective books from 1923. I argue contra Anderson that their early work cannot constitute an inception for four reasons. First, aversion to either Engels or dialectics of nature did not begin with them, as the charge is much older in socialist theory. Second, there is nothing specifically ‘Western’ about the charge, for various ‘Eastern’ and Soviet Marxists expressed their dissatisfaction with Engels’s philosophy in one way or another in the 1920s or earlier. Third, neither Korsch nor Lukács ‘decisively rejected’ Engels. Fourth, Anderson presumes that hostility towards Engels and critique of Soviet Marxism go hand in hand. This logic applies neither to Korsch nor to Lukács. They never utilised the dismissal of Engels’s philosophy as part of their critique of Soviet Marxism.</p>
<p>Marcelo Novello: Perry Anderson, ‘Western Marxism’ and the Portuguese Revolution 1974/75</p>	<p>Perry Anderson’s own 1962 entrance to the steep path that would lead him to the “Last of the Great Western Marxists” podium included a notable political prophesy on the intertwined fate of the Salazar régime and the five centuries old Portuguese Empire. Back in the day still tributary of a rather incipient Marxism with unambiguous Sausurrean/structuralist overtones, how did Anderson’s lengthy article on Portugal compare to other contemporary Marxist analysis, coming from more “political” quarters? (e.g. Peter Fryer, Alvaro Cunhal, Francisco Martins Rodrigues). Likewise, Anderson’s now classical take on Western Marxists also contained a ruthless prediction on the political behavior of its theoreticians. But how did two key thinkers of this controversial creed, for example Jean-Paul Sartre and Louis Althusser, react to the revolutionary process in the Portugal of 1974/75? Finally, how did Perry Anderson’s highly sui-generis Trotskyism of the time bore the cost of the Portuguese Revolution’s outcome and the role played in it by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI)</p>
<p>Marzia Maccaferri: Transnational Western Marxism. Anglo-Italian hybridisation in the short 20th</p>	<p>The dissemination of the English translation of Gramsci’s Quaderni marks a pivotal moment in the reception and resemiotization of his thought within the Anglo-American context, substantiating the thesis of a distinct strain of Western Marxism. While it can be said that Perry Anderson’s appropriation and application of Gramsci aimed to suggest a form of incorporation rather than opposition between theory and practice, his success in categorizing the ‘Western’ partition as separate from Classical Marxism and Soviet Orthodoxy, however, set the stage for a schematic bifurcation that has largely confined Gramsci’s Marxism as antinomical (Anderson, 1976).</p> <p>On one hand, Gramsci’s reflections on how a socialist transformation should be ‘translated’ into the historical context and devised, idealized, and envisioned by a coalition of social forces and intellectuals have fostered the concept of Marxism in the West as a sort of ‘thought collective.’ Borrowing the concept from Mirowski & Plehwe (2009), this paper will focus on British intellectual networks such as the London Communist University and British Marxist historiography, as well as their intellectual and material connections with Italian Marxism. On the other hand, Gramsci’s goal to determine how radical transformations could occur within a liberal (and Western) order without completely rejecting its historical legacy, and Gramsci’s theorization of hegemony as a tool to understand historical cycles and the political consequences of the coexistence of different layers of history and plural temporalities, have been instrumental in conceptualizing Eurocommunism as an experiment of Western Marxism, though considered largely unsuccessful.</p> <p>Rather than viewing Western Marxism as an incongruity, drawing upon recent literature that explores the recontextualization of Gramsci’s categories across different geo-cultural landscapes as a transnational process, this paper will discuss the constellation of Western</p>

	<p>Marxism(s) in the British context while engaging with Anderson's thesis in a critical manner.</p>
<p>Zixuan Luo: Western Marxism in China: Retrospect and Reflection</p>	<p>Western Marxism has been present in China for over four decades, witnessing significant historical processes of Chinese society as a theoretical "other," and to some extent, participating in the process of the Sinicization of Marxism. In the 1980s, Western Marxism, along with other Western intellectual currents, entered Chinese society following the reform and opening-up policy. During this period, the Chinese understanding of Western Marxism was heavily colored by ideological considerations, viewing it as an integral part of hostile Western capitalist culture, thus facing severe criticism from the Chinese academic community. The collapse of the Soviet Union prompted Chinese scholars to critically reflect on the shortcomings of Soviet-style orthodox Marxism, leading to a changing perception of Western Marxism as critics of Soviet Marxism. Gradually, more Chinese scholars began to recognize the steadfast commitment to Marxist truths and academic value of Western Marxism. The theoretical resources of Western Marxism were also utilized in China's process of establishing its own Marxist theoretical system, free from the shadow of Soviet Marxism. In the 21st century, with the rise in China's economic strength and status, China has become more confident in its Marxist theoretical system and the socialist system established under its guidance, thus placing greater emphasis on the scientific interpretation of Marxist Sinicization. In this process, Western Marxism and other Marxist currents worldwide have been included in the category of foreign Marxist theories, participating in exchanges and dialogues with Sinicized Marxism, thereby highlighting the uniqueness and importance of Sinicized Marxism in the global Marxist landscape. In recent years, foreign Marxism, including Western Marxism, has been further integrated into the conceptual framework of 21st-century world Marxism, to some extent reflecting the revival trend of Marxism in the 21st century and China's leading role in this trend.</p>
<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Revisiting Lenin [RB01]</p>	
<p>Guilhem Mevel: Lenin and Jaurès, two fathers of heterodox Marxism?</p>	<p>Jaurès and Lenin are two figures that have been both objects of great quarrels within the Left to claim their heritage. However, the comparison between the two socialist leaders is too often used to construct the retrospective image of Jaurès as a moderate, opposing republican socialism and class collaboration with Lenin's advocacy for the dictatorship of the proletariat.</p> <p>While Lenin described Jean Jaurès as an "opportunist", Trotsky disagreed, portraying the French Socialist as a passionate "political ideologue", fighting relentlessly the danger of a European war. However, while Jaurès was later despised by the Soviet regimes, a closer reading of his theoretical masterpiece on the French Revolution reveals a more radical figure, attentive to mass political engagement and class contradictions.</p> <p>In this context, it is not pure chance that Lenin and Jaurès both oppose mechanistic and deterministic readings of Marxism, especially that of Kautsky. In the light of their understanding of history, Lenin and Jaurès were attentive to the situation of the peasantry and its possible alliance with the proletariat, they defended a 'voluntarist' conception of politics embedded in class conflict and a democratic and centralist conception of socialist transition. Against any dogmatic sectarianism, they both thought that communism was the only political force capable to assume and achieve the ultimate consequences of bourgeois ideals.</p> <p>In this regard, I propose to reflect upon Jaurès and Lenin as two different fathers of heterodox Marxism and early opponents of economism within the Second International. I will first underscore the political divergences between Lenin and Jaurès, before turning to the more surprising corresponding theory of history they shared. I will then conclude by proposing some later reassertions of Jaurès and Lenin heterodox Marxism within the Western Marxist tradition.</p>

<p>Kevin B Anderson: Lenin and Hegel – or Dialectics, National Liberation, and Revolution</p>	<p>One place where Lenin stands out as a singular figure -- whether compared to the ""classical"" revolutionary Marxists Leon Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, or even Friedrich Engels, let alone less revolutionary ones like Karl Kautsky -- is in his deep engagement with, and incorporation into his overall theorizing, of Hegel and dialectics. As I argued thirty years ago in my Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism, those Hegel Notebooks of 1914-15, and the related essays and fragments on dialectics, constituted the philosophical foundation for his post-1914 theoretical work, helping to shape that work into a body of creative, revolutionary theory and practice. Here I recapitulate some of that engagement with Hegel, while also exploring in new ways the links of these studies of Hegel and dialectics to imperialism/national liberation and to the rise of revolutionary insurrections in Asia by the early 1920s. Not only have anti-Hegelian Marxists separated these two aspects of Lenin, but so have Hegelian Marxists, including Georg Lukacs, due to the very type of Eurocentrism that Lenin in his very last writings was trying to overcome as part of a public call for direct engagement with Hegel by Soviet Marxists.</p>
<p>Roberto Sáenz: Lenin, the First World War turn, and the lessons for the 21st century</p>	<p>Capitalism is being torn by the ecological crisis, the return of classic wars, the polarisation to the extreme right, the crisis of radical centrism, and the regimes of bourgeois democracy, which also anticipate the possibility of radicalisation to the extreme left. The Zionist genocide in Palestine and international response from the student youth, taking up the traditions of the 1960s. The resumption of the historical experience of the proletariat, which is expressed in the new sectors of the American working class that are beginning to organise. This year we are witnessing not only the centenary of Lenin's death but also a new world stage: a period of structural crisis, wars, revolutions, reaction, and barbarism, with a whole set of motivations specific to the 21st century.</p> <p>This reality brings us back to the strategic debates of our century: the characteristics of imperialism, the character of emerging imperialist states such as China and Russia, the relevance of dialectical materialism, the importance of Lenin's philosophical notes to Hegel, and the renewed reflection on Marx's ecology.</p> <p>This connects with the turn of the First World War when Lenin found himself confronted with a series of unprecedented historical events: the unleashing of the first industrialised slaughter of modernity and the historical capitulation of the Second International. A Lenin immersed in the study of Hegel's philosophy, who could see the revolutionary way out amidst the mud and blood of the trenches. As Lenin did in his time, we must find the revolutionary threads hiding behind the dust of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the war, the ecological disaster, and the alternatives crises. For this task, we have to relaunch the theory of socialist revolution and the transition to socialism in the 21st century, after the critical stock of the experience of Stalinism.</p>
<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Theorising Marxism and Sexuality [RG01] HMSPEN</p>	
<p>Alex Stoffel: Marxist Approaches to Sexuality: An Overview</p>	
<p>Alexis Davin: Needing Otherwise: against the heterosexism of Marx's account of needs</p>	<p>Marx's account of human needs, developed in The German Ideology, proceeds through three moments, each ascribed the status of "premise", or originary historical act. First is the necessity of producing the means to satisfy our needs, the "production of material life itself"; second is that the process of satisfying basic needs generates new needs in turn; and third, that those who regenerate their own lives generate new lives through sexual reproduction. Marxist theory has taken up the concept of needs and their failure to be satisfied as the grounds for new examinations of political economy and theory, as part of the many queer and feminist appropriations of materialist thought. It would be troubling to find that the concept of 'need' in Marx is rooted in a dangerous and naturalised heterosexism, especially so given it does not appear so through an easily discarded detail, but as "premise" to the Marxian anthropology of human life itself. In this presentation, I hope to examine the implications of this premise, starting with the</p>

	<p>paradoxical situation that queer life - life which is constitutively marked by its exclusion from sexual reproduction - is denied participation in this initial historical act, yet is still a form of life through which both people's needs are satisfied and generated, and their reproduction occurs. Adopting the insights of queer arguments about temporality and negativity into the critique of value and social form captured in the work of Amy De'Ath, Kevin Floyd and Cinzia Arruzza, I aim to develop a conception of needs rooted not in anthropological commitments and their teleological implications, but as a form: a modality for organising life through our practices. This formal character is therefore something constantly reconstituted through our social activity, and something that through our activity might be transformed.</p>
<p>Veerle van Wijngaarden: Sexual Subjectivity and Recognition</p>	<p>Who is considered attractive and who is not, and who is recognised as a sexual subject and who is not, is at least partly shaped by social norms related to oppression, such as racism, sexism, class, validism, and transphobia. We have therefore seen increasing calls for sexual recognition in recent years, from body positivity campaigns to inclusive erotic literature. On the other hand, intersectional feminists have emphasized that sexual recognition can also be the over-sexualisation and objectification of oppressed groups (Patricia Hill Collins and Audre Lorde have argued this for example). Sexual recognition is thus ambivalent: people become subjects through sexuality, but this sexual subjectivity is also a subjection to power. In this paper, I discuss this ambivalence of recognition: recognition is both necessary to become a subject - it is that which makes subjectivity and action possible - but it is also a subjection ('subjection') to power structures (Butler and Honneth 2021). This double meaning of 'assujettisement' - becoming subject and being subjected - has been theorised by philosophers such as Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. Whereas recognition theory (Charles Taylor; Axel Honneth), seeks mutual recognition, Althusser, Foucault, and Butler emphasise that subjects are oppressed in and through recognition. This problem becomes especially clear when we look at recognition in the field of sexuality. In this paper, I discuss why sexual subjectivity can never be fully recognised and look at the possibilities for emancipatory forms of sexual subjectivity.</p>
<p>Laurel Rodgers: The Problem of Authenticity: Sex Work and Mediated Intimacy on OnlyFans</p>	<p>The concept of authenticity informs a number of central topics in the humanities and social sciences, particularly with regards to work, identity, and social media. For Marx, authenticity describes human nature's inherently social character, a presupposition which formed the basis for his theory of alienation. For less privileged workers in the global division of labor, the problem with work is that it engages too few of one's skills and creative capacities and is therefore both personally and socially unfulfilling. But for postindustrial workers in the service economy and creative industries predicated on forms of emotional and affective labor, work often requires too much of the self. This has resulted in a scenario that Kathi Weeks describes as "colonization of life by work".</p> <p>Sex work is one domain where cultural anxieties over the collapsed distinctions between life and work continue to play out. As social media and other digital communications aid and abet the dual-crises of economic precarity and social alienation, the pursuit and pitfalls of authenticity seem to reach an apex. The ascendancy of OnlyFans in recent years reflects a mutual desire between content creators and their fans for greater forms of authenticity and intimacy. However, the quest for authenticity in work threatens to tether workers' personhood and sense of fulfillment to a system of value extraction that is central to neoliberalism, fueling a work ethic discourse that may push workers to identify with the interests of capital and consumers instead of one another. Drawing on insights gained from interviews with content creators on OnlyFans, this paper will explore how creators navigate the problem of authenticity in work, both in the construction of their personal brand and in their exchanges with fans.</p>

Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

Abolishing Capitalist Totality: What Is to Be Done under Real Subsumption? [Khalili Lecture Theatre]

Dimitra Kotouza: Technologies of Real Subsumption? Labour, Biology and AI

Rob Lucas: Revisiting the Endnotes Enquiry into Subsumption and Totalization

Andres Saenz di Sicilia: Subsumption After Totality

Neil Gray: Differentiated Spatialities of Subsumption and The Social Factory as Phantom Thesis

The idea, formulated by Fredric Jameson and popularised through Mark Fisher's 'capitalist realism' maxim, that 'it is easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of capitalism' has for a generation summed up the present limits of the radical imagination. With the terrifying prospects of looming ecological crisis, the acceleration of capitalist conditions over recent years has driven attempts to articulate and understand the totality that we are involved in – a new world order, globalisation, planetarity, anthropocene, neoliberalism – each of these concepts grasps towards an image of a complete order with which to measure the scope for action within a burning world. Nonetheless, incomplete, false or problematic totalisations also produce fears and closures to thought, tyrannising us by only presenting the agonistic prospect of false exits or fool's utopias.

The concept of subsumption informs an account of how capital seizes hold of social forms and shapes them to its ends. By reconstructing Marx's use of the concept, after reprising its philosophical prehistory, subsumption begins to inform an understanding of what unifies capital as a system of both production and social reproduction. Subsumption can help us describe what is shaped by capital and what is used as found, therefore how we might meaningfully begin to distinguish between thought processes and social processes, between capital as a seemingly self-perfecting system and the contradictory realities and inequalities of capitalist society.

Through this book subsumption emerges as a critical concept which enables thought. Thought which is not foreclosed by the capital-labour relation must answer to and discover its unity with social processes and their transformation in practice. Depending on how we construe subsumption we reach very different models of organisation, spontaneity, action, agency and strategy in trying to bring capital to an end. How we understand capitalism determines how we abolish capitalism.

With Contributions by: Sean Bonney, Nadia Bou Ali, Anne Boyer, Ray Brassier, Federico Corriente, Andrei Chitu, Loss Choi, Luisa Lorenza Corna, Bolívar Echeverría, Endnotes, Neil Gray, Danny Hayward, Em Hedditch, Anthony Iles, Lisa Jeschke, Sacha Kahir, Jessika Khazrik, Dimitra Kotouza, Rob Lucas, Mattin, Négation, Andrés Saenz de Sicilia, Roland Simon, Théorie Communiste, Marina Vishmidt.

Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

Critical Theory and Theorists I [BBK-MAL-251]

Marxism and Culture

Emeer Hassanpour: Watkin's La Commune: A Contemplation Upon "Hope" in the Writings of Bloch and Lukács

Peter Watkins' film "The Commune (Paris 1871)" stands as a vital cinematic exploration of historical events intertwined with contemporary socio-political reflections. Through unparalleled access to significant historical moments and a vivid realist style, Watkins delivers a deeply personal Marxist perspective. The film serves as a potent critique of present-day issues, eschewing nostalgia for a forward-looking call to action rooted in collective histories.

Watkins seamlessly integrates modern elements, such as Versailles TV and Commune TV, into the historical narrative, inviting viewers to draw parallels between the Paris Commune and current societal struggles. Beyond mere historical reenactment, "The Commune" serves as a stark reminder of the challenges that follow revolutions, particularly the dangers of power-seeking and class massacres. The narrative transcends its historical setting to explore contemporary themes, including media portrayal, education policies, and women's rights. Watkins' depiction of hope and utopia among the Communards underscores the enduring relevance of their struggles.

This article examines The Commune within the framework of critical Marxist thinking, particularly through the lenses of Ernst Bloch and George Lukács. Their appreciation for Marxist ideals, rooted in acknowledging both the inevitability of loss and the hopeful potential for change, offers a nuanced understanding of historical events. In contrast to Heidegger's philosophy of fear and anxiety, The Commune aligned with Lukács and

	<p>Bloch's work encompasses a philosophy of hope that stands in opposition to any form of anti-ontology.</p> <p>By intertwining Marxist literature and cinema, this abstract seeks to unravel the complexities of envisioning possibilities within historical narratives. ""The Commune"" emerges as an invaluable resource for understanding the Paris Commune from critical ideological perspectives, offering insights into the intertwined nature of past, present, and future struggles for social change.</p>
<p>Zanë Hadri: "Culture seen without temperament" – Bloch, the 'Expressionism debate' and the role of emotions and affect in revolutionary art</p>	<p>"Culture seen without temperament" – Bloch, the 'Expressionism debate' and the role of emotions and affect in revolutionary art.</p> <p>An intervention in long-standing art-historical debates as well as the so-called 'Expressionism debate', Ernst Bloch's "Discussing Expressionism" (first published in <i>Das Wort</i> in 1938 and again in <i>Erbschaft dieser Zeit</i> in 1962) responds to Ziegler's claim that "Today we can clearly see what sort of a phenomenon Expressionism was and where it leads, if followed to its logical end: it leads to Fascism" and to Lukacs's essay 'The Greatness and the Decline of Expressionism' (1934). Prefiguring what became the repressive artistic policies during Stalinist Russia, Bloch criticised Lukács' administered socialist realism as 'culture seen without temperament'.</p> <p>In what would become the exclusion and persecution of the avant-garde in the Soviet Union, the line of demarcation between progressive and revolutionary art was drawn to shut out the affective, emotional and irrational aspects of artistic expression, often grouped under the rubric 'Romantic'. Art historical debates in the twenties and thirties were already grappling with the issue of affect in the arts, notably in the work of art critic Adolf Behne's discussion on colour and line. Bloch, in his essay, poses the question, 'Are confusion, immaturity and incomprehension always and in every case to be categorised as bourgeois decadence?'</p> <p>In considering the role of emotion and affect in the arts, this paper revisits the so-called 'Expressionism debate' in search of lessons about the political function of avant-garde art, then and now.</p>
<p>Mohammad Javanmard: The Return of Temporality: Death-frontiers and the 21st Century Uprisings</p>	<p>In The 'End of Temporality' (2003) and elsewhere, Fredric Jameson understands the dominant cultural logic of late capitalism as that which represses a genuine temporality and reduces subjects to the present; the past and the future, therefore, are reduced to stereotypic images and replicas of the present only with different appearances. This, in turn, resonates with Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer's account of the role of the culture industry in reducing subjects to pseudo-individuals through the process of simultaneous atomisation and massification.</p> <p>Meanwhile, under neoliberal globalisation, along with the relative shift of capital in the last decades towards mechanisms of primitive accumulation – including accumulation through the devaluation of lives and bodies – we have been witnessing the rise of social and revolutionary uprisings that were sparked by the death of certain members from highly exploited and marginalised social groups. We can, for instance, think of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, the Ni Una Menos movement in Argentina, and Black Lives Matter movement in the US. In this paper, I examine how in such moments a new temporality is manifested as a result of living in proximity to systematically-imposed death, or as I like to call it death-frontiers: in reviving a genuine relation to the past, especially to the previous revolutionary moments and collective traumas, as well as in breaking, even if momentarily, the blockage on imagining a different future. To discuss this, on a macro level, I engage with Veronica Gago's concept of feminized bodies and the emergence of body-territory in the face of the death-producing apparatus, as well as, on a micro level, with the way in which proximity to death, loss, mourning, and melancholia are capable of resisting the</p>

	forces of atomisation and maintain a narrative and non-stereotypic relation to the past and future.
Sam Dolbear: 'Enter my friend, the social democrat': On political violence and the destructive character	"This paper will explore Walter Benjamin's 1931 short and aphoristic text 'The Destructive Character' through both close reading and political-historical tangents. The starting point will be biographical: through the figure upon whom 'The Destructive Character' was based, Benjamin's friend the banker Gustav Glück (1902–1973). Though Glück was an early member of the German Communist Party, this was surpassed by a later period of more 'moderate' political commitment. After moving to London in 1934 to head the European branch of the New York Chemical Bank, Glück transferred to Argentina in 1938, prompted by the Nazi annexation of Austria, where he worked for the bank Roberts, Meynell & Co in Buenos Aires, even changing his first name to Gustavo. As his archives attest, while in exile he became an (anti-fascist) social democrat, spilling much ink on the denunciations of Victor Serge after his arrival to Mexico. In this paper, I will attempt to construct a synthesis of Benjamin's various critiques of social democratic thought, via its relation to (anti-)fascist politics, historical catastrophe, and economic crisis. I will attempt to work on questions of political scales, to ask, if the social democrat can be seen as a figure of violent moderation, then, following Brecht, can (or should) communism remain as 'the middle term', a point of moderation. I will finish with a reflection on Jacob Bard-Rosenberg's 2016 paper 'Six Notes on Reading "The Destructive Character" in Palestine' and what ground is left for an anti-colonial or revolution figuration when the destruction of life and infrastructures remains all too real.

Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15

Renewing the 'Unitarian' Approach [BBK-MAL-252]

Our panel seeks to renew those 'unitary' approaches of the 1970s and '80s, which sought to adequately theorise the position of non-economic social forms within the antagonistic reproduction of capitalist society. We take inspiration from those approaches to the state (Holloway and Picciotto 1978) and the family (Zaretsky 1973; Vogel 1983), which opposed the explicit economism of vulgar Marxism, the 'backdoor' economism of 'relative autonomy' models, and the eclectic pluralism of 'dual systems' approaches. In particular, we build on the line of theorising that emerged from the Conference for Socialist Economists (CSE) and was taken on by Simon Clarke and others. Disparaged by Ellen Meiksins Wood (1981) as the 'unitarian' approach, this theoretical line aimed to unify disparate social phenomena – economic, political, cultural, ideological – by comprehending them as the 'differentiated-but-complementary' forms assumed by the antagonistic reproduction of the social relations of production. We follow this line in seeking to extend Marx's theorisation of economic forms and unfold disparate social phenomena as the historically developed guises taken by the antagonistic social relations of production. We similarly aim to "extract the rational kernel from these mystified forms [to] set the human struggle which they express on rational foundations" (Clarke 1988). Taking seriously that formulations like the 'polycrisis' (beyond their liberal foundations) might well express "the weaknesses of current critical analyses of capitalism" (Harvey 2023), we see the unitarian approach as a remedy, and look to join recent and instructive examples of the approach from 'the household' (Munro 2019) to legal constitutionalism (Hunter 2021), financialisation (Copley 2022) and authoritarianism (Donmez 2018). Our panel fittingly combines three disparate lines of enquiry united by their approach: a study of anti-ecological nationalist currents within the far right, an analysis of the family form in the transition to capitalism, and a 'unitarian' theorisation of cultural forms.

Fraser Amos: Patriarchal Family Form in the Development of Capitalism: From Unitary Theory to Contradictory Totality

The rise of reactionary gender politics has made more adequate unitary theorisations of the relation of patriarchy to capitalism more urgent than ever. A revival of interest here has particularly been marked by debates surrounding Cinzia Arruzza's Remarks on Gender and, most germanely for this paper, recent work on how capital subsumes antecedent forms of patriarchal class power (2015; Portella and Busk, 2024). This paper argues that exploring this relation through the lens of the transition to capitalism is essential to understand how patriarchy comes to constitute the family form as a capitalist social form alongside that of the state and the market. Firstly, it argues for a recuperation of Marx's characterisation of pre-capitalist class modes of production as patriarchal, marked by imminently patriarchal property relations. Secondly, following Zaretsky, it argues that such patriarchal relations are enclosed within the petty commodity-producing household increasingly formally subsumed to capital (1976). The democratisation and intensification

	<p>of patriarchal violence involved, as Federici intimates, is constitutive to the enclosure land and labour as property and bodies as gendered at capital's spatio-temporal frontiers (2004). Thirdly, following Zaretsky again, it argues that the real subsumption of labour led to the separation of economic life (enclosed within the workplace) and private life (enclosed within the family) and with this the bourgeois family ideal. The consequent extension of a 'condition of propertylessness in which there was no basis for normal family life', however, means the hoped for restoration of the family has proven a defining chimera of class struggle since (Chitty, 2020; M.E. O'Brien, 2018). The paper concludes by arguing that the political terms and salience of the 'culture war' surrounding gender and queerness must be understood in terms of the crisis of the patriarchal family form as a site of the displacement of capital's economic and political contradictions.</p>
<p>George Edwards: The role of nationalism in the climate crisis: theorising the nation as social form</p>	<p>This paper investigates the intersection of nationalism and the climate crisis, utilising a social form and unitarian approach. Structured in three parts, the paper first situates the nation alongside the state as a social form, synthesising insights from literature on the state form (Clarke, 1990) with literature that conceives of the nation as form (Balibar, 1990; Goswami, 2002; Hanieh and Ziadah, 2023). Next, the paper examines the conceptual relationship between the social form of the nation and the ideology of nationalism. Positioning nationalism as the 'predominant source of political legitimacy and collective subjectivity' in contemporary times (Malesevic, 2019), this section unites modernist theories of nationalism (Brubakers 1995) with materialist and practice readings of ideology (Sayer 1987). I specifically focus on material infrastructures, territorial resources and the national economy as durable components of the nation form which structure practices which leads to the reification of the nation. I next explore the tension between the national constitution of political states and the global character of capitalist accumulation to consider the ways national identification may involve into more virulent forms of ethnonationalism. The final section addresses the ecological implications of nationalism. It argues how the nation and nationalism distort and obscure the material metabolism of social life and processes of ecological degradation, presenting significant challenges for climate change mitigation. To finish, I briefly reflect on how the contemporary far right mobilise reactionary nationalism for anti-ecological ends, observing how anti-institutional energies are channelled through the fetishised form of the nation, perpetuating the social logics of nationalism, hindering progressive ecological action and blunting any emancipatory potential. Through this analysis, the paper contributes to the understanding of the nation as social form, offering a unitarian theoretical foundation for empirical research on surging nationalisms in a warming world.</p>
<p>Will Berrington: Towards a 'Unitarian' Approach to Cultural Forms</p>	<p>This paper aims to provide a framework for theorising cultural forms, which builds on the line of theorising that emerged from the Conference for Socialist Economists and reached its "very pinnacle" in the work of Simon Clarke – into what Ellen Wood disparaged as Clarke's "'unitarian' approach". Following Clarke, the paper looks to extend the insights of Marx's analysis of economic categories to similarly comprehend cultural categories as fetishised forms assumed by the antagonistic social relations of production. Taking these forms' unified foundation as the separation of the masses from the means of production and subsistence, it attempts to theorise cultural forms as 'differentiated-but-complementary' elaborations of 'free' labour's struggle in and against the reproduction of capitalist society. It thus understands cultural forms as being arrived at through this struggle, as well as being forms through which this struggle plays out. It challenges the 'backdoor' economism of relative autonomy models, as well as recent attempts to plot cultural forms' determination by value forms, by understanding cultural forms as complementarily constitutive of the antagonistic reproduction of the relations of production. It seeks to provide a framework for unfolding how cultural forms – whether 'the household' or 'the novel' – are means through which people struggle in and against the reproduction of capitalist society. That is, means through which people try to realise aspirations, while reproducing capitalist class relations. Building on Michael Denning's adage that "culture is the labour that produces labour power", this paper seeks to provide</p>

	<p>a way of unfolding how – in complement to ‘the state’, which reproduces the availability of labour power – cultural forms are the means by which labour power is antagonistically reproduced. This paper does not then attempt to define what constitutes a cultural form, but rather to provide a rigorous and capacious framework by which cultural phenomena might be approached.</p>
<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Money and Finance, the State and Social Reproduction [BBK-MAL-253]</p>	
<p>Brian Green: Modern Marxist Monetary Theory</p>	<p>Money has many aliases and is generally misunderstood. It is variously described as a thing, as magical because of its power and finally as representing abstract value. In fact money represents a specific social relation found only in a market economy. All market economies are based on private or disconnected production. Money overcomes the contradiction between this private production and the social consumption of its product described by the circuit of capital which moves from the social to the private and following production back to the social. Capital is spent and revenue is formed. This process can be described thus; new value is formed in production and converted into revenue upon sale while on the opposing side, old revenue is extinguished by being spent on the newly purchased commodity. Revenue past and present thus represents fully formed social value. Accordingly, when viewed temporally the process of exchange is one where newly created value is being exchanged for legacy or old value. Thus it is legacy value in its token form which circulates current value. The bulk of the money supply or M2 is represented by legacy value in its social form – revenues – and depending on how quickly this revenue is being spent will determine the velocity of circulation. Because legacy value is fixed, that is to say, it has already been produced and is unalterable except through fraud, it acts as the ballast keeping prices stable. That is why the abandonment of the gold standard after a period of interregnum did not lead to long term inflation, instead price rises turned out to be more muted than during the gold standard. The article to be discussed can be found here: https://theplanningmotive.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/mmmmt-part-1-1.pdf</p>
<p>Christian Koutny: Financialisation as a General Tendency of Capital and Central Contradiction of Financialised Capitalism</p>	<p>The thought of radical political economy is organised around general tendencies, and central contradictions of capital. These tendencies and contradictions are fixed neither in time nor in place, but depend on specific conditions within capitalist development through history and in space. In this work, I propose to study financialisation from the standpoint of a general tendency of capital. The study discusses and reviews three central general tendencies of capital: the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, the tendency for the concentration and centralisation of capital, and the tendency for the development of underdevelopment. We then situate financialisation as emerging from the process of capital accumulation. Financialisation, as a general tendency, exhibits different structural forms in different times and places. In the second part, I study the specific structural form of financialisation in the stage of monopoly capitalism in advanced industrialised countries. Through that, I find that the expansion of financialisation grew to become the central contradiction of financialised capitalism. As a method, I employ Marx' 'moments of capital'---production, realisation, consumption, and distribution---in order to highlight the all-encompassing character of financialisation. I also argue that this approach highlights the dynamic character of economic processes. Therefore, the contribution of this study is threefold. First, I show that financialisation of capital is a general tendency of capital and financialised capitalism's central contradiction. Second, I review some key Marxist literature on general tendencies of capital. Third, I present a novel method for the study of economic phenomena: Marx' moments of capital.</p>
<p>David I. Backer: Socialism and School Finance in the United States: Theory, Policy, and Struggle</p>	<p>Education, specifically elementary and secondary schooling, is an intimate aspect of social structure. While researchers, intellectuals, and organizers on the left have written extensively on education's significance and function in the broader structure of modern capitalist societies, few have focused on the material conditions of education: its financing, flows, and budgetary structures. In this paper, focusing on the United States, I will present a basic account of school finance from a broadly socialist perspective, outlining theoretical</p>

	<p>concepts for understanding it, detailing policies that might satisfy a socialist framework, and citing cases of movement organizing that have focused on school finance. The paper will contribute both an analysis of this intimate policy at the heart of American capitalism, but also a framework for analyzing school finance policies internationally, with an eye towards their transformation in the larger polycrisis of climate change, racism, and class struggle.</p>
<p>Maria Wallstam: Rentier capitalism and the absolute exploitation of labour in the Swedish house building industry</p>	<p>Despite the fact that debates about rent and rentier capitalism are flourishing, there is remarkably little written about the relationship between rentier capitalism and exploitation. Yet rent does not “grow out of the soil,” to borrow a phrase from Marx, and there are few if any assets which you can extract rent from without the application of labour power in one form or another. However the amount of labour power required varies greatly depending on the type of asset, ranging from the marginal application of labour to sell a plot of land to the extremely labour intensive work of mining minerals or building houses. Christophers (2021) has started a preliminary line of inquiry about the role of companies who own rent-generating assets and the people that work for these companies, but research on the topic is scant.</p> <p>This paper explores the relationship and tensions between exploitation and rentier capitalism with a focus on the labour process in house building. While surplus from house building is often seen as perfectly divided between the profits construction companies make from the exploitation of labour and the rent developers or landowners make from land speculation, the division of surplus between these actors is often more indeterminate and depends on the historically contingent balance of power between them. With focus on the transformation of the Swedish construction sector since the 1990s, I will discuss what happened to the way that exploitation is organized in housebuilding when production became increasingly coordinated by the imperatives of rentier capitalism. If the highly regulated housing industrial complex in the post-war period led to the relative exploitation of labour through productivity gains, recent developments have entailed a partial and selective return to the absolute exploitation of labour through lowered wages and extended work days.</p>
<p>Saturday, 11:30 – 13:15 Politics from Below [BBK-MAL-254]</p>	
<p>Mikkel Flohr, Benjamin Ask Popp-Madsen: Beyond Liberal Democracy: Five Theses about Council Democracy</p>	<p>This presentation advances the argument that council democracy offers a viable, historically tested alternative to liberal democracy. Drawing on the historical experiences, theory, and practice of the soviets, which played a crucial role in the Russian Revolutions, this presentation seeks to recover and reconstruct the historical context and content of the soviets. It aims to demonstrate that council democracy constitutes a significant but overlooked radical democratic alternative to contemporary liberal democracy, particularly pertinent in the present political conjuncture where liberal democracy faces a sustained crisis of legitimacy. The proposed presentation will outline central components of a theory of council democracy, based on the experience of the Russian Revolutions, in the form of five theses that contrast it with liberal democracy. Firstly, council democracy diverges from liberal democracy insofar as it ensures real, rather than formal, popular self-determination by basing decision-making in local assemblies and employing imperative mandates and recall mechanisms. Secondly, it employs delegation rather than representation, maintaining instruction, direct accountability, and recall of delegates. Thirdly, it is a federative political form, emphasizing decentralization and the active participation of various local bodies in contrast with the unitary, sovereign state form. Fourthly, it acknowledges the class-specific nature of democratic institutions, explicitly aligning with the working classes against capitalist structures. Finally, council democracy merges constituent and constituted power, allowing for continuous institutional renewal and direct involvement in governance.</p>
<p>Jonathan Rosenblum: Marxist political struggle inside the</p>	<p>What happens when a Marxist movement gains a foothold of power inside the modern-day bourgeois state? And what are the lessons for all of us?</p>

<p>modern-day capitalist state: The 10-year Seattle experience</p>	<p>Between 2014-2024, the US city of Seattle, Washington served as a laboratory for this unusual experiment, with the election of Kshama Sawant, a member of Socialist Alternative, to Seattle City Council. As one of nine councilmembers, Sawant was vastly outnumbered. But for a full decade she and her political organization took on the political establishment and the commanding heights of capital – including Amazon, Starbucks, and other transnational firms headquartered in this city of 780,000 – and won historic legislation benefiting working people: A \$15 minimum wage, the first major US city to enact such a bill; a tax on Amazon to fund social housing; and breakthrough renters’ rights legislation. Indeed, Sawant and her tiny political organization improbably managed to dominate mainstream political discourse for a full decade, through three hard-fought reelection campaigns.</p> <p>Sawant achieved these milestones not by “playing nice” with the political establishment – as too many modern-day reform socialists have aimed to do – but by drawing upon the revolutionary lessons and experiences of Marxist political theorists and practitioners of the last 175 years. Three pillars of Sawant’s approach sharply distinguish her from virtually every other contemporary socialist in political office: A class struggle approach that understands the need to fight within an implacably hostile political system; bold demands that link core material working class needs to the broader call for socialist transformation; and grassroots democracy to build the outside movements necessary to push legislation across the finish line. Seattle offers a hopeful model for how to fight for socialism in today’s challenging political arenas.</p> <p>My paper will describe, from the grassroots level, how this novel experiment played out, and the lessons for socialists everywhere.</p>
<p>Paul Stubbs, Matthew Thompson: The Limits and Possibilities of Radical Municipalism: Thinking Conjuncturally With and About Zagreb Je Naš</p>	<p>This paper connects the global with the local through a Gramscian conjunctural approach – animated by crisis, hegemony, articulation and praxis – focusing on what has been termed “radical municipalism”, a broad assemblage of ideologies and practices seeking systemic transformation through coordinated action at the urban or municipal scale, involving the politicisation and socialisation of proximate relations of encounter and decision-making. The broader assemblage of radical municipalisms combines economic reorganisation, democratisation of political decision-making, the feminisation of politics, green transition. Exploring through a conjunctural lens the municipalist struggle in Croatia’s capital Zagreb and the victory in local elections in May 2021 of the left-green Zagreb je naš (Zagreb is ours) political platform, the paper illuminates Zagreb’s municipalist praxis, addressing the balance of forces and challenges and opportunities faced by activists-turned-politicians, and how these have been navigated. In turn, the paper seeks to shed light on the nature of conjuncturalism itself as an orientation and sensibility, as well as theory and method, as an important component of historical materialism. Municipalism is analysed both as a product of a particular spatio-temporal conjuncture – as conjunctural municipalism – and as a deeply conjunctural strategy in response to crisis conditions and opportunities – as municipalist conjuncturalism.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Political Marxism and the Conditions of Economic Development and Nondevelopment (II) [B102]</p>	
<p>In three contrasting cases, spanning the late medieval to modern era, the panel will explore the limits and possibilities of economic growth in Eastern Europe after 1400, East Asian after 1600, and Spain after 1820, through the Brenner-Woods framework. Each paper accordingly takes national class formation (nationally constituted social property relations) as its points of departure, provides an historical account of the origins of each particular formation, and shows how specific micro-economic behaviors and long-run patterns of economic development followed. The works draw on the latest historiographies and positions itself within the general as well as Marxist literature.</p>	

<p>Danny Colligan: Was Brenner Right About the Second Serfdom?</p>	<p>In the article that initiated the “Brenner Debate” over the nature of the origin of capitalism, Robert Brenner observed that eastern Europe followed a dramatically different developmental path from western Europe in the early modern period. Peasants in east-Elbian Germany, enjoying since the time of German colonization some of the best conditions of land tenure in all of Europe, were subsequently subordinated into bondage by their noble landlords in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in a process Friedrich Engels termed the “second serfdom.” Brenner argued that the constraints imposed by this novel enserfment and the manorial agriculture which emerged concomitantly condemned eastern Europe to relative economic backwardness for centuries. Since the 1980s, a revisionist wave of historiography has challenged nearly every tenet of Brenner’s portrayal of the second serfdom. In its most forceful articulation, the second serfdom is derided as a “myth” which has been perpetuated by misguided Marxist scholars. Revisionists have attempted to portray the emergence of “demesne lordship” as a more or less consensual process, which resulted in a mutually beneficial outcome for landlords and peasants. Revisionists have also tried to downplay the developmental differences between eastern and western Europe that the “second serfdom” narrative maintains emerged around this time. This presentation will defend Brenner’s (and Engels’) conception of the second serfdom against the revisionists, utilizing material I have examined in the process of preparing my dissertation on the transition to capitalism in Prussia. Despite the revisionists’ attempts to undermine the validity of the concept of the “second serfdom”, their arguments against it fall prey to a number of debilitating shortcomings. Therefore, I argue that Brenner’s view of the second serfdom remains a defensible portrayal of the economic and political dynamics of eastern Europe in the early modern period.</p>
<p>Christopher Isett: Divergence in the East: the social basis of economic performance in Japan and China, 1600 to 1930</p>	<p>Japan's economic divergence from continental Asia is often dated to the Meiji restoration and is explained by reforms imposed by a modernizing section of the traditional samurai class which broke from and seized power in 1868, when the Tokugawa House failed to repel incursions against Japanese sovereignty by the Western Powers. Drawing on the latest scholarship, my chapter ties the success of the Meiji reforms to novel patterns of micro-economic behavior, generated by new social property relations, both of which appeared as a result of efforts by the Tokugawa house to stabilize economic output, reign in intra-elite political competition, and pacify the villages. These developments contrast with those unfolding roughly contemporaneously in China, where invading Manchu armies were similarly preoccupied with the project of pacification and state building. I argue that whereas the Qing successfully bought social peace, by enhancing peasant producers' direct control of the land in return for predictable payments of the land rent and tax, similar efforts by the Tokugawa fell apart, opening the way for something entirely novel and unintended. In Japan, villages underwent economic differentiation, following the collapse in the countryside of the initial Pax Tokugawa. The separation of producers from the land, and the market's determination of rents and wages followed. With prices now having to reflect costs, and costs driven by competition, Japan's rural population found itself having to raise output and control production in order to remain solvent. In China, by contrast, a 'typical' pattern of peasant household formation and an economic preference for self-reliance--and its corollary refusal of market dependency--shaped intergenerational allocations of family labor, land, and other assets, shrinking and fragmenting of farms, and undermining in aggregate any ability to leverage the market for the purposes of growth. Thereafter, what we see is a clear divergence in the terms of trade between those farming and those manufacturing in China and Japan. As per capita food output lagged population growth in China, the cost of grain grew faster such that a rising share of wages, which might have purchased manufactured goods, went to buy food instead and so resulted perversely in high returns (and prices) to land in a context of generalized relative rural poverty. In Japan, by contrast, feeling the uninterrupted pressure to cut costs and match prices, market reliant producers raised output per acre and per capita, reducing the cost of food, releasing labor from farming, expanding discretionary demand for manufactured goods, and encouraging the shift of savings into manufacturing. In conclusion, by 1860 Japan and China were differently positioned. China's late nineteenth</p>

	<p>century self-strengthening proved inadequate and ineffectual, led as it was by elites representing very closed and traditional class interests and built in the absence of generalized demand. Japan, by contrast, witnessed the merging of class interests between 'capitalist' rural merchants, farmers, and commercial landlords with a small cabal of modernizers, who ruthlessly euthanized their fellow samurai in the pursuit of national reconstruction.</p>
<p>Javier Moreno-Zacares: <i>The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie: Liberalism, Fascism, and Agrarian Capitalism in Spain</i></p>	<p>The debates around the rise and development of capitalism in Spain have always been closely linked to questions of agrarian backwardness and bourgeois revolution. Orthodox Marxist interpretations insisted that the failure to carry out a 'bourgeois revolution' in the nineteenth century had left Spain in a state of semi-feudality, marked by the persistence of unproductive latifundia in the south, the entrenchment of customary forms of tenure amongst northern smallholders, and the overarching control of the state by a landed oligarchy. This traditional narrative then faced a revisionist challenge that reconceptualised the liberal revolutionary process of the mid-nineteenth century as having already consolidated a bourgeois-capitalist social form. This second interpretation focused on the abolition of feudal privilege, the consolidation of private property rights, and the extension of market relations and rationalities. Since the 1980s, this revisionist narrative has assumed the status of a new orthodoxy amongst both Marxist and non-Marxist historians. The debate has thus shifted to explaining why Spain's budding agrarian capitalism kept the productive forces underdeveloped for another century. Some historians stress the failures of the liberal state in matters of agrarian policy, others the limits imposed by the geographical environment. They all agree – implicitly or explicitly – on a successful agrarian transition on account of a victorious bourgeois-capitalist revolution. Orthodox as well as revisionist narratives remain caught in what Wood referred to as the 'bourgeois paradigm': a linear conception of progress that judges the rise of capitalism by the political, economic, and cultural ascent of the bourgeoisie, and explains its absence by the external fetters hindering the bourgeoisie from carrying out its historical mission. Providing a political-Marxist interpretation, this chapter comes to a different conclusion. The revisionists are correct that the Liberal Revolution abolished feudal forms of surplus extraction, making the framing of agrarian backwardness in terms of 'semi-feudality' untenable. But equally untenable is their argument that the Liberal Revolution ushered in an agrarian capitalist transition. Even though liberal institutions generalised and intensified the pressures of market dependence across the social formation – a necessary condition for capitalist development – this failed to set in train market imperatives in agriculture – capitalism's unique dynamics of systematic cost-price competition. The entrenchment of peasant farming, the retreat behind high levels of protectionism, and the grip of an agrarian rentier elite over the national market, kept productivity stagnant and reproduced age-old Malthusian patterns. The result was a bourgeois but not capitalist social formation, perpetuating the dynamics of surplus extraction of pre-capitalist tributary societies under a liberal juridico-political form. While capitalist production did make inroads in urban areas, a pre-capitalist hinterland undermined its development with anaemic rural demand, a slow rural exodus, and high food costs. These contradictions provide the structural context to the spiralling conflicts leading to the Spanish Civil War. It would be the fascist regime that emerged from the war that would enforce the agrarian transition under the aegis of a statist-developmental strategy, paving the way for the spectacular urban-industrial boom of 1959-1973.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Book Launch, Going into Labour: Childbirth in Capitalism [B103] <i>Marxist Feminism</i></p>	
<p>Speaker: Anna Fielder Respondents: Susan Ferguson, Mavis Kirkham and Fatimah Mohamied</p>	<p>This panel launches Anna Fielder's forthcoming book, <i>Going into Labour: Childbirth in Capitalism</i> (Pluto 2024), in which she presents an historical-materialist analysis of contemporary childbirth in advanced capitalist countries where English is an official language, namely the USA, United Kingdom, Ireland and New Zealand. She interrogates phenomena which are currently the focus of intense debate and attention within</p>

contemporary birthing spaces for the historical conditions and social relations upon which they depend. Particular focus is given to unpacking the notion of natural birth, and to exploring the controversial subjects of medicalisation, risk, evidence and consumer choice. Through the process of unravelling these phenomena, contemporary birthing is shown to be intimately bound with the operations of a highly global capitalism. As this is the case, childbirth is also revealed as a site for emergent anti-capitalist struggle. Note to conference organizers: At this point, I will be a discussant, and Anna will respond. We are hoping to persuade a practicing midwife to also give some remarks but have not been able to firm that up yet. If that fails, we have some ideas for a second discussant.

Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00

Abstraction, Difference and Periodizing [B104]

Marxism and Culture

Each in its own way, the papers that constitute this panel turn the soil on long-standing theoretical debates and/or formulations in cultural Marxism by revisiting certain central categories that have become too settled, or static, or costly (or not?) in their conceptual work. Abstraction (real and ideal); identity and difference; totality; value; the universal and the particular; periodization; the movement of capital's inner laws and social forms: these categories remain staples of cultural Marxist critique. And, at the same time, their prospects appear greatly changed after two decades of unconcerted "rethinking Marxism." Are these categories perennial, exhausted, or can they still perform new tricks? The contributors to this panel reflect on whether these categories continue to illuminate how the real movement of capital mediates its own critique, as well as its potential for dialectical reversal.

Individual paper abstracts:

Amy De'Ath: Abstractions of Unity and Difference

How does an ideal abstraction relate to a real abstraction? Abstract ideas have practical purchase on the world around us, yet as capital's "objective thought forms," they are not identical with capital, but systematic inversions of its real movement. And as for the concrete: while Marx characterises what he calls the "sensuous-actual" as a form of hypostasis, the "determinate form of realization" of a generalised universal, concrete forms are never simply reflections or instances of the logic of capital itself. My paper considers the obscured relations between abstraction and difference, between an entire society and its entirely specific social determinations, to arrive at a form of totality- thinking that understands the constitution of social difference as not merely cultural after all—nor simply a ripple effect of reification, commodification, or ideology—but rather as a formal and form-determining relation driven by capitalism's fundamental inner laws.

Christopher Nealon: Some Limits to the Critique of Abstraction

When the thinkers of the Frankfurt School attempted to overcome what they saw as the failings of a Marxist criticism that overestimated the militancy of the industrial working class, they sought to re-think capitalism as a problem not only for the proletariat, but for human flourishing in general. They turned to "abstraction" more than any other term to do this work: it seemed to name a universal enemy. In critiquing abstraction as the sine qua non of capitalism, they radically extended the range of social and cultural activity that could be analyzed through specifically anticapitalist commitments. But the critique of abstraction comes with a cost: unlike Marx, when the Frankfurt School thinkers put their critique in logical terms, they frame it as a conflict between a bad universal and besieged particulars: capital, or the commodity form, or exchange value "dominates" all the qualitative differences that inhere in use values. This critique equates domination not with exploitation but with homogenization. Marx does not do this, partly because his sense of the universal and the particular is always mediated by the individual, or the singular, just as it is for Hegel. In historical terms, the critique of abstraction tends to be absolute and linear rather than dynamic and relative: for these thinkers, there is simply more abstraction and more exchange value than there used to be. Marx tells the story of accumulation, instead, as a matter of shifting ratios between constant and variable capital, and between those who are forced to work and those who are forced not to. My paper will ask, is there a way to get where the critique of abstraction wants to go without departing as far as it does from Marx's key concept, the concept of value?

<p>Ericka Beckman: Periodizing “Third World Literature” Today</p>	<p>This talk takes as its point of departure a suggestive footnote in Fredric Jameson’s essay “Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism.” Whatever the merits or shortcomings of this essay (a well-trodden discussion the present essay does not endeavor to rehash), an overlooked footnote provides fresh entry into what might have been, and what still might be, “a literary and cultural comparatism of a new type.” Modeled distantly on the field of comparative history (as practiced by Eric Wolf, Barrington Moore or Theda Skocpol, among others), such a project ‘would juxtapose the study of the differences and similarities of specific literary and cultural texts with a more typological analysis of the various socio-cultural situations from which they spring, an analysis whose variables would necessarily include such features as the inter-relationship of social classes, the role of intellectuals, the dynamics of language and writing, the configuration of traditional forms, the relationship to western influences, the development of urban experience and money, and so forth’ (87). Read today, this footnote points toward a set of unanswered questions regarding Third-World literature and its periodization, not only in relation to its collective or revolutionary potential, but also, dialectically, the historical unfolding of capitalism. In a word, “Third World literatures”— or, to expand the designation, (post)colonial or peripheral literatures— deserve the same careful periodization as literatures of Europe and North America. Forty years after the publication of the “Third World Literature” essay, this talk asks what such a periodizing project might look like today.</p>
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<p>Beverly Best: Periodizing the 90s: The Category of Difference from the Rearview of Value Theory</p>	<p>“History is Necessity.” The necessity of history either sends theory-debates of a previous era packing, or (what might be the same thing) reanimates them with new categories and different stakes. Either way, ideas and the debates among their bearers are a map of the historical ground from which they emerge. What historical dynamics animated the debates between Marxist and poststructuralist critiques in the 1980s and 90s? How was the ongoing development of these dynamics expressed in a revival of Marxist theorizing after the 1990s – a revival that continues to gather momentum twenty-five years on? Why have theoretical categories such as abstraction, mediation, value and surplus moved to the heart of Marxist theorizing in the course of this revival, largely dissolving the terms that animated those earlier debates? In “Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies” (1992), Stuart Hall saw the “dirtiness of the semiotic game,” and the “worldliness” of the work of cultural studies, as a corrective to the abstraction and false unity of orthodox class analysis. Today, however, what has become of the intervention of the critique of totality, of difference, and the semiotic turn toward the politics of representation as a means of redressing what Hall called the great evasions of Marxism? Did that intervention run its course in the ensuing barbarisms of globalization, neoliberalism and financialization? Or has the critique of totality that once set class struggle against the figure of revolutionary resistance by “new subjects of history of a nonclass type” become the new currency of critiques of racial capitalism? Is the new consensus that capitalism requires group differentiation the reason why contemporary Marxist theory no longer seems to wring its hands over accusations of determinism, economic reductionism, or its status as metanarrative? This paper will turn these questions into some historicizing propositions. (The two unattributed quotations are from Fredric Jameson, “Periodizing the 60s.”)</p>
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<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Knowledge and Value Capture [B202]</p>	
<p>This panel contains 4 presentations. The main theme is value capture and the role of knowledge and intangible asset accumulation.</p> <p>Scientia potentia est, knowledge is power. In the “knowledge economy”, particularly its digital chapter, this adage is an apparent truth. Yet, today’s specific mechanisms and means to exercise knowledge as economic power remain mostly understudied.</p> <p>The increasing concentration of intangible assets and profits has attracted wide interest (Autor et al., 2017; Covarrubias et al., 2020, 2020; Davis & Orhangazi, 2019; Diez et al., 2019). More recently, the role of intangibles in driving monopoly dynamics</p>	

gained traction (Crouzet & Eberly, 2021; Dosso & Vezzani, 2020; Durand & Milberg, 2020; Rikap, 2021; Tambe et al., 2020), with some focusing on big data and platform companies (Blanke & Pybus, 2020; Butollo & Schneidemesser, 2022; Coveri et al., 2022; Cusumano et al., 2019; Graef, 2015; Khan, 2017; Pistor, 2020; Rikap & Lundvall, 2021; Srnicek, 2017). The intellectual monopoly framework offers a conceptualization of these dynamics based on certain firms' capacity to concentrate intangibles as a means to expand their value capture and disproportionately profit.

Most of the contributions, even the newest ones (like Baines & Hager, 2023; Braguinsky et al., 2023), use patents or firm declared intangible assets as proxies. This leads to inaccuracies and misunderstandings because, as it is widely accepted, these are poor innovation proxies (Martin, 2016; Sampat, 2018). Furthermore, IPRs ownership does not necessarily coincides with those who participated in creating that intangible and ownership does not assure assetization, defined as associated future streams of income (Birch & Muniesa, 2020).

This panel explores alternative ways of identifying corporate power and value capture underpinned by the concentration of intangible assets. On this basis, the papers in this panel expand our knowledge of the concrete dynamics of (concentrated) capital accumulation and their effects in contemporary capitalism.

Cédric Durand, Joel Rabinovich and Cecilia Rikap: From intellectual monopolisation to Meta Knowledge Agents: the role of digital competencies concentration

This research explores the dynamic of intellectual monopolization and the emergence of Meta Knowledge Agents (MTA) by examining the concentration of digital competencies at the firm level. Intellectual monopolization refers to the process of knowledge generation, appropriation and enclosing by firms with the objective of expanding profitable operations, i.e. capital accumulation. It proceeds through a various array of methods and results in a centralization of knowledge in some corporate entities at the exclusion of the rest of the social world (Durand & Milberg, 2020; Pagano, 2014; Rikap, 2021).

The concept of Meta Knowledge Agents developed in this contribution refers to the idiosyncratic character of Amazon, Google and Microsoft in the West and mainly Alibaba in China leading the cloud computing sector due to their systemic role in global information management, knowledge appropriation and innovation dynamics (Rikap, 2023). We propose to empirically explore to what extent turbocharged intellectual monopolization by those firms affect accumulation dynamics, which matters for the current theoretical and policy discussions concerning their regulation.

While there is extensive works on the role of intangibles in the past two decades (Chen et al., 2018; Corrado et al., 2012; Crouzet & Eberly, 2019; Farhi & Gourio, 2018; Haskel & Westlake, 2018; Orhangazi, 2018), research has struggled to measure digital assets and identify their role. The OECD has shown that mark-ups were higher in digital-intensive sectors and diverging from other sectors (Calligaris et al., 2018). However, the authors do not analyse mark-ups' disparity within industries.

Private datasets like CI Technology Database provide firm-level ICT expenditure, but they fail to distinguish between the purchase of digital services and in-house development of capabilities. More specifically, with the development of AI, data processing using machine learning has been considered a new invention method that tends to elude precise quantification (Benaich & Hogarth, 2020; Cockburn et al., 2018; World Intellectual Property Organization, 2019).

Attempts to overcome measurement limitations have used digital labour as a proxy using hiring data from Burning Glass (Lightcast) for US firms (Abis & Veldkamp, 2020), employment and labour income data for selected occupational classes (Government of Canada, 2019) or IT employment data from LinkedIn in the US (Tambe et al., 2020) in order to measure data assets or IT capital stock. Because they remain focused on a single country and consider only some but not all the qualified digital labour positions, those works cannot provide a global analysis on the issue.

Our research overcomes this limitation by following and extending Tambe et al.'s decision to use LinkedIn data. To provide a global account of digital assets on accumulation, we

	<p>look at the world's 100 largest firms by market capitalization, profits and growth (in total about 200 firms) and consider the separate and combined effects of different types of qualified digital labour on the level and growth of those three dimensions.</p> <p>We retrieve financial data from Orbis and digital labour data from LinkedIn on all the employees currently working for the companies in our sample in qualified positions related to digital technologies. In order to classify digital labor positions according to their degree of genericity and creativeness, we connect Information and Communications technology professionals EBESCO categories to categories present in LinkedIn. By merging this information with financial information from Orbis, we relate the making of digital knowledge to accumulation.</p>
<p>Fausto Gernone: Beyond market power: an analysis of the dynamics of value extraction in the PC industry</p>	<p>The power of the digital world arose from its edges: innovation, growth, and opportunities were brought about by users in a decentralized setting. Today, a handful of technological giants came to dominate the Internet, extracting most of the value that was created collectively. Traditional competition policy has been struggling to make sense of the process of industry concentration and value extraction. The difficulties have to do with the fact that digital industries are characterised by a constellation of complementary products and technologies. Focusing on the individually led competition agencies to miss much of the story. This research aims to explore a new understanding of corporate power by proposing a novel framework to assess value extraction, the role played by inter-firm relationships and their need to coordinate production.</p> <p>To answer this question, I analyse the dynamics of value creation and value capture in the early Personal Computer (PC) industry. The PC ecosystem represents a uniquely insightful case, as it is characterised by the historical shift of power from computer manufacturers like IBM to software developers like Microsoft, driven by strategic efforts to influence the industry, through interoperability initiatives, standards and APIs. My empirical estimation tests the importance of certain architectural features in driving value extraction, such as a company's control over bottleneck products, its dependence on other companies' bottleneck products, and its overall centrality within the industry network.</p> <p>The findings suggest that companies that captured the most value were those that managed to control bottlenecks without relying on others' bottlenecks. This study contributes to our understanding of power dynamics in the digital age, where a company's dominance is shaped by its relationships with partners and competitors. Identifying power determinants in digital ecosystems is crucial to understanding market contestability, uncovering opportunities for peripheral countries to capture value, and designing more effective policies.</p>
<p>Tomás Rotta: Value Capture and Value Production in the World Economy: A Marxian Analysis of Global Value Chains, 2000-2014</p>	<p>The paper measures the production, realisation, and capture of economic value in the world economy over 2000-2014. Estimates show how value is produced and transferred across 56 sectors and 43 countries. The methodology builds on the Marxian literature and the productive-unproductive classification. Value production is the labour directly and indirectly required to produce goods and services within global value chains. Value capture is the deviation between value realisation and production. Results show that China is the largest giver of value while the USA is the largest capturer of value in the world economy. Unproductive activities (real estate, finance, and trade) and capital-intensive industries (manufacturing, mining, and oil) are value capturers. Labour-intensive industries (health, education, construction, agriculture, and services) transfer value away. If all activities are classified as productive, China exploits the USA. Only under the Marxian productive-unproductive classification does the USA exploit China and other developed countries.</p>
<p>Joseph Baines and Cecilia Rikap: Frenemy Lines: Mapping Nvidia's Strategic Rivalries in the AI Chip Arena</p>	<p>In recent years, Nvidia has emerged as a dominant force in the technology sector, leveraging its intellectual property (IP) to secure a commanding market position in graphics processing units (GPUs) for training and processing artificial intelligence (AI) models. This paper situates Nvidia's rise within the framework of intellectual monopoly</p>

	<p>capitalism (IMC), where knowledge and information are concentrated in service of accumulation. Drawing on supply chain data from Bloomberg Professional and interview research, we map out the complex dynamics of collaboration and conflict between Nvidia and some of the world's most powerful platform companies, such as Microsoft, Alphabet, and Amazon – all of which are not only Nvidia's most important customers but also rivals. Specifically, there are three dimensions of rivalry we explore in our analysis: chip design, as companies like Google and Amazon increasingly design their own AI chips instead of sourcing directly from Nvidia; large language models, as Nvidia encroaches on the territory of its most important customers by developing its own AI software; and supply chain procurement, as Nvidia and its major customers jostle for securing the most advantageous relations with the world's most advanced chip manufacturing company, TSMC. Overall, this paper illuminates the frenemy dynamics that define the intricate interplay between Nvidia and major tech companies, highlighting how competition and collaboration coexist in the race for AI supremacy.</p>
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Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00
Care and Feminised Work Inquiries [B203]
Workers Inquiry

<p>Anastasia C. Wilson [online]: Decomposing Care: Towards a Care Workers' Inquiry</p>	<p>Is care work always caring? Who cares for the caregivers? In this project, I argue that a care workers' inquiry is necessary for understanding the contradictory labor process of care work occupations, focusing on the roles of social workers, teachers, and unwaged household care work. I share first theory and background on circuits of capitalist care, and then discuss questions and plans for conducting a care workers' inquiry. Mainstream social science and popular understandings of the notion of "care" assume a form of direct face-to-face service work with direct benefits to the care recipients. However, many social services, schools, and other sites of care are enmeshed with the punitive carceral apparatus. Through an examination of legal statutes (focused on the U.S.), employee handbooks, and existing theory and research, I show the enmeshment of care work with carceral work. These contradictions of care then raise crucial questions about the labor processes, technical, political, and social composition of care work, in both its waged and unwaged forms in relation to social reproduction, which necessitates the method a care workers' inquiry.</p>
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<p>Lydia Hughes and Valentine (PAWA): Inquiry into migrant care work in Britain</p>	
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<p>Ana Cvelfar, Marja Zakelšek: Feminist Co-Research: The case of retail workers in Slovenia</p>	<p>CEDRA (Center for Social Research) is a socialist collective from Slovenia. It unites workers, activists and researchers in the perspective of building democratic and militant workers' committees, capable of breaking the current technical composition. It is primarily focused on workers' organizing in the retail sector because of its strategic importance. Retail, with poor wages and high work intensity, is one of the key factors which enables the reproduction of labour force at a low price, ensuring cost competitiveness to Slovenia's national capital. CEDRA's primary method of political work with the workers in retail is based on operaismo's co-research. The submission will focus on the analysis of feminist co-research interviews with retail workers. The interviews try to consolidate the exploitation at the point of production with the patriarchal and submissive character of the reproduction of our lives. Concretely, we are interested in how we can use the workplace union struggles as a starting point to address social reproduction as a whole.</p> <p>CEDRA helped workers form unions in Tuš, Spar, Lidl and Ikea. We also work with workers in Aldi and Eurospin. In unions we help form, decision making is based on workers' committees in which every unionized shop (plus central warehouse) in the company has one or two delegates. In the company Tuš, the 4th biggest retailer in Slovenia, the committee has close to 70 members that make collective decisions.</p> <p>Our presentation will start with a brief overview of the technical composition of the workforce in Slovenia, pointing out the place that a retail sector occupies in the proposed</p>
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	<p>technical composition. We will then proceed with presenting co-research interviews we conducted with members of the workers' committee in Tuš union after the union campaign for a higher base wage.</p>
<p>Antonio Rodriguez Cruz: Touristic Capital and reproductive labour. The struggle of the "Kellys" in the Canary Islands</p>	<p>In its historical development, touristic capital has increasingly extended its limits of valorisation to the point of decisively conditioning the relationship between the working subject and his or her own rest. Tourism involves a leisure industry and a leisure culture, which converts this space of supposed suspension of the relations of production and exploitation into a commodity, and therefore transfers and re-establishes the logics of labour in other spaces and to other labouring subjects. In this sense, it generates a global space of social relations between tourist emission centres and "touristified" peripheries (trajectories that are reproduced on various scales and in various directions), in which the proletarian subjects of the latter ensure the rest of the working classes of the former, necessary for the maintenance of this labour power, for its reproduction. In this paper, I want to contribute to defining touristic labour as reproductive labour by decentring the analyses of autonomous Marxist feminisms (Fortunati, Federici and Dalla Costa) from the dynamics of global social relations generated by touristic capital. My aim will be to complexify the division between productive and reproductive labour, considering the intertwining of both in the framework of the wage relation between centres and peripheries, which would be added to the exploitation of female living labour in unpaid reproductive work. In order to consider the place of touristic labour in this spatial and subjective division of labour, I will take as a reference the struggle of the chambermaid's collectives and unions in the Canary Islands (Kellys Canarias), gathering their own testimonies about the reproductive dimension of their work, which they summarise in the following slogan in their multiple strikes: "Turista lo que cagas lo limpia una explotada" ("Tourist, what you shit, an exploited woman cleans").</p>

<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 The Marx' Transformation Problem - What is the Problem? [B204]</p>	
<p>The fundamental problem is of course that Marx never published a solution to the Ricardian transformation problem (TP) spelling out clearly the preconditions and the logic of his solution.</p> <p>That is why the debate about what is a solution to the Marxian TP is to a large extent a "What is the problem debate". Did Marx forget to transform the input prices? Are there two unconnected systems, one in values measured by hours worked and one in prices of production? Is it an "aggregation" problem, summing up individual prices or a (re)distribution problem, how is the surplus value distributed to get a uniform profit rate.</p> <p>What has become clear in the post-Sraffa debate is that there is two TPs, one static with no obvious connection between prices of production and hours worked. Marx' two macro equalities of sum of values = sum of prices and surplus value = profit does not hold.</p> <p>Ian Wright has argued that these inconsistencies is due to an "undercounting" of labour. If there were no capitalists in the model then workers would get all the profit and a uniform profit rate would not lead to an inconsistency, all labour to produce all products would be counted. It is the "fact" that the labour to "feed" the capitalist class (profit) is not counted that leads to the "result" that Marx postulate that sum of prices equals sum of values and sum of profits equals sum of surplus value.</p> <p>If Wrights solution solves the Ricardian TP (input prices = output prices = prices of production), it does not answer the question of what actually happens in an capitalist system. Since competition = technical change, so profit rates will never be uniform.</p> <p>Empirical studies shows no strong convergence of profit rates as should be expected, given the rapid technological changes in all parts of the economy. The calculation of profit rates is no easy task, turnover times, measurement of fixed capital stocks etc.</p> <p>Ian Wright will present the "hyper integrated labour values" solution.</p> <p>Alan Freeman will discuss the stock-flow consistency of long-run uniform equilibrium prices, looking at a recent formulation of Fred Mosley's macro-monetary solution to the TP.</p> <p>Peter Green will present the macro-monetary perspective/solution of Fred Mosely discussing the concept of "methodological equilibrium"</p> <p>Anders Ekeland will argue that the static problem is just a mathematical puzzle, since competition forces profit rates never to be uniform, making long run equilibrium impossible since "centres of gravitation" are rapidly moving targets.</p>	

<p>Ian Wright: Some Theorems and Remarks on Marx's "Transformation of the Values of Commodities into Prices of Production"</p>	<p>Marx acknowledged that his theory of the "transformation of the values of commodities into prices of production" was incomplete because he counterfactually assumed that cost prices equal values when, in a steady-state equilibrium with a uniform profit rate, they in fact equal "prices of production" [1].</p> <p>Once Marx's theory is completed then prices cannot be distorted yet conservative expressions of underlying values. Hence the "transformation problem", which undermines Marx's theory of value by breaking the connection between real costs measured in labour time and the equilibrium prices of reproducible commodities.</p> <p>This paper presents the relevant theorems of linear production theory that establish the transformation problem, and why it is insoluble as stated. We then step back to examine the root causes of the problem, which we identify as conceptual [2], deriving from the failure to properly distinguish between "natural" and "institutional" economic properties [3].</p> <p>We present new theorems that avoid this error and restore the connection between labour time and prices, thereby dissolving the transformation problem [4]. We conclude with some remarks on the (positive) implications for Marx's theory of value.</p>
<p>Alan Freeman: Unidentified Gravitational Objects: Equilibrium, Price Fluctuations, and the Centre of Gravity Fallacy</p>	<p>This paper identifies serious logical problems confronting the thesis that long-run equilibrium prices (Equilibrium Equal Profit Rate or EEPR prices) are a centre of gravity for market prices.</p> <p>I first consider the most recent version (Moseley 2018) of this thesis, which sheds new light because it is expressed in monetary terms. This reveals that EEPR prices are not Stock-Flow consistent: as in any comparative static system, sale prices differ from purchase prices.</p> <p>Therefore, the money paid to the sellers is different from the money received by the buyers. I exhibit an alternative Stock-Flow-Consistent Equal-Profit- Rate price (SCEPR) system. Actual market prices will fluctuate around SCEPR prices, but these do not pre-suppose equilibrium.</p> <p>I then consider the classical form of the thesis, which asserts that physical systems yield a centre of gravity for monetary prices. I show that many different physical systems yield identical monetary price totals in each branch of production. However the unit prices predicted by these systems are not the same. They cannot, therefore, all be centres of gravity for the same money prices.</p> <p>I conclude that 'centre of gravity' is a misplaced metaphor and that SFCEPR prices are closer to the classical concept of 'centre' than EEPR prices, whether derived from a physical or a monetary system.</p>
<p>Anders Ekeland: "Real competition" and the Transformation Problem</p>	<p>This paper builds on my contribution to the heterodox economics conference in Paris in 2012 entitled "The Transformation problem after Kliman and Wright - are we approaching a solution?" . There has been published some important contributions to this debate in the last decade. The paper will in particular discuss Fred Moseley's "Money and Totality" (2016), Ian Wright's "Marx's transformation problem and Pasinetti's vertically integrated subsystems" (Camb.Journ. of Economics, 2018) ,Anwar Shaikh's "Capitalism: Competition, Conflict, Crises" (2016) and Farjoun and Machover "How Labor Powers the Global Economy" (2022).</p> <p>These contributions use different mathematical methods, linear algebra, differential equations, and statistical mechanics. The difference in methods is an indicator of the simple fact that the Transformation Problem is in fact two problems, a static and a dynamic problem. The paper builds on Shaik's concept of "real competition", in particular his studies of the weak convergence of profit rates.</p> <p>As Wright points out, the static problem cannot be solved by "classic" labour values since they are determined only by production technology. They are completely independent</p>

from the distribution of the surplus product by prices giving a uniform rate of profit. Classic labour value accounting does not count the labour need to keep the capitalists alive. Only by counting all labour (vertically integrated labour) can Marx macro-economic “invariants” be shown to be mathematically correct according to Wright.

These static, linear algebra solutions, including Wright’s have a major problem. They are not describing the reality, since the forces of competition, which sui generis is technological change ensures that there is never a uniform profit rate. It is a stylized fact that profit rates show a very weak tendency to converge if any. The relation between hours worked and prices must be modelled with dynamic mathematical tools that take into account that innovation, movement of capital creates etc. a pressure for equalisation, but at the same time disrupts equalisation, since innovation creates a multitude of production methods producing the same product. The “average” or “regulating” method becomes a moving target, dependent on demand/supply and firm’s strategies. What is the “value” of the capital advanced when you don’t see variable capital (wages) as a bundle of physical goods, but as a sum of money.

The role of money is still a major challenge. When Marx consequently uses monetary units for the capital advanced in the form of means of production and variable capital and calculating the “cost” prices. What are these “cost prices” that Marx uses. Are they just another name for prices of production, or “market” prices? What is the relation between “market prices” and “value”? If just “random noise” – and in combination with the “noise” from innovation – does this not point in the direction of using statistical mechanics or simulation to study the relation of hours worked and observed prices.

The conclusion is that the static problem is solved by counting all hours worked (hyper-integration), but that the static solution has no interesting relation to reality. The interesting questions can only be answered in a dynamic framework. Marxist economics should in the future focus on how dynamic, what Shaik calls “real competition” works.

Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00
Debt, Sovereignty, the Banking System, and Inflation [B205]

Mikael Omstedt: “As near part of the United States as any land could possibly be” The Federal Reserve in Cuba and the boundaries of the national economy, 1923-1938

This paper examines an overlooked episode in the history of the U.S. Federal Reserve System: the operation of its agency in Havana, Cuba, 1923-1938. While long-known among Fed historians, the Havana agency has escaped sustained analysis by being (dis)regarded as more of a curious exception than a critical case. Only in operation for 15 years, the agency is most often reduced to another example of the experimental—and ultimately flawed—adventures during the early years of the institution, before it consolidated in its “proper” role as the custodian of national macroeconomic stability. Such reasoning appears anachronistic, however, when considered in the light of the contemporaneous exchanges that preceded the agency’s establishment. Indeed, under the imperial conditions of the early twentieth century, the confines of the U.S. economy were not quite as tightly bound. For many American capitalists Cuba was, as the President of the Fourth National Bank of Atlanta John K. Ottley remarked in 1923, “as near part of the United States as any land could possibly be.” Drawing on archival research, I take the history of the Havana agency as a point of departure for examining the difficult work of determining what belongs inside and outside of the “national economy” in the context of empire. As recent genealogies have demonstrated, the pioneering bourgeois intellectuals of the national economy—from Friedrich List to John Maynard Keynes—formulated their ideal type of a self-sufficient national economy based on the inescapably imperial model of the British. Others have even gone so far as to deny that—in the context of settler colonialism—it is even possible to speak of a U.S. national economy. My paper reads the archival record alongside this critical literature to reconceptualize the “American” economy as a complex articulation of local, regional, and global parts.

Bill Dunn: Towards a Marxist politics of inflation

The achievement of consistently low inflation since the 1980s and the overwhelming acceptance of this should be recognized as substantial capitalist class victories. It is argued that a Marxist politics of inflation requires, first, a radical rejection of national(ist) perspectives. Inflation is complex social relation and it necessary to ask, ‘what prices?’ and

	<p>'who pays?' while aggregate inflation is conducive to faster economic growth up to levels well in excess of anything contemplated by central banks' inflation targets. Second, low inflation protects financial assets and capital prioritized the anti-inflationary agenda as it became increasingly financialized. Corporate borrowing declined, at least in relative terms, and retained earnings increased. The global dimensions of the anti-inflationary agenda also protect multinationals from exchange rate volatility. Inflation hits the poor hardest but so does low inflation. Debts are maintained, while low inflation is also often achieved by high interest rates and inducing recessionary conditions. Third, while the radically anti-inflationary 'Volcker Shock' of 1979 is widely recognized as a defining 'neoliberal' moment, the desirability of low inflation is now widely accepted across the political spectrum (including by many on the Marxist left). An explanation is developed identifying the broader advance of commodifying, privatizing, individualizing processes and the retreat of collective action. Conceived on an individual basis, without index-linking arrangements or effective organization to win real wage rises, price rises and falling pension fund assets are experienced directly and reasonably feared. The anti-inflation agenda becomes an easy sell. A Marxist opposition cannot simply demand more inflation. But when demands for higher wages and pensions are met by objections that they induce inflation, can highlight both that this is largely untrue and that, were it true, it would be welcome.</p>
<p>Michael Roberts, Guglielmo Carchedi: A Value Theory of Inflation</p>	<p>A value theory of inflation is a better explanation of inflation than alternative theories presented both by mainstream (monetarism and Keynesian); and by heterodox theories not based on value. We show that objective value movements in the productive sectors cause price movements that reverberate throughout the whole economy. In this theory, inflation is measured by the difference between the percentage change in money in circulation in the whole economy and the percentage change in value, or hours which have been expended for the production of the output (PH). We call this the value rate of inflation, or VRI, which measures not only inflation, but also disinflation, deflation and stagnation. The theory reveals that inflation in modern capitalist economies is inevitable and anti-inflationary measures are powerless to stop inflation over time.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Zionism, Palestine, and Settler Colonialism [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)] <i>Sponsored by Spectre</i></p>	
<p>Sai Englert Shireen Akram-Boshar</p>	<p>This panel will attempt to place the Zionist project of constructing a "Jewish" ethno-national state in Palestine in the history of settler colonialism; and attempt to draw out theoretical and strategic insights on the factors shaping the struggle for Palestine's liberation.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 The Work and Thought of Marina Vishmidt (II): Culture and Organising [G3] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Anthony Iles (Mute) Luisa Lorenza Corna (Full Unemployment Cinema) Emma Hedditch (Cinenova)</p>	
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Gillian Rose's Lectures on Marxist Modernism [G51]</p>	
<p>Gordon Finlayson Discussants: Robert Lucas Scott and Rosie Woodhouse</p>	<p>A book Panel on Gillian Rose's lectures on Marxist Modernism. Gillian Rose and the Frankfurt School.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 The rise and fall of Swedish Social Democracy [G51a]</p>	

<p>Speakers: Kjell Ostberg</p> <p>Respondents: Ståle Holgersen, Ingar Solty and Andreas Malm</p>	<p>Swedish Social Democracy occupies a special place in the political history of the 20th century. The Swedish model long stood in a declared light as a successful model between communist planned economy and capitalism.</p> <p>The focus has been on the Social Democratic Party and its strong organisation, dominant political position, capacity for ideological innovation, and not least the ability to implement a programme for the strong welfare state.</p> <p>For long socialists of various stripes turned to Sweden as the country that had come the furthest in terms of welfare, equality, social consensus and gender equality. Recently young people participating in Bernie Sanders' election campaigns could see Sweden during its golden years as an example to be inspired by or imitate.</p> <p>Most of these elements that once was the core of the successful Swedish model today has disappeared or eroded. The Swedish Social Democracy of today no longer appears as a source of inspiration for the debate on the future of the international left.</p> <p>My book <i>The rise and fall of Swedish social democracy</i> is the first comprehensive study of the history of the party so far. In this panel I would like to bring together international scholars to discuss the main reasons for the success of Swedish Social Democracy - and for its failures.</p> <p>The overall question is the limits of reformism.</p>
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Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00
Book Launch Roundtable: Wars of Position? Marxism Today, Cultural Politics and the Remaking of the Left Press, 1979-90 [R201]

<p>Hillary Pimlott Jeremy Gilbert Daniel Hartley Marzia Maccaferri</p>	<p>Originally launched as the theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1957, <i>Marxism Today</i> would move into a position of immense influence on the Left during the 1980s, when it became a catalyst for admiration or denunciation.</p> <p>Unfortunately, this division prevented the detailed materialist analysis that Hillary Pimlott offers in her book. Approaching her subject from a cultural materialist framework, the author's account situates MT within its material and ideological transformation from a CPGB journal into a 'glossy' left magazine. After locating MT's origins in the post-war crisis, her analysis provides an historical narrative of its 34-year trajectory, and a critical analysis of MT's key political project, Stuart Hall's 'Thatcherism' thesis, as well as the 'Forward March of Labour Halted?' and 'New Times'. The book centres Raymond Williams's work, both his political interventions and his development of Marxist cultural theory to examine how the CPGB operated in relation to its publications as key to analysing the relationship between the production and distribution of ideas in society.</p> <p>These include: the relationship between the Communist Party leadership and editors; Marxist political practice and cultural form; publicity and marketplace; mainstream media coverage; design, layout and imagery; writing style and rhetoric (including of Hobsbawm and Hall). Ultimately, her analysis demonstrates the importance of the relationship between political organisation and socialist media, both for the production and circulation of socialist ideas and analysis, and for the possibility of a transformative counter hegemony.</p> <p>The respondents will offer their criticisms and commentary from their areas of expertise, including Gramsci, Williams, Labour Party, and media and cultural production.</p>
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Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00
Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Culture [RB01]
Marxism and Culture

<p>Suzana Milevska: <i>The Hammer, the Sickle, and the Shovel: The Representation of Labour and Class during the Transition in ex-Yugoslavia</i></p>	<p>I want to address the pertinent questions of how the class and labour issues were emblematised, criticised, or internalised in the arts and culture of the socialist ex-Yugoslavia - before and after the inter-ethnic wars - during the period of the political and economic transition in the late 1980s and 1990s. The sedimentation of various socio-economic classes is one of the most under-researched and overlooked issues in the history of arts of the ex-Yugoslav countries. This is not surprising given the prevailing research dedicated to artists and projects that dealt with the issue of cultural identity and the outbursts of nationalism, as more urgent during the inter-ethnic wars and conflicts.</p>
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	<p>However, I want to argue that the visual arts can provide relevant and inexhaustible resources for challenging the contradictions of the class issue in the socialist and postsocialist contexts of art practices and artistic production. These contradictions were never resolved because the relations between the subjects in the arts did not go through the necessary institutional and systemic changes – as suggested by Cornelius Castoriadis. Parallel to looking at art objects, I therefore suggest looking at the relations among the subjects (artists, curators, art managers, etc.). The main aim of this paper is thus to point out the intrinsic contradictions of the bourgeois rooting of the arts and often the inadvertent reproduction of human labour relations in the arts of ex-Yugoslavia, before and after its split. The initial focus on various forms of representations of class differences, hierarchies, and the early critiques of consumerism, on the one side, and the later liberalist and consumerist-focus art that hindered the fate of the “class-less society”, on the other side (parallel with the experiments with socialist 'free market' economy), will eventually move the discussion towards looking at the current class hierarchies in the artworld.</p>
<p>Bojana Videkanic [online]: “Yugoslav People’s Art”</p>	<p>Traditional art historical accounts narrate avant-garde and ‘alternative’ art practices of the 20th century as encompassing art production by various professional artists who in one way or another challenged artistic traditions of the past, resisted conformity, rejecting social, political, and cultural life of the bourgeois mainstream. In this paper I would like to look beyond what is considered professional art and analyze people’s art (naïve art, amateur art, outside art) as it developed under Yugoslav socialism and in relationship to mainstream art production. I wish to postulate perhaps a controversial claim that in Yugoslav case, people’s art represented the revolutionary aesthetic vanguard. Fully understanding the pitfalls of using the term ‘people’ my goal is to define people outside and in opposition to its usual applications as connected to populism and deviant forms of politics. Instead, I use the term ‘people’s art’ connecting it to People’s Liberation Struggle (NOB), a mass anti-fascist movement organized and led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia that united peoples of all ethnic and national groups, classes, genders, and political views under the banner of struggle for freedom and emancipation. People’s art was inclusive, intersecting with, and happily living side by side professional art, or what we call modernist art. Paying special attention to the links between history of socialist ideas in Yugoslav political and cultural life of the period, I will therefore trace interconnectedness between political project of building a local form of socialism and its corresponding forms of art by providing several key examples: two works by naïve painter Franjo Mraz, one artwork from the collection of amateur art in the Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, and two artworks from the collection of Gallery of the Non-Aligned Countries, Podgorica.</p>
<p>Ivana Hanaček: Agents of Kharkiv: Debating Revolutionary Art in Interwar Yugoslavia</p>	<p>The 'Conflict within the literary left' in interwar Yugoslavia is often viewed through the lens of Miroslav Krleža, who, alongside August Cesarec, was a writer and the prominent ideologue of the communist movement in the 1920s. However, by 1933, Krleža had shifted towards a solipsistic interpretation of artistic creation, embracing romantic notions of Genius and Talent. This departure, marked by his rejection of the principles outlined at the Kharkiv Congress, also influenced the stances of revolutionary visual artists associated with the Artists' Association Soil.</p> <p>While Krleža's perspective dominates the narrative of art history, it tends to overshadow the polemical texts from the interwar era. These texts, championing historical materialism and heteronomous art production, present a contrasting viewpoint. In this paper, we aim to spotlight the positions held by the Yugoslav Agents of Kharkiv.</p> <p>We are particularly interested in elucidating how the Agents of Kharkiv navigated the complexities of artistic freedom within an unfree world, echoing Cesarec's assertion regarding their choice of literary and artistic positions with moral and revolutionary implications. Our examination will shed light on how the Kharkiv Agents' stance corresponds with the socially engaged ethos of the Artists' Association Soil.</p>

	<p>To achieve this goal, we will undertake a parallel analysis of the polemical texts authored by Kharkiv Agents spanning the period from 1929 to 1939. Through this comparative study, we aim to elucidate the key points of the most significant Marxist aesthetic debate of the interwar period and the visual narratives of the socially engaged Artists' Association Soil. Our analysis will be informed by the concept of Gramsci's organic intellectual, who, in response to the evolving social landscape, transcends the traditional role of an art and literary critic inherent within bourgeois culture.</p>
<p>Dubravka Sekulić: "Kuću gradim a kamena nemam": On life and memory after ethnic cleansing in Prijedor</p>	<p>In September 2020 regional news in former Yugoslavia reported about a man, Šerif Velić, burying his house in Kevljani, hamlet between Prijedor and Omarska in north west part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of syndicated reportage focused on photos of the event of unveiling the memorial stone, briefly mentioning that the house buried in 2020 was destroyed at the beginning of the war of Yugoslav cessation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. Inscription on the granite memorial stone placed horizontally on a short concrete column just next to the grassy mound/burial site reads "Here lies my house, built by love destroyed by hate; Upward 1974, downward in 1992." Hardly any of the reportages mentioned that Šerif Velić was a survivor of Omarska Camp, one of the three camps opened on the territory of Prijedor municipality at the beginning of war in 1992 as the first step in the campaign of ethnical cleansing initiated by Serbian side of this until the war mixed municipality. While most of reports mentioned that the mound is in the backyard of Velić's rebuilt house, none mentioned that in the immediate vicinity is Stari Kevljani, one of the largest mass graves found in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war, holding bodies of many of Šerif's friends who did not survive the camps. Overlooking Kevljane is Kozara, one of the mythical mountains for WW2 Yugoslav partisan anti-fascist struggle and the site of one of the most well-known partisan memorial complexes built after the WW2. Constructed in the 1972, Monument to the Revolution was to carry the spirit of anti-fascism to the future. 20 years since it was completed, the brutal ethnic cleansing campaign under the banner of Serbian nationalism marked the first year of the war. In years since war was suspended by the Dayton Peace Agreement, the territory of Prijedor which is part of the Serbian dominated entity Republic of Srpska, has been a site of the continuing conflict around recognition of camps and crimes committed during the war, detection of the sites of mass graves and the painful denials from the local government that ethnic cleansing has happened fortified by erection of memorials commemorating the perpetrators and not the victims. Survivors like Šerif Velić fight have names of those who died memorialised next to the mass graves where their bodies were found as part of the official memorialisation efforts. Against this stasis, the gesture of burying house is a gesture of refusal, one that maybe holds entangled new conceptualisation of anti-fascist memorialisation that does not seek to resolve but stays with the grief and incompleteness. The paper will be constructed as an assemblage on fragments, not as a definitive statement, to address many lines of inquiry that buried house requires, most importantly the questions of property and genocide, to lay out discursive field of thinking with the mound as a way of ongoing memorialisation in relation to the question of historical memory and the contemporary anti-fascism.</p>
<p>Hana Curak: Forging Solidarity: Diasporic Memory and Cultural Production in Post-Yugoslav Collectivities</p>	<p>This paper investigates the diasporic dimension of post-Yugoslavia embedded within the formation of collectivities through symbolic production, cultures of memory, and the construction of new forms of solidarity. It asks how cultural production contributes to the formation of collectivities and in what ways cultural production shapes and influences the construction of new forms of solidarity among dispossessed collectivities, citing a recent example of an intervention that took place during the</p>

	<p>“Four Faces of Omarska” exhibition placed within the “Lost – YOU-Go-Slavia” program at the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin in October 2023.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Marxist Theorisations of Space and the Urban [RG01]</p>	
<p>Carla Rivera Blanco: Marxism, Religion, and Representation of Space in Henri Lefebvre</p>	<p>Henri Lefebvre sees religion as the matrix of all forms of alienation. But religion is ideology and, therefore, representation. For Lefebvre, Marx's materialism is the overcoming of all this in the name of the sensible, of recovering its richness and its meaning, of the reconciliation of the rational and the real, of spontaneity and thought. It is to this domain of the falsifications of the world that are religion and ideology that Lefebvre incorporates his notions of the representation of space and absolute space, which determine the vocation of current architecture and urban planning to supplant real urban life. It is political religion, that of the Polis, which contains the simple, regulated, methodical principle—both mental and social at the same time—of the illusion that it is possible to impose stability and coherence on the city. This communication aims to reconstruct the path that leads from Marx's critique of ideology and religion to Lefebvre's critique concerning the philosophical pretensions of urban technocracy, which seeks to attack the right protest and hide social conflict. To the application of this Marxist critique of representation to control over the urban, Lefebvre adds another one adopted from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, and their opposition between representation and will.</p>
<p>William Conroy: The Hidden Abodes of Urbanization</p>	<p>"Since the mid-1980s, critical urban theory has been defined almost singularly by David Harvey's crisis-centric approach to the urban process under capitalism. Indeed, despite the many debates that have shaped that heterogenous field in the intervening decades, Harvey's understanding of the constitutive relations that define capitalist urbanization has remained strikingly unproblematized. With this in view, "The Hidden Abodes of Urbanization" sets out to critically interrogate—and move beyond—the process of abstraction at the heart of Harvey's account.</p> <p>The paper begins by teasing out the contours of Harvey's understanding of capitalist urbanization, underscoring his "immense theoretical revolution" (as Althusser might put it) vis-à-vis the long history of efforts to spatialize crisis theory—and vis-à-vis Hegel, von Thünen, Luxemburg, and Lenin, specifically. After taking stock of Harvey's conceptualization in this way, the paper then turns to what this theorization holds from view, which I will refer to as the "hidden abodes of urbanization." Building equally on Nancy Fraser's work on capitalism as an institutionalized social order and Nicos Poulantzas's understanding of capitalist society's spatio-temporal matrices, I will demonstrate that capitalist urbanization is propelled not only by the dynamism of inter-capitalist competition and crises of overproduction within the realm of waged exploitation (as Harvey would have it); but, rather, by capital's dual tendency toward both overproduction and the underproduction of its own socio-ecological hidden abodes behind the abode of production. In other words, this paper argues that capitalist urbanization is best understood not as relying upon a non-capitalist "constitutive outside" for its reproduction (Conroy, 2024), but rather as the spatialization and materialization of struggles over the articulation of capitalism's internally related foreground of exploitation and its unwaged or under-capitalized background conditions of possibility. It posits urbanization as a spatial moment in the evolution of a world-encompassing and normatively differentiated capitalist socio-spatial totality comprised of both foreground and background abodes.</p>
<p>Tom Six: Resettling the 'Urban Colonies': Cultural Production and the Crisis of the Current Racial Regime</p>	<p>In Policing the Crisis, Stuart Hall and his co-authors identify 'urban colonies' as sites of both co-opted defence against and incompletely politicized resistance to racialized capital. This paper will argue that, thirty-five years later, after the war on terror and 'hostile environment', those 'urban colonies' are being subjected to a process best described as 'resettling'.</p>

	<p>To develop this argument, I will draw on Cedric Robinson’s concept of the ‘racial regime’, and its fundamentally conjunctural account of race as a technology of power. By using Robinson’s elaboration of racial capitalism as a means of identifying the processes whereby racial regimes are both contingently constructed and may be dismantled, I will propose that the last decade has been characterised by a crisis of the racial regime I term the ‘long white nineties’. In this recent period, Anglo-American cultural production has been dominated by attempts to conceal unmistakable fissures in what Fred Moten has called the ‘incorporative exclusion’ of racially minoritised people. The origins of Moten’s term in settler colonial studies offer an insight, I argue, into the cultural mechanisms that have long secured and justified what Robbie Shilliam and Arun Kundnani have respectively called the ‘imperial’ and ‘racial’ project of neoliberal capitalism.</p> <p>Drawing on some prominent examples of Anglo-American television from the last decade, I will propose not only that what is widely termed ‘inclusion’ in the cultural sphere has been a project of racialized subjugation, but that it has been articulated with the far-right project of seeking to resettle urban areas with prominent racially minoritised populations. This analysis will both suggest ways in which settler colonial studies can both contribute to understandings of the contemporary operation of racialized capital in the west, and indicate crucial emergent tendencies that are shaping the next iteration of the racial regime.</p>
<p>Kristin Ciupa: Space Mining as Response to Capitalist Crisis</p>	<p>There has been a renewed interest in space exploration in the twenty-first century, with the goal of discovering new sites of resource extraction, and as a possible space for human salvation from ecological crisis on Earth. Evidenced by a resurgence of national space programs and private commercial activities, this historical moment is characterized by the increased participation of different actors around the globe in space exploration, with a view to mining and colonization. The United States’ National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), for instance, is planning to return to the moon by 2025. In anticipation of this, 33 governments have signed on to the Artemis Accords, which establishes a common political understanding of ‘best practices’ in space exploration and use. The longer-term goal of mining asteroids has motivated NASA to send exploratory missions to resource-rich asteroids, while private space mining companies have emerged over the past decade.</p> <p>This paper situates the renewed interest in space exploration within the context of multiple, recurring and overlapping crises of global capitalism. Resource extraction on Earth has reached a critical point, contributing to increasingly unsustainable environmental degradation and social and political conflict, while economies stagnate and social inequality grows. The paper argues that the growing space industry is a response to the limits of global capitalism today via the accumulation of new territories and resources outside of our planet. Situating an analysis of laws, agreements, policy documents, and discussions between nations and private firms within literature on capitalist extractive expansion, this paper explores the state and non-state actors – and the relations of power between them – that are shaping space exploration, and extraction and colonization to date.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Dismantling Green colonialism: Energy and Climate Justice in the Arab Region [Khalili Lecture Theatre]</p>	
<p>Hamza Hamouchene: The Energy Transition in North Africa: Neocolonialism Again!</p>	<p>The Arab region is a focus of world politics, with authoritarian regimes, significant fossil fuel reserves and histories of colonialism and imperialism. It is also the site of potentially immense green energy resources.</p>
<p>Manal Shqair: Arab–Israeli Eco-Normalization: Greenwashing Settler Colonialism in Palestine and the Jawlan</p>	<p>The writers in this collection explore a region ripe for energy transition but held back by resource-grabbing and (neo)colonial agendas. They show the importance of fighting for a just energy transition and climate justice - exposing policies and practices that protect global and local political elites, multinational corporations and military regimes.</p>
<p>Adam Hanieh: A Transition to Where? The Gulf Arab States</p>	<p>Covering a wide range of countries from Morocco, Western Sahara, Algeria and Tunisia to Egypt, Sudan, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Palestine, this book challenges Eurocentrism</p>

and the New 'East-East' Axis of World Oil	and highlights instead a class-conscious approach to climate justice that is necessary for our survival.
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Critical Theory and Theorists (II) [BBK-MAL-251] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
Clint Burnham: Jameson for Dummies	<p>How are we to read Jameson's Adorno seminar? As Brechtian learning play(s) (Lehrstücke), in which the private American university is transformed into a utopian space of pedagogy; as Lacanian seminar, in which digressions, interruptions, and misfires constitute the Žižekian Anstoß or generative obstacle to true insight; or as the latest in the series of theorists' spoken texts, reified as the 'long tail' of the post-Theory interregnum? I propose to read this rich text - <i>Mimesis, Expression, Construction (Repeater, 2024)</i>, transcribed and edited by Octavian Esanu from a 2003 course - in all of these ways so as to inquire into the rhetoric and aesthetics of resistance and critique being thought aloud. Specifically in terms of two of Jameson's contemporaneous texts - his introduction to Weiss' <i>The Aesthetics of Resistance</i> (2005) and <i>Brecht and Method</i> (1998) - I will argue that the question of pedagogy must simultaneously think in terms of Jameson/Brecht's expanded notion of rhetoric and his reading of Weiss via "an allegorical rather than a symbolic motif: that is, a place-marker for problems of representation, rather than an inscription of ideological content". The allegory of Jameson's seminar lies in the very barriers to reading it today: its origin in the classrooms of a nation about, once again, to invade a rogue client state; the textuality of a playscript that digresses from Kant, Adorno, and Marx to the sound of zippers and minutiae of which edition of Thomas Mann one is reading; and a "combined and uneven development" whereby the Theorist is confronted with students and readers who dummy up, in all their (our) "rural idiocy".</p>
Paul Ewart: Mark Fisher: Towards a popular critical theory in the twenty-first century	<p>If the world seemed to be in crisis 2019, then it is in a far worse place today. To the dual crises of the Anthropocene and the global financial crisis, we must add the spread of global viruses, the IPCC report on global warming, the effects and affects of a decade of austerity, and the (related) rise of the Far Right globally. Jameson's dictum that it 'is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism' has never felt more relevant. So, what, if anything does contemporary Critical Theory, increasingly collapsed into a kind of Rawlsian common sense, have to say to the multiple crises of the present? How have critical and cultural theorists of the Left made sense of this changed world, one in which Habermas's commitment to a liberal public sphere and a politics of recognition seems woefully inadequate?</p> <p>This paper historicises the problematic reception of Critical Theory in the United Kingdom to argue that the expansion of higher education in the 1970s and 1980s, notably the transmission of Critical Theory through arts schools and popular music, created the conditions for the reconciliation between a popular British Cultural Studies and Critical Theory with the potential to reach beyond academia and address some of the problems highlighted above.</p> <p>That potential remained largely untapped in an era of liberal triumphalism. It was to take the coincidence of the discursive and material space opened up in the wake of the global financial crisis coinciding with a generation of writers, often inspired, or haunted by, the lost radical, affective and trans-disciplinary futures of art schools, the music press and post-punk. Taking advantage of the low entry costs required to enter the digital economy, Mark Fisher and others have gestured towards a critical theory appropriate for the twenty-first century.</p>
Phoebe Braithwaite: Sylvia Wynter, Western Marxism, and Social Form	<p>What can Marxists learn from Sylvia Wynter and what did Sylvia Wynter learn from Marxists? Resituating Wynter's work in relation to Marx, Althusser and more latterly Stuart Hall, this paper addresses the way in which Wynter exceeded the bounds of Marxist social form. Wynter has described herself as "impelled" to think within, beyond, and against Marxist and Caribbean thought. Deploying centers of intellectual and ontological gravity – she assesses the plantation before the factory, the symbolic before the material,</p>

	<p>and foregrounds blackness as a site of subjectivation – that swerve away from Western Marxists’ primary and characteristic preoccupations, Wynter’s work engages the history of slavery and the ongoing dark discursive chapters in the history of ‘Man’ to demonstrate that certain forms of oppression and exploitation exceed Marxian materialist principles of capitalist subjection, laundering symbolic forms of brutality and exclusion to earmark certain populations as ‘infrahuman,’ in the terms of the humanist thinker Paul Gilroy. Wynter’s work speculatively displaces “capitalist totality as the determinant frame for understanding our social conditions,” writes Sara-Maria Sorentino, to bridge a “new relational totality” that collapses certain teleologies and distinctions in Western Marxist thought. Wynter’s novel, ‘sociogenic’ approach to the problematic philosophical form/content division suggests relational and conceptual pathways that genuinely go beyond established courses of action. The final portion of the paper addresses some of the limitations of Wynter’s approach to creative ‘poesis’ (drawing on the work of cyberneticist Humberto Maturana among others) as on occasion insufficiently materialist, identifying lacunae in which the sociogenic principle can be accommodated to that of social form.</p>
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<p>Tom Bunyard: Heaven on Earth: Gillian Rose and T.J. Clark’s “For a Left with No Future”</p>	<p>In his recent Heaven on Earth, T.J. Clark sets out a series of interpretations of paintings by Giotto, Breughel, Poussin, Veronese, and Picasso. His book contends that their representations of the divine contain traces of a concern with the human and the earthly, and that these paintings push, tacitly, against the projection of ultimate value into a heavenly beyond. Heaven on Earth’s message – that such significance ought instead to be found in the finitude and flaws of the everyday – thus chimes with, and can be developed through, elements of Gillian Rose’s idiosyncratic reading of Hegel. According to Rose, the unity and resolution of the Hegelian ‘Absolute’ is to be found not in a condition of supposedly final completion, but is rather implicit within the failures, confusions and limitations of the present. This entails that Rose also affords a route towards critically addressing Clark’s recent political stance. Heaven on Earth’s claims are motivated, like much of Clark’s broader work, by the ‘materialism’ that underpins his art-historical methodology. That notion of materialism entails an emphasis on resistance and opposition to capitalist modernity – themes that characterise much of his art history – but it also involves a deep and growing scepticism towards messianic and utopian political projects. In that vein, his book concludes with a short and provocative piece titled ‘For a Left with No Future’. It contends that, rather than endeavouring to transfigure and redeem the world, the Left ought to concentrate on its past failures; and rather than attempting to fashion the future, it should instead focus, in a more moderate vein, on the present. Yet given the host of environmental, political, and economic crises that loom our collective horizon, surely any contemporary iteration of a viable Left ought to be fundamentally concerned with the future. Parsing Clark’s materialism through Rose’s more future-oriented philosophy can help to develop that point whilst also preserving some of Clark’s insights. Making this case will involve setting Rose’s spirited defence of modernity against Clark’s hostility towards the latter.</p>
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<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00</p>	
<p>Book Launch: The Poetry of Class [BBK-MAL-252]</p>	
<p><i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Speaker: Patrick Eiden-Offe Mark Steven Svenja Bromberg</p>	<p>On the occasion of the publication of the paperback edition of ‘The Poetry of Class’, the author Patrick Eiden-Offe will introduce the main ideas of the book in a short talk. Particular attention will be paid to the question of how the historical insights can be transferred to our present day situation. The author and lecture will be presented by Svenja Bromberg (Goldsmiths). She will also lead the discussion.</p>

<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00</p>	
<p>Marxist Insights on Migration [BBK-MAL-253]</p>	
<p>Abdul Vajid Punakkath, Sergio Calderón Harker: Migrant as a Revolutionary Subject: Postulates at the intersections</p>	<p>While the concept of racial capitalism sought to, in certain sense, unite anti-capitalism and anti-colonial/imperial/racist politics under a common historical frame of reference; it has not managed to avoid or overcome the recurring debates around particularity vs universality, identity vs class, and representation vs revolution etc. Against these</p>

<p>of Racial Capitalism, Abolitionism, and the Critique of Citizenship</p>	<p>predicaments, we aim to develop an account of the migrant as an insurgent, universal, and irreconcilable political subject capable of the decimation of global capitalist-imperialism (contra socialism in one country).</p> <p>In the context of border imperialism, Palestinian liberation and solidarity struggles, resurgence of radical unionism, and the constellation of social movements operating in this political context, we argue that the radical otherness of the migrant position is central to their proliferation and expansion. This is also one of the main logic behind the regimes of assimilation, repression, and deportation of migrant subjectivities, especially in its most radical articulations, throughout the globe.</p> <p>By reframing racial capitalism through the inclusive-exclusive operations of citizenship, which coheres and enables local (through super-exploitation of migrants) and global value extraction (inequality in global supply chain), migrant worker is identified as the point which traverses the particular and universal of our contemporary social totality. For this traversal point to become a revolutionary site, the migrant subject must be identified not as a victim of the border regime, but affirmed as a criminal and scandalous standpoint that continually threaten the coherence of citizenship through treason, expropriation, (inter)communalism etc. Such an affirmation, as a defense of the migrant Other in its otherness, taken to its logical extent, cannot but mean the antagonization of capital, nation-state, and imperial metropole, from which a new communist hypothesis adequate to it must be invented.</p>
<p>Hannah Cross: The international migration regime, social and territorial division – a class analysis</p>	<p>This paper analyses the ways that capitalist imperialism sustains social and territorial division, with a focus on the international migration regime in West Africa, the Maghreb and Europe. It will show how the dominant capitalist states, directly and through international organisations like the International Organisation for Migration, deploy the governance of migration as a means of organising and regulating labour. In doing so, they sustain social and geographical hierarchies and divisions that enforce capitalist structures of exploitation.</p> <p>In Senegal's coastal communities, European dominance over resources and industry has created ecological destruction, while regular channels of circulation within Africa and beyond have been blocked and destroyed. Migration governance pursues a policy rhetoric of integration, Pan-Africanism and free movement, yet in reality, the mechanisms of 'inclusive growth', free trade, intra-African border policing, and bilateral migration partnerships undermine these principles. Unpacking the core elements of migration governance and their interactions with monetary, economic and military imperialism, the paper argues that the liberal migration regime enables capital to thrive on dispossession, border control, denial of safe routes and state violence that is directed towards the most terrorised and exploited societies. This analysis demands an internationalist approach to migration which connects the continuity of imperialist policies in the African continent and its polarisation from Europe with the restrained social development of all labouring classes in Europe and Africa.</p>
<p>Loreto Rojas Viver: The relevance of the Marxist theory of imperialism for the analysis of migratory processes</p>	<p>In the current times, when rising inter-imperialist tensions and their development into imperialist warfare is on the order of the day, as it's happening in Ukraine. In this times, when the Palestinian people are being massacred under the auspices of the Western powers. It is more urgent than ever to return to the Marxist analysis of imperialism.</p> <p>Therefore, in the following paper, I will try to analyse some elements of Lenin's views on imperialism that I consider still relevant. I will try to analyse them in their political context, the First World War and the split of socialism into two wings with the break-up of the Second International. This happened due to the support to its national bourgeoisies by a section of it, as opposed to the position of proletarian internationalism of war to war. From here, I will focus on Lenin's analysis of the formation of the labour aristocracy in the imperialist centre as a result of the imperialist plunder here. As well, I will focus on its</p>

	<p>political correlate: social-chauvinism and opportunism. Finally, I will try to analyse, on the basis of these concepts and evaluating their actuality, the position of the Spanish state in the Western imperialist bloc and some of the political positions prevailing in it, from those which reinforce the class position of the labour aristocracy and its position within the imperialist state, to the fascistic tendencies of defence of the national worker against the migrant proletariat. The aim of this is to raise the questions of what the position of Marxists should be in the context of the imperialist war that is becoming more and more acute. What is the political position that is consistent with proletarian internationalism today?</p>
<p>Madhumita Varma: Tracing Intentions: The Making of Immigration and Deportation: Laws and Policies in England, 1948-1962</p>	<p>The 1948 British Nationality Act enshrined in the law that which was already practiced in the empire – the right of all British subjects to enter, live and work in the UK. However, in 1962 Britain introduced the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, the first of two, to “amend the qualifications required of Commonwealth citizens applying for citizenship under the British Nationality Act, 1948.” In addition, The Act aimed to control the entry of Commonwealth citizens and to authorise deportation of those of them who were convicted of offences and recommended by the court for deportation. While this was introduced in the context of the influx of British subjects from Uganda and Kenya post-independence in 1962 and 1963 respectively, my research shows that this Act was in the making for at least a decade prior to its introduction with explicitly race and class based discriminatory intentions. It also examines the process of framing these intentions into justifiable language for the public, parliament and Commonwealth countries, as well as the collective effort of those government agencies that would be involved in the enforcement of the Act, and in the drafting of the Bill prior to its passage. My research does so by incorporating Cabinet meeting minutes, reports, draft memos and successive drafts of this Bill, as well as correspondences between the Home Office and the National Assistance Board. As this progresses I also hope to look into media sources - mainstream to trace the dominant political discourse, as well as those that were investigative or dissenting in nature to trace opposing views or revelations of silent government policies and practices.</p>
<p>Saturday, 14:15 – 16:00 Althusser and Beyond [BBK-MAL-254]</p>	
<p>Thomas Carmichael: Between the encounter and the accomplished fact, ‘the lonely hour of the last instance’: Encounter, Determination, and Necessity in Louis Althusser</p>	<p>In an unpublished text from 1986 entitled “Thèses de juin,” Louis Althusser suggests that aleatory materialism and Marxist theory more broadly enable us to see in the then current moment what he calls, “The displacement of class struggle from politics and the economy toward ideology. This event is capital, and we must not “miss” it.”¹ I have read this observation elsewhere as a clear indication of a greatly expanded notion of class struggle in the later Althusser. But if we focus on the notions of displacement and struggle here, we can also see in Althusser’s assertion a much more persistent and fundamental tendency in Althusser’s thought which is to be found in the fraught category of determination. In the Althusser of For Marx, this is presented most memorably in his endorsement of the notion that the economic is determinant in the last instance, even though “the lonely hour of the ‘last instance’ never comes,” or, more prosaically, as he puts it in the passage immediately following, “the specific effectivity of the superstructures and other ‘circumstances’ largely remains to be elaborated.”²</p> <p>In the late published and unpublished texts that set out Althusser’s philosophy of the encounter this tendency appears in the relation between the ‘taking hold’ and the encounter, between the “becoming-necessary of the encounter of contingencies” and the aleatory character of every encounter, measured by the dual assertions that “there is not taking hold with surprise” and that every encounter is “haunted by a radical instability,” so that what issues form the ‘taking-hold’ can “change at the drop of a hat” and “can change without reason, that is, without an intelligible end.”³</p> <p>My paper pursues the unsettling logic of this tendency in Althusser’s late and unpublished texts and in his earliest work. In the course of my discussion, I draw upon my work on the unpublished materials housed in the Althusser archive.</p>

<p>Guido Mangialavori: Althusser, Schürmann and the Temptation of Anarchy</p>	<p>This paper examines the philosophical intersections between Schürmann and Althusser, particularly focusing on the concept of anarchy of the principles. Schürmann's interpretation of Aristotle's teleology and his critique of metaphysics form the basis for understanding an anarchic framework that emerges in post-modern thought. Schürmann's notion of "anarchy" suggests a threshold where metaphysical coherence dissolves, signaling the collapse of both rational and authoritarian structures that have historically underpinned Western actions since Socrates. Althusser echoes this in his declaration of the absence of central economic, political, and ideological strategies, highlighting an era of uncertainty.</p> <p>Furthermore this study explores Schürmann thinking of three historically operative categories in which to inscribe metaphysical discursive series: prospective (pre-Socratic); retrospective (Nietzschean-Heideggerian); and transitional (Heideggerian). This classification helps delineate the fold of Western metaphysical thought from the non-human-centric logos and eon of the pre-Socratics, through humanist-subjective eternal return and will to power of Heidegger's Nietzsche, to Heidegger's epoch/Lichtung and ontological difference/word and thing.</p> <p>The paper delves into how Deleuze and Schürmann reinterpret Nietzsche. Nietzsche's notion of dynamics of forces, where the history of phenomena is a succession of forceful appropriations, aligns with Althusser's view of philosophy as a battleground of materialist and idealist tendencies. Althusser's concept of "materialism of the encounter" resonates with Schürmann's idea of economic constellations, stressing the contingent and provisional nature of force aggregations.</p> <p>Ultimately, the paper argues for a reconsideration of Althusser's late work in light of pre-Socratic categories, proposing that an understanding of logos and eon aligns with a materialist philosophy of the void. By incorporating Nietzschean elements, this analysis offers a framework for comprehending the anarchic and aleatory dimensions in the philosophical discourse of Schürmann and Althusser, highlighting a shift away from metaphysical stability towards an acceptance of multiplicity and flux.</p>
<p>Panagiotis Sotiris: Historicizing the transcendental: Louis Althusser, Jacques Martin and Michel Foucault as readers of Hegel</p>	<p>Louis Althusser, Jacques Martin and Michel Foucault all wrote <i>memoires de maîtrise</i> on Hegel in the second half of the 1940s –Althusser and Martin (to whom Althusser would dedicate <i>For Marx</i>) under the supervision of Gaston Bachelard, Foucault under the supervision of Jean Hyppolite–, which pointed to the extent of the influence of a certain reading of Hegel in French philosophy at that particular moment. The common element in their readings can be described as an attempt to historicize the transcendental, which was also part of a broader climate that suggested a possible dialogue of Hegel and Marx. However, both Althusser and Foucault would be later considered as representing a philosophical position that was in essence anti-Hegelian, with Althusser in particular insisting on Marx's radical break with Hegel. The aim of this presentation is to revisit these readings of Hegel, try to discern elements of a common problematic and also return to the question of the forms and antinomies of the anti-Hegelianism that emerged in the French debates of the 1960s.</p>
<p>Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 Book Roundtable: The Rest and the West: Capital and Power in a Multipolar World [B102]</p>	
<p>Sandro Mezzadra Davide Gallo Lessere Enrica Rigo</p>	<p>The panel is conceived as a discussion around Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson's new book, <i>The Rest and the West. Capital and Power in a Multipolar World</i> (forthcoming from Verso). The book describes the explosion of the unipolar world, focusing on the Covid-19 pandemic as well as the ensuing war in Ukraine and investigating the rising centrality of war to capital operations and to the transformations of capitalism. <i>The Rest and the West</i> discusses topics such as the pandemic crisis of mobility, shifts in the relation of social reproduction to capital circulation, state transformation in Russia and China, the politics of infrastructure and energy, and the impact of geopolitical change upon social struggles.</p>
<p>Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 Material Dynamics of Spinozian Immanence [B103]</p>	

<p>Margherita Pascucci: The critique of Capital's '[meta]physics', the notion of 'plus of being' and the coefficient of production of inequality</p>	<p>Marx reads Spinoza" opposes to the surplus-value of capital a surplus concept of life – of the worker, of the non-worker, of the poor, of the rich: an excess of being with the power to undo capital by using its own mechanism.</p>
<p>Alessandro Sarti: Material dynamics from physics to Spinozian immanence</p>	<p>Antonio Negri writes in the preface that 'The poor is the powerful, Pascucci tells us. She interprets Marx as a reader of Spinoza; however, maybe there is something more here than there is in Spinoza and Marx themselves. A further passage is necessary to grasp this "more": namely, to tie the experience of poverty to an ontology of "cupiditas" [desire], that is, of "amor" [love]'. Moving from the themes central to the book (poverty, force of being, surplus-value, plus of being), the panel will explore the 'more' from different perspectives.</p>
<p>Peter Trnka: The politics of desire as it relates to the work of the imagination in the construction of space-time, revolutionary time and time-images, considering the work of Spinoza, Marx, Negri, Deleuze, Castoriadis, and Pascucci</p>	<p>At the encounter with the works of Alessandro Sarti on differential heterogenesis, of Peter Trnka on Deleuze, Negri and time, of Howard Engelskirchen on time as intrinsic value and social substance, three notions will be discussed: a differential heterogenesis applied to Capital (Sarti), time as intrinsic value (Engelskirchen), as 'pure' time of labour (Trnka), the possibility of developing a coefficient of production of inequality (Pascucci). Contributions will be on: ""material dynamics from physics to Spinozian immanence"" (Sarti); the critique of Capital's '[meta]physics', the notion of 'plus of being' and the coefficient of production of inequality (Pascucci); the politics of desire as it relates to the work of the imagination in the construction of space-time, revolutionary time and time-images, considering the work of Spinoza, Marx, Negri, Deleuze, Castoriadis, and Pascucci (Trnka); value and the 'form' of labor (Engelskirchen). Open to other contributions, the round table will be on a ""common questioning of how capitalism is configured within this space of possibilities, opening to new ones"".</p>

Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00

Subjectivity and the Frankfurt School [B104]

Western Marxism

<p>Matteo Gargani [Online]: Lukács' Ethics: Between Responsibility and Ontology of Social Being</p>	<p>Despite rejecting the existence of an unbridgeable gap in Lukács' philosophical evolution, particularly between his pre-Marxist works and the post-1918 Marxist output, I advocate a comprehensive reassessment of Lukács' philosophy, aiming to identify a greater unity in his thought. A reflection on ethical issues, specifically on the matter of responsibility, emerges – and not by chance – at various pivotal moments in Lukács' personal life. On the Poverty of the Spirit (1913), Tactics and Ethics (1918) and The Social Responsibility of the Philosopher (c. 1960) are the three essays in which Lukács attempts in different ways to give philosophical legitimacy to some crucial biographical choices, such as his separation from Irma Seidler (1911), his joining the Communist Party (1918) and his acceptance of socialism, even after the dramatic events of Budapest in 1956. A more unified view of Lukács' thought could only be achieved through a deeper reflection on the content of the ethical problem of responsibility. Despite their differences, the essays mentioned above agree on the meaning of true responsibility, which Lukács always conceives in a direct connection between individual choice and the course of history. In the first part of this talk, I will demonstrate how the notion of responsibility plays a pivotal role in three turning points in Lukács' biography. In the second part, I will illustrate some central points of the different form that Lukács' ethical reflection takes on in the fragments <i>Versuche zu einer Ethik</i>, which can be considered a kind of preparatory laboratory for the Ontology of Social Being. In conclusion, I present a balance of the role of ethics in Lukács' thought.</p>
<p>Till Hahn: It is not thought but it has the form of thought: Real Abstraction and Capital as Automatic Subject</p>	<p>Real abstraction is one of the central categories of Marx's capital. Alfred Sohn-Rethel famously described it as "abstraction by other means than thought". Real abstraction is thus a category that rises out of the practice of exchange: To equate different items in the act of exchange, people need to abstract from their concrete properties. They do it unconsciously, as Marx has put it: "They don't know it, but they do it". In this sense, abstraction is one of the conditions of possibility of capitalist exploitation: through the gap between concrete labor as productive labor and abstract labor(-power) as commodity, the capitalist can extract surplus value. From this basic value-theory Sohn-Rethel takes the step</p>

	<p>into epistemology: His claim is, that in capitalist societies the forms of thought as abstract, transcendental etc., are determined by the economic structure that produces abstraction as such. He therefore characterizes real abstraction as follows: “It is not thought, but it has the form of thought.”</p> <p>I will argue in my paper, that Sohn-Rethel, by sticking to a strictly Kantian, i.e. transcendental understanding of subjectivity, did not reach the full scope of his critique. I will thus confront this notion of real abstraction with Marx’s own concept of capital as an “automatic subject”: In Capital Marx argues that, by being the basic unity of the infinite process of change that is the self-valorization of value (M-C-MI), capital becomes an “automatic subject”. That is a ghostly degree-zero of subjectivity, that becomes the center of the processes of appearance and formal change that make up the circulation of capital. Only by confronting Sohn-Rethel’s transcendental approach with this materialist notion, I will argue, can we reach the full understanding of capital as a realm exterior and independent of our own subjective processes of thought.</p>
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<p>Pedro Gava: More ‘Leninist’ than Lenin”: Bensaïd’s critique of Lukács</p>	<p>Daniel Bensaïd was a French Marxist militant and intellectual whose work was marked by an effort to critically and creatively renew Marxism to deal with the new challenges that emerged with the turn to the 21st century. The main objective of this paper is to analyze how Bensaïd received Georg Lukács’ elaborations in “History and Class Consciousness”. The emphasis will be particularly on the problem of class consciousness and the party. The work is divided into three main sections. Firstly, we analyze Bensaïd’s initial formulations in his master’s thesis, written in 1968 under the supervision of Henri Lefebvre, when the author was still very close to Lukacsian formulations. Then, we analyze the first formulations in which Bensaïd, already in the mid-1970s, revisits his own elaborations from a more critical angle. Finally, we analyze how he considers these issues after the 1990s, a turning point in his trajectory representing the most mature phase of his intellectual production. Our analysis identified a confrontation between two distinct conceptions of the party and class consciousness: on the one hand, a conception marked by a substitutionist tendency, according to which the party replaces the class as the revolutionary subject; on the other hand, a more nuanced conception, according to which the development of class consciousness is understood as a heterogeneous and uneven process, while at the same time the party plays the role of instrument for the political struggle of the working class in its process of self-organization and self-emancipation.</p>
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Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00
Fascism and Anti-Fascism on Screen [B202]
Marxism and Culture

<p>Anthony Burton: René Girard, neofascism, and the capitalist politics of envy</p>	<p>This paper explores the appropriation of critical theory in the overlapping intellectual spheres of the neofascist right and Silicon Valley. Through public statements and private funding, venture capitalist Peter Thiel has spearheaded a commercial and ideological renaissance of late French anthropologist René Girard’s thought, which has led to Girard being taken up in Silicon Valley libertarian circles more broadly. While Girard has traditionally been associated with continental leftist thought, this paper explores the uptake, resonance, and appeal of Girard’s theory to neofascist and libertarian cultures. Girard’s theory is an axiomatic theory of desire, which claims that desire is fundamentally mimetic and emergent from envy towards the Other. Through this ontology of envy, Girard claims that his theory explains all sociocultural and historical developments. I explore the history of Girard’s adoption and the ideological function Girard’s uptake serves in Silicon Valley capitalism’s focus on intelligence and computation, and its extension to (crypto)fascism. Girard’s theory explains desire in terms amenable to capitalism while enabling a colonization of conceptions of critical social theory by the right. This functions as part of a drive towards intellectual superiority through an aesthetic adoption of leftist critical theory, a sentiment common across libertarian and neoreactionary thinkers such as Palantir co-founder Alex Karp and essayist Curtis Yarvin. I argue that Girard’s theory appeals to Silicon Valley ideology because it provides a means by which computational modes of thought and logical schemata are applicable to human</p>
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	<p>culture. It mimics algorithmic and formalist notions of knowledge, providing an instrumental and totalizing form of social stripped of its emancipatory potential. This turns theory into an instrumental and explanatory mode of thought that justifies and fuels capitalist technocratic hegemony.</p>
<p>Bernardo Paci: The Colonial Roots of the “Great Replacement” Conspiracy Theory</p>	<p>The “Great Replacement” conspiracy theory has gained significant attention during the last decade. This is mainly due to references to it by political figures like Donald Trump, Marine Le Pen, and Matteo Salvini, and its prominence in the manifestoes of white supremacist terrorists like Anders Breivik and Brenton Tarrant. In the context of the global rise of numerous far-right governments, its discussion is ever more normalised in the public discourse, to the extent that its diffusion and political dangerousness can be hardly underestimated today. Notoriously, the theory posits a conspiracy to eliminate the “white race” and destroy “Western culture,” replacing it with African and/or Arab populations. This alleged secret plan would involve financial elites, Western governments, NGOs, and progressive social movements, often linked to anti-Semitic stereotypes of a “Judeo-plutocratic” conspiracy. Scholars usually trace the theory’s origins to the 1970s in US and French far-right circles, with deeper historical roots in Nazi Germany (Jackson 2015, Feshami 2017) and early 20th-century US authors like Madison Grant (1916) and Lothrop Stoddard (1920). A close connection seems to exist between this specific historicisation and localisation of the “great replacement” conspiracy theory and its theoretical and political understanding. In this framework, it is typically interpreted as a “melancholic fixation on [perceived] loss” (Feola 2021, p. 531) of white supremacy and national identity, and thus framed as a specifically postcolonial reaction to decolonisation and its consequences (Moses 2019, pp. 209-210). In contrast, this paper proposes to investigate the theory’s roots in the long history of colonial modernity, reading it as originating in the anxieties of white settlers and colonial authorities regarding slave uprisings, Indigenous struggles, and thus hypothesised that such a different reconstruction will enable different and more effective theoretical and political interpretations of the theory itself.</p>
<p>Odin O’Sullivan: Crisis-Masculinity, Cultural Remasculinisation and Fascist Subjectivity</p>	<p>The ‘crisis of masculinity’ is a central facet of contemporary political and cultural discussion. Since the late 19th century crises of masculinity “have all too often been taken as a sign of an overall crisis of society” (Martschukat 2021, 89) which require some form of remedy. I argue that the remedy to perceived emasculation prescribed by the forces of reaction is cultural remasculinisation. As such, I contend that remasculinisation is a central motivator for fascist tendencies in the contemporary period and argue that reactionary cultural production disseminates appealing notions of remasculinisation as a political force among young alienated men. I work here from the understanding that the contemporary ‘crisis of masculinity’ is in fact a useful cover for what Alberto Toscano calls “preventative counter-reform” (2023, 113). The deployment of reactionary cultural fantasies such as ‘cultural emasculation’ and ‘gender ideology’ allows the forces of reaction to construct a counter-reform to an illusory enemy. In attacking phantoms that it itself creates, the ‘crisis of masculinity’ can continue forever, selectively deployed to remasculinise an ‘insufficiently’ masculine culture at will. Much like neoliberalism as crisis-governance, masculinity in this period does not seek to surmount or exit a crisis brought on by external factors but is strengthened by crisis itself. Working in the manner of a ratchet, remasculinisation moves cyclically from crisis to crisis alongside neoliberal regimes of capital accumulation and dispossession. By this I mean that reactionary masculinity only allows movement in one direction. Regressions or “feminisations” are seen as failures but are in fact superficial excuses to continue winding the ratchet tighter. As such, this paper aims to provide a Marxist critique of the contemporary cycle of cultural remasculinisation with a focus on reactionary cultural production, reactionary influencers such as Joe Rogan and Andrew Tate, and the ‘manosphere’ as creator of fascist subjectivities.</p>
<p>Andrew Woods: What’s so Cultural about Cultural Marxism?</p>	<p>“Cultural Marxism” is commonly known as a right-wing conspiracy theory that accuses the German-Jewish thinkers of the Frankfurt School (and their devotees) of infiltrating universities to spread the ‘ideologies’ of feminism, multiculturalism and</p>

	<p>environmentalism. This idea has become a potent ideological tool for right-wing individuals and organizations around the world. It is deployed as a common 'culture war' buzzword to lament the decline of traditional cultural norms and the rise of 'political correctness' or 'wokeness.' In this paper, I aim to unearth the conceptions of 'culture' buried within right-wing narratives of "Cultural Marxism." Building on the work of Sven Lütticken and John E. Richardson, I argue that the purveyors of the Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory defend three distinct, albeit sometimes overlapping, visions of culture. First, they cling to a cultural essentialism that sees culture as the organic and relatively unchanging expression of a national people. Second, they adopt a superstructural determinism that conceives of 'institutions' as the primary cause of social or cultural change. Third, they advocate a social familialism that seeks to naturalise hierarchies and discredit political opposition. In the final part of this paper, I take inspiration from the Marxist thinker Raymond Williams to develop a radically open conception of culture as a popular and democratic endeavour.</p>
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Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00
Notes from Below: Worker Centre Issue 22 Launch [B203]
Workers Inquiry

<p>Editors of Notes from Below</p> <p>Mostafa Henaway: Workers' Inquiry, Migration, and Amazon Kevin Van Meter: How Can Workers' Inquiry Aid Organizing?</p>	
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Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00
Book Panel: Crude Capitalism: Oil, Corporate Power, and the Making of the World Market [B204]

<p>Presenter: Adam Hanieh</p> <p>Discussants: Gareth Dale, Hamza Hamouchene, and Mary Robertson</p>	<p>This panel is the UK launch of <i>Crude Capitalism: Oil, Corporate Power, and the Making of the World Market</i> (Verso Books 2024), a new book that explores the place of oil in the last hundred years of capitalist history. Beyond simplistic narratives that frame oil as 'prize' or 'curse', <i>Crude Capitalism</i> uncovers the surprising ways that oil is woven into the fabric of our modern world: the rise of an American-centered global order; the breakdown of Empire and anti-colonial rebellion; contemporary finance and US dollar hegemony; debt and militarism; and the emergence of new forms of synthetic consumption. The panel will involve contributions around the book from 3-4 discussants (I will confirm these in the next month).</p>
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Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00
Revisiting Marxian Economic Theories [B205]

<p>William Jefferies: The Diamond-Water paradox reassessed</p> <p>Andy Higginbottom: Bringing in Turnover and Capital</p>	<p>This presentation reassesses the Diamond Water paradox through the principle works of its chief protagonists; Jevons, Menger and Walras and their classical rivals; Smith, Ricardo and Marx. It finds Jevons' argument is illogical and unreal, inconsistent even on its own terms, conceding that labour both determined the cost of production and the final degree of utility. Menger's logical consistency is dependent on the notion that theorising economic activity was "mistaken", even while conceding that objective factors determined subjective ones, while Walras' is consistently unreal and illogical, redefining abundance as scarcity, to produce a model that was in all essentials shared by Sraffa, and which even Milton Friedman described as "metaphysical". It tests the respective theories, objective cost vs subjective esteem, as explanations of the fall in the price of pearls, now mass produced, and diamonds, becoming mass produced, and finds that reality vindicates the cost of production theory of classical political economy.</p> <p>This paper re-examines capital turnover in its conceptual connection between Volumes 2 and 3 of Capital.</p>
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<p>Advanced: the third limb of the 'transformation problem</p>	<p>In Volume 2 Marx explains how the overall turnover period of an individual capital is a combination of the periods of fixed and circulating capital. He critiques the account by classical political economy as both confused and obscuring the fundamental distinction between variable and constant capital.</p> <p>In Volume 3, although Marx identified turnover along with organic composition and the rate of surplus value as determining the conversion of surplus value to profit at the level of an individual capital, he left no more than a placeholder for turnover. Engels filled this in, but with some errors.</p> <p>The role of turnover carries over into the system dynamic of the transformation problem. The capital advanced in any given sector is more than differences in organic composition, it is further affected by the sector's typical turnover time (Marx compares locomotive manufacture to cotton spinning).</p> <p>Examination of the relations brings out two important results:</p> <p>a) that capital turnover period is the ratio between capital advanced and capital used up in the annual commodity product; and</p> <p>b) that, looking at the profit component, the ratio of mark-up to the general rate of profit corresponds with the ratio of capital used up to capital advanced, that is the inverse of the turnover period.</p> <p>Moreover, most treatments of the transformation problem reduce capital advanced to capital used up, an over-simplification that contributes to the hegemonic but erroneous view, from von Bortkiewicz on, that the transformation is from one form of exchange value to another, as inputs and outputs.</p> <p>Clarification of the distinction between mark-up and profit rate is significant for studies of monopoly.</p>
<p>Peter Green: A Qualified Defence of Moseley's 'Money and Totality</p>	
<p>Roser Espelt: The limits of redistribution in late capitalism: A conversation between Kaleckian post-Keynesianism and Marxism</p>	<p>The points in common between post-Keynesianism and Marxism are significant. Both schools integrate in their analysis the classist nature of society, as well as the conflictive nature of social relations, and start from the rejection of Say's Law. The intrinsic instability associated with the lack of effective demand and the impossibility of derived equilibrium draws for both schools a contradictory system in itself. Post-Keynesians argue that these contradictions can be corrected by policies that encourage investment and drive the economy towards full employment, specifically by correcting the unequal distribution of income, either by means of wage increases from a Kaleckian perspective or by means of subsequent redistribution driven by state action. On the other hand, the Marxist perspective indicates the opposite sense of causality, and suggests that investment is not conditioned by aggregate demand, but by the rate of income. However, these differences do not have a clear political derivation and there is a deadlock in the short term as to which scenario is the most desirable from the point of view of the advancement of the class struggle for the overcoming of capitalism. Thus, it is common for positions that start from the analysis of Marxist society and assume its structural and long-term dynamics to base their conjunctural and political concreteness in the short term on post-Keynesian approaches. The aim of the paper is to situate the limits of redistributive policies in capitalism at its current point of development, situating the perspectives associated with the current situation of the world economy, characterised by the stagnation of productivity and the growing devaluation of the labour force. It will be concluded that the limitations of redistributive policies are associated with their interaction with aggregate supply, highlighting the Marxist characterisation of capitalism and suggesting the need for supply-side intervention.</p>
<p>Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 Strategic Perspectives on Subaltern Unity [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]</p>	
<p>Josep Maria Antentas: Gramscian Perspectives: the</p>	

<p>long Spanish Regime crisis and the big/small politics of the subaltern</p>	
<p>Houria Bouteldja: For the unity of the white and non-white working classes, breaking the collaboration of race</p>	<p>At a time when liberal anti-racism is seriously threatening the gains of political anti-racism, we might well ask whether we are not witnessing a return of moral anti-racism donning new garb and masquerading as a new radicalism.</p> <p>Like moral anti-racism, the sole aim of ‘anti-privilege’ or ‘woke’ anti-racism is to convert each so-called ‘privileged’ person one by one. As in a kind of secular religion, ‘anti-privilege’ conversion primarily involves correcting practices and behaviour and codifying a language that can escape anti-racist criticism.</p> <p>So today we face a new challenge. With the liberal reclamation of the notion of white privilege, we need both to stand up to the conservative, fascist anti-Woke tide and to resist the misuse of political anti-racist analysis. In such a context, the autonomy or self-organisation of non-whites, for example, cannot be fetishised. The self-organisation of blacks, Arabs or Muslims can easily slide into community empowerment or an individualisation of survival or visibility strategies, which is a dead end.</p> <p>Against this trend, I believe it is urgent to wrest the anti-racist struggle from these liberal tendencies by putting the State back at the heart of our political analyses. This is what I propose to do with the idea of the ‘integral racial state’, which I borrow from David Theo Goldberg (The Racial State) and Gramsci (The Integral State). Analysing the bourgeois state's relationship with political society and civil society from a racial point of view is a way of preventing the depoliticisation of anti-racism and of identifying the breakdown of racial collaboration as a priority issue for the radical left.</p>
<p>Michael Bray: What to the Historical Materialist is Populism?</p>	<p>Populism has a bad reputation amongst Marxists, for good reason. Between ascendant far-right nationalisms and collapsing left-populist strategies, the idea of any politics of “the people” can appear intrinsically linked to passive revolution. This paper, without questioning the realities of such links, articulates three elements of a distinct theory of “populist politics,” not as a positive program but as the predominant modality of political “common sense” today, raising questions of their potential coherence: 1) an argument that “populism,” as it appears in most academic accounts is not an intrinsic form of democratic politics, but a historical production consolidated within imperial-nations in the late nineteenth century, articulating a “global color line” and absorbing pressures for universal suffrage at home. Metropolises and settler colonies (in contradictory relations, wherein the latter took leading roles) consolidated visions of unified, homogeneous “white nationhoods” which have calcified today into national “lineages” to be defended against internal colonies. Left-populist theory abstractly ontologizes this historical formation; 2) a defense of a broader notion of “populist politics,” not defined intrinsically by a political-discursive form but through struggles for subaltern empowerment in transformed collective practices and institutions, articulated in the diffuse, differential terms of a “people” (and so in relation to some nation-state, existing or anticipated). Such politics predominates in conjunctures where experiences of class are primarily mediated through social reproduction struggles, debt- and price-relations, racialized/gendered management of surplus populations, i.e., through political-economic processes wherein states play a directly visible role; 3) a recovery of traditions of populist politics that, addressing nation-states, have also exceeded them (as nation-states are nodes in global networks). Historical opposition to white sovereignty– from SCLC to the Black Panthers, from anti-colonial revolutions to #BlackLivesMatter – are one such transition and raise anew the questions of a transition from “national consciousness” to social and political consciousness.</p>
<p>Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 Socialist Register 2025: Openings and Closures: Socialist Strategy at a Crossroads (I) [G3]</p>	

<p>Greg Albo, Stephen Maher, Ayyaz Mallick, Feyzi Ismail Thomas Marois</p>	<p>The “pink tide” of Latin America, which saw leftist governments come to power in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia, was also a significant inspiration. But the more immediate context was framed by the earlier formation of ‘new left’ party formations across the core capitalist countries: Syriza in Greece, Bloco in Portugal, and Podemos in Spain. Syriza, in particular, had in 2015 become the only socialist party to come to power anywhere in the capitalist core since the 2008 crisis, with the support of robust social movements and a dynamic approach to state power that sought to break with both the Communist and social democratic strategies, while also offering an alternative to the insurrectionism of smaller Leninist groups. And then, just as quickly, these hopes were dashed. The opening, it seemed, was illusory. The confidence of the resurgent democratic socialist left seemed to evaporate as quickly as it had appeared, as the defeat of Sanders, and then Corbyn, saw the consolidation of the stranglehold of centrist coalitions over these parties under Keir Starmer and Joe Biden. All of this indicated that the terrain had shifted once again, and this is what we seek to investigate, as socialist researchers, and need to find ways ahead as socialist activists.</p>
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Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00
Language: Marxism and Fascism [G51]
Marxism and Culture

<p>Nathaniel Barron: Ernst Bloch and the Fascist and Anti-Fascist Production of Utterances</p>	<p>When it has moved from the margins to the centre of analysis, language has proved a fruitful, though controversial, topic of concern for historical materialism. Besides Stalin’s infamous intervention into the “language question”, Voloshinov’s, Gramsci’s, Duc Thao’s, and Rossi-Landi’s contributions (among others) have all enriched Marxist analysis more broadly. More recently, Jean-Jacques Lecercle’s A Marxist Philosophy of Language, and his just published book on Lenin and the Weapon of Language (currently unpublished in English), demonstrate that the question of language should not stand too distant from Marxian priorities within our present conjuncture. The human, as Rossi-Landi noted, is that unique animal that both labours and speaks. While engaging with the general idea of a Marxist philosophy of language, then, this panel will delve into the fascistic tendencies of linguistic production today, given the rise globally of the far-right today. It will ask how a Marxist philosophy of language, in all of its variations, can continue to theorise and help practically overcome “fascistic utterances”. The panel will discuss how the history of Marxist engagement with the language question primes us to counter fascism on the plane of language, and how this “linguistic struggle” is itself not marginal to an anti-fascist politics.</p>
<p>Johan Siebers: Towards a historical-materialist rhetoric as emancipatory praxis</p>	
<p>Sinead Kwok: Re-individualizing Communication: Marxist Metalanguage</p>	

<p>Stefanie Prezioso: Fascisation : a misleading concept?</p>	<p>Whether considered a totem or a commonplace epithet, the “generic” use of the term fascism often poses problems and raises many questions. For some, the term remains relevant because it refers to a new political phenomenon: the fusion of mass society and nationalist authoritarianism. Others question its very existence, as Georgi Dimitrov did when he defined fascism as “the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist, and imperialist elements of finance capital.” In the post-World War II era, fascism has been seen as pure negativity, a simple amalgam, or an “irrational parenthesis” in the course of civilization.</p> <p>Many questions remain unanswered, including the origins of fascism, what made it possible, and what facilitated its rise. These questions are once again in the spotlight, most often addressed today by the term “fascisation.” However, the use of this term is problematic because it tends to erase the qualitative break between authoritarian and fascist regimes. Unlike any authoritarian regime, fascism achieved the total and permanent destruction of workers’ organizations in bourgeois society. Moreover, the idea of a “gradual fascisation of society” was an obstacle to fighting the specific danger of fascism as an autonomous mass movement in Italy and Germany. This has affected both potential allies in the struggle and the repertoires of action to be employed. In short, while fascisation is an attractive concept because it tends to show the rise of fascism as a process, it is problematic in terms of what it implies for the definition of fascism and thus the struggle against it.</p>
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In this paper, I propose to return to the analyses and debates about fascism conducted by Marxists in the 1920s and 1930s in order to grasp the scope and limits of a concept that has become convenient but, in many ways, misleading.

Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00

Transitions to Capitalism: History and Debates [G51a]

Armando Van Rankin Anaya:
 Navigating 18th-Century
 European Imperial Rivalry:
 Merchants, Peasants, and
 ‘Silver Capitalism’ in Late
 Colonial Bourbon New Spain

This paper delves into the dynamic relationship between Bourbon New Spain and the divergent trajectories of the Spanish (mercantilist) and British (capitalist) empires. It examines the escalating imperial rivalry, evident in key geopolitical events of the 18th century such as the Spanish Succession War (1701-1714), Utrecht treaties (1714-1715) and the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), which influenced differing foreign policy strategies towards the colonial world. Informed by the agentic-approach that underlines the tradition of Geopolitical Marxism, the chapter captures how domestic actors in New Spain responded in creative and unexpected ways within the underpinning colonial hierarchy and compulsion. The chapter highlights the strategic manoeuvring of the affluent merchant class in navigating the influx of British goods into closed markets and their adept negotiation of political solidarity with the Crown to instrumentalise a financial network for wider imperial sustenance. Moreover, it explores the disruptions to land ownership patterns and colonial subjectivities (peasants) under a renewed colonial fiscal regime. The type of polity crafted under the so-called Bourbon reforms has sparked intense interdisciplinary debates, pointing to a ‘state’ transitioning to capitalism; either through a ‘passive revolution’ of capital or a revolution from ‘above’. However, the core argument revolves around the renegotiation of an overarching pre-capitalist mercantilist polity by various domestic actors, wherein elites secured ‘extra-economic’ privileges through political-administrative mechanisms, while agrarian factions forged autonomous territorial identities. These internal struggles, amid European turbulence triggered by Napoleon’s invasion of Spain in 1808, culminated in 11 years of civil war, ultimately leading to Mexico’s independence in 1821.

Marius Bickhardt: Marxism
 and Population: The
 Malthusian Factor in the
 Transition to Capitalism

Wally Seccombe is a largely forgotten but remarkable scholar who intervened in the Brenner Debate of the 1970s concerning the causes of the transition from the feudal-seignorial mode of production to capitalism. Robert Brenner’s seminal article formulated a double-sided critique of, on the one hand, neo-Malthusian historians whose explanation of the transition emphasizes natural factors such as diminishing returns in agriculture as well as population pressures on the one hand and, on the other, neo-Smithian theories who explain the rise of capitalism as a generalization of commercial capital since the early modern times. Brenner wanted to emphasize the centrality of property relations and class struggle in any explanation of the transition to capitalism. By critically relying on neo-Malthusian scholars and family historians, Seccombe wants to correct Brenner’s over-emphasized dismissing of any “Malthusian” explanatory factor. Therefore, Seccombe shows how the onset of demographic growth in Western Europe since 1750 was an important contribution to the strong labor demand in the period of mostly extensive accumulation and agrarian capitalism relying centrally on animal and human muscle power. The demographic patterns of early capitalism were thus linked to new forms of labor and proletarian families in the context of domestic cotton production. After revisiting Sercombe’s most important conclusions, I want to complete his analysis of the capitalist transition by comparing it to Federici’s analysis of the centrality of the gendered division of labor and reproductive work in early capitalism. As L. Fortunati, S. Federici and C. Meillassoux emphasize, Marx did not properly theorize the conclusions of this own critique of Malthus according to which there is no natural law of population but only historically specific “laws of population”. These controversies lay the ground for a demo-ecological revision of Marxist theory whose very necessary and legit ideology critique of Malthus often oversees the critical potential of an alternative Marxist population theory. In order to theoretically tackle the contemporary, planetary fertility decline as well as the renewal of eco-Malthusian discourses of the far

	<p>right , my paper will outline the most important features of a critical theory of population: co-dependance of modes of production and modes of population; theory of the state and family law; gender relations and social-metabolic mediations with nature. Against eco-Malthusians, this theory emphasizes the way fossil capital historically and presently relies on human muscle power which, therefore, is irreducible to the status of a mere relic of the “organic economy” (A. Wrigley).</p>
<p>Lauri von Pfaler: Hanseatic Merchant Capitalism? The Origin of Baltic Trading Towns and Medieval North-European Trade</p>	<p>This article studies the formation, composition and concrete strategies of the Hanse, a medieval north German trading confederation, between the 13th and 16th centuries from a Political Marxist perspective. I start by critically outlining competing accounts on the role of trade in middle ages. Paul Sweezy, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Jairus Banaji see a close relationship between the growth of trade and merchant activities, and the development of capitalism. I then situate my theoretically controlled historical reconstruction of the Hanse against these accounts. I start by showing how the continental ‘feudal revolution’, from the 11th century onward, created the basis for the emergence of the trading confederation, both by powering north European trade and by causing the feudalisation of the Baltic, most notably through the German conquest of the east. The geopolitical confusion of the German Empire, triggered by feudal territoriality and geopolitical campaigns along the southern Baltic shores, provided the political interstices in which urban autonomy could flourish, resulting in the Baltic towns becoming feudal powerholders. The article next considers the strategies and practices of the towns in their successful effort to monopolise Baltic trade, whereby I argue that these are examples of pre-capitalist commerce resulting from the social relations of the towns and their hinterlands. The last section of the article reflects on the Hanse’s demise and its relationship to the growth of East-European ‘second serfdom’. While the towns were never external to feudalism, neither was this new configuration a capitalist take-over of the region. I also criticise Perry Anderson’s explanation of the rise of ‘second serfdom’ in this regard.</p>
<p>Jonathan Hall: The Unfinished History of the Indebted Nation-State</p>	<p>The unfinished history of the indebted nation-state</p> <p>This paper opens with the specific circumstances in early medieval Western Europe which enabled the Nation-State to begin to emerge out of the conflicts over land, and the consequent “parcellisation of sovereignty” (Perry Anderson). In order to overcome that parcellisation, while escaping the need to share their land rights with their “peers” (i.e. potential rivals), the emergent Kings were compelled to borrow from the long-distance traders of the time. Hence the constitutive indebtedness of the unified nation-state, which has persisted throughout its subsequent mutations. Even before capitalism became possible, the centralising European states, located on the margins of global trade, were deeply indebted. The rulers’ debts to their extraterritorial creditors were settled out of the wealth (the surplus value) extracted from the labour of the peasants and artisans on their land.</p> <p>Abram Leon pointed out in his Jewish Question (1942) that the creditors to the dominant landowners were at first the politically subordinate Jewish traders, who were legally the “slaves” of the emergent monarchs. These political subordinates often operated as tax collectors for the monarchs, attracting much of the hatred of the exploited peasants and artisans. But as overseas mercantile trade expanded, the former creditors were replaced by the much larger “Christian” bankers.</p> <p>The long-standing indebtedness of the unified nation-state is now imposed by the hegemonic international credit agencies (the World Bank, the IMF etc). A historical materialist account of the global order has to go beyond the retrospective perspectives of the “transition debate” (over the transition from feudalism to capitalism). The current need is to show that a “transitional demand” for the abolition of the interest-bearing loans, imposed on the global majority, has become a possible and necessary step towards the revolutionary transition beyond the indebted nation-states system.</p>
<p>Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 What is to be done? Contribution for the socio-ecological transformation [R201]</p>	

In a world on fire, there are no pre-constituted recipes for getting out of the catastrophe. Only the practical action of the people can show the difficult path to avoid the collapse of civilisation under the double threat of ecological crisis and total war. But there is no praxis for social transformation that is not underpinned by theory. In this panel, we propose to maintain the theoretical complexity of the interaction between society and nature, not viewing them as separate substances but as emergent properties of matter, to inquire the present. Indeed, human beings make their own history, but under certain socio-ecological conditions, which is why social drivers and constraints will be analysed in a de-essentialised form through the method of historical materialism.

Two papers will focus on the theoretical perspectives of the metabolic rift, a method of analysis that informs the contributions of all this panel, extending its scope both in its point of origin, the Lefebvre thought, and in its objects, the temporality of society and nature.

Other two papers will analyse socio-ecological transformations as a process, both by defining the different historical phases that characterise the current mode of production in anthropogenic ecological degradation, and as a dialectical movement of self-negation and the emergence of the subject of the possible transformation.

Finally, the other contributions will concretise the debate by territorialising it in the African context, through the case study of Senegal's agricultural policies, and in the Asian one, with the discussion of the policies of global ecological security and the interpretation of nature in the New Era in China.

Jacopo Nicola Bergamo: The Necessity of System Change: Historical Materialism and the System Transformation

The ecological crisis must be explained from its systemic cause, namely the capitalist mode of production, which through unlimited accumulation gives rise to the so-called metabolic rift (Foster, 2000). The first part of the analysis describes the capitalist system as a socio-ecological totality that can be understood both as an autonomous movement of value (M-C-M') and as a complex system through (Ceddia & Bergamo, 2024). This allows a systematic analysis and highlights how the transformation phenomenon occurs. The second part, on the other hand, shows how the system itself generates the elements that lead it to its own potential radical transformation. Historical materialism provides a coherent method for this analysis, but it is necessary to methodologically clarify the extended conception of the productive forces. Through ecological Marxism, it is possible to show that the concept of productive forces is not limited to technology but also involves social and ecological factors. The metabolic rift theory is in fact a materialistic and dialectical conception that embeds the development of human history in natural history. Finally, the question of the formation of the potential revolutionary subject of the environmental proletariat, already advanced by John Bellamy Foster (2022), is raised, but from the perspective of an integration within Gramscian theory of hegemony and subaltern groups.

Enrico Adalberto Ghisoni: From steam power to global value chains: an eco-marxist approach to imperialism

The paper aims to highlight how imperialism is exhausting the regenerative capacities of the planet, leading to an irreversible exploitation of resources due to its intrinsic mechanisms of accumulation. The characteristics summarized by Lenin (1916) are still valid, supplemented with the tripartition proposed by Pala et al. (1999). Each phase has led to today's conformation of the global value chains and the related "drain of wealth" (Suwandi, 2019); imperialist countries grow at the expense of large global areas, obliged to pay an "ecological debt". We are equipped with the five waves of capitalism development borrowed from Nikolai Kondratieff and the respective scheme proposed by Malm (2018). The national imperialist phase incorporates the first three waves of capitalist development and leads to the inter-imperialist wars of the first half of the 20th century. The multi-national phase beginning after WWII is characterized by the supremacy of multinational corporations; the fourth wave develops at this juncture, accelerating the degradation of the ecological balance. The fifth wave unfolds during the evolution into the trans-national phase of imperialism, marked by the development of the financial superstructure and the global fragmentation of production; GVCs extend and become linked to fewer and fewer large corporations, reflecting the subordination of the periphery to the centre, also in ecological terms.

M.G. Ceddia: The political economy of agroecological transitions: a social multi-

Senegal, a Western African country in the Sahel region, faces important challenges in terms of feeding all its inhabitants, within a context of worsening climate. The development of agriculture is crucial in this respect but it is strongly conditioned by the configuration of

<p>criteria evaluation of agricultural policies in Senegal</p>	<p>Senegalese food systems. However, as noted by Samir Amin long ago, unless agricultural development is able to retain peasants, a vast proportion of the population must face dire perspectives (Amin 2022). Agroecology could provide an opportunity to promote agricultural development while preserving peasants (van der Ploeg 2021). Yet this would require transforming the Senegalese food systems away from their current configuration. In this article, we analyse the most important national agricultural policies since 2014, to determine to which extent they are transformative in an agroecological direction. Theoretically, our work is grounded in the concept of mode of production. Empirically, we rely on social multi-criteria evaluation. Our results suggest that, the policies analysed are not transformative in an agroecological sense. They remain prevalently focused on promoting intensification in a few cash crops (rice, groundnut, vegetables) particularly via strengthening private entrepreneurship and collaboration with agri-businesses and multinational operators. Nevertheless, we do register an improved sensibility over time in the material/concrete dimension with respect to the management of soil fertility, the use of bio-pesticides, and the gender issues. The social-relational aspects, however, are not adequately dealt with. Most importantly, the issue of fair access to land, remain poorly addressed.</p>
<p>Josef Gregory Mahoney: Theorising the Ecological Aspects of the War in Ukraine with Chinese Marxism</p>	<p>Given fieldwork completed in Ukraine in 2023, this paper uses ecological perspectives and other critical insights found in contemporary Chinese Marxism to analyze the conflict there. I begin with an exposition of a basic assertion shared by nearly everyone I interviewed in Ukraine, that this conflict is substantially a proxy war between the US and Russia—two fossil fuel-dependent economies fighting over energy markets and control of the global financial system, including the primacy of the US dollar and its role in energy transactions. I then return to Mao Zedong’s “three world theory” in tandem with Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of “complicit adversaries” to consider whether the US and Russia are reasserting a new Cold War paradigm, one in which being large food and energy independent nations of the Global North provides them with relative but powerful strategic advantages over countries in the Global South—nations which are more vulnerable to climate change, China above all others. In short, I consider whether Russia and the US effectively weaponizing climate change to achieve their respective strategic goals, and if so, what are the implications for Beijing and the continued development and rise of the Global South? These issues and related topics will be addressed in turn.</p>
<p>Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 Fanonian Perspectives on Alternatives to Capitalism [RB01] <i>Post-Capitalism</i></p>	
<p>Discussions of postcapitalism tend to rarely address issues of race and racism and possibility of their supersession. In contrast, this panel will centre intellectual debates from the global south by critically exploring whether Fanon’s work and Fanonian perspectives related to it can enrich ongoing discussions of alternatives to capitalism. The panelists will discuss such issues as Fanon’s perspective of a transition to socialism for the newly independent African states that can bypass the phase of bourgeoisie nationalism, his reflections on communal forms in Algeria (among the Kablye) and how they compare to Marx’s late writings on precapitalist indigenous formations, the largely unheralded role of such important women interlocutors with Fanon such as Suzanne Césaire, and the role of disalienated consciousness in promoting alternatives to both colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation.</p>	
<p>Deanne Bell: Post-Capitalism, Post-Race: A Black-Archipelago Anticolonial View of a Human World</p>	<p>Black-Archipelago is a vision of a post-capitalist, post-race world that leads us towards a new, human world by returning to the geography where the West launched its project of racial and racist modern life. This talk recuperates insights from Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Suzanne Césaire and others to grapple with the under-interrogated role of disalienated consciousness in the struggle for political, economic, and human liberation from capitalism.</p>
<p>Nigel Carter: Stretching Marxism’ for a ‘Politics without Guarantees</p>	<p>In the final year of the UN International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024) this talk reclaims the foregrounding of questions of race, racism and culture in the envisioning of decolonizing societies structured in racial dominance. With a focus on</p>

	critical dialogues presented by Frantz Fanon and Stuart Hall, the paper explores the relevance and implications of their thinking for current debates on 'Decolonial Thought,' 'Decolonial Marxism' and 21st Century Pan-Africanism.
Peter Hudis: Fanon's Conception of the Transition from National to Social Revolution: Communal Forms, Decentralization, and the Role of the Party	While Fanon's critique of the pitfalls of national consciousness is well known, less discussed is how he envisioned the transition from national to social revolution. This talk will explore his reflection on rural communal forms in rural Algeria and how they might relate to Marx's late writings on indigenous formations, Fanon's advocacy on decentralized economic and political structures that are directly governed by the masses, and his critique of the single party state in terms of how they relate to ongoing debates over postcapitalism.
Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00 Reification and Alienation [RG01]	
Johan Alfonsson: Abstract and Concrete Alienation – A Sketch to Bridge the Conflict Between Marxist and Empirical Alienation Perspectives	<p>There is a long-standing conflict between empirical and Marxist understandings of alienation. Empirical perspectives view alienation as an individual's psychological experience. In contrast, Marxist scholars, like Bertell Ollman, argue that alienation cannot be quantified empirically, as it is rooted in economic structures, not individual psychology. They contend that reducing alienation to personal experiences distorts its meaning and strips it of its anti-capitalist core.</p> <p>Both perspectives encounter problems due to a strict separation of social structure and individual experience, resulting in an ontological dualism. Attempts to resolve this through ontological monism have also faced issues.</p> <p>This paper argues that alienation can be understood as both a structural and individual experience. To avoid ontological dualism or monism, a solution is sought in Roy Bhaskar's theory of ontological stratification and Marx's concept of abstraction. Bhaskar suggests the world comprises different ontological domains, each with its causal powers and relative autonomy. Thus, the psychological and social domains are distinct yet interdependent. Alienation is in the paper similarly divided into an abstract and concrete version. Abstract alienation, understood as a contradiction within the mode of production—where production conflicts with the premise of self-determination inherent in capitalism—is always present in capitalism. Abstract alienation is expressed in the subordination of life and production to the logic of value.</p> <p>Concrete alienation is understood as the lived experience of value domination, which can differ depending on one's position in the mode of production. The capitalist's control over value production and the workers' subsumption to it create varying possibilities for self-determination, and thus for concrete alienation.</p> <p>By dividing alienation into abstract and concrete levels, ontological dualism and monism can be avoided, capturing alienation's constant presence in capitalism and its empirical variations.</p>
Christoph Henning: Bringing back alienation critique: A reassessment of a central Western Marxist topos	<p>The theory of alienation was one of the most successful themes of Western Marxism. It appealed to critical theorists well into the bourgeois camp, including humanists as well as committed Christians and intellectually open conservatives (one of the rare moments where a hegemony of so called 'cultural Marxism' was actually achieved). Variations on this theme can still be found in pop culture to this day. In philosophy, however, there has been a break since the 1980s due to the long decades of postmodern anti-naturalism: the feeling was that alienation theory could no longer be used because it seemed to be based on a static view of humanity that was susceptible to domination. Freedom of individuals, many feared, would not be expanded, but rather restricted by referring to critical notions of human alienation – many seemed quite happy to go 'beyond humanity' with Nietzsche and Foucault. In my paper, which relies on my new book on Alienation (to appear with Routledge in 2024), I defend the Marxist criticism of alienation against these attacks by a historical reconstruction. I argue that there is not one, but there are three main lines of criticism of alienation: a conservative one that melancholically longs for an imagined 'origin' (today represented by Hartmut Rosa); a liberal one primarily concerned with individual</p>

	<p>autonomy and control (today represented by Rahel Jaeggi); and a perfectionist one that is primarily concerned with the “free development of all”. Most criticisms of the theory of alienation primarily affect liberal and conservative variants and miss the Marxist idea. To the contrary, criticism of alienation in this understanding (alienation from nature, from politics and from the human condition) was rarely as relevant as it is today, as I show using film excerpts.</p>
<p>Daniel Gonzalez: The Empathy Economy as ‘Reification of the Relations of Production’</p>	<p>In the opening pages of Capital, Marx describes the value form in which individuals must conform to a socially determined value. Alberto Toscano, Brenna Bhandar and others have considered how value form theory informs the reification of race as a ‘real abstraction.’ Yet while social relations between things can constitute social categories like race as apparently unmediated, a parallel development remains under elaborated. Parallel to the rise of neoliberal anti-racism has been the rise of empathy in contemporary valorization of capital. From the explosion of empathy products like fair trade coffee and self help/wellness commodities, to socially conscious marketing that stresses empathizing with consumers in order to meet their needs, to PMC strategies for increasing relative surplus value, to new forms of social media valorization of capital -- empathy has become a central component reifying Marx’s “Trinity Formula.” As a commodity, empathy is unusual in that its essential form of appearance is connected to meaningful personhood and whose value appears to be constituted in itself, not in exchange. If as Marx argues in volume three of Capital, people are not the subject of the social processes of valorization and the real subjects are wage labor, landed property and capital, then modern empathy capitalism organizes itself around mystification of the “factors of production” in order to make them seem inconsequential to the social processes of people. By describing new forms within the empathy economy, this paper aims to penetrate the structure of fetishism that surrounds “Monsieur Le Capital and Madame La Terre.”</p>

Saturday, 16:15 – 18:00

Remembering and Honouring Fredric Jameson [Khalili Lecture Theatre]

Roundtable discussion with Gail Day, Bruna Della Torre, Clint Burnham, Beverley Best and Ericka Beckman

Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00

Book Roundtable: *Engaging Erik Olin Wright: Between Class Analysis and Real Utopias* [B102]

Speakers: Michael Burawoy and Gay Seidman

Respondents: Barnaby Raine, Sylvia Walby and Mike Savage

When the renowned social scientist Erik Olin Wright passed away in 2019, he left behind an inspirational project in process—the articulation of class and utopia. Wright’s sociological Marxism embarked from an original class analysis, with its trademark contradictory class locations, that empirically mapped class structures across the globe. In response to the collapse of communism and the rise of neoliberalism, Wright turned to the premise of class analysis and the possibility of socialism. Forsaking Marxism’s reluctance to engage in utopian thinking, Wright searched the planet for institutions that might sow the seeds of socialism—such as cooperatives, participatory budgeting, and basic income grants. Applying Wright’s core ideas to empirical material from around the world, the authors of *Engaging Erik Olin Wright* (edited by Michael Burawoy and Gay Seidman, Verso 2024) wrestle with the relationship between his two expanding research programs: class analysis and real utopias. The proposed panel will discuss the limits, possibilities and relations between Wright’s two projects with specific reference to the new book, *Engaging Erik Olin Wright*.

Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00

Eco-Leninism Confronts Climate Catastrophe: A Strategy to Defeat Fossil Capital [B103]

In 2020, as an ecological Leninist Andreas Malm saw an opening for a global Green New Deal, requiring what he called a massive defeat of the far right and “the actual destruction of fossil capital itself”, as well as “public investment and increased state control over large swaths of the economy” (1). Since then, the far right with its climate denialist/delayist agenda has grown even stronger in many countries utilizing the impacts of the neoliberal green agenda. We now face the possibility of

the victory of the climate denialist neofascist Trump/Republican Party in the U.S. elections this November. Strategic thinking is needed more than ever. There are two global extractivist challenges, the climate killing consumption of fossil fuel driven by fossil capital and especially in the global South the extraction of metals needed for renewable energy technologies driven by green capital. But fossil capital must be defeated in the next two decades to avoid breaching climate tipping points to much worse climate catastrophes than now witnessed (2).

Our panel will confront the following questions:

Is Green capital both a problematic ally and an opponent in the struggle for a just transition?

What is the composition of green capital, its overlap with fossil capital, its most critical potential sectors as an ally to defeat fossil capital?

Is China, with the world's largest green capital actually implementing renewable energy technologies a potential ally ?

Is Lenin still relevant as a political guide in framing an effective strategy?

Feyzi Ismail: The State and Revolution: Lenin, Climate Catastrophe and the Working Class

Strategies to defeat fossil capital are long overdue, and there is much to draw on from Lenin and the experience of the Russian Revolution. One of the fundamentals of Leninism is that working people possess a unique capacity not just to transform society but to run it in the interests of the whole of humanity. This potential is not abstract – Lukács called it the actuality of revolution: every crisis has within it the potential for the unfolding of this working-class capacity to overturn existing social relations. The lesson of Leninism was not only revolutionary leadership and the building of the soviets, but timing: Lenin rejected premature calls for a revolution in July 1917 but pushed for the storming of the Winter Palace in October, when the soviets were capable of taking over the state. While it is true that ‘the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes’, Lenin drew out the logic of that historical experience. Today, movements as a whole must pressure the capitalist state for reforms using revolutionary methods – primarily mass, collective action from below – while at the same time building the power of working people to fundamentally dismantle and rebuild the state. None of this implies waiting for a revolution; it means preparing in the here and now – being ready for Leaps! Leaps! Leaps! – in order to finally remake the relationship between humans and nature.

Robert Biel: The quest for sustainable urban food systems as a case study for eco-Leninist strategy

Marx' theory of alienation was centrally focused on the contradiction between town and country, and physically on the metabolic rift whereby capitalism destroys traditional city-region food systems. One aspect of eco-Leninism is the way Lenin (for example in his support of the work of N.I. Vavilov) sought a return to Marx' emphasis on the 'labours of nature' (Naturproduktivkraft) in agriculture, a concept which anticipates agroecology; and in terms of practical urbanism, Lenin showed strong interest in the Garden City movement. The second aspect we highlight is eco-Leninist politics: how essential it is to seek allies. Today, capitalism is primarily reactionary, still dominated by militarism and fossil fuel interests, and made worse by Right-wing populism, typically linked to denial of the climate/biodiversity crisis. In relation to our case, what is the main progressive current? It is (by analogy with Lenin's argument in his day about the Peoples of the East) Indigenous perspectives, the food sovereignty movement, struggles for land rights, the legacy of Thomas Sankara. What are the potential allies? For example, mainstream journals like The Lancet and Nature now upheld notions of 'planetary health' and Indigenous approaches as the basis for our future food system; and there are significant social movements around Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). And what are the 'interstitial' (using Eric Ohlin Wright's phrase) spaces within current capitalist agendas which could provide openings? There are elements which seek to use green tech to re-launch economic dynamism. An example relevant to our topic is circular urban systems. There is also much activity around monitoring emissions and biodiversity indicators from farming technique: we will present a couple of case studies. Although much of this agenda originates from corporate greenwashing and net-zero scams, it's worth debating whether we could pull it in a progressive direction, generating finance to kick-start genuinely innovative experiments. Finally, back to the practical politics (Lenin via Gramsci), a key issue is the real alienation and marginalisation suffered by rural and small-town dwellers, which is currently

	<p>exploited by Right wing populism. We can potentially change the political landscape by developing a radical re-definition of sustainable rural livelihoods linked with agroecology and city-region CSA ... thus bringing together the two aspects of eco-Leninism!</p>
<p>David Schwartzman: An Eco-Leninist Strategy to Defeat Fossil Capital</p>	<p>As Malm advocated in 2020, how can we “weave together environmental justice, working-class struggle, and opposition to the far right”, building a transnational countervailing force to defeat fossil capital and move forward with an ecosocialist agenda?</p> <p>My eco-Leninist intervention will focus on using the opportunity posed by the divisions among capital to defeat its fossil component. Lenin is still relevant as a political guide in framing an effective strategy. In particular, his argument that “The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skillful and obligatory use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies, any conflict of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism in general.” (p.23, Lenin 1999, 1920) ?</p> <p>The critical political tipping point we must fight to reach before climate tipping points kick in can only come with creating a global movement uniting the broadest coalition possible to defeat fossil capital and its political instruments, one led by the working class and its allies, notably indigenous communities around the world, a coalition which includes sections of capital, so-called green capital, while vigorously confronting the latter’s agenda of extractivism.</p>
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 Adorno, Social Facts, and Ideology [B104] <i>Western Marxism</i></p>	
<p>Nicolas Gauvin: Aesthetic experience and negative dialectic in Adorno's thought: elements of an emancipatory utopia</p>	<p>Often viewed as a pessimist confined to the sphere of high theory, Theodor Adorno although never ceased to be concerned with the fate of praxis in his philosophy. Auschwitz obliges us to rethink praxis, in order to prevent the horrors of totalitarianism from happening again (Adorno, 1968). Praxis will thus always be “negative”; it results from the suffering we feel in lives that are “mutilated” by the domination of the commodity form (Adorno, 1951). It can overcome suffering through aesthetic experience. We shall see that this emphasis on the singularity of aesthetic experience is rooted in the negative dialectic that was the great philosophical project of Adorno (Adorno, 1968). Contrary to its Hegelian counterpart, the negative dialectic does not lead to a moment of reconciliation; the singular constantly eludes its subsumption. It is this non-assimilable singular that we see expressed in art. Considered in this way, art brings into play the irreducible ambient social tensions that thwart any attempt at authoritarian homogenization, and at the same time conjures up the image of another negative utopia: that of finally being socially liberated from need and pain (Adorno, 2011).</p>
<p>Juho Rekola: Socio-historical transformation of ideology in light of Adorno’s posthumously released literature (ideologies)</p>	<p>My presentation examines Theodor W. Adorno's understanding of the socio-historical changes of ideology considering new posthumously published literature from the collections called ""Nachgelassene Schriften"" and ""Frankfurter Seminare"". I will focus on the lecture series “Philosophie und Soziologie” and two seminars held by Adorno, titled “Begriff der Ideologie” and “Zeitgenössische Ideologien”. In my presentation, I will read these texts vis-à-vis Adorno’s other writings to shed new light on Adorno’s approach to ideology-theory.</p> <p>In “Philosophie und Soziologie” Adorno develops his ideas concerning the transformations of ideologies and their alternating functions in different social contexts in a critical dialogue with other ideology-theories by for example Marx, Vilfred Pareto and Max Scheler. In these</p>

	<p>lectures Adorno introduces his preliminary “typology of ideologies” which can help to arrange different ideologies analysed by him for example liberalism, fundamental ontology, and national socialism. He also expounds his understanding of the material transformation of ideology which can be interpreted through concepts like fetishism and reification. The above-mentioned seminars present seminar-proceedings on the discussions between Adorno and his students on the history of ideology and different conceptions of ideologies especially by Marx and Engels.</p> <p>Adorno’s posthumous literature is significant to study for several reasons. First, research on Adorno’s conception of ideology has not thoroughly examined this literature. Second, these posthumous works both reveal a stylistically different Adorno and allow us to trace how Adorno developed the ideas presented in his written works in his teaching. Third, these texts consider ideas or concepts which Adorno does not address consistently in his published works. For example, the “Philosophie und Soziologie” series contains more text on the concept of ideology than any other publication by Adorno. With the help of this new literature, it is possible to assess more clearly Adorno’s thought and its relevance for Marxist thought today.</p>
<p>Marvin Ester: Ideology and Praxis Re-Thought: On Adorno’s Reading of Marx</p>	<p>While Adorno’s critique of late capitalist society, particularly his analysis of the culture industry, is often interpreted as a deflated cultural critique diverging from the materialist premises of Marx’s methodology of social critique, I argue that this interpretation overlooks crucial intricacies of Adorno’s engagement with Marx.</p> <p>My presentation will focus on the concepts of “ideology” and “praxis” and their relationship in Adorno’s thought. I aim to demonstrate how Adorno’s understanding of these terms is deeply rooted in Marx’s critique of political economy and the idea of late capitalism as a society still driven by class antagonism.</p> <p>The main thrust of my presentation will be to show that Adorno’s analysis of ideology goes beyond mere cultural critique. For Adorno, ideology is an integral part of the material fabric of society, encompassing its predominant practices, economic institutions, and modes of social interaction. As formulated in <i>Negative Dialectics</i>: “Ideology is not superimposed as a detachable layer on the being of society; it is inherent in that being. It rests upon abstraction, which is of the essence of the barter process.”</p> <p>Accordingly, emancipation for Adorno—like for Marx—is not a utopian end state where the social body is fully transparent to itself. Rather—just like ideology—emancipation as well must be thought of as embedded in praxis, i.e. embodied in the procedural liberation of transgressive re-appropriation of the social conditions, leading to the self-determination of the means of the social body’s life, which, under capitalist conditions and its most pressing internal contradictions, can only manifest as class struggle. This is why Adorno calls Marx’s critique of political economy the most advanced and valid economic theory, essential for any theory of contemporary society.</p>
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 State Repression, Mass Incarceration, and Radical Alternatives [B202]</p>	
<p>Emmy Rāketē: Policing the Polycrisis: Liberal democratic state terror and other contradictions</p>	<p>The pleasant daydream of capitalist social democracy has now ended, taking with it the possibility of a negotiated class detente. Capitalism has spent the last 50 years repeatedly colliding with external limits, which it has had to convert into merely internal barriers to avert terminal crisis. The stagflation crisis, the global financial crisis, and the crisis of social reproduction are just a few of the potential apocalypses warded off by the ruling class. This process of deferral has saved capitalism’s skin so far, but only by introducing new internal contradictions into capitalism that it must again defer, resolve, or be killed by. For the duration of the neoliberal period, the bourgeoisie has increasingly relied upon the repressive state apparatus to manage these contradictions. Cops, courts, and cages provide the capitalist state with both the directly repressive violence and the indirectly ideological violence that it depends upon for its continued existence. The qualitative transformation of the prison systems of social democracy into the mass incarceration of neoliberalism is one index by which we can register the increasing illiberalism of liberalism. Capitalism must</p>

	<p>both immiserate on a massive scale and imprison anyone who behaves miserably. Activists and organisers who threaten this intolerable system, like the student Palestine solidarity encampments, are met with police terror. Far from banishing crisis, this dependence upon the ‘justice’ system to incapacitate opposition constitutes a new potentially fatal internal contradiction. Capitalism can live now only so long as it continues to incarcerate, and by so doing it creates an enormous wasteful, futile, loathsome prison regime that teeters constantly on the brink of collapse and on which its whole legitimacy is now staked. The struggle against mass incarceration should be an immediate tactical priority for the communist movement.</p>
<p>Matteo Tiratelli: Domestic fascism, behemoths, and the carceral state</p>	<p>In recent years, an authoritarian turn has afflicted many states across the global north. Borders have become increasingly militarised, personal liberties are under attack, and democratic rights are slipping away from us. These trends have led many scholars back to the archives of twentieth century anti-fascism, in search of theories and lessons to guide our struggles in the contemporary moment. This presentation will take one moment in this authoritarian turn – the recent explosion in Britain’s prison population, which has grown by more than 10,000 people in three short years – and use it to reflect on the opportunities and constraints offered by these theoretical legacies. In particular, it will explore two different sets of ideas - North American theories of “domestic fascism” (most famously articulated by Angela Davis, George Jackson, and Bettina Aptheker) and Franz Neumann’s description of the Nazi state as a “behemoth” – and see whether either can help to shed light on the present moment, characterised as it is by both state failure and greater state repression. Is the collapse of Britain’s legal infrastructure and the attendant increase in prison population a precursor to a more generally illiberal form of statecraft? What does this tell us about how different parts of the law-and-order machine interact? And how might these trends affect the overall shape of the British state in the short- and medium-term?"</p>
<p>Dimitrios Tsarapatsanis, Georgios Papanicolaou: Through the eyes of their defenders: criminalisation of protest and cause lawyering in Greece</p>	<p>This paper explores the use and abuse of the law against protest and dissenting political practices by police and prosecution authorities. It does so by focusing on the experiences of defence counsels in Greece. The criminalization of political protest and dissent and the use of criminal laws and procedure has been a distinctive political strategy of the Greek state ever since the days of the ‘idionymo’ laws and police action against communist political activity in the 1920s. These practices proliferated in the post-civil war era (1949-1974), when (ab)uses of criminal law and procedure by police and prosecution authorities became a piecemeal feature of the management not only of the outlawed communist party membership but virtually of all dissent questioning Greece’s position in the Cold War world. Such practices survived in the post-junta era and have arguably gained a new relevance in the context of Greece’s economic and social crisis of the 2010s. While such police and prosecution practices are generally acknowledged in political discourse, particularly among those practicing oppositional politics in Greece, not much research exists regarding the specific type of legal practice and lawyering which exists around them, and which arguably constitutes a distinctive field for political activism. Moreover, the relationship between these practices and ‘law in the books’ has not been theorized along the lines that we follow in this paper, and which adopts a broadly understood legal realist perspective to question their ‘illegality’ from the vantage point of a more traditional legal positivist perspective. In the paper we thus take up the long overdue task of examining the experiences of criminal law and civil liberties counsels not only as a privileged point of entry towards understanding the law’s real (as opposed to idealized) role in the regulation of politics and the suppression of dissent, but also as means to assess the contemporary authoritarian turn in post- 2008 crisis Greek policing and criminal law enforcement.</p>
<p>Gabriel Burrow: Enforcing post-capitalist utopia, from policing to pikes</p>	<p>Utopian fiction is typically reticent to address questions of enforcement. Thomas More’s <i>Utopia</i> (1516) resorts to the passive voice to suggest the removal of privileges in response to indiscretions. Banishment is another popular punishment – dating back to Eden – but it fails to address the contradictions that are latent in the utopian society itself. Direct responses are more often associated with authoritarianism, and as such, dystopia.</p>

	<p>This paper will explore the enforcement of utopia in 21st-century science fiction. In particular, it considers the way that the police and prison abolitionist movements have shaped their representations of conflict resolution. Analysing Carl Neville’s <i>Eminent Domain</i> (2020) and N. K. Jemisin’s “The Ones Who Stay and Fight” (2018), I identify clearly demarcated social contracts within post-capitalist societies. Neville’s novel explores the difficulty of responding to a terror threat when law enforcement is both democratised and transparent. The British public is set to vote for full control of the police force via representative committees and for all records to be made public. In Jemisin’s utopia, violence is viewed as a necessity to prevent racial capitalism returning. So-called “social workers” use ornate pikes to painlessly execute those who spread black market information from the capitalist past. The consequences of transgressions are understood and accepted by citizens—even if it costs them their life.</p> <p>Both narratives draw upon the realist characteristics of the critical utopias of the 1970s, emphasising the contradictions and lived experience of their respective societies. They foreground “utopia as struggle”, accepting the presence of conflict and violence after capitalism and thinking through how this can be reconciled with an egalitarian society (Moylan 49). The utopian process is presented as a systematic removal of oppression and exploitation, even if the alternative societies this produces does not match the perfect blueprints of classical utopias.</p>
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Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00
Redefining Agency and Subjectivity in the Face of Technological Advancements [B203]

<p>James Steinhoff: Proletarianization and pre-subjective labour power</p>	<p>"This paper asks a question which seems absurd by Marxist standards: is subjectivity necessary for proletarianization? The obvious answer is: yes, because only humans can be proletarianized. More precisely: only humans within a particular set of social relations summed up by Marx as “free in the double sense” (1990, 272). This allows them to be made responsible for their own reproduction without any means of achieving it other than selling labour power. However, Dyer-Witheford et al. (2019) argue that a sufficiently advanced machine which is functionally identical to a human being (i.e. possessing a robotic body driven by artificial intelligence software) could be proletarianized. This entails that a machine could generate surplus value, contrary to Marx’s labour theory of value, which holds that machines only serve to increase the productivity of the labour they function alongside. This paper does not dispute this controversial thesis but rather attempts to explore more deeply its ramifications by pushing it further. I ask whether a person could sell their pre-subjective labour power (i.e. neural computing power which is not under subjective control). This scenario is technically motivated by research into using networked mouse and monkey brains as computing hardware (Pais-Veieria et al. 2015). This research is politically motivated by the fact that capital views humans as obstacles even as they remain necessary to it. Crary (2014) asserts that sleep “is the only ... enduring ‘natural condition’ that capitalism cannot eliminate”. However, I suggest that subjectivity remains a more fundamental one. Labour process theory shows well how subjectivity is flexibly utilized and manipulated by capital while being separated from control over the labour process (Nies 2021), but it has not explored how technical advances might make the separation of subjectivity from the worker a literal possibility. Atrophied capitalist economies might find such a technology appealing in the future.</p>
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<p>Brynnar Swenson: A Capitalist Automaton: Artificial Intelligence, Machinic Enslavement, and the General Intellect</p>	<p>Marx’s theorization of the “general intellect” in the Grundrisse situated the form of labor as essential for understanding the technical and social-intellectual relationship at the core of machine production. The “general intellect” was central to how Italian Operaism and Postoperaism theorized the forms of control exhibited in real subsumption as well as the liberatory potentials inherent in a system made up of cognitive labor, social cooperation, and communication. Marx’s prophetic analysis of machine production posits a capitalist automaton, a “moving force capable of moving itself” that consists of “numerous mechanical and intellectual organs” that destabilizes the relationship between workers and the means of production. In 1994, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri described how this</p>
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	<p>process undergirded postmodern capitalism as “the real subsumption of labor under capital points to the disappearance, or better the new mystification, of labor in capitalist society” (Labor of Dionysus). At the time, Hardt and Negri discussed immaterial, intellectual, and affective work, but the recent rise of artificial intelligence in labor and communicative processes adds a more expansive and more literal aspect to these discussions. Today, AI chatbots being developed by major technology companies are in the process of literally uploading and ingesting the documented history of human intellectual production. This process is central to the goal of creating an automatous from of machinic subjectivity that will work for free. In this presentation, I will set Marx’s theory of the general intellect against the long history of capital’s fantasy of producing a machine that will eliminate the worker from the process of production, from the rise of a specifically capitalist form of slavery in the US during the nineteenth century to the present attempt to develop of a form of machinic enslavement, in order to locate potential forms of resistance to this new machine.</p>
<p>Kyrill Potapov: Crystallised Intelligence or Cybernetic control? The Role of AI in renewable energy micro grids</p>	<p>As Ilyenkov among others has argued, what is taken to be “intelligent” in artificial intelligence depends on and reproduces the dynamics of capital. But this is not inherent to AI technology as such but only to its subsumption under capitalism. For Ilyenkov, every tool is an artificial intelligence with the capacity to crystallize and actualize (as moments of the same dialectic) our purposes, ideas, and personalities.</p> <p>I have been working on council estates in London to explore community ownership of renewable energy. Neighbours who collectively manage the energy generated by shared solar panels could point the way to a “post-growth” energy practices. However, currently dominant approaches to the design of such systems rely on AI to optimize energy use either by automating the use of home appliances or by using variable prices to “nudge” households to align their activities to supply. Both approaches bracket out the agency of the individual and collective: the energy is not managed by the collective but by the AI as “agent”.</p> <p>In my work, I draw on Ilyenkov to co-design energy management systems which embody the purposes of residents, allowing them to shape their own practices through learning and through their relations to others in their community rather than because of external nudges or incentives. In this context, AI systems can offer representation which reify energy practices. Following Ilyenkov, I view reification not as a veil on a world of things in themselves, but as relative to a practice and a potential node in a practice, which can, under the right conditions, orient its participants and embody their active will. The contrast here is between technology that is incorporated into our collective metabolism, and that which merely reproduces its own abstractions, and our relations to it as abstract.</p>
<p>(Thea) Yan Pan: Political economy of neurotechnology and implications on the (re)production of labour power</p>	<p>The paper will explore one of the frontiers of digital capitalism: the political economy of neurotechnology (or brain-computer interface (BCI)) in the context of a global race in neuroscience development and commercialisation driven by states and venture capitalist since 2014. Specifically, I will introduce the neuroscientific project in China – China Brain Project – and the research and application landscape of BCI startups. The hypothesis of the paper is that the concerted push by state and capital towards the advancement of neuroscience and neurotechnology, that is the advancement of the productive force in capitalist social relations, represents a new form of exploitation of labour power through capitalising on brain data as well as optimizing human intelligence, emotion and interaction with machines. To this end, the paper aims to demonstrate the technical capabilities of neurotechnology, give examples of BCI applications in health and workplace scenarios, problematise the ideology of transhumanist human enhancement, and propose ‘intelligence capital’ as a concept to understand a deeper entrenchment of real subsumption of labour process in digital capitalism.</p>

Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00

Book Launch: The Labour of Extraction in Latin America [B204]

Kristin Ciupa
Angus McNelly
Luis Andueza

"This panel presents the book: *The Labor of Extraction in Latin America* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2024). The edited collection brings the question of labour organizing to the forefront of discussions on Latin America's ongoing history of extractive capitalism, its effects on nature, and resistance against it. The book analyses the role of labour in contemporary extractive sectors across Latin America since the 1980s, and situates this analysis within a critical engagement of Charles Bergquist's foundational intervention on Latin American labour regimes in key export sectors from the early twentieth century to the 1980s: *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford University Press, 1986). In *Labor in Latin America*, Bergquist situates labour movements within the unique structural features of Latin American export economies, exploring how the national history of each country is influenced by labour organizing. Arguing that labour has remained undertheorized in literature on extractivism and Latin American politics, and drawing on Bergquist's examination of the relationship between the structural features of Latin American export economies, and worker consciousness and labour organizing, this panel considers the relevance of this framework for analysing contemporary questions of labour in major extractive sectors. These discussions engage with contemporary debates and literature on Latin America, labour and resource extraction, including: spatial analyses of extractive capital and worker organising, extractive technologies, nature and environmental degradation, labour migration, free trade, global commodity chains and the global industrial shift.

Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00

Finance, Tech, and Capital / Labour [B205]

David Kampmann: *The American Power Bloc of Venture Capital: How the Fusion of Financial and Tech Capital underpinned the Rise of US-based 'Unicorn' start-up Firms after the Financial Crisis*

How can we understand the forces underpinning the dominant position of the US economy in tech start-up firm formation manifesting in the rise of 'unicorn' firms such as Uber and OpenAI since 2008? In contrast to scholarship highlighting the importance of institutional settings, informal networks, or early-stage VC firms providing 'patient capital' in specific regions such as Silicon Valley, this article argues that the American 'success story' in tech start-up formation is underpinned by a fusion of financial and tech capital characterized by a mutual interest in start-up investing despite different (and often conflicting) accumulation strategies. Seen through this lens, venture capital is better understood as an institutional arrangement and class configuration (or 'power bloc') of American and foreign financial firms and US-based 'Big Tech' that came to profit differently from equity investing in US-based tech start-up firms. To make this argument, the paper draws on historical documents, interview data, and financial data to trace the institutional configurations, dominant actors and capital flows making up the power bloc of American venture capital. The paper traces the origins of the power bloc to the neoliberal transformation of the 1970-80s to highlight how fractions of financial and tech capital came to profit from start-up investing over the following decades. It does so by illustrating the dynamics of competition, coordination, and capital concentration in 'early-stage', 'late-stage', as well as 'exit deal' transactions. The paper also highlights the concentration of corporate control via 'dual-class' share structures in the US tech sector as a major consequence of the rise of venture capital. Cautioning against a conjunctural reading of venture capital in terms of 'booms' and 'busts', the paper foregrounds the structural continuities underpinning venture capital in the US likely to persist despite the current downturn, and sheds light on how class power operates through finance.

Çağdaş Yalçinkaya: *Unicorn to Kraken: The Concentration and Centralization of Capital in the Era of "New" Fragment on Machines*

"In recent years, social science literature has increasingly indicated concerns about capitalism undergoing dramatic changes due to globalization, financialization, digitalization, and platformization. However, there is still debate about whether so-called perfect competition or monopolies are the main drivers of capitalist development. In the current capitalist epoch, a stark transformation is visible in the ascendance from 'unicorns,' the once-celebrated beacons of innovation and success, to 'krakens,' whose monopolistic sprawl embodies the Marxian prognosis centralization and concentration of capital. Digital

	<p>conglomerates are now considered continuations of the large transnational corporations of the past. Just like the monopolies of the Gilded Age, current big tech companies extract data instead of oil. Creativity and innovation are necessary in this new economic sector. Still, there is debate about whether the growth of these 'creative' industries through monopoly power is not genuinely creative but undoubtedly destructive. Monopoly capitalism theory contends that power and control should be understood in market relationships and how they shape global production and affect societies worldwide. In the context of "platform" capitalism, I propose investigating how big-tech companies strengthen their control over the creative process, specifically innovation and patents, through mergers and so-called 'killer' acquisitions. Additionally, by examining the range of industries in which they operate—such as computers, hardware, telecommunications, and content—this analysis aims to reveal how their monopolistic power across these industries creates substantial challenges for new entrants by reducing market competition, suggesting, “New Fragments on Machines” within Marx's General Intellect approach. This study examines the ORBIS M&A data and SEC 10-K filings to explore how mergers and acquisitions have reinforced the monopoly power of Google, Amazon, Meta, Apple, and Microsoft (GAMAM) in their respective industries through the lens of a Marxist analytical approach.</p>
<p>Vinicius Martinez: The labour-finance nexus of a new economic imperialism</p>	<p>The aim of this paper is to establish a theoretical framework capable of absorbing the relations between the transformations in the world of work and the financial transformations of the global economy.</p> <p>Labor has been neglected in economic analyses, whether in its sociological or productive aspect. On the one hand, we draw from Marxist and Lukacsian approaches to understand that it is through labor that human beings themselves are produced: social relations, mediated by labor, are the tissue of the social formation of individuals, of their behavior and of the very mode of reproduction of society in general through determined conduct, ethics, morality and education established through common interactions. This aspect has rarely been taken into account in economic literature, although it is fundamental in Marxian theory. On the other hand, the development of industrial technologies, telecommunications, robotics, nanotechnology and so many other material and immaterial spheres of production have acted to intensify the inversion between subject and predicate existing in the capitalist mode of production. This means that what is human - the subject - has increasingly assumed characteristics of commodity - the predicate - and, conversely, that which is material, mercantile and secondary, increasingly assumes human forms. This is a defining feature of capital and occurs as a real consequence of its logical conception, ending up fetishizing commodities and stripping the human being of his essential faculties, inhibiting his emancipation.</p> <p>Finance seems to play an essential role in the process of labor depreciation. In a world that is increasingly focused on the remuneration of assets rather than wages, finance takes prominence in the interest, technical development, control and appearance of wealth generation. One of the tasks of this paper is to demonstrate the theoretical way in which the financial sector appropriates value generated in the sphere of work in order to remunerate assets that are increasingly circumscribed in the fictitious realm. Therefore, the aim is to unveil the appearance of value generation in finance in order to enter the deep circuit from which such remuneration emerges.</p> <p>Starting from its simplest elements, but unfolding to its most complex ones, this paper relates the category of labor and the category of finance in their global scope. We analyse the fundamental bases of what is characterized as the new economic imperialism and its counterpart, the new peripheral dependency. The relations of power, the generation of value and the distribution of wealth, in this context, are developed and explained from this fundamental relation and configure the labor-finance nexus of the globalized capitalism. This nexus is exposed here as an axis that sustains contemporary global capitalism, around which other layers of domination rotate.</p>
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00</p>	

On Genocide [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]

Wars and genocides shape contemporaneity's outlines, with genocides not constituting accidental practices occasionally present in wars – which, instead, serve as a pretext for genocides that provide a guideline for the extermination of dehumanised enemies. Extensively associated with forms of massification or erasure of otherness, extermination practices also happen through the targeting of ecosystems, which brings genocide to populations that lose their habitats and sources of life. Accordingly, Pasolini spoke of genocide in anthropological and cultural terms, referring to modernisation.

Perhaps the hegemony of genocide associated to progress has been in place since colonialism and slavery. However, the genocidal purpose and practices remained away or concealed (by the blessing of the Papacy). Today, openly genocidal projects enjoy the support of major techno-military powers. Does the new status of genocide configure training for a state of permanent war? Does the normalisation of structural unemployment and waves of refugees as seasonal and inevitable recycle imperialist and colonialist projects? How do we respond to the imminence of a globally disseminated state of war? How do our subjectivities and behaviours suffer modifications at the interpersonal and professional levels, as they did during the pandemic?

The panel will interrogatively address the new status of genocide, against the backdrop of the increasing militarisation and the decline of the unipolarity that marked the post-1991 era. Four papers will address specific questions, but always guided by the impact of genocide: 1) On the possibility of poetry after Auschwitz, debated by Adorno, Celan, and Brecht; 2) On the Western debate on genocide (Lemkin, Sartre, Pasolini, Oiticica, Linhart), and the question on Gaza and us; 3) On the extermination practices' traits in Brazilian visual art (Dias and Oiticica); 4) On the issues of how militarization, the war against nature, and the decline of unipolarity determine each other nowadays.

Bruna Della Torre: Poetry after Auschwitz: Nature, landscape and silence in Paul Celan and Bertolt Brecht

Theodor W. Adorno's declaration that poetry was not possible after Auschwitz and that all culture could not be anything other than trash was the topic of many misunderstandings in Poetry, Literature, and Literary Criticism. As Paul Celan said to Jean Daive, "Man will continue to talk; man will continue to bear witness with or without Adorno".

The broken dialogue between the poet and the critical theorist was, nevertheless, one of the high points of the cultural debate in the 1960s. Adorno's take on the so-called engaged art also obliterated the importance Bertolt Brecht's poetry played in his work during the same decade. However, it is undeniable that they shared some of the same subjects in poetry. In "Conversations with Young Intellectuals", Brecht highlights: "the occurrences in Auschwitz, in the Warsaw Ghetto, in Buchenwald, would undoubtedly not support a description in literary form. Literature was not prepared and did not develop means for such occurrences."

This paper aims to show how the poetry of Celan and Brecht are brought together by Adorno through a discussion of genocide and the role of nature, landscape, and silence in their work and to discuss how they compose central pieces of Adorno's Aesthetic Theory. Furthermore, it aims to discuss how Auschwitz is a paradigm that goes beyond the historical moment of nazi-fascism.

Luiz Renato Martins: Gaza in us: questions on genocide

Genocide occupies a new place nowadays. From an aberrant exception, it has become the intrinsic logic of current wars that makes the extermination of the other the main vector. How does this affect those who seemingly are outside the war field? How can we resist and respond to the progress and triumphant procession of death, to the contamination of measures of encirclement, hunger, and mass deaths that spread globally? Who can remain indifferent? Will there be any human life without the notion of Humanity, which places populations' ethos and fate in reciprocal determination –including ecosystems, habitats, elements, and life forms?

This work will begin by reviewing the inquiries about genocide that took place in the West after the first measures of critical awareness in the face of systematic massacres that occurred in World War I and which, despite everything, continued to multiply. Lemkin, Sartre, Pasolini, Gunder Frank, Oiticica, and Linhart are some authors who questioned and reflected on the issue in historical terms.

However today regardless of the various critical figures and the extended field of application of the concepts of genocide formulated by the intellectual and crucial wrath of these authors, extermination strategies have the adherence of leading world powers, besides broad social sectors, converted to the insane obsession that the extermination of others will somehow benefit them.

	<p>Not ignoring the political cults of death nor broad and objective historical factors (structural unemployment, militarization, racism, religious hatreds, deliberate desertification, imperialist and colonial persistence) that increase the genocidal broth, this paper will nevertheless try other parameters for research. Perhaps with little chance of hope and success, it intends to seek invisible aspects and viral load signs of the genocidal culture spread globally. Starting from critical tools, distinguishing genocidal forms in various fields is one step. What comes next?</p>
<p>Claude Serfati: The interaction between the capitalist mode of production and extermination</p>	<p>While not ignoring the cultural racially -based dimensions of genocide, the paper addresses structural drivers of contemporary mass exterminations and genocides, as a consequence of the dynamic interaction between contemporary capitalist mode of production and mode of extermination. At the core of this process, the role of militarisation is central.</p> <p>At the end of the 19th century, over two decades before Luxemburg’s groundbreaking analyse of the multiple functions of militarism at the imperialist stage, Engels foresaw that “Eight to ten millions of soldiers will massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe [...] when the system of mutual outbidding in armaments, taken to the final extreme, at last bears its inevitable fruits.” The conjunction of sophisticated weapons and intercapitalist rivalries brought about a ‘mode of extermination’ forecast by Engels which anchored barbarism in social relations throughout the twentieth century.</p> <p>Since WWI, an outstanding feature of the coexistence of capital accumulation – which combines production and destruction of values – and the mode of extermination, has been the overwhelming growth of civilian over military casualties during armed conflicts (15% during WWI, 65% at the end of WWI and 90% during the 1990s).</p> <p>A large majority of victims lives in less- and middle-developed countries which are also the most plagued with armed conflicts. It is not by chance. Extermination hits mass of humanity made superfluous by unemployment-generating ‘long depression’ along with the highly socially unequal effects of climate degradation and environmental destruction. Often called ‘resource wars’, they are still not situated at the margins of so-called globalisation. Instead they are a core component – through extraction of critical natural resources - of large Multinational companies’ global supply chains.</p> <p>In relation with the spatial expansion of capitalism, global interconnections and large diffusion of sophisticated mass destruction weapons, wars of globalisation became more diversified: beside resource wars, one finds environmental wars, developed countries-run wars (Russie in Ukraine, Israël in Palestine).</p>
<p>Gustavo Motta: The Patrol of Death: Notes on the Brazilian laboratory of genocide</p>	<p>Rooted in colonial slavery and the extermination of native populations, the structure of genocide permeates the Brazilian social experience – reaching the present as one of the most notable and concrete facets of the country’s capitalist development. The organization of the paramilitary groups known as “death squads” – urformen of today’s milícias – linked to the entrepreneurial-military dictatorship established by the 1964 coup was an important development of these modern “destructive forces”.</p> <p>In the same period, Brazilian art elaborated – against the grain – this “progress” in the means of slaughter by governmental and para-governmental forces. Artworks such as Note on the Unforeseen Death (Antonio Dias, 1965), Bólido “Homage to Horseface” (Hélio Oiticica, 1966), Be an Outcast Be a Hero (idem, 1968) and Corpse [Presunto] (Carmela Gross, 1968) alluded to the experience of a fractured body – on both individual and collective levels.</p> <p>However, signs of an even more advanced “leap” of such destructive forces, which would take place over the following decades, can be found in Oiticica’s Parangolé Area “The Patrol of Death” (May 1979), an environmental structure which, by alluding to the space of a nightclub, figures the trance of a society both integrated into transnational consumer circuits and tutored by military and paramilitary structures, the latter embodied in a patrolman on horseback who prowls the environment – a herald of organized death.</p> <p>This paper investigates in The Patrol of Death the germ of a mutation, with a strong symbolic impact, in the traditional Brazilian “dialectic of malandroism”, in which the popular weeping and mourning (also embodied in artistic forms) previously dedicated to</p>

	<p>the old “marginal heroes” of the urban peripheries dissolve and disappear “in a nightmare” (as literary critic Roberto Schwarz will note) emptied of affections and political values, in the face of the escalation of genocide integrated with mass incarceration, as population management strategies.</p>
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 The Aporias of Left Strategy [G3]</p>	
<p>Loren Balhorn: The Seemingly Inexorable Decline of the German Left</p>	<p>The German socialist party Die Linke finds itself in an existential crisis since 2021, exacerbated by the split within its parliamentary ranks in 2023. Founded in 2007 as a fusion between different currents of the workers' movement, the party embodied the hopes associated with the New Left parties of the 2000s of an undogmatic, multi-tendency and popular Left that would be able to harness growing discontent at inequality. Instead, it now embodies that project's apparent hopelessness. This paper traces the party's founding to develop a feel for its initial potential, before identifying the long period of stagnation under party leaders Bernd Riexinger and Katja Kipping as the era in which the party's long decline began. Burdened by the institutional legacies of its East German predecessor (slow, undisciplined, averse to change), Die Linke under Riexinger and Kipping was unable to develop either a coherent strategic programme nor a party apparatus capable of implementing it. A long, slow disintegration has been the result.</p>
<p>Colin Mooers: The Electoral Mirage: Democracy, Mass Struggle and Socialism</p>	<p>"The main purpose of this paper is to explore the challenges and possibilities facing the new parliamentary left in North America and Europe including the Bernie Sanders campaigns in the US, the campaigns of Podemos in Spain, Syriza in Greece, and Jeremy Corbyn in the UK. I argue that while such campaigns produced new opportunities for left renewal, they have done so in the context of an unprecedented hollowing out of liberal democracy and a general decline in popular struggle. These campaigns have also left very little behind in terms of permanent organizational capacities. To be sure, much of the impetus for the renewal of the electoral left has been in response to the deterioration democracy. But what has been missing is any discussion of how the parliamentary left would navigate the challenges posed by an eviscerated domain of electoral and parliamentary activity. Where left parties have attained office, their accommodation to liberal democracy and capitalist imperatives has often been astonishingly rapid, much to the bewilderment of their political constituencies. There has been a concomitant downgrading of the importance of mass struggle and organizing with regard to both the achievement of reforms within capitalism as well as in the longer-term struggle for socialism.</p> <p>If traditional social democratic parties were always constrained, even during their heyday in the decades of capitalist prosperity after WWII, what are the likely prospects for the new social democratic left today? What risks are involved, especially if the left finds itself in office? How would a relevant left, and not one which contents itself with ritual denunciations from the sidelines, negotiate these tensions, opportunities and contradictions? What should be the relationship or dialectic between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle? While not discounting the usefulness of electoral participation in certain circumstances, this paper attempts to redress the balance between electoralism and mass struggle.</p>
<p>Catarina Principe: The State We're In: on crises and strategy</p>	<p>The state has been a constant object of debate on the left – and it is no novelty that the recent transformations of states' roles and functions are contested. The COVID-19 crises has prompted states to act in manners they had not for some time. Lines of credit and public guarantees were advanced (this time extended to sectors other than finance), along with partial nationalizations of wages and income statements of corporations, a temporary debt moratorium, and the extension of benefits as well as suspensions of legal fiscal limits that have, for long, constrained economic policy around the world. Even modest direct transfers to households were advanced to sustain demand. This reality sparked debates around novel forms and functions of a central institution of capitalism: from analysis that dictate the death of neoliberalism, to techno-feudal understandings, or a return to a certain</p>

	<p>neoliberalized welfarism. In addition, contributions such as Daniela Gabor's on the "derisking state" or, for the European context, the concept of "member statehood" by Christopher Bickerton, in its particular form of hollowing out but hardening the state (states are becoming harder since their structures are less permeable to penetration from demands from civil society, whilst, in turn, they become 'hollowed out' as state authority is displaced), the current state of states is a central point of interest for the left.</p> <p>This contribution aims at situating the debate on the state from the point of view of the strategic openings and closures that recent developments have brought about. The current moment of war and inflationary crisis across the globe, with subsequent forms of economic protectionism and "reshoring", is happening concurrently with the steady intrenchment of far-right populist formations and the disarray of both labor and left-wing parties. What, then, can be the relation of transformative movements towards the existing state(s)?</p>
<p>Kevan Kennedy: Dictatorships of the Proletariat: Towards bridging divides between Marx and Bakunin</p>	<p>Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin have historically been at both strategic and theoretical odds with one another. This is especially true for the question of the state. Though both have historically advocated for its abolition, Marx contends that the disappearance of the state can only be achieved through a transitional period where the state is transformed into a workers' state, that is, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Bakunin, on the other hand, rejects this formula and calls for the state to be immediately displaced by a communal structure, federated on a local, regional, national and supranational level. Such a structure has had several names, but is typically known as the federation of communes. Such strategic divergences have laid down the basis of historical debates between Marxism and Anarchism, usually understood between anti-state and state-centred approaches to revolution. These debates have yet to find any resolution and still marks the divisions between the two camps of what may be broadly called revolutionary socialism. However, this paper contends that such divisions are misguided and based on not a few misinterpretations of original texts of Marx and Bakunin. It draws on historical debates from the 19th and 20th literature to argue that upon closer examination, one finds that both Marx and Bakunin came to almost identical conclusions on the structures of the post-revolutionary structures that were to begin building communism. Through clarification of these debates, this paper hopes to begin bridging the historical divides and redirect future debates towards more productive discourse on strategy and theory.</p>
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 Criticising the Museum, Criticising the Institution [G51] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Caroline Owman: Museums of Modernity and the Maintenance of the Metabolic Rift</p>	<p>Western museums have been part of modernity's ambitions and ideals since they were established 100-150 years ago, and these ideas have persisted in the material-discursive structures of the museum. The formation of today's museums encompassed reckless collecting, gathering and accumulating, looting, exploiting, forcing and constraining both objects, materials and ideas to match a variety of human purposes. Museums were even colonizing the future. For more than a century the museums have, with a subtle blend of tenacious tenderness and compassionate control, tried to keep their collections unchanged by time and the inevitable decay that follows with it. On the surface, a welcoming institution with great intentions for society, but backstage we can hear the suffocated materials lamentation. During the past few years/decades museums have been more and more willing to face and share the stories behind their collections. A healthy self-criticism and reflexivity is becoming a more obvious way to work within the museums of today. But still there are layers of stories to be unfolded. In this paper I will use the concept of "the metabolic rift" (Marx 1969), further developed by John Bellamy Foster (2010) as "the ecological rift", to discuss how today's museums actively maintain this nature/culture split, primarily through seemingly uncontroversial everyday practices of accumulation and preservation of their collections.</p>
<p>Joana Monbaron: Reproducing the contemporary art museum:</p>	<p>This paper takes as its starting point an empirical analysis of the strike organized by two outsourced services of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia in Madrid in</p>

<p>outsourcing and the production of inequalities</p>	<p>February 2024: the public information service and the cultural mediation service. Responsible for carrying out the public institution's educational activities, such as guided tours of the museum's collections, the cultural mediation workers, although outsourced, depended on the museum's educational department before losing their jobs following an "administrative error". This revealing but not isolated case is an invitation to analyse contemporary art institutions – even critical ones – as workplaces, where the division of labour reproduces the structural inequalities of capitalist society in its neoliberal formation, in which outsourcing policies have become common practice. Based on this premise, the paper attempts to analyse the interrelation between the historical construction of museum education (named "mediation" in the Spanish context) as a "feminized" practice, its subordination within the art museum's prestige hierarchy, and the outsourcing of this work. Reference to the Marxist feminist concept of "reproductive labour" proves crucial, as examined by Marina Vishmidt and Kerstin Stakemeier, who argued that the preservation of artistic autonomy, as a condition for the existence of the artistic infrastructure, depends on its separation from capitalist relations of production and reproduction. Through in-depth interviews with art museum employees and participant observation, the paper develops, through an institutional ethnographic practice, a nuanced analysis of the outsourcing of educational work in art museums. By recontextualizing it within broader processes of labour division, it suggests understanding outsourcing as a technology of difference production that contributes to shape the persisting inequalities of gender, race, and class within European art institutions. This approach also allows to consider the way contemporary art institutions' ideal criticality stands in a non-relation to their material conditions of (re)production.</p>
<p>Matthew Jones: Museum and Racial Capitalism: Museum Abolition in Times of Ecocide</p>	<p>Using the British Museum and its sponsorship by BP as its case study, this paper traces the relationship between museums, their taxonomical power, how this legitimises racial capitalism, and obfuscates the ecocide it has engendered. It goes beyond arguing this is a simple case of culture washing by advocating for the need to see that the ontological function of the museum, the ability to order the world into objects, as a specific draw for racial capitalism. This occurs, it argues, because the primary purpose of the European museum in the time of historical racial capitalism was to present a worldview that legitimised racial capitalism in that moment. Therefore, the museum and its taxonomic power is uniquely primed to be a cultural tool of racial capitalism as it establishes a worldview that naturalises racial capitalism.</p> <p>A parallel will be drawn between the birth of the British Museum out of transatlantic slavery and the fundamental ecological changes it brought labelled the Plantocene, the museum's collections of natural history disciplined the entanglements of the Plantocene to make them seem profitable for a new global capitalist class, and how in the present the reverse occurs, the ordered space of the museum is used to obfuscate the breakdown of ecological and social order engendered by racial capitalism.</p> <p>Consequently, for there to be an attempt to reclaim a radical or even revolutionary role for museums to play, there needs to be an abolishment of the taxonomical power of the museum as a tool of racial capitalism. If, as Ruth Wilson Gilmore argues, abolition is really the process of building, then this paper argues in its place a reformulated taxonomy needs to be produced, not one that reifies life into objects to suture the fragmentation of racial capitalism, but one that lays bare its operations.</p>
<p>Rupert Waldron: The Transcultural Production of Creative Subjectivity: Mumbai and Shanghai Application of London Art, Design and Communication Higher Education</p>	<p>This paper considers the productive subjectivity of alumnae/i of London art and design education now active in Mumbai and Shanghai cultural industries. It proposes a framework emphasising the Hegelian roots of Marxist dialectics in addressing creative labour in transnational capitalism. It argues that the production of creative subjectivity emerges from uneven and combined development (UCD) through learned processes of internalisation and externalisation.</p>

	<p>The project draws on interviews with alumnae/i of London arts institutions in Asia. It interrogates discourses of non-contemporaneous world space and learned forms of creativity as the managed development of the potentialities of disjuncture. Participants identify with the project of bringing locations of the global South into self-contemporaneity through their own intervention as productive subjects, engaging with the unevenness of world space under the international division of labour. Where the expansion of capital geographically involves also its extension into the self, creative labour, while harbouring emancipatory potentials, deepens alienation as the rule of dead labour over living. A recent return to the classical Marxist theory of UCD (e.g. Anievas 2014) has helped better integrate analysis of the nationally external and internal, interstate and class content of imperialism than scholars like Harvey (2003) had. However, it underplays the engagement with Hegelian dialectics in these classics (Lenin 1972, Trotsky 1942). To studies of labour in the cultural industries, this Hegelian underpinning offers a resource for questions of subjectivity often either missing in Marxist accounts, or else supplied non-dialectically, mixing dualism with physicalist Spinozism (Hardt and Negri 2000, Lazzarato 2014), or idealist Lacanianism (Žižek 2008).</p> <p>The production of world space is addressed as the distribution of fragmented subjectivity according to the needs of capital. Educational migrants to and from the command centres of capital re-internalise the force of fragmentation as productive self-development, mapping individual yearnings to the expansionary needs of capital.</p>
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Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00
Problems of Marxist Philosophy (II) [G51a]

<p>Natalia Fomina: Shot Owl of Minerva: Eurocentrism and Metaphysics after Auschwitz</p>	<p>In the last few years, amidst the rise of post- and decolonial theory, a seemingly emancipatory critique of Eurocentrism has arisen. The philosophical canon has been alternately criticized, revised, and even rejected outright for its contribution to racist, colonial, and heteropatriarchal structures. But this tendency is dangerous, as it ignores the specific history of metaphysics within this philosophical canon. It is true that philosophy has been complicit in the imperialist, racist, and heteropatriarchal project of capitalism, but its worst crime is its intertwinement with identifying thinking turned totalitarian.</p> <p>Adorno writes in the third section of “Meditations on Metaphysics” in Negative Dialectics that since Auschwitz, being afraid of death means to fear worse than death. How is it possible that dominant philosophy – not to mention the rest of the humanities and the social sciences – still follows the same empiricism and logicism as before and during German fascism? The industrialized murder of the Holocaust upended reality and its categories and thus the elevation of the notion in positive dialectics. Adorno’s imperative that Auschwitz should never be repeated is more than a mere dictum. It requires a revolutionary metaphysics, which instead of merely interpreting this reality, would aim at its abolition. At the same time, metaphysics itself must be abolished through its implementation. Metaphysics after Auschwitz corresponds to a societal critique of Eurocentrism which induces the owl of Minerva – which has been shot – to fly, nevertheless. Our injured owl does not begin her flight at dawn. After two hundred years of the Critique of Political Economy, and the various failures of the left, as well as the current inter-imperial war in Ukraine, humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza, narcotraffic in Colombia, and femicides in Mexico – our owl takes flight far after midnight.</p> <p>The presentation will in the first part assess the predominant critiques of Eurocentrism, and in the second part move towards a reappraisal of Adorno's metaphysics after Auschwitz.</p>
<p>Bridget Fowler: Pierre Bourdieu vis-à-vis Martin Heidegger: the first ‘conservative revolution’</p>	<p>In 1950s Paris, Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) became fascinated by the phenomenologists, Husserl and Heidegger. Much later, in 1975, he wrote a lengthy article on The Political Ontology of Martin Heidegger, translated into English as a book of the same title, in 1991. Certain theorists, profoundly influenced by Bourdieu, have emphasized the Heideggerian contribution to Bourdieu’s thought, alongside that of the classical social theorists (Marx, Weber and Durkheim). They thus assert Heidegger’s continued importance in the genesis of new social theory. The present article argues against this position and it does so in part</p>

	<p>by using Bourdieu’s own reflections on Heidegger. Like Theodor Adorno’s assessment, this analysis rooted Heidegger’s thought in his social position as a lower-class outsider within the patrician German university system. Going beyond Adorno, however, Bourdieu stressed the crises of interwar Germany, including within German academia. Drawing attention specifically to the well-known interwar “conservative revolution” of Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler, Erich Jünger, and Fritz Lang (amongst others), Bourdieu delineated Heidegger’s “alchemical transformation” of this conservative current into “philosophical form”, thus creating - in Bourdieu’s conceptual terms - a “symbolic revolution”. The article concludes by discussing later scholarship on Heidegger and the posthumous publication of Heidegger’s own journal, <i>The Black Notebooks</i>. These newly-published sources reveal Heidegger’s coded but virulent antisemitism. In light of these, it is argued that Heideggerian ontology should only be used critically. Given the rise of neofascism, this is particularly urgent. It is also telling since, in 1995 (at least until his death in 2002), some thought that “the left of the left has re-emerged” in France, “with none other than Bourdieu at its head” (Collins re Pierre Nora, <i>New Left Review</i> no. 145, p 145).</p>
<p>Andrzej W. Nowak: Ilyenkov in Boa Vista - Dialectical Logic and Circulating Reference</p>	<p>This paper examines the intersection of Bruno Latour's concept of circulating reference and Evald Ilyenkov's interpretation of dialectical logic, highlighting the synergies and divergences between the two. This paper examines the relationship between Bruno Latour's work on the construction of scientific facts (based on his famous case study, ""Circulating Reference Sampling the Soil in the Amazon Forest"") and Evald Ilyenkov's approach to science. The aim is to construct a framework that reconciles materialist dialectics with the constructivist approach to knowledge production.</p> <p>A comparative analysis will demonstrate how Latour's circulating reference can be regarded as an empirically substantiated example of Ilyenkov's dialectical logic in practice. It will be argued that, despite Latour's own non-Marxian or even anti-Marxian philosophical stance, the concept of circulating reference resonates with the dialectical movement from the abstract to the concrete, as it traces the transformation of scientific knowledge across different actors and networks.</p> <p>The paper concludes by proposing a unified model that integrates Latour's empirical insights into the social construction of knowledge with Ilyenkov's theoretical framework of dialectical logic. This model offers a novel onto-epistemological perspective, suggesting that the circulation reference is not only a descriptive tool but also a dialectical mechanism. By synthesising these two philosophical traditions, I will provide a proposition for a robust dialectical foundation for future interdisciplinary research platform in the philosophy of science and social theory.</p>
<p>Josh Platzky Miller: Marxist Interpretations of the History of Philosophy and the Myth of 'Western Philosophy'</p>	<p>Far-right thinkers in Europe and North America claim to defend something called 'Western Civilisation' and 'the West'. This idea has been critiqued extensively, most prominently by Stuart Hall in the 1990s. However, it remains stubbornly popular as a point of conceptual convergence on the right - most recently, for instance, in a book entitled "Ten Years to Save the West". A part of the constellation of ideas supposedly making up 'Western Civilisation' is the idea of a 'Western Philosophy', which supplies the core intellectual achievements and values that are supposed to distinguish 'Western Civilisation' from others. As the story goes, ancient Greece invents philosophy and through a continuous, self-standing succession to today has continued to keep the flame of enlightenment alive as a purely European achievement (the "Plato to NATO" picture). In the broader Myth of 'Western Philosophy' project, I argue that this picture is false on all counts.</p> <p>This paper explores whether Marxist historiography of philosophy improves this Eurocentric picture, focusing on Alan Woods' ""History of Philosophy: A Marxist Perspective"" (2021). The publication is a welcome addition to a field usually dominated by liberal and idealist historiography, 'inverting' the story from a more materialist perspective. Unfortunately, it largely repeats the same fundamental narratives presented in the dominant historiography, preserving the core mistakes in the Eurocentric and self-justificatory narrative that does not fit the historical facts.</p>

	<p>Instead, I present an alternative, developing a sketch by a South African Marxist, anti-colonial and anti-apartheid public intellectual, Ben Kies (1917-1979). In a 1953 lecture, ""The Contributions of the Non-European Peoples to World Civilisation"", Kies demolishes several myths about 'Western Philosophy' and argues instead for an 'entangled' history. This helps make sense of the history of philosophy from a Marxist perspective, without distortions introduced to justify colonial domination.</p>
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Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00
Western Marxism and Political Marxism [R201]
Western Marxism

<p>Gianmaria Brunazzi: The systematic organicity of Ellen Meiksins Wood's Critique of Capitalism</p>	<p>This paper is inspired and motivated by a theoretical dispute – extensively covered in a symposium of this journal (29.3) – which has traversed Political Marxism for several years and is splitting it into currents that distinctly interpret the role of socio-historical analysis at its foundation.</p> <p>Re-examining the entire body of work of E. M. Wood, who has been the fundamental theorist of Political Marxism, I aim to highlight three crucial elements that permeate her production, which – I argue – have been poorly integrated by the epistemological practices of later PMs.</p> <p>The first of these points concerns the identity between the social and the economic (between production and appropriation) through which Wood overcomes the base-superstructure dualism. In her work, Wood does not use this innovation to surpass Marx's critique of political economy, as increasingly more PMs today do, but to defend it (in a period of post-modern fragmentation) by rediscovering its determinants and requalifying its dynamics on a socio-historical plane.</p> <p>The second point is the relationship between the historicization and universalization of capitalism. For Wood, it is fundamental to acknowledge that capitalist social property relations are not natural or necessary (but contingently developed in late modern England), as it is to note that the market imperatives they trigger urge capitalism to universalize itself. When looking at the later emergence of capitalist practices in various contexts, we cannot forget that they do not appear spontaneously, but due to the unique expansive drive of capital-centric extraction and of the pervasive social structures it requires to function.</p> <p>The third point regards politics. All of Wood's work aims to requalify a historical way to knowledge; however, she does not do so to make historical research independent from theory (as radical historicism does). On the contrary, she bridges the gap between history and theory because she is concerned that their separation would result in the autonomization of political forms from a structural critique of capitalism, and lead to a progressive relativization of social conflicts.</p> <p>Recomprehending the systematic organicity of Ellen Wood's theoretical production is useful today not to defend her thought unconditionally, but to consciously redefine fertile tools of epistemological investigation within Political Marxism and reframe an organic critique of capitalism in our historical phase.</p>
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<p>Jeff Black: The Same Arguments: Anderson, Thompson, and New Debates in Political Marxism</p>	<p>The 2021 symposium on Political Marxism in Historical Materialism revealed that this tradition faces yet the same problems that Perry Anderson regarded in his trilogy on the intellectual history of Marxism in the 1970s and '80s: broadly, a tension between 'theory' and 'history' – or, pitched at a different level of abstraction, 'structure' and 'agency' – at the conceptual core of historical materialism. In reviewing a tangled genealogy of debates, I first attempt to situate Robert Brenner and Ellen Meiksins Wood within the scope of Anderson's review of Marxist currents, suggesting that, despite interventions to the contrary, their Political Marxism sits more harmoniously alongside Anderson's historical work than it does E.P. Thompson's. I then review contributions from Benno Teschke and</p>
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	Samuel Knafo against their interlocutors in HM to demonstrate the degree of isomorphism between this current debate and earlier 'arguments within English Marxism.' In particular, I consider the way that this symposium devolved upon questions of how much theory is necessary to operationalize historical materialism, rather than the more adequate question of what kind of theory is needed. Then, by way of reference to Simon Clarke and George Comninel, I justify Thompson's approach as precisely this kind of theory, while pointing toward the necessity of overcoming his hostility to Marx's so-called 'Grundrisse face.'
Samuel Knafo: Historicism and the Structural Lineages of Capitalism	This paper revisits the controversial issue of the political in Marxism, discussing the contributions and limits of Political Marxism. The commitment to put the political at the centre of this approach was initially spelled out by Ellen Wood who used the work of E. P. Thompson to flesh out the theoretical underpinning of PM. However, in emphasising the structural nature of capitalist accumulation, many PM scholars have turned away from this historicist tradition and championed a capital centric approach. Criticising this move, I argue that a radical historicist perspective is in fact a necessary condition to take the structures of capitalism seriously as objects of enquiry. This explores how historicism offers a distinctive perspective on the structural features of capitalism and why we wrongly assume that focusing on social struggles and historical agencies makes us lose sight of these structural dynamics. In doing so, I show what historicism can contribute to historical materialism.
Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 Reading Capital's Materialist Dialectic: Marx, Spinoza, and the Althusserians [RB01]	
Nick Nesbitt Riccardo Bellofiore Vittorio Morfino Svenja Bromberg	This panel will discuss the issues raised in the book Reading Capital's Materialist Dialectic: Marx, Spinoza, and the Althusserians (Brill HM, May, 2024).
Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 Book Launch: Capitalist Colonial: Thai migrant workers in Israeli agriculture [RG01]	
Speaker: Matan Kaminer Respondents: Sai Englert, Andreas Malm and Hebatallah Taha	For decades, the agricultural settlements of Israel's arid Central Arabah prided themselves on their labor-Zionist commitment to abstaining from hiring outside labor. But beginning in the late 1980s, the region's agrarian economy was rapidly transformed by the removal of state protections, a shift to export-oriented monoculture, and an influx of disenfranchised, ill-paid migrants from northeast Thailand (Isaan). Capitalist Colonial, Matan Kaminer's ethnography of the region and its people, argues that the paid and unpaid labor of Thai migrants has been essential to resolving the clashing demands of the bottom line and Zionist ideology here as elsewhere in Israel's farm sector. Kaminer's account mobilizes capitalism and colonialism as a combined analytical frame to comprehend the forms of domination prevailing in the Arabah. Placing the findings of fieldwork as a farm laborer within the ecological, economic, and political histories of the Arabah and Isaan, Kaminer draws surprising connections between the violent takeover of peripheral regions, the imposition of agrarian commodity production, and the emergence of transnational labor flows. Insisting on the liberatory possibilities immanent in the ""interaction ideologies"" found among both migrant workers and settler employers, and raising the question of the place of migrants who are neither Jewish nor Arab in visions of decolonization, this book demonstrates anthropology's ongoing relevance to the struggle for local and global transformations.
Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 Marxism as Critical Social and Political Theory [BBK-MAL-251]	
Kanakis Leledakis: Marx and the conceptualization of the social	Marx, theorizing 'capital', introduces a conceptualization of the social that remains surprisingly relevant and contemporary.

	<p>‘Where’ is capital? Marx is unequivocal. Capital can only function if groups of individuals, social classes, behave in a specific way. Capital qua classes is constitutive of the very individuality of their members. Capital is thus ultimately within the individuals.</p> <p>The assumption is clearly Hegelian. Only now it is not Geist that presents itself in changing forms of individuality. It is an entity –‘capital’ - corresponding to a conceptually new field , that of the social.</p> <p>‘What’ is capital? It has been traditionally conceived as a specific way of organizing a transhistorical function, that of production. However, Marx’s great insight, partly opaque even to himself, was his analysis of capitalism as a level of social practice encompassing a specific ordering of the world. This ordering revolves around the commodification of material -but also non-material- goods, the production of value-form in the most general sense.</p> <p>Moreover, this commodification is never static. One of the major insights of Marx is the recognition of the need of ‘expanded reproduction’ for capitalism.</p> <p>‘Capital’ is not an entity. We do not need a ‘structural causality’ or something like it to delineate the borders of this entity. Marx had already, albeit implicitly, left behind such a traditional way of conceiving (social) entities. Capital is a moving, almost phantasmatic entity, a specter in Derrida’s apt metaphor. A specter, however, existing within individuals, a specter guided by a simple principle -expanded commodification.</p> <p>We do not need, furthermore, the assumption of a given vector of historical development, much less a telos of history. Nor do we need a given ‘tendency’ of capitalist development as in the third volume of Capital. We simply need to read the first volume carefully, even if sometimes between the lines.</p>
<p>Karolina Enquist Källgren: Constellation capitalism and emancipatory praxis west of Western Marxism</p>	<p>"Drawing on the works of Alfred Sohn-Rethel (1899-1990) and the less well-known Mexican Marxist Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez (1915-2011), I develop the concept of constellation capitalism to describe the development of capitalism since the between-the-wars period. Constellation capitalism has developed in parallel with the Neo-liberal thought complex and that it has been strengthened by the expansion since the 1950s of private equity and venture capital. Combining Sohn-Rethel’s concept of social form with Sánchez Vázquez’ concept of praxis form, I argue that constellation capitalism describes a state of capitalism in which the commodity form dominates other social forms, but does not fully determine them. Further, constellation capitalism not only holds inner tensions between social forms, it is dependent on and survives through them. In constellation capitalism, relatively autonomous social forms are what makes the promise of an ever-expanding market possible. Further, I argue that the concept can explain current political polarization in radicalized but short-lived counter-movements. Beyond an immanent critique, it can in addition be used to point-point strategic instances of tensions within the dominant order – instances that are represented in what I call aesthetic objects –, and be used to develop an idea of emancipatory praxis that does not rest on an absolute non-identity break with the reigning system. Such an emancipatory praxis must rest on, or so I argue, participatory practices that define ideal outcomes in terms of values but only posits heuristic concrete goals. Further, emancipatory praxis cannot turn ‘freedom’ into an abstraction, it must rely in part on structures of reification.</p>
<p>Roger Castellanos Corbera: The State of War from Hobbes to Marx</p>	<p>The starting point of Hobbes and Marx is similarly based on historical and present conflict: the experience of civil and foreign wars throughout the ages for Hobbes, on which he bases the hypothesis of the “war of all against all”; the experience of the class struggle as the driving force of history for Marx. According to Bobbio, Marx will reverse the movement of the history founded by Hobbes’ political iusnaturalism: the ethical and rational goal of humanity will cease to be the State, no longer seen as the artefact that will allow humanity to escape from war and achieve peace. Conversely, Marx will argue for the liberation of humanity from the shackles that impede peace (private property first), withering away of the State. The point of arrival is therefore similar, in the sense that both establish peace as the ultimate goal, albeit following opposite paths: for Hobbes the state of war is a natural state (the absence of sovereignty that can grant private property), while for Marx it is the</p>

	<p>result of an artificial condition (private property granted by the sovereign power). Moreover, the state of war being a permanent condition throughout history, either because of the imperfections of sovereign power (Hobbes), or because of the very existence of sovereign power as a guarantor of class rule (Marx), its relationship with the modern conception of the State is fundamental in both authors. Therefore, the relation between Hobbes and Marx should be revisited if we consider Hobbes as the founder of the modern conception of sovereignty in which the capitalist State will be grounded, and against which Marx will address his criticisms. If we also note that Marx read Hobbes, this relation is justified, and can shed light on the current state of war in which contemporary States are involved.</p>
<p>Federico Filauri: The Legacy of 20th century German-Jewish Revolutionarism</p>	<p>In 1988, Michel Löwy published <i>Redemption and Utopia</i>, where he argued that during the first three decades of the 20th century, a form of ‘elective affinity’ obtained in Central Europe amongst the members of a radicalised Jewry: Jewish Messianism in its mystical fashion was to encounter and merge with the revolutionary demands posed by Marxism and anarchism. Many of the figures presented by Löwy – and particularly the set of religious-atheists such as Bloch, Lukacs and Benjamin – developed reflections that paved the way for what later on assumed the shape of critical theory.</p> <p>In their peculiar and sometimes troubled or intermittent relation to Marxism, they managed to infuse it with some groundbreaking conceptual innovations that advanced our way to think within and beyond the political realm. Concepts such as those of ‘reification’ (Lukacs), ‘medium’ (Benjamin), ‘non-contemporaneity’ (Bloch), to name a few, broadened our capacity to read our reality and its inner frictions and conflicts.</p> <p>One century after the publication of some of their major works, we face today a distinctively different political landscape, within which we nonetheless still recognise the pressing need for radical change and the struggle of the many against imperialistic powers and rising fascisms. What are we to do about with the rich heritage that those thinkers endowed us with? To what extent is it still useful to refer to their conceptual framework? In my paper, I will contend that one major reason to keep referring to their philosophies is that they help us reframe the contours of the political altogether. While the current exacerbation of conflicts and rising inequalities displays all the limits of liberal theorisations of the state and other political institutions, it is through a radically renewed political ontology that we can challenge those systems of power, re-think political agency and strengthen alliances amongst the various political subjects on the left.</p>
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00 The Work and Thought of Marina Vishmidt (IV): “Speaking about...speaking nearby”: value, art, and subjectivity with Marina Vishmidt [BBK-MAL-252]</p>	
<p>Stewart Martin: 'On the speculative constitution of art strikes'</p> <p>Anthony Iles: Plastic Givens: Speculation, Antagonism and Recursion in Uncompleted Work with Marina</p> <p>Paul Rekret: Popular Music, Value and Infrastructural Critique</p> <p>Daniel Spaulding: Total Art and Mimetic Subsumption: Thoughts After Marina Vishmidt</p>	
<p>Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00</p>	

Histories of Resistance to War and Genocide [BBK-MAL-253]

Jason Dawsey: American Trotskyists Confront Genocide: The Socialist Workers Party and the Holocaust, 1942-1945

While not relenting in their demands for revolution against all existing states—whether capitalist democracies, monarchies, or the Stalin regime—Trotskyists fiercely combated fascism wherever they encountered it. The focus of this paper, a small part of a book-length project on American Trotskyists during the Second World War, is to understand how members of the Socialist Workers Party covered and tried to interpret news of the genocide of European Jews in the last few years of that global conflict. In doing so, I hope to contribute to efforts on the Left to critically assess the legacy of revolutionary Marxism for the twenty-first century when the choice for humankind of socialism or barbarism is burdened with terrible urgency.

Informed by an engagement with the works of Norman Geras, Enzo Traverso, Alex Callinicos, and Moishe Postone on the question of how Marxists confronted the reality of the Holocaust, my paper begins with a brief overview of Leon Trotsky's arguments in the late 1930s that developments on the European continent portended the "physical extermination" of Jews and how these ideas were taken up in the newly formed Socialist Workers Party. Then I move to an examination of how the SWP construed revelations of the systematic destruction of European Jews within the context of the Nazi-Soviet War from late 1942 forwards. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943 and the Red Army's liberation of Majdanek the following year receive extended treatment. I close with some critical considerations on how the SWP made sense of Nazism's ultimate defeat in 1945. The SWP's publications, the newspapers, Socialist Appeal and The Militant, and Fourth International, the party's journal, are key source materials.

Pierre Millet: Opposing War at the front and at the rear, letters and memoirs of young left-wing social democratic soldiers of the First World War

From the very beginning of the first global conflict, a small minority of young members of the social democratic party of Germany (SPD) rejected the "spirit of 1914" and the Burgfriedenspolitik. They saw the vote for war credits by the deputies of the SPD as a betrayal of the firm engagements of the party and of the International. In Stuttgart, one of their strongholds, they urged Karl Liebknecht to break party discipline and vote against the war credits in the second vote, which he had not done in August, but did in December 1914. Fierce defenders of the autonomy and political militancy of the youth, for whom they had already fought against the party leadership before the war, they organised at the front and at the rear to undermine this conflict that everyone saw coming, which the socialist parties of the whole of Europe had solemnly sworn to stop by any means necessary. Alongside the leaders of the Gruppe Internationale, not yet known as the Spartacists, they organised leafleting in the trenches, daring actions at the front, the Jena anti-war conference on the Easter weekend 1916 and the first public demonstrations against the war. Their names - Wilhelm Eildermann, Emil Birkert, Gustav Seiter, Fritz Rück, Otto Unger, Karl Jannack - are largely forgotten today. And yet there are some extremely rich sources that are still under-exploited: the letters they sent each other between the front and the rear, which were miraculously collected and saved by Emil Birkert and then published in German by Gerhard Engel in 2007, and which we were also able to consult in the German federal archives in Berlin. Alongside the memoirs published in the GDR and FRG by Wilhelm Eildermann, Karl Jannack and Emil Birkert, these letters constitute an irreplaceable first-hand account of the subjectivity, agency and mentalities of these young soldiers, who, although a tiny minority in 1914, contributed through their actions to the revolution that swept Germany in 1918.

At a time when young people in Russia, Israel and elsewhere are facing prison for opposing war, it can only be fruitful to delve into their letters and memoirs. They show highly politicised young activists who do not want to be taken for a ride, who are very well trained in Marxism and in touch with world politics, hate colonialism, imperialism and militarism, but who are also enamoured of classical German literature and poetry, and concerned about the ravages of war on both humans and nature. It is the richness and relevance of these sources for a history of conflict that is attentive to subjectivity and political engagement that we wish to highlight in our paper.

<p>Harry Holmes: Arm the people! Republican Marxism, abolition and anti-militarism in Britain</p>	<p>Resurgent interest in abolitionist thought and practice has re-centred the repressive state apparatus in contemporary Marxist circles. At the same time, new readings of classical Marxist thinkers and movements as radical republicanism have brought engagement with their anti-militarist ideas. From the Programme of the Parti Ouvrier's 'abolition of the standing army and the general arming of the people' towards the fourth of the Comintern's 'Twenty One Conditions' there emerged in Marxist circles a distinct approach to militaries and their abolition linked to the vision of a worker's republic. In an era of resurgent war and militarism backed by the British state, this paper explores how contemporary abolitionism and Marxist republican anti-militarism might be linked. It will then turn to the changing nature of British militarism and the nature of the British 'standing army' today. In doing so, it hopes to open up generative questions about the changing nature of the repressive arm of the British state, the kinds of anti-militarist organising which could be pursued, and what it means to arm the people in Britain today.</p>
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Sunday, 10:00 – 12:00

Perspectives on Art, Revolution and the Theatre of the Oppressed [BBK-MAL-254] *Marxism and Culture*

<p>Dora Longo Bahia: Art after the Supersession of Art</p>	<p>In 1970 Jean-Luc Godard wrote the manifesto "What is to be done?" at the request of Peter Whitehead for the first issue of the UK journal Afterimage. The filmmaker appropriated the title of Lenin's seminal book to postulate the dialectical thinking he embraced during all his career. In his manifesto, Godard declares that to make films politically is to "make a concrete analysis of a concrete situation". What did he mean by that, once reality – as capitalism – has no beginning, middle or end – as film does – and its magnitude exceeds any form of representation? What are the forms that can hold the complexity of contemporary reality, where images perpetuate violence, where history operates in non-linear ways, where capital determines all social relations? What is then the role of the artist when language itself is structured on dominant forms that reinforce inequality and abuse of power? Recently, a series of anti-democratic regimes have been installed in several countries, taking us back to the military dictatorships of the mid-20th century. The government of Jair Bolsonaro, president of Brazil from 2019 to 2022 was one of them. During this period, several collective initiatives have taken to the streets in anti-government protests, using aesthetic strategies that can make us think of the actions of groups of artists and activists from the 1960s, such as Provo in Amsterdam and the Situationist International in various countries of Western Europe. Both groups interrupted their actions around 1968, when faced with impasses in some ways related to the relationship between art and politics. Their concrete actions that materialized the theoretical debate on the artist's social role were abruptly discontinued. In the current context, where the acceleration of the consumption cycle and the overcoming of spatial barriers has turned the production of images and sign systems, be they conventional or "subversive", into ideal "products" for accumulating capital, what kind of aesthetic strategies would account for the social, economic and political changes of the last 60 years? An in-depth debate on the relationship between art, politics and political activism needs to be re-established. By means of a video-narrative exhibited together with an oral presentation, it will be made explicit the dialectical relationship between text and image. Some ideas and practices from the above-mentioned groups, will be updated and détourned to install a reflection on art and politics, and on the social role of the contemporary artist. In doing so, I expect to confront vague ideas with clear images, as Godard once said.</p>
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<p>Esa Purschke: Actionist Theater: Self-Activity between Revolution and Reaction</p>	<p>(How) can 'low internationalisms' link divergent political contexts, including those of reaction? To approach this question, this paper considers the unlikely but enormously influential transnational circulation, from the Soviet NEP-era to pre-Fascist Weimar Germany (and beyond), of a proletarian approach to self-organization: the Proletarian Culture Movement or Proletkul't, and one of its most prominent cultural practices: Actionist Theater. The Proletkul't's attempt at "proletarianizing" social and cultural forms by way of their generalization and reconstitution through mass 'self-activity' (samodeiatel'nost') is usually narrated as a brief episode of post-revolutionary utopianism with fleeting international</p>
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	<p>reverberations. To expand this view, I turn to how the Proletkul't's protagonists engaged, throughout the Interwar period, in bottom-up activity at the gigantic network of workers' clubs spanning the Soviet Union. Here, I argue, they articulated a different set of forms and methods, which, geared to the locally divergent conditions of socio-political transformation, in turn proved concretely expedient to non- or counterrevolutionary conditions as well.</p> <p>Actionist Theater is one of the most illustrative cases of this second period of Proletkul't Internationalism. Abolishing the traditional play as a source as well as the technique of acting as such, and instead engaging in 'collective processing' of everyday (often newspaper) material on stage', it set out to remodel dramatic practice as a despecialized, quotidian activity of collective thinking. As such, it not only countered propagations of canonized aesthetic forms that began to accompany an increasingly bureaucratizing administration of Soviet workers' clubs (and with it, of self-activity). It also had a remarkable international afterlife across heterogeneous political contexts—in particular, in Weimar Germany, where it stimulated the formation of a massive movement that remained active until the Fascist seizure of power. Considering two instances of Actionist drama, one Soviet, one German, I will reflect on the conditions of this transmission from revolutionary to counterrevolutionary context.</p>
<p>Geo Britto: Dialectical Theatre of the Oppressed as an anti-fascist action</p>	<p>The aim of this work is to investigate the differences between two different black playwrights in respect of their form. The first, Abdias Nascimento, is a Brazilian playwright responsible for the TEN group (Black experimental theatre) and was also a congressman during the 80s and 90s. Aime Cesaire i If it does matter which matter we choose to put on stage, the way we tell these stories is also very crucial to the content's meaning, if conservative or leftist. It means that, even if we choose to represent oppressed people stories, we can end up being conservative. In other words, we can, maybe against our own desire, do enemy's work. We expect to develop this thought through exploring the differences between these two black playwrights that both dedicated their lives to the social struggle. Therefore, we will address the idea of contradiction which is the opposite of creating positive heroes, as did Brecht, Boal and Hughes. Throughout this idea between negative and positive heroes we expect to show how Abdias Nascimento loses the radicality when choose to tell black stories through a simplistic dramatic perspective while Aime Cesaire explores the contradiction between the black community which poses the conflict beyond the race and allow us to find in money and its autonomous movement the origins of society's contradictions.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Workplace Struggles and Workers' Resistance in Late Capitalism [B102]</p>	
<p>Kenneth Novis: Workers' Inquiry as Epistemic Resistance</p>	<p>Today the Marxist methodology of workers' inquiry is undergoing a revival of interest. This methodology traditionally involves investigating a workplace in order to inspire resistance among workers. It may do this by encouraging the workers to ask questions for themselves about their world, learning in the process how to navigate, understand, and change it. It may also do this by providing crucial strategic information to external worker organisations which can use this to assess the current organisation of the labour-process. Workers' inquiries have taken many forms in the past, from questionnaires distributed in magazines, to direct interviews conducted among colleagues. This paper uses resources recently developed in social epistemology to express the revolutionary potential of workers' inquiry. For Medina, insofar as something undermines existing epistemic marginalisation while relating positively to the social reality of epistemic friction, it is a form of epistemic resistance. Focussing on Medina's work, I argue that, at its deepest level, workers' inquiry encourages resistance among workers insofar as it is a form of epistemic resistance. It does this by undermining the marginalisation of workers as knowers, recognising the practical knowledge which they uniquely possess as genuine knowledge. Because, as Fricker has argued, an important part of being human is to be a knower, by restoring to workers their status as knowers, their alienation from their humanity is (at least partly) undone. Understanding workers' inquiry in this way helps to make explicit the Marxist legacy which contemporary social epistemology has inherited, and which has been</p>

	<p>understood almost exclusively in discussions of standpoint theory. It also suggests another purpose of workers' inquiry apart from the development of revolutionary organisations: ameliorating the interpersonal hardships which working-class people suffer.</p>
<p>Jason Kalathas: Worker Agency & Autonomy in AI development in Ireland</p>	<p>Digital labour studies have thus far focused on the lower ranks of workers who participate in the production of digital technologies (Bergvall-Kåreborn & Howcroft, 2014; Graham et al., 2017). As Dorschel (2022) notes, there's a significant blindspot in research when it comes to the upper echelons of digital labour. Addressing this gap, Steinhoff (2021) examines AI worker agency and their 'autonomy from capital' in the ML development in tech startups. His findings refute optimistic theorisations of high-expertise work autonomy (Lazaratto, 1997), identifying over-worked, self-exploited professionals with the task of automating their own work. Steinhoff (2022) concludes that rather the AI industry increases its autonomy from human labour, with the potential for proletarianisation of AI workers through automated ML development.</p> <p>Following these scholarly veins of digital labour studies and critical AI studies, this proposal examines the different development processes of ML technologies in Ireland. We draw from Abbott's (1988) system of professions to look into and chart the contemporary ecosystem of AI professions and examine present relations of work agency and autonomy in ML workspaces. This study looks into three different work settings (corporate/private, public/private, public/state) by interviewing expert ML professionals who work in developing ML systems in Ireland. Ireland represents an excellent case study to conduct this research, as the country currently hosts a rich ecosystem of ML development. Multiple big tech industry corporations host their European headquarters in Ireland, and multiple academic research centres and labs develop ML tools (i.e. ADAPT, ML Labs, Lero). Complementary to them, there are clusters of startups and spin-off companies that develop ML technologies funded by public and private investors.</p> <p>By looking into these different work settings, we aim to highlight different processes of ML development and offer comprehensive insights into the agency and autonomy ML workers have in AI development.</p>
<p>Evelina Praino: "There is no alternative": i.e. the broken dream of cultural emancipation</p>	<p>Starting from the Foucauldian investigations of the 1970s, one of the moralizing tendencies the bourgeoisie assumed in the early 19th century aims at all workers, in order to counteract any risk of a bad- "lazy"- way of conducting oneself.</p> <p>By intervening in the "illegal act of dissipation", this tendency flows into the neo-liberal order through the discipline and police government of subjectivities, interesting precisely because of its paradoxical character. The perpetuation of the neo-liberal system is rooted in this paradoxicality, seducing with a promise of social regulation and individual autonomy at the same time.</p> <p>Through a genealogy of authoritarian liberalism, Chamayou explains this apparent short-circuit of power: the system steps aside to better deploy its power. The state, formerly consolidated into a governmental and police apparatus, limits itself; it disappears where authoritarianism and subjugation have destroyed all social corporatism.</p> <p>What happens if the spontaneous order of the market, so "over" human to delineate a cosmos, after having deconstructed every political possibility, extends itself to the cultural capital of a community? Then the intellectual potential has the temporary chance to bind itself to the institution, revealing itself under the condition of a constant investment of an entrepreneurial nature, making visibility and evaluability its only criteria of objectification. However, for all those who fall outside the institution, this intellectual potential is reduced to a mere power-of-non. The latter is employed in a versatile manner in every role necessary to the company, at the price of a systemic demotion, annihilated in its operational and primary function such as social emancipation. From this perspective, submissiveness and adaptability become the only criteria that objectify wage survival.</p> <p>In Italy, the 40% per cent of doctoral students "fall out" of the institution, employed in alternative fields other than academia. Our philosophical investigation will start from this</p>

	social statistic to analyze 1. the transformations undergone by the cultural capital, once employed; 2. the self-management of the self as a possible path to a deactivation of the systemic order.
Evandro Fernandes: The rise of managerial and Individualist sentiment on the left: The problem of the jobsworth worker	The phrase “If you see someone stealing, you didn’t,” has become the overarching framing of issues regarding workers response to apparent theft at the workplace. These notions and situations usually revolve around retail workers and their interactions with other working or lower classed people. The problem which must be considered, is that these workers are being advised to not work effectively, in order to alleviate societal pressures. The contemporary leftist social convention is to pressure workers to ignore theft in the workplace, under this framing the jobsworth worker is seen as a morally reprehensible person. At the same time workers are under growing pressure to work effectively and efficiently. But rather than be a testament to solidarity, this framing is more so a situation of banality by the left, and a statement of individualisation and managerial sentiment, which has permeated the left. As workers are ever more into security work, as primary roles and secondary roles. The continued computerisation and digitisation of their work places them under surveillance and as part of the systems of surveillance. We must consider the focus here on the workers and the invisibility of the management and capitalists. This reveals the need for unionisation as the aim to organise workers. As well as the presence of Intraclass conflict and sector conflict between retail workers and others. As such at the surface the social convention to ignore theft at work seems to be anti-capitalist, but in depth it is a managerial and individualist rhetoric on the workplace, covering of societal decline and the suffering of the working and lower classes. We should also consider the revolutionary potential of the ‘jobsworth worker.’

Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45

Marxist Theories on Profit, Late Capitalism and Imperialism [B103]

Ian José Horta Gois da Silva: Elements for a critical defence of the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall	The aim of this article is to defend the validity of the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, and at the same time to criticize the interpretation that this is the cause of crisis for Marx. To this end, we discuss the "law as such" and its counter-arresting causes, seeking to understand what "law" means for Marx and what this tendential character is. In order to illustrate our argument, we briefly present the debate that took place in 2013 on the Monthly Review blog, which began with a publication by Michael Heinrich denying the validity of the law, in which some of his main interlocutors on this subject were Michael Roberts and Andrew Kliman, defending the validity of the law. These, however, argue that this law is the basis for the construction of a theory of crisis in Marx, taking it as the cause of crisis itself. We conclude that the participants in the debate are mistaken in that they do not understand the meaning of "law" in Marx, comprehending it in an empirical way, and, agreeing with the validity of the law, we argue that the fall in the rate of profit cannot be the cause of the crisis, but only one of its forms of manifestation. The cause of the crisis is the contradiction between the social conditions of production and the private conditions of appropriation.
Alan Freeman: The Pursuit of Class Struggle by Other Means	<p>Capitalism’s supporters often claim it is a peaceful way to organize the world. This claim rests on the widespread belief that capitalist nations avoid fighting each other because they have nothing to gain from it. Yet since the birth of capitalism, whether dated by the commercial fact of the world market, the economic fact of the industrial revolution, or the political fact of the French revolution, war afflicts ever more countries and costs ever more lives.</p> <p>So why do capitalist nations go to war? The usual excuse is that they must defeat the enemies of peace. From Waterloo to Gaza, their historic battles become stanzas of a triumphal saga in which warlike savages either capitulate, or are driven from the face of the earth. From this viewpoint, wars are caused by non-compliant civilizations. They may be ‘backward’ as with the colonies, ‘tyrannical’ as with the Communists, ‘fanatical’ as with Islam, or all three. No matter: their very existence justifies a Holy War in the name of Peace.</p>

	<p>By an inexplicable coincidence, the enemies of peace, according to this narrative, are all resistant to the pure capitalism of the Western global order, so that the cause of war is the preservation of capitalist freedoms. But this argument is a veneer for the real claim: that capitalist nations only wage war against the enemies of capitalism.</p> <p>Veneered or plain, the central difficulty with this excuse is that history's two most destructive wars were fought between developed capitalist nations. In this article, I therefore re-explore an older, and I argue, better account of the cause of modern war: it is the highest form of capitalist competition. It follows that capitalism is the greatest threat to world peace.</p>
<p>Josh Watterton: The Economic Effects of Military Spending: crisis, countertendency, and the 'permanent arms economy'</p>	<p>Eisenhower once highlighted the growing undemocratic influence of the 'military-industrial-complex' (1961) and the enormous opportunity cost associated with it (1953). Since the late-1990s, military spending around the world has been growing but, despite its overall significance, research on it has not followed suit. There remains no consensus on the economic effects of military spending, both in the sense of economic dynamism and whether it 'crowds-out' other forms of state spending, like welfare spending. Understanding such primarily depends on how the relationship between the economy and the state is theoretically understood. The present paper outlines in brief three theoretical schools on the state-economy nexus, ultimately arguing that state-backed military spending should be situated as a countertendency to the 'law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.'</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 The Making of Marx' and Engels' Critical Theory [B104] <i>Western Marxism</i></p>	
<p>Bernardo Bárzana: Is a Human Standpoint Possible? On Young Marx's Critique of Hegel's Method</p>	<p>This paper revisits the question, central for Western Marxism, of the Young Marx's relationship to Hegel. I begin by explaining how the deepest aspect of Marx's early critique of Hegel is methodological: Marx accuses Hegel of simply assuming that rationality (in Hegel's terms ""the Idea"") underlies appearances and that contradictory extremes have a rational mediation. Hegel, Marx argues, does not live up to his own high standards of a presuppositionless philosophy: he is not philosophical enough (""Hegel everywhere falls back from the philosophical standpoint to that other standpoint where the matter is not dealt with in its own terms"" (MECW 3: 114)).</p> <p>In the second part of this paper, I show how this critique applies to the concept of labor. Hegel takes an expressivist view of labor: in labor, a purpose externalizes itself – forms matter – and then comes to know itself in this externality. Marx, it seems, keeps this expressivist view of labor from his early writings all the way to the famous description of the labor process in capital, though his insistence on the ontological priority of nature complicates the picture of labor as an externalization of spirit. This becomes even more interesting when we move from the micro level of the laboring individual to the macro level of civil society: of many individuals laboring in concert. Hegel here follows Adam Smith in seeing a kind of providentiality, an invisible hand, that brings reason into nature. For Marx, this is but the irrational rationality of capital. I thus ask how methodology determines the answer of whether labor under capital is rational or irrational, and I suggest that the most salutary position is one that recognizes that it is both.</p>
<p>Rafael de Almeida Padial: On Marx's path towards communism (1841-1846)</p>	<p>The article re-discusses the interpretations regarding how Karl Marx became a communist. It is generally stated that Marx became a communist, together with Friedrich Engels, at the end of 1844, while writing the Holy Family (see famous comments by V. Lenin and G. Lukács in this regard). We consider that such an interpretation is mistaken and is not supported by the literalness of Marx's texts. In our recent book – "Sobre a passagem de Marx ao comunismo" [On Marx's path towards communism], published in Portuguese by Alameda, 630 pages – we seek to elucidate, through a detailed analysis, the theoretical-political phases that Marx went through until he became a communist (we point out the</p>

	<p>existence of three phases or stages). Until the second half of 1845, Marx was not exactly a “communist”, but a “true socialist”, what has important theoretical and political implications. Through the reconstruction of the debate occurred in the years 1841 and 1846 between Marx, Engels, Bruno Bauer, Ludwig Feuerbach, Moses Heß and Max Stirner, we seek to reveal the philosophical and political meaning of the new “conception of history” [Geschichtsauffassung] developed in the so-called German Ideology.</p>
<p>Matt Shafer: Forces as Relations: The Critical Theory of Friedrich Engels</p>	<p>As Perry Anderson demonstrated fifty years ago, “Western Marxism” was shaped from the beginning by a decisive turn away from the independent philosophical and theoretical work of Engels. “Critical theory” in (and after) the Frankfurt School exemplified this disdain, despite Engels’s continuing significance for such other traditions of radical thought as socialist feminism and eco-socialism. Today, the “return to Marx” in contemporary critique has transformed how we interpret the author of “Capital,” but it has too often persisted in leaving his lifelong coauthor strangely behind. We speak freely of “Marx’s critical theory,” but almost never of Engels’s, and we do not read the two writers in the same way; where Marx’s most reductive formulations are treated as heuristic starting points that unfold into his more complex ideas, Engels’s popularizing slogans are received as the simplistic last word on the content of his views. A caricature of Engels as a systematizing distorter of Marx’s insights, rather than as a significant thinker in his own right, is still too easily taken for granted in the discourse of critical theory today. In this paper, I argue that this neglect of Engels is an intellectual-historical mistake with social-theoretical implications. But I do not simply retread the story of how Engels was excluded from the “canon” of “critical theory”; instead, I elaborate a set of interpretative protocols for a new reading of Engels as a critical theorist in his own right. I focus on three contested themes in Engels’s work: the question of nature, the historicity of value, and the dynamics of sexual and familial life. In all three, I show that we can read Engels not as the archetypal thinker of a reductive “determinism of productive forces,” but instead as a critical theorist of forces as relations in themselves.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Reading Rosa Luxemburg Today [B202]</p>	
<p>Serena Crosson, Ian Tewksbury: Rosa Luxemburg’s Notes on Ancient Athens and the Slave Mode of Production</p>	<p>The question of ancient Athenian democracy and the slave mode of production in antiquity was long a central concern for historical materialism. In 1951, M.I. Finley could unequivocally state that ever since the publication of the Communist Manifesto, ancient slavery had “been a battleground between Marxists and non Marxists” [Finley 1951: 160]. Since the debates from the 1950s to 1980s [Anderson 1974; de Ste. Croix 1981; Finley 1973; Meiksins Wood 1988], however, the “battleground” has largely been ceded to non-Marxists [Ober 1996; Scheidel, Morris, and Saller 2008].</p> <p>Unfortunately, the debates on both sides have not accounted for an essential interlocutor: Rosa Luxemburg. Most-cited today for <i>The Accumulation of Capital</i>, Luxemburg’s work on the political economy of ancient slavery is rarely cited and largely overlooked in the current scholarship. With Verso’s 2013 publication of <i>The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg, Volume I: Economic Writings</i>, three essential works are now readily available in English which offer the opportunity to reappraise the question of the ancient Athens and the development of ancient slavery: (1) <i>Introduction to Political Economy</i>, (2) <i>Slavery</i>, (3) and <i>Notes About the Economic Form of Antiquity/Slavery</i> [Hudis 2013].</p> <p>This paper provides an exposition of Luxemburg’s conception of Athenian history and the rise of slavery, accounting for the discoveries made in archaeology, philology, and ancient history in the last century. We conclude by discussing the intersection of Rosa Luxemburg’s model with social reproduction theory [Bhattacharya et al. 2017], and argue that her model provides a unique (and in our opinion necessary) interpretation of the emergence of slavery, private property, and class domination. These insights offer promising new work on the relation between the development of class and the propertied</p>

	<p>nuclear family in ancient Athens, the question of the tribute mode of production, and the centrality of slavery for the Athenian democracy.</p>
<p>Christine Schwöbel-Patel: Rosa Luxemburg's Red Ecology in the Green Capitalist Transition</p>	<p>In times of climate catastrophe, the green transition is emerging as a new means of violent accumulation. New frontiers are created for the extraction of minerals deemed critical for an energy transition focused on electric vehicles. Like fossil capitalism, green capitalism creates sacrifice zones at the frontier, where natural resources are extracted for the accumulation of wealth in the capitalist centre. Along with physical infrastructures, such as clearing the land and laying new roads, a legal infrastructure is laid to legitimise these sacrifice zones. One such frontier, designated by mining corporations as the largest Western deposit of rare earth minerals, is Greenland. Disproportionately affected by climate change, Greenland's ice sheets are melting, uncovering land rich in minerals. Speculators, innovators, and opportunists have their sights on Greenland, with the world's largest island becoming a new site of inter-imperial rivalry over resources. The Indigenous peoples are resisting the aggressive tactics of mining corporations to attain mining licenses, but the corporations have Western capital, history, powerful lawyers, and a seemingly worthy cause on their side. The latest designated sacrifice zone of global capital in a time of climate catastrophe is perversely the place in the world most sensitive to climate change. To theorise these dynamics, I propose revisiting Rosa Luxemburg's writings with a view to combining her work on primitive accumulation with her work on botany. Hitherto largely ignored in the various Marxist ecologies (John Bellamy Foster and Kohei Saito, among others), 'Rosa's red ecology' provides a unique understanding of the dynamics of legal-imperial accumulation at the frontier.</p>
<p>Dimitrios Krassas: Servants of justice or servants of Nero: A comparative analysis of the texts written on religion by Vladimir Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg on the eve of the Russian revolution of 1905</p>	<p>The Russian revolution of 1905 saw the Russian proletariat storming heavens for the first time, both literally and metaphorically. The participation of the clergy and the believers on both sides, on the side of the oppressors as well on the side of the oppressed, gave the spark for some lively texts from the two great revolutionaries. During the second half of the twentieth century, there has been a revival of religious sentiment among the people linked mostly with the rise of religious fundamentalism, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union and the subsequent triumph of the end of history ideology. Marxists many times tend to forget that religion is not only the opium of the people, but a heart of a heartless world. Rosa Luxemburg's short brochure <<Socialism and the churches>> provides Marxism with a rather different insight on how to treat religion and spirituality, in contrast to a certain extent established rigid Marxist approach, like Lenin's for example, indicted of course by the specific historical, economical and political conditions she faced. This short text embarks mainly from some ideas Rosa expressed in her short brochure and will deal with issues like the use of religious discourse in favor of the oppressed, in an attempt to enrich the revolutionary Marxist thought and practice and try to bring forth what Ernst Bloch used to describe as <<the warm stream of Marxism>>.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Imperialism and Resistance [B203]</p>	
<p>Konstantinos Dimopoulos: Finding Imperialism Where It Is Not Supposed to Be: The Case of the Greek Shipowners</p>	<p>The current vocabulary of imperialism still harkens back to the Marxist classics of the early 20th century, as well as the societies to which they refer. Since then, imperialism has been systematically rigidified. More often than not, upon hearing the word, we reflexively think of imperialism as operating in a zero-sum world of nations distinguished by asymmetrical stages of capitalist development. Following this logic, a nation is either imperialist or it is not: if it is, it is probably a highly advanced capitalist country along the lines of the United States; if not, it is most likely a somewhat 'backward' country itself in the grips of some kind of imperialism.</p> <p>Imperialism, however, is seldom as neat as its ideal-type. The example of Greece is indicative of as much: a peripheral European country, heavily influenced throughout its history by a succession of international forces (never more so than in the past decade), is home to one of the most aggressive agents of international imperialism - the Greek</p>

	<p>shipowners, whose track record of profit(eer)ing from unequal trade, war and crisis makes them a junior, yet equitable partner in the chain of world imperialism. In fact, the incoherence here between Greece (nation) and its shipowners (class) is so stark that the latter have often been excluded from the Greek social formation altogether, despite their influence on national politics and diplomacy and, importantly, despite their diversified economic activities within Greece.</p> <p>Theorizing on the basis of the above case study, we might rethink imperialism as an economically-driven behavior or tendency of capital, often in contradistinction with other bourgeois interests and in complex interrelation with the capital's country of origin. Such a perspective would redefine our collective responsibility in ongoing tragedies across the world, as well as our agency in trying to stop them.</p>
<p>Ashok Kumar: Yemen's Naval Blockade and the Vulnerabilities of Giant Shipping Alliances</p>	<p>The Ansarullah (Houthis) have, for the first time in recorded history, successfully imposed a naval blockade without a standing navy. Navies are the most expensive for militaries to maintain for several reasons (size, technology, capacity) but only the most advanced and well-resourced navies in history have successfully maintained naval blockades. There are two reasons to explain Ansarullah's successful blockade:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Access to advanced technologies that have become increasingly affordable. 2. The laws of motion of capitalism that have consolidated global shipping companies, increased global shipping alliances, and created new shipping monopolies, that have opened new vulnerabilities to disruption. <p>Over the past three decades, international shipping has witnessed the emergence of "Gigantism". Today, there are 3 shipping alliances, 2M (MSC (20%), Maersk (15%), and Israel's ZIM (2.3%), The Alliance, and Ocean Alliance, that control 85% of all global shipping. Shipping alliances are cooperative agreements that utilize fleet space in the most efficient way.</p> <p>The consolidation of maritime capital has allowed for the necessary surpluses to accumulate among a few large shipping firms who have made large technological advancements in ship design and construction, and the ensuing economies of scale of larger ships, which reduce trade and transport costs, thus also making globalized trade even more profitable because transporting goods over long distances is more affordable. This has expanded international exports allowing mass production and lower unit costs at home. These mammoth ships could cost \$100+ million and could take up to 9/10 ships to run a weekly service between Europe and Asia. The capital intensity of these ships obliges them to limit their ports of call at each end to just a few hub ports, almost all of them deepwater.</p> <p>The focus of this paper will be on the second of these two explanations. Using Baran and Sweezy as well as Kalecki and Steindl the paper analyses the emergence of giant monopolistic shipping alliances. These alliances have increased investment in giant ships, highly efficient supply chains, and vertical integration. This has also opened many vulnerabilities that raises the cost of disruption, from increased insurance costs, to the limited the number of ports where these now giant ships can dock.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Book Roundtable: Lars Lih's What Was Bolshevism?: A New Look at the Post-Revolutionary Soviet Narrative [B204]</p>	
<p>Speaker: Lars Lih</p> <p>Discussants: Paul LeBlanc Peter Hallward Lara Douds</p>	<p>Lars Lih's recently published entry in the HM series – What Was Bolshevism? – consists of detailed case studies of the Bolshevik outlook covering the whole period from the October revolution to perestroika. Greatest attention is given to the years immediately following the revolution and to the prewar Stalin era. The individual case studies are further unified by an approach that sees Bolshevism, not as a doctrine constructed out of abstract propositions, but as a narrative with a central theme of inspiring class leadership. On every topic covered, Lih puts forth surprising new evidence and argues for striking new interpretations. The reader sees the Bolshevik narrative as presented not only by political leaders but by novelists, filmmakers, playwrights, poets, and composers. Taken together,</p>

	<p>these case studies provide the basis for a far-reaching reevaluation of the evolution of the Soviet outlook.</p> <p>The proposed panel would consist of the author (myself) and two to four critical readers (who are yet to be recruited!). The book is long and complex, so it might be best to assign particular topics to each of the panel members. Nevertheless, an overall evaluation of the book as a whole would be expected. After a short introduction by the author, the other participants present their findings, the author responds as briefly as he can, leaving as much time for audience participation as possible. This panel will be of absorbing interest to anyone interested in the fate of the Soviet revolution.</p>
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<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 ** New Materialism/s against Historical Materialism in Contemporary Art [B205]</p>	
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<p>The panel brings together two papers that consider the rise – and, indeed, hegemony – of new materialism/s in contemporary art, which, we argue, exists in conflict with historical materialism. Across the two papers and the discussion, we hope to highlight some of the core aspects of this conflict. The panel looks at institutional frameworks that have undertaken to report on the ‘new’ in art, such as art biennials, but also at a broader history of connections impacting emancipatory politics, such as feminism. Key themes in the panel are technology, agency, labour, spatiality and post-humanist abstractions. We argue that in art, new materialism/s provide less of a concrete and thought-out theoretical framework and more of a dominant ideology, one highly compatible with the diminishing of workers’ agency (which requires a departure from the notion of human agency in the latter’s historical and contextual specificity) against a naturalised capitalism, which manages to stay hidden behind the purported vitalism of matter. We see new materialism/s as corresponding to a new idealism that Marxism and Marxist feminism need to critique so as to return the question of emancipation to the concreteness of the mode production – which is always, to remember Marx, a mode of reproduction.</p>	
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<p>Angela Dimitrakaki: Feminism in Art, from Postmodernism to New Materialism/s: A Marxist-Feminist Critique</p>	<p>This paper focuses on the ideas and frameworks that have dominated the trajectory of feminism in art, as practice and theory, in the past few decades. The paper argues that there is a connection between the entanglement of feminism and postmodernism in the late 1970s and 1980s, the pull to Phenomenology in the 1990s, and the gradual move to new materialism/s. The dominance of these frameworks has not been unconnected with the broad inattentance of feminism to questions that animate Marxist feminist critique, concurrent with the marginalisation of Marxism overall in histories of contemporary art. A key question in the analysis concerns the historical conditions that enabled a feminism focusing on ‘the body’, post-humanism, vitalism, and the equivalence of articulations of matter. The paper argues that the flat spatiality of postmodernism (seen as the loss of historical depth, as per Fredric Jameson and others), which also bears a declared connection with intersectionality in the original introduction of the term around 1990, was not unrelated to changes in the economy. The equivalences of new materialism/s extend this refusal to attend to the complexity of capitalism as a mode of production and reproduction characterised by a distinct dynamism. The analysis sees the potential revival of Marxist feminism in art as necessarily encompassing a critique of these tendencies and a return of emancipatory politics to the specificity of antagonisms in present-moment capitalism and the revolutionary horizon.</p>
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<p>Anastasia Philimonos: Technology, Labour, and Ambiguity in Recurring Exhibitions of Contemporary Art</p>	<p>This paper maps the exchanges between new materialism/s and ‘technology’ in recurring exhibitions of contemporary art. It was in 2012 when DOCUMENTA (13) introduced and canonised new materialist epistemologies, ethics and aesthetics as one of the main directions of contemporary art. Since then, an increasing number of art biennials have foregrounded relations between human and non-human otherness, including ‘machines’. Centring on the 7th Athens Biennale: Eclipse (2021) and the 59th International Art Exhibition of Biennale Arte: The Milk of Dreams (2022), this paper demonstrates that the new materialist biennial, sharing the broader movement’s rejection of epistemological and ontological binaries, positions huma-machine interactions outside antagonism (i.e., labour relations) to instead frame them as agential relationalities of co-becoming. In effect, the knowledge produced is rather ambiguous, thus failing to explain the historical specificities in which technology is produced rather than merely ‘encountered’. This approach is congruent with what has been described as the art field’s affinity to liberal pluralism that</p>
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	<p>substitutes difference for antagonism. I contend that if the new materialist biennial truly wishes to consider art's emancipatory horizons, it must resist liberal pluralist dogma and instead take the opportunity to salvage the antagonisms between human and machine that, objectively, inhere in work – and capitalist society at large.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Left Strategy Today [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)] <i>Sponsored by Spectre</i></p>	
<p>Rafeef Ziadah Kim Moody</p>	<p>This panel will examine the strategic issues raised by the new struggles in solidarity with the Palestinian people and in workplaces in various zones of the global North.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Marxism and the Visual Arts II [G3] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Caleb Fridell: Bringing the War Home</p>	<p>My paper revisits Martha Rosler's two series of photomontages called "House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home," from 1967-72 and 2003-08, which combine images from wars waged by the US in Vietnam and in Iraq and Afghanistan with catalogue images of the idealized bourgeois family home. Her political intention to "bring the war home" has been described by critics as making the wars more "personal." I argue that reading Rosler's photomontages alongside her other work in the 1970s, especially "Kitchen Semiotics" (1975) and "The Bowery in two inadequate descriptive systems" (1974-75), usefully complicates the category, "personal."</p> <p>In comments on her own performance in "Kitchen Semiotics," with its parodic, mechanical gestures of reified domestic food production, Rosler describes the "transformation of the woman herself into a sign in... a system of harnessed subjectivity." Drawing on Marxist-feminist debates about social reproductive labor in capitalist accumulation, I argue that Rosler presents unwaged, gendered domestic labor—denaturalized as "harnessed subjectivity"—as equally a social form of capitalist impersonal domination as waged labor. In "The Bowery," an immanent critique of photographic representation of social deprivation driven by gentrification, Rosler similarly makes visible a social form of impersonal domination by refusing to show any person as the subject of her photos. If these works follow their social critiques in the direction of the impersonal, "bringing the war home" would seem to require moving in the opposite direction—to make it personal. But a comparison with the thematically similar photomontages of John Heartfield proves otherwise: Heartfield juxtaposes images of Nazi military spectacle with the bourgeois family to demonstrate the material and ideological complicity between the businessman with his ideal family and the jackbooted troops. Rosler's photomontages do not close the distance between war and family home in the same narrative way; through a close reading of her works, I argue that their ambivalence about "personalizing" or "personifying" large, destructive social forces raises difficult questions about wartime complicity especially relevant today.</p>
<p>Paul Pieroni: Hammons contra Serra: Piss and Policing in Revanchist New York</p>	<p>On an unknown date in 1981, conceptual artist David Hammons visited Richard Serra's minimalist sculpture, T.W.U. (1980-81) — a 72 ton cor-ten steel public artwork temporarily installed by the Public Art Fund at the junction of Franklin Street and West Broadway in Lower Manhattan. Entering its inner space, Hammons proceeded to urinate against the rusted surface of Serra's sculpture – an act captured by Hammons's long-term collaborator, photographer Dawoud Bey. Bey's photographs from that day also show Hammons being booked by a passing NYPD police officer, presumably on some sort of disorderly conduct charge. In a later intervention Hammons returned to Serra's sculpture and tossed 25 pairs of shoes over one of its central ledges – mimicking the look of a 'shoe tree', an urban phenomenon in which laced together shoes are tossed over telephone lines, or up into the branches of trees.</p> <p>Assembled some years later into a single work comprising four archival pigment photographic prints, in this paper I consider Hammons's interventions – which went under</p>

	<p>the collective title <i>Pissed Off / Shoe Tree</i> (1981) – in two ways. First, as a radical response to the ‘rhetoric of power’ expressed in Serra’s looming, monolithic minimalist sculpture. Second, as a repository of historical symptoms linked to New York City’s ‘revanchist’ embrace of neoconservative politics, racialised policing, and surveillance from the late-1970s onwards.</p>
<p>Paul Ingram: <i>Theorising Art Vandalism</i></p>	<p>One of the most significant developments in the relationship between art and politics in recent years has been the increased prominence of physical attacks on works of art, as various political struggles have moved militantly onto the terrain of the cultural sphere. This includes the wave of statue-breaking and graffiti that followed the murder of George Floyd, associated with Black Lives Matter and decolonizing movements; the targeting of high-profile art in galleries and museums by environmental activists, notably Just Stop Oil; and the resumption of the long tradition of feminist art vandalism with the late turn to this tactic in the name of Me Too. At the same time, reactionary and neofascist tendencies have continued to launch assaults on left-wing, formally experimental or otherwise ‘degenerate’ art, for example Ibi-Pippi Orup Hedegaard’s additional ‘modifications’ to Asger Jorn’s ‘The Disquieting Duck’, apparently linked to a faction of the Danish far-right. Arguably, these incidents should be analysed primarily in political terms, i.e. as a mode of direct action. However, they are also inescapably aesthetic in nature, either because they intervene in a pre-constituted work of art to alter its appearance and/or meaning, or because they stage a performative spectacle of such destruction for public consumption. Iconoclasm has a complex history, encompassing organized campaigns, sometimes state-led, sometimes revolutionary, as well as miscellaneous acts of violence perpetrated by individuals, in many cases artists themselves, whose political sympathies are more ambiguous. This paper juxtaposes diverse episodes from that history, thereby contextualizing and casting light on contemporary manifestations of art vandalism. The aim is to explore the interconnected aesthetic and political dimensions of this practice, across a range of examples of the different forms it has taken historically.</p>
<p>Yorgos Paschos: <i>Critical Brutalism and Working Class Cultural Heritage Significance within the UK’s Council Estates</i></p>	<p>By adopting a critical heritage significance stance, this abstract explores the demolition and cultural appropriation of British Brutalist Council estates as a destruction of working-class cultural heritage communal values. With particular focus on Robin Hood Gardens, a demolished London council estate, and the Balfron Tower, a gentrified South London social housing building, this paper examines how the working class communal values and heritage significance of such buildings, manifested through their brutalist architecture, has been erased either through demolition plans or gentrification and capital accumulation. Within the unique, utopian architectural confines of such Brutalist buildings, like the Robin Hood Garden’s streets in the sky, -which were not just manifestations of class inequalities within capitalism, but radical attempts to rectify them through the enactment of egalitarianism and community living-, a sense of belonging and collective identity produced working-class communal values attached to the heritage of the built environment. Such values have been deemed insignificant as an outcome of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) which imposes a culturally hegemonic interpretation of what heritage is, regulating and legitimising dominant group identities. For Robin Hood Gardens, devaluing the communal spirit of its working-class heritage and identifying it as an aesthetically concrete monstrosity led to the building’s demolition. Alongside AHD, influenced by a renewed upper-class interest in Brutalism, the neoliberal gentrifying housing market has rebranded the Balfron Tower into a ‘modernist masterpiece’ (Thorburn. 2018), evicting the majority of its working-class residents and transforming it into luxury apartments for upper- class professionals. Within a vicious circle of hostility towards working-class traditions, such buildings represented utopian scenarios of egalitarian and socialist alternative futures. For this reason, this abstract moves away from the tangible architectural and aesthetic value of Brutalist social estates and focuses on these buildings as signs of working-class struggles and communal heritage significance that are currently erased through demolition and gentrifying rebranding.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45</p>	

Value Form and Its Critique [G51]

Western Marxism

Inka Maria Vilhelmiina Hiltunen: Value and real Subsumption in times of financialization – and the battle against

This paper brings into conversation two distinct works to examine real subsumption of labour under financialization, and how to fight against it. Firstly, Christopher J. Arthur's (2022) reconstruction of Marx's value theory that shifts the primacy of labour as the substance of value found in Marx to the primacy of the abstract value form, which imposes itself on the content of economic and social life. Secondly, Bryan's and Rafferty's argument that financialization requires us to rethink value. According to them, different financial instruments, particularly securities and derivatives, transform value from a product of labour into a search-for-yield, a competitive risk-calculation and commensuration (2015a). Remaining committed to Marx, I argue that while both arguments err and revealingly perpetuate the capitalist fetishism, they help us to analyse modes of alienation and real subsumption under financialization. I use Arthur's decisive separation of ideality from materiality to propose that alienation is experienced in both sides, capital and labour, since what he calls the 'recalcitrance' of labour makes concrete labour incompatible with the ideality of the abstract value form which expects no material barriers. I argue that this contradiction is ever more pronounced under financialization. Consequently, capital encounters limits due to the conflict of the abstract with the concrete. Bryan and Rafferty (2015b) argue that through 'risk-shifting' financialization reconstitutes labour-as-capital, implying new modes of subjection. However, their treatment renders 'labour' into a capitalizable asset which contingencies can be converted into derivatives and traded. While this helps us to analyse financialized alienation and real subsumption, it does not fully respect the elementary contradiction found in Arthur's theory and idealizes capital as an autonomous subject. Drawing from both, I argue that financialization implies extended real subsumption but also intensified contradiction of the abstract/concrete which is the source of both: exploitation and resistance.

Diego Martinez Zarazua: Marx after The New Spirit of Capitalism: The Challenge of the "Commodification of Difference" to the Theory of Value

Marx is often credited with the view that capitalism extinguishes individual characteristics of people and things, a view typically associated with the massification and standardization of production (e.g., Fordism). While Marx stated something of this nature over 150 years ago, sociologists Boltanski & Chiapello, in "The New Spirit of Capitalism," highlight capitalism's shift after the 1960s from the production of homogeneity to the production of heterogeneity, encapsulated in what they call the "commodification of difference."

So what are we to make of Marx after "The New Spirit of Capitalism"? Is it the case that Marx was describing a phenomenon that is no longer prevalent? It would seem so. But I would like to challenge this semblance by reconsidering the dimension in which the alleged erasure of difference plays out.

It seems to me that the transition from one period to another that Boltanski & Chiapello attest to—from the capitalistic production of sameness to the capitalistic production of difference—is signaled by changes in the material-sensorial dimension. But I argue that the statement about the extinguishment of difference that we can actually attribute to Marx takes place in an immaterial, supra-sensorial dimension.

Drawing on recent proposals for a materialism without matter (Toscano, Žižek), I argue that value—a "supra-sensorial" or "spectral objectivity"—does indeed erase all difference, but only at the level of objectivity or representation, not at the level of sensorial phenomenality. This means that whether use-values are materially standardized or materially diversified (as described by Boltanski & Chiapello) is completely irrelevant from the viewpoint of Marx's theory of value.

Thus, this paper reappraises Marx's notion of value as that which "extinguishes all distinctions" in a more philosophical (or less sociological) register, in order to show its relevance for contemporary thought.

Fallon Taylor-Kanary: Marx's Social Ontology of Value

A persistent theoretical disagreement in the Marxian value theory literature concerns what value is and where it is produced. Productionists generally claim that value is a property of an individual commodity and that the magnitude of value is determined exclusively by

production. Co-constitutivists generally claim that value is a relation between commodities and that the magnitude of value is determined by production and exchange.

In this paper, we chart a course through these two positions by clarifying two distinctions using the conceptual apparatus of analytic social ontology. The first distinction we clarify is between value as a relation (which relates commodities) and value as a relational property (whose instances are instantiated by commodities but dependent upon the value-relation). The second distinction we clarify is between the time at which a property is instantiated and the facts that affect that property.

Armed with this new clarity, we propose a social ontology of commodities and value which systematizes and underpins the co-constitutive view, showcasing the insufficiency of production alone to determine value in the network of interrelated commodities required by a capitalist system. We defend three related claims. First, we argue that individual commodities genuinely have value as a relational property. Second, we argue that value as a relation is social through and through, anchored by a capitalist social structure. Thus, we preserve the productionist intuition that individual commodities have value and the co-constitutivist intuition that the value of commodities can only be understood through the value relation. Third, we argue that value property of commodities is instantiated at the point of exchange, but that facts about both production and exchange affect the magnitude of value. Thus, we reconstruct the co-constitutivist claim that both production and exchange are relevant, but that exchange is important in some sense.

Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45
The Political Economy of Climate Change [G51a]

Mads Hansen: Power, Profit, and Climate Innovation: Unveiling Big Tech’s Influence on Climate Mitigation

Against the backdrop of escalating climate emergencies, and an expected increase in the relevance of big-tech companies in various areas of the economy (due to 'artificial intelligence' and the 'Internet of Things'), it is essential for effective policy intervention to understand how power imbalances within innovation systems influence the direction and pace of climate-related technological advancements. The envisioned research project examines the intricate relationship between technological innovation, power dynamics, and climate mitigation efforts, focusing on the dominance of major US tech companies (GAFAM).
The theoretical framework, which is rooted in Marxist theories of capitalism and evolutionary economics, incorporates insights from Karl Marx, Joseph Schumpeter, and Brian Arthur to investigate how GAFAM's market dominance, political influence, and control over intellectual resources (the three dimensions of power) impact the development and deployment of climate-friendly technologies. By conducting an analysis of profit-driven innovation strategies, creative destruction dynamics, combinatorial evolution, and the commodification of knowledge, this study elucidates the mechanisms by which power influences innovation trajectories and ultimately climate-related risks.
The research will employ a mixed-methods approach, including qualitative interviews, quantitative analysis of R&D activities, and econometric modeling, to assess the changing power positions of GAFAM in the market, political, and intellectual spheres over time. This study aims to provide insight into the potential pathways for policymakers and activists to foster innovation conducive to climate action.

Luis Andueza: Notes on Climate, Late Neoliberalism, and the Hydropolitics of Crisis in Chile

At present, Chile is over a decade into an unprecedented ‘mega-drought’ that has seen mean levels of rainfall decline by between 20 to 40% over the majority of the country’s landmass. This has led to a cascading set of disruptions in the country’s most populated regions, ranging from the desertification of agricultural regions to the intensification of wildfires, among other processes. This trajectory intersects with the country’s notorious neoliberal regime of water governance. For four decades, Chile has been widely recognised as an experiment in this regard, with water rights being treated as fully tradeable commodity separate from land. This has given the Chilean hydro-social cycle a sui-generis institutional and political-economic form – one that has become a cornerstones of the country’s neoliberal project, itself characterised by an integration into the world market

	<p>structured around the combination of water intensive extractive industries and financialization. This situation has given rise to new forms of political subjectivation gravitating around the demand for 'water reform'.</p> <p>In 2019 a nation-wide popular revolt drove the political order to its deepest crisis since the end of the military dictatorship in 1990. This has been followed by a complex and still open crisis of hegemony, within which 'water' has come to be positioned at the intersection of conflicts ranging from those around food production networks, indigenous nations' relations to the state, energy infrastructure, and extractive industries.</p> <p>This paper explores how the climate crisis is mediated by the crisis of neoliberalism in the Chilean hydro-social cycle. The presentation aims to raise broader questions about the ways climate and hydrological disruptions feed into and develop through crises of hegemony, and how water can shape political subjectivities and conflicts in moments of rupture and uncertainty in a warming world.</p>
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<p>Adelita Husni Bey: Adaptability - Like a Flood</p>	<p>US contractors have sold specific technologies touting "adaptability" to flood-prone areas in the MENA region. This presentation aims to investigate the paradox of producing products for an epoch of 'natural' disasters and who/what is considered grievable in such situations, drawing inspiration from Murder of the Dead (1951) by Italian Marxist theorist and socialist Amadeo Bordiga (1889–1970). In this text, Bordiga analyses floods and landslides in northern Italy, connecting ailing infrastructures, capitalism and mass death. Based on field research in Libya and the recent catastrophic floods in Derna the paper explores the intersection of capitalism and climate change, further noting the elaborations in the field driven by neoliberal extractivism, rooted in infrastructures built during colonial rule and extended during socialist regime-building, such as the Man Made River in the Sahara Desert.</p>
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Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45
Socialist Register 2025: Openings and Closures: Socialist Strategy at a Crossroads (II) [R201]

<p>Sebnem Oguz Catarina Principe</p>	<p>The "pink tide" of Latin America, which saw leftist governments come to power in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia, was also a significant inspiration. But the more immediate context was framed by the earlier formation of 'new left' party formations across the core capitalist countries: Syriza in Greece, Bloco in Portugal, and Podemos in Spain. Syriza, in particular, had in 2015 become the only socialist party to come to power anywhere in the capitalist core since the 2008 crisis, with the support of robust social movements and a dynamic approach to state power that sought to break with both the Communist and social democratic strategies, while also offering an alternative to the insurrectionism of smaller Leninist groups. And then, just as quickly, these hopes were dashed. The opening, it seemed, was illusory. The confidence of the resurgent democratic socialist left seemed to evaporate as quickly as it had appeared, as the defeat of Sanders, and then Corbyn, saw the consolidation of the stranglehold of centrist coalitions over these parties under Keir Starmer and Joe Biden. All of this indicated that the terrain had shifted once again, and this is what we seek to investigate, as socialist researchers, and need to find ways ahead as socialist activists.***</p>
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Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45
Ecological Colonisation and its Enemies in Palestine/Israel [RB01]

<p>Matan Kaminer: Thai Migrant Farmworkers and the 'Envelopment' of Gaza</p>	<p>This panel aims to place the ecocidal dimensions of Israel's criminal war on Gaza in historical and theoretical context by exploring the political ecology of Zionist colonisation and Palestinian resistance. Our papers encompass the role of the Eastern Mediterranean coastline in the consolidation of Britain's fossil-fuelled empire in the early 19th century; the devastating ecological consequences of the 1948-49 Nakba; the mobilisation of migrant labour in Israel's capitalist-colonial agriculture; the war on Palestinian farming along the eastern edge of the Gaza Strip; and the possibility of ecological decolonisation. Drawing on these case studies, the panel also asks what forms resistance to these practices is already taking, what paths it might take in the future, what the international left can learn from this paradigmatic case, and what it can contribute to linking the defence of Palestine and the defence of the Earth.</p>
<p>Andreas Malm: The Destruction of Palestine Is the Destruction of the Earth</p>	
<p>Samaneh Moafi: Ecocide in Gaza</p>	
<p>Mazin Qumisyeh [Online]: Decolonising people and</p>	

decolonising land: A route to sustainability in Palestine	
Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45	
The Work and Thought of Marina Vishmidt (III) – Roundtable: Fluctuations in Marxist Feminism [RG01] <i>Marxism and Culture</i>	
Larne Abse Gogarty Hannah Black Christina Chalmers Rose-Anne Gush Dimitra Kotouza Zoe Sutherland FTC Manning	
Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45	
Book Roundtable: Supply Chains and Cultural Production [BBK-MAL-251] <i>Marxism and Culture</i>	
Book launches and discussion of <i>The Arts of Logistics</i> by Shane Boyle and <i>Supply Chain Cinema</i> by Kay Dickinson Discussants: Shane Boyle, Kay Dickinson, and Seb Franklin	<p>Over the past half century, the rise of logistics has transformed not only the global economy but culture as well. Two new books by Shane Boyle and Kay Dickinson take stock of how the reorganisation of capitalist production around planetary supply chains has upturned the production of art and film.</p> <p>Whereas most writing on the connection of culture to logistics focuses on how artists seek to represent the terrain of supply chain capitalism, Boyle and Dickinson take a different approach, investigating how logistics has altered the very conditions under which cultural producers now must work. In <i>'Supply Chain Cinema'</i> (Bloomsbury 2024), Dickinson shows how the production journeys of big budget films exemplify the principles of the supply chain, whose core imperative is to nimbly and opportunistically manufacturing wherever is most amenable and efficient. In <i>'The Arts of Logistics'</i> (Stanford 2024), Boyle retells the history of the logistics revolution, foregrounding the role played by sculptors, musicians, and performers in shaping the development of key supply chain technologies and techniques. Taken together, these books demonstrate how culture is an unremarked infrastructure on which supply chain capitalism relies.</p> <p>This panel will celebrate the publication of Dickinson's <i>'Supply Chain Cinema: Producing Global Film Workers'</i> and Boyle's <i>'The Arts of Logistics: Artistic Production in Supply Chain Capitalism,'</i> featuring introductions to these monographs by the authors and comments from respondents (who are to be confirmed closer to the conference).</p>
Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45	
Anti-Colonial Marxisms and the Global History of the Left [BBK-MAL-252]	
This panel investigates a series of critical innovations in twentieth-century Marxist theory designed to center anti-colonial movements in a program of global revolution.	
Priscilla Judson Wallace: Claudia Jones: A Global Interpretation	While recent decades have seen a rediscovery of the revolutionary writings and activism of Claudia Jones, most work in this area has focused on Jones as a participant in the left in the United States. This paper argues for a genuinely global understand of Claudia Jones, embracing her Caribbean origins, her abiding concern with anti-colonial revolutions in China and beyond, and her later activism in Britain.
Seth Uzman: <i>Marxisms of the Defeated: Walter Benjamin, Nâzım Hikmet, and the German and Kurdish Revolutions</i>	This paper establishes Nazim Hikmet's <i>"Epic of Sheikh Bedreddin"</i> and Walter Benjamin's <i>"Theses on the Concept of History"</i> as Marxist documents constitutive of a distinct current of inter-war anti-Stalinism. In the tradition of subaltern universal history, this exercise historicizes the conditions of identity between these two works, in which the defeat of Kurdish liberation struggles for Hikmet, and the failure of the German revolution achieve historical primacy.

<p>David McNally: Anti-Colonial Marxism in France: Tran Duc Thao, Frantz Fanon, and Global Revolutionary Theory</p>	<p>This paper explores two sophisticated projects of renovating Marxism in light of anti-colonial struggles in Vietnam and Algeria. It focusses on the critical work of the radical Vietnamese philosopher Tran Duc Thao and the Martinican psychiatrist Frantz Fanon as they pursued a Marxism adequate to anti-colonial liberation. The relationship of both of figures to the left-wing journal <i>Les Temps Modernes</i> is analyzed, as are their vital theoretical contributions to a truly global Marxism.</p>
<p>Aisha P.L. Kadiri: Fanon in Ghana: Alienation, financial capitalism, and African socialism</p>	<p>The concept of alienation has a rich history. Within Marxism, the concept is often associated with Marx's early thought in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts from 1844" as well as debates over the role of Marxism's humanist elements. Within the history of decolonization, alienation is often associated with the revolutionary and psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, whose work has theorized colonial struggle and the colonized's subjectivity, but has also "stretched" Marxism. Within African socialism, a heterogenous movement on the continent in the years after national independence, colonial alienation necessitated a return to an "African" identity and sociality. While African socialism has arguably failed, its particular relationship with Marxism remains interesting. As Souleymane Bachir Diagne ("Le Fagot de ma mémoire," 2021) points out, African socialism embraced the "young Marx" because for them "the fight against exploitation was first and foremost a fight against the dehumanization of black humanity" (pp. 65-67, my translation). I want to bring these three approaches to alienation — Marxism, Fanon, and African socialism — into conversation to ask, what is the analytical value of alienation in today's world? To answer this broad question, I will turn towards Ghana, a country that is interesting for several reasons. First, today's Ghana is a frontier of financial capitalism, where financial technology, the creation of digital identity systems, and credit scoring converge in unprecedented ways. Second, Fanon served as the Ambassador to Ghana for the Provisional Algerian Government during the fight for Algerian independence. And third, Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first post-independence head of state was a prominent representative of African socialism and coined the term neocolonialism to describe capitalist domination after formal independence. Situating alienation in Ghana then reveals a broader history of the contentious concept and interrogates its role in the geography of Marxist thought.</p>
<p>Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45 Critiques of the Legal Form [BBK-MAL-253]</p>	
<p>Andrew Munro: Economic and Social Rights and the limits of law: A Marxist critique of human rights law</p>	<p>Although it has been well documented that social and economic rights have long been subordinated to the individualised form of civil rights connected to the liberal tradition, it must be clarified that this is not the primary reason that social rights have failed to have much legal impact. Advancing social rights through law challenges the premises of liberalism itself (and capitalism more specifically), like property and individual liberty, and the law is not well suited to be the (sole) vehicle for this.</p> <p>This paper will seek to problematise law, in liberal societies and in the liberal international legal order more broadly, arguing that attempting to advance social rights through law is likely to run into significant obstacles. This will involve considering the way that international human rights interact with the liberal democratic system and the functioning of the international legal order.</p> <p>It will be argued that a proper conception of international law reveals that social rights as international legal human rights were never likely to make a significant impact. It will use the idea that that international law is not a tool that can be wielded for any particular purpose but is intimately linked to capitalism and imperialism to do so. Capitalism and imperialism place structural constraints upon international law, constraints that both prevent the advancement of alternative (anti-imperialist) legal interpretations and allow these interpretations to be absorbed and reconceived in accordance with the requirements of capitalism.</p>

	<p>The period of austerity that followed the Great Financial Crash, as well as earlier instances forced upon the Third World in previous decades as part of ongoing ‘accumulation by dispossession’, were disastrous for social rights, and it appears as though more austerity may be on the way. It is therefore imperative to orient social rights away from the logic and requirements of capitalism.</p>
<p>Matthew Dimick: The Legal Form and Public Law</p>	<p>Critics of Pashukanis’s theory of the legal form routinely identify public law as a weakness for that theory. It is certainly true that Pashukanis’s “commodity-form” theory of the law is most at home in the private-law world of property, torts, and, especially, contract. Beyond this, the “commodity” dimension of public law looks more doubtful. Hence, one author has described Pashukanis’s approach to public law – criminal law specifically – as “faintly comic,” “mere ideological cover,” and nothing more than an “attempt” at “a spurious theoretical consistency.” This paper will defend (and, possibly, reconstruct) the legal form’s theory of public law by drawing on the rich foundation of value-form theory. Doing so makes it possible to use Pashukanis’s legal form to explain a series of modern (i.e., capitalist) public-law features. At this stage, I can offer three different examples. First, the modern state is classically understood as the Rechtsstaat, the “rule-of-law” state, the constitutional state. This conception of the state only arrives with capitalism, where objectified labor provides the “social synthesis,” the network of relations by which society forms a coherent whole (Sohn-Rethel), and the value form itself mediates society in an impersonal, objective way (Postone). Second, one encounters under capitalism the full separation of tort and criminal law. Whereas in precapitalist societies the difference between the two is merely an election of remedies, their separation under capitalism is contiguous with the (reified) separation of economics and politics that is also made possible by the value form (Heinrich). Finally, with the help of value-form theory it is possible to defend Pashukanis’s most controversial contribution to criminal law, the exchange theory of punishment. The conception of punishment under capitalism is only possible in an “exchange society” that sees fully self-interested and calculating individual action as the basis of society (Adorno, Lukács).</p>
<p>Robert Weber: Critiquing Progressive Corporate Law from the Left</p>	<p>Progressive and liberal legal scholars have, since the New Deal, advocated some form of pluralistic, democratic system of corporate governance. The contemporary manifestation of this tendency is the so-called ESG movement (referring to environmental, social, and governance desiderata). However, ESG can only work if corporate managers indeed have some meaningful discretionary space within which they can promote prosocial objectives and values, such as abatement of climate degradation. Progressive legal scholars have (correctly) emphasized how corporate law provides corporate managers with wide discretion, but have failed to appreciate the practical difficulties associated with exercising that discretion within the capitalist mode of production.</p> <p>Two distinct Marxist-inspired theoretical perspectives are engaged here to demonstrate the problems with ESG discretion. First, value-form theory emphasizes that the logic of capital is the movement and growth of value, a process that rearranges everything around it by prompting the flow of materials and the actions of individuals. The tightly cohering and self-reproducing system logic of capitalist relations requires the constant self-valorization of capital, and thus the functional—even if not legal sensu stricto—responsibility of the CEO is to oversee and maintain the accumulation of capital and the self-valorization of value. Hence, there is no systemic decision space for the introduction of other ethical or communitarian values that would subvert the production and circulation of value within the capitalist system.</p> <p>A second theoretical perspective, Anwar Shaikh’s “real competition” theory, foregrounds instead the antagonistic, turbulent nature of capitalist competition. Capitalist firms are constantly overshooting and undershooting when it comes to their investment policies, pricing strategies, etc. in a relentless pursuit of profits, which over the long term tend to fall.</p>

	Each perspective suggests that corporate managers pursuing prosocial values within the circuitry of capital should expect operational dysfunction, and eventually ruinous prospects.
Sunday, 12:00 – 13:45	
Marxism and Societal Multiplicity - the challenge of 'the international' [BBK-MAL-254]	
Justin Rosenberg, Judith Koch, Maïa Pal, Alexander Stoffel and Felix Buchwald	In recent years, debates over 'Multiplicity' (and Uneven and Combined Development) have included the claim that the international dimension of social existence poses a fundamental challenge to Marxism. The failure of historical materialism to incorporate an explicit theorisation of inter-societal relations, it is argued, underlies numerous difficulties in addressing issues of war, nationalism, self-determination and anti-imperialism. This roundtable brings together contributors to various sides of the debate. Can the international be adequately addressed with the resources of traditional Marxism? Or does it point to the need for a fundamental revision of the materialist conception of history itself?
Sunday, 14:45– 16:30	
Social Reproduction through the Life Cycle: Children and the Elderly [B102]	
Susan Ferguson: Play, Work and the State: children's own life-making	
Alan Sears: Childhood and Erotics: Pleasure, Productivism and Power	
Andrew Milne: The Past, Present and Future of Political economy of Elderly Care	What can we learn about a future world beyond capitalism from the contemporary experience of living beyond one's usefulness to capitalism? Today's working-class elders are generally considered non-productive drains on scarce social resources. The growing population of older adults in the Global North poses a particular problem for capitalism because elder care raises the costs of social reproduction without directly contributing to the reproduction of labor power. Care provision has not kept up with the growing need, seeming to confirm dire predictions that declining birth rates and the mushrooming population of retirees strain social resources to a breaking point. Yet, complicating these worries, elder care is a booming industry yielding massive profits. What is going on? I trace the history of elder care, from its brief and partial socialization during the Fordist era, to its rapid commodification and financialization in the neoliberal era. Understanding the contradictions and limits of both models helps us see how the mounting crisis of elder care demands a global transformation of the political economy from one based on extracting value to one based on meeting social needs. I draw heavily on Nancy Fraser, Silvia Federici, and Melinda Cooper to analyze the past, present, and potential futures of old age and care work.
Sunday, 14:45– 16:30	
Challenging Perry Anderson and the categorisation of Western vs Soviet [B104]	
Western Marxism	
D. W. Kamish: The Iron Curtain is a Technical Object: Revisiting the Antinomy between Western and Soviet Marxist Philosophy of Technology	Historically, Western Marxists have deployed a philosophy of technology to distance themselves from what is usually called Stalinism but has in effect meant Soviet Marxism entirely (Lukács 1966; Marcuse [1964] 1991; Feenberg 2002; Levidow and Pellizzoni 2021). This pattern suggests that the question concerning technology ought to be added to the catalogue of fundamental differences between Western and Soviet Marxism (Anderson 1987; Jameson 2009). Revisiting technology as a theme in the great schism of Marxism, however, casts doubt upon such a stable distinction in this realm: the firm technological barrier that many Western Marxists posit to distinguish themselves from the "vulgar" or "dogmatic" Marxists on the other side of the Iron Curtain crumbles under closer scrutiny. A reading of Western Marxist philosophy of technology shows that it is consistent neither internally nor in opposition to "Stalinist" technological determinism. Soviet philosophy of technology, moreover, is far more diverse than Western Marxists typically give credit for

	<p>(Bukharin [1971] 2013; Man, Science, Technology 1973; Goriunova 2009) and state socialist technological practices exponentially more so (Lee, III 1977). Crucially, while the polemic against Soviet Marxism articulates substantive critiques of the Soviets' failure to produce a more democratic technology, it also defers the possibility of revolution in thinking about technology. The foreclosure of revolution has a spillover effect in contemporary scholarship of technology more broadly wherein anything that smacks of "determinism" remains taboo (Peters 2017). A reconsideration of both Western and Soviet Marxist philosophy of technology helps to escape this theoretical and practical quagmire, or at least transform the antinomy of technological determinism and social constructionism into a more dialectical contradiction.</p>
<p>Daniel Allen: An Other Western Marxism: Grossman, Gramsci, Sohn-Rethel and the Legacy of the Reproductive Schemas</p>	<p>While the early Frankfurt school is often counted as the most exemplary set of thinkers of 'Western Marxism', their early orientation around the question of class consciousness in conjunction with the tendency of advanced industrial processes to lead to crisis bares traces of Lenin's account of finance in <i>Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capital</i>. Similarly to Lenin's text, Henryk Grossman argued that the reproductive schemas are a model for illustrating Capital as inherently crisis ridden, not simply by accident or error, but by design. That is, the very need for an imperial or repressive state apparatus is built into the logic of capitalist development itself. I argue that the early Frankfurt School's account of technological or instrumental rationality can be updated and expanded to develop a path for materialist, social analysis by reconnecting it to Grossman's analysis of the reproductive schemas.</p> <p>Further Turning to Alfred Sohn-Rethel and Antonio Gramsci, I seek to dialectically instantiate the early Frankfurt School concept of technological rationality within the restricted domain of either thinker's concept of intellectual labor. Sohn-Rethel here provides the means for seeing intellectual labor as itself an expression of the expanded significance of circulation and the relations of production in the crisis-ridden tendencies of the time. Antonio Gramsci further expands this division of labor to include the uneven social landscape between town and country, as well as north and south, which contributes to the tensions between production and consumption in the city by the further external pressure of archaic, ideological forces. I propose re-purposing the concept of technological rationality within Gramsci's project for social hegemony and organic intellectual direction in the <i>Prison Notebooks</i>, and propose that this new orientation contributes to an assessment of possibilities for social organization against the threat of fascism in the present, rather than a diagnosis of impossibility.</p>
<p>Lori Turner: A Critique of "Defeat" in Perry Anderson's View of Western Marxism</p>	<p>Perry Anderson's main contention in <i>*Considerations on Western Marxism*</i> is that Western Marxism came into being as a direct result of failed revolutions in Europe in the early 20th century. Paul Piccone's concurrently written introduction to <i>*The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*</i> contains a similar claim: "The crucible of the whole ... 'Western Marxist' ... enterprise was the failure of the German Revolution ..." (p.4). Curiously, in the overall reception of Western Marxism the role of failed revolutions is otherwise rarely mentioned. However, it's the interpretation of that historical contextualization that's at issue in my paper.</p> <p>For Anderson, the conditions of the failed revolutions determined the subsequent body of Marxist theory. "[It] ... acquires its proper contours only in direct relation to a mass revolutionary movement. When the latter is effectively absent or defeated, the former is inevitably deformed or eclipsed" (p.109). Thus he sees Western Marxist theory as stagnant and apolitical alongside a weakened working class. His conclusion is ultimately dismissive: "Method as impotence, art as consolation, pessimism as quiescence" (p.93). However, rather than read Western Marxism as defeatist, another reading is possible.</p> <p>In my paper I question Anderson's premises and offer an alternative Marxist theory of defeat gleaned from those who were closest to the failed revolutions of the period. I begin with a recollection from Walter Benjamin who claims to have been radicalized: "The history of Germany in the postwar period is in part the history of the revolutionary education of [its] original left-bourgeois wing of the intelligentsia. It may confidently be</p>

	<p>asserted that the revolution of 1918 ... did more to radicalize this generation than did the war itself" (SW2, p.20). From this I point to Rosa Luxemburg's legacy (her far-from-defeatist insights on revolutions that failed) which is evident in Western Marxism, particularly in its Benjaminian variant.</p>
<p>Santiago M. Roggerone: Western Marxism in an (even more) Expanded Field?</p>	<p>Based on Walter Benjamin's critique of historicism, Martin Jay has recently set out to rethink the narrative strategies used to tell the story of the so-called Frankfurt School. This remarkable effort, indebted to the art critic Rosalind Krauss and her pioneering idea of an 'expanded field', ties in with what the American intellectual historian had previously done in <i>Marxism and Totality</i> (1984). In this book, the well-known enlarged camp proposed by Perry Anderson in <i>Considerations on Western Marxism</i> (1976), where neo-Hegelians like Georg Lukács and anti-Hegelians like Louis Althusser find themselves on common ground, was celebrated and reinforced through the Wittgensteinian concept of 'family resemblances' (Familienähnlichkeit).</p> <p>In critical dialogue with Jay and his current recommendation to avoid traditional accounts of evolutionary development, and expand fields in order to include episodes from different narratives and put them in constellation with the present, in this paper I aim to revisit and reassess Anderson's canonical categorisation of Western Marxism. Building on the criticism, found in multiple scholarly works, on the applicability, scope, and accuracy of Anderson's classical essay, I will focus on its underlying assumptions, limitations, and blind spots. This will allow me to critically address the enlarged camp that was celebrated and reinforced once by Jay as a problematic sum of imprecisions, ambivalences, and ultimately prejudices.</p> <p>Additionally, in this presentation I will seek to answer the key question of whether the expansion of an already expanded field like that of Western Marxism is relevant for the understanding of the historical complexities of Marxist theoretical-practical tradition. In this path, Anderson's <i>Considerations</i> will be placed in series not only with previous efforts like those of Karl Korsch's or Maurice Merleau-Ponty's but also with contemporary alternative categorisations such as André Tosel's 'mille marxismes' or Razmig Keucheyan's 'new critical theories'.</p>
<p>Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 Remembering Toni Negri [B202]</p>	
<p>A roundtable with Sandro Mezzadra, Elia Zaru, Matteo Polleri, Nick Dyer-Witherford, Davide Gallo Lassere. Vittorio Morfino</p>	
<p>Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 Marxism, Language and Literature [B203]</p>	
<p>Anna Chiara Mezzasalma, Maria Chiara Pozzoni: Elf and AI in Academic Settings: A Gramscian Perspective for Epistemic Diversity</p>	<p>Structural adjustment is taking place also in the field of knowledge production where we experience an asymmetrical uptake in the circulation of science. The historical and molecular erosion of peripheral-made knowledge, mostly through violence, cultural imperialism since colonial modernity, is currently expanding in academic settings through an allegedly neutral knowledge and technology: A phenomenon including the corporatization of university. The centralization and peripheral-making of knowledge is conducted through a normative sift that, according to a "publish or perish" culture based on a peculiar publication and language policy, brings hegemonical epistemic tradition to the fore while sifting away other epistemologies.</p> <p>Thus, epistemic diversity is facing a double challenge: One is the dominant role of global English as the lingua franca in which researchers must read, publish, and express themselves. The other is an overwhelming dominance of English in training AI-models, increasingly used for academic work.</p> <p>How does the use a single language affect peripheric knowledge systems? Does this have a greater effect through the deployment of AI for academic texts and translation?</p>

	<p>To evaluate these two devices, we will refer to Antonio Gramsci, whose theories of hegemony, translatability and subalternity are related to language issues in the scientific domain. As a member of a linguistic, subaltern minority he was aware of the power relations intrinsic in language policies and cultural mechanisms of dominance. As a linguist and member of the Comintern, he conceptualized translation of revolution in different languages for diverse cultural contexts. In his Prison Notebooks, he devoted major intellectual and political attention to the abstract and artificial tendencies of dominant languages, mainly in the intellectual realm, as noted about medieval Latin, Italian and Esperanto. Conversely, he valued language diversity in science production, identifying translatability as the pivot of the struggle for science objectivity as universally subjective knowledge.</p>
<p>Craig Brandist: Marxism and Philology</p>	<p>The relationship between Marxism and philology has recently attracted serious scholarship as a result of work on Gramsci's writing on language and culture, and his reflections on the ways Marxism differs from positivism. For Gramsci philology studies history in its 'infinite variety' and gives birth to "philology" as a method for ascertaining particular facts, and to the birth of a philosophy understood as a general methodology of history'. In his Arcades Project Walter Benjamin sought to 'prove by example that only Marxism can practice great philology, where the literature of the previous century is concerned'. In the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s philologists combined a Marxist approach to philology with a critique of European Oriental scholarship, developing an 'insurgent' form of philology which challenged the Indo-European discipline that had been developed within institutions of the colonial powers in order to adapt government to local cultures within their dominions. Colonial philologists and the Brahmanical Pandits on which they relied sought to establish cultural connections between the Indian and European elites, valorising Sanskrit in particular as an expression of Aryan supremacy, which had spread beyond the subcontinent. This idea of a 'greater India' would become important for elite nationalists and would spur the formation of Hindu supremacist currents. Meanwhile, some Soviet philologists established connections between vernacular languages and cultures, pioneering studies of the Roma and of Indian vernacular traditions that acquired an insurgent character. This intersected with intellectuals from the emerging anti-caste movement, identifying modes of resistance and the formation of oppositional ideas and cultures.</p> <p>The paper explores the relationship between inter-war Marxism and philology, examining the features of an incipient conception of insurgent scholarship that facilitates revolutionary leadership in divergent societies and socio-cultural environments.</p>
<p>Jacob Sloan: Above, Outside, or Below? Literary Realism as Social Reproduction Theory in the Global Strike Novel</p>	<p>This paper delves back into the supposedly long-dead realism/modernism debates that most often find their embodiment in the disagreements between Georg Lukács and Theodor Adorno. Leaving behind this very traditional (and, frankly, all too personality- and taste-based) posing of the problem of the relation between aesthetic and literary form and political possibility, I trace similar debates that marked struggles over literary representation in Japan, China, and, elsewhere. This decentering provides us, I argue, with cleared ground on which to rethink questions of the relationship between Marxism—and good Marxism, at that, rooted, as it ought to be, in the self-emancipation of the working class—and the narrative representation of class struggle. If Marxism is to be judged on the basis of its explanatory power, narrative representations that attend to socio-historical explanation, not the mere encoding of the political, ought to be accorded pride of place in the Marxist tradition.</p> <p>I follow out this representational argument by thinking it through the example of the strike novel, a global literary genre whose manifestations are varied. Up to the representationally "experimental," and therefore privileged, strike novels of writers like Mary Heaton Vorse (the United States) and Taikji Kobayashi (Japan), I hold the supposedly non-experimental and therefore, in the common calculus, supposedly staid or boring or less politically useful</p>

	<p>realist novels of Sembène Ousmane (Senegal), Grace Lumpkin (the US), Kang Kyong-ae (Korea), and a number of others. The more ostensibly experimental or modernist novels, I argue, ought to be judged by the mediations they ignore. The working class often appears in these novels as an abstract, ever-undulating mass of spontaneous possibility, driven by pre- or para-rational affect. But this is a poor Marxism. It fails to represent the flesh-and-blood actors of class struggle.</p>
<p>Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 Marxism and the Visual Arts II [B204] <i>Marxism and Culture</i></p>	
<p>Ahmet Furkan Inan: History Restarted: Artistic Autonomy in the Post-1980 Turkish Cultural Sphere</p>	<p>"In a newspaper clipping from 1989, five young people in different poses are photographed beside a set of rusty cogwheels in an equally rusty and abandoned factory building in Istanbul. The image is taken inside Feshane, one of the city's most important industrial sites from the late Ottoman times. It is imbued with a sense of joyful youth, anticipation and hopefulness that for some defined the spirit of the 90s generation. By then still students in different creative disciplines, these five people were about to stage in this same site one of the most ground-breaking contemporary art exhibitions of the post-1980 coup Turkey. With its misspelt title Seretonin I, the exhibition included performances such as painter Komet's reciting of a poem while being paraded around inside an iron cage and Mehmet Gülerüz's performative drawing while riding a camel on the exhibition's grounds, all examples which were then foreign to the country's modernist art establishment.</p> <p>Taking its cue from the variety of historical conjunctions the photograph and the exhibition call into being, this paper addresses changes in the hegemonic mode of cultural production in the Turkish cultural sphere throughout the late 1980s and the early 1990s and aims to contextualise this period within the broader context of neoliberal globalization and its contradictory forces in the cultural field. Indeed, at a moment when history was proclaimed to be 'dead,' contemporary artists in Turkey were in the process of 'restarting' history on entirely new grounds, through the forging of an autonomous field of production during a period of increased liberalization in the aftermath of a military regime. This paper seeks to provide an immanent critique of the specific kind of artistic autonomy configured by artists of the period, highlighting its shortcomings which became apparent in the decade that followed.</p>
<p>Natasha Gasparian: The Scandal of Abstraction: Artistic Autonomy and "The New Sensibility" Movement in Beirut, 1964-67</p>	<p>In the immediate aftermath of the 1967 June War, artists and intellectuals displeased with the official pan-Arab response of defeat—articulated in cultural as well as militaristic terms—committed themselves to the national liberation of Palestine as the horizon of emancipatory possibility for the entire Arab region. Disparate artistic tendencies were bound together through a shared commitment to construct, and thereby transform, the world, rather than merely represent it as it was. This political and artistic avant-garde movement—what I term The New Sensibility—emerged outside of the confines of bourgeois institutions, such as the Sursock Museum in Lebanon (the de facto national museum of modern art in the absence of one), but it already began to appear through the cracks of its annual Salon d'Automne exhibition prior to the war and the triumphant historical narratives that sustained it. The succession of scandals surrounding abstract painting signalled an anxiety around the ontological status of art. The lack of referent in Shafic Abboud's <i>Enfantine</i> (1964) was received as an affront—without grounds in social reality, the artwork's autonomy lay merely in its status as a commodity. It was only after the 1967 War that artists began to resist the subsumption of their work by capital through various methods. This paper investigates how the signifier of the 5th of June (the first day of the June War) invested militant art with social content that laid claim to artistic autonomy, setting it apart from mere commodities while also resisting the formalist model of art for art's sake.</p>
<p>Rose-Anne Gush: Landscapes of Abstraction: Contemporary</p>	<p>Exploring the aesthetics and politics of energy and its concomitant 'transition', this paper considers contemporary artistic practices and works, as well as its institutions, that engage</p>

<p>Art, Extraction, Violence, Economy</p>	<p>with 'energyscapes' (Diamanti), the settings where capital intersects with energy infrastructures, optimising these for capital's expansion and ecological disaster. Exploring how the field of art navigates such 'extractive zones' (Gómez-Barris), the paper considers how art registers or is shaped by spaces or trade routes that map onto colonial geographies marked by neo-colonial and eco-fascist practices, and how art employs or navigates infrastructures that mediate the so-called 'green revolution'. Analysing how art indexes these geographies of extraction, I aim to unfold the forms of violence, conflict and resistance that become visible and tangible through art's navigation of the geographies and logistics of the 'planetary mine' (Arboleda).</p>
<p>Morgan Craig: On Violence in Hauntology: Ingress, Egress, and the Echoes in Between</p>	<p>Evolved from deconstruction, hauntology persists in the pendulum, stitching time together. Introduced by Jacques Derrida, it is a portmanteau of haunt and ontology, rooted in a world that is ridden with a plurality of aspiration and attainability lost. For him, it signifies that time is "out of joint." In essence, hauntology postulates existence is nothing more than ghost upon ghost, fragments of former futures forged into a phantasmic present. I argue that the ideology of violence is systematically weft within it; art, technology, and politics thread and rethread the proverbial needle, managing to draw blood in the process, exposing the spectres. The question I, therefore, pose is has the amalgamation of art, technology, and politics, invariably served to elucidate the spectral, the stagnant, and the subsequent violence within society, the despoliation of the dead? Using a hauntological lens, I will expand upon this thesis, answering this query with not only a stentorian yes, but a veritable call to action. I contend as the digital marvels/spectacles manifest so does the morass metastasise. Pullulated across the planet, the Capitalist system is where the breadth and scope of this project is positioned. Framed contextually within the late 20th century and the present day, this dissertation 's key concepts will be pharmakon, memory, myth, the spectacle, and the materiality of violence. I will draw from the works of artists, theorists, and philosophers, such as Derrida, Adorno, Margolles, Fisher, Paglen, and others. I will delineate how, historically, and hermeneutically speaking, the advent of technology has reached sights unseen by generations before. And yet, the lambency and lustre, now seem stymied and stultified. Men in slate-coloured suits, slave to market rule, suggest they can control or prevent the chaos, hypnotised and hypertrophied by the hologram of enlightenment, mesmerised by myth. What continues to be viewed by the powers that be as a panacea, has propelled civilisation closer and closer to the precipice. The spectacle of sound and vision is nothing more than a vacuum of violence, sucking society into its spectral realm.</p>
<p>Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 This Wall Kills Fascists: The Antifascist Mural from the 1930's to the Present [B205]</p>	
<p>Ben Wiedel-Kaufmann: Barring the Road to British Fascism: the Cable Street Mural in context</p>	<p>In 1934 three young Californians - Reuben Kadish, Philip Goldstein and Jules Langseer – travelled south to Morelio in Mexico to paint a mural generally referred to as The Struggle Against Terror. It was painted on a university wall secured by Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros at a moment of intense class struggle during which the Comintern adopted the Popular Front strategy to counter the rising threat of fascism. The mural traces the forces of reaction historically to the Spanish Inquisition and brings them up to the present with Nazi Germany and the Klu Klux Klan; and importantly, in terms of the remit of the conference, it depicts resistance to fascism and reaction in both Europe and the Americas.</p> <p>This panel will explore the ways in which the mural form has been mobilised at important historical conjunctures as a pictorial mode of anti-fascism. Other celebrated examples in the 1930s include Pablo Picasso's Guernica and Siqueiros' Portrait of the Bourgeoisie and these will be the basis for an examination of the wider tradition of anti-fascist mural painting from then through to the present. Drawing together papers on anti-fascist murals made in the United States, Mexico, London and Belfast this panel will explore the international significance of the mural form as a mode of anti-fascist political intervention.</p>
<p>Warren Carter: Mexican muralists go to war</p>	
<p>Richard Gray: New things are coming: Malangtana's mural at Zimpeto, Mozambique</p>	

	Key questions might include, in what ways has the mural form lent itself to anti-fascist politics; to what extent does its often complex relationship to state patronage affect its potential political valency; in what ways has the mural been mobilised as a key site of anti-fascist struggle; and what might a focussed exploration of the category of the anti-fascist mural offer to a broader analysis of the mural form, anti-fascist politics and the interrelations of art and agency across the past ninety years?
Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 Book Roundtable: Disaster Nationalism: liberal civilization collapses, from Gaza to climate change [Lucas Lecture Theatre (LLT/DLT)]	
Author: Richard Seymour Discussants: Gargi Bhattacharyya and Tad Delay	The new far-right thrives on the social experience of disasters, and yet is obsessed with false catastrophes and evils ('white genocide', 'great replacement', 'Romeo Jihad'). Far from representing the occluded 'legitimate interests' of a left behind population, from India to Israel to the Philippines, it appears to sanction a desire for revenge, and for a strike against the norms of liberal civilization. And yet liberal politicians are complicit in the downfall. Why is this happening, and why now? What can we learn from Marxist categories and theorisations of fascism, racial fascism and racial capitalism given the novelties of the conjuncture? What strategies avail?
Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 Book Roundtable: <i>The Political Theory of Liberal Socialism</i> [G3]	
Speaker: Matthew McManus Repondants: Ben Burgis and Marion Trejo	My panel will be an "author meets critics" discussion of my book "The Political Theory of Liberal Socialism." The book will be released with Routledge in fall 2024. It argues for a Macphersonian "retrieval" of liberal socialist political theory, introducing some of the major theorists in the tradition from J.S Mill to Rosselli and Mouffe. The book also contends in the conclusion that liberal socialism deserves to be taken seriously as a stream of left thought.
Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 The Palestinian Question: Moral and Political Economy of Colonialism [G51]	
Dwjuan Frazier: Capitalism or Racial Capitalism or Settler Colonialism: A note on the Palestinian Question CSR Shankar: Re-reading Arab Marxism: "Underdevelopment" and the Colonial Mode of Production Ira Anjali Anwar: BDS and the Political Economy of Zionism in Neoliberal Academia	Alongside the much needed soul searching and political rejuvenation, the Palestinian resistance has also demanded that we critically interrogate our inherited analytical categories. The Palestinian question disrupts and brings into question the sense of historicity marked by the 'post' in post-colonialism. Political strategies that centre boycott and divestment demand that we articulate the relationship between the moral/political question (genocide and war crimes) and the economic, and thus once again contextualise the Palestinian question within a broader anti-capitalism. Our presentations perform a critique of the existing discursive frameworks within which the question of Palestine is posed, insisting, albeit in different ways, that the Palestinian question needs to be posed as a critique of global political economy. The first presentation, on political and moral economy of neoliberal academia and its relationship with israeli colonialism takes to task the myth of economic neutrality in the face of a genocidal geopolitics driven by American imperialism, demonstrating the necessity of this myth for the sustenance of the Zionist project. The second critically reflects on the conceptual frameworks within which the question of race and colonialism have been adressed in the American academia (racial capitalism and settler colonialism), asking if these frameworks adequately account for the <i>differentia specifica</i> of capitalism even if they do attempt to account for anti-blackness, racial dispossession, and genocide. The last returns to the theoretical formulations of Arab Marxism, in particular Samir Amin's theory of 'underdevelopment' and Mehdi Amel's notion of the 'colonial mode of production' to reflect on their contemporary relevance. In so doing, the panel hopes to interrogate the intersecting and conflictual discourses on colonialism through the specific context of Palestine, pushing ourselves and our audience towards a politically and theoretically rigorous articulation of the relationships between contemporary capitalism and its global order and regime.
Sunday, 14:45– 16:30 Book Launch: Georg Lukács, <i>The Specificity of the Aesthetic</i>, Volume 1 <i>Marxism and Culture</i> [R201]	

<p>How is it possible that works of art exist? How do we become receptive aesthetic subjects? The Specificity of the Aesthetic extends these fundamental ontological and phenomenological questions around which Georg Lukács's theory of art was organised. This late work of aesthetics seeks to solve a puzzle that neither philosophy nor socialist politics was able to: the fundamental ethical question of what individuals and humanity as a whole ought to do. Art offers Lukács the already-existing means through which the damaged edifice of Marxism might be reconstructed on a durable basis on which to rest the philosophy, politics, and ethics of a non-Soviet-style Marxism.</p>	
<p>Tyrus Miller: Issues of Mimesis: Art, World, and Defetishization in Lukács's Specificity of the Aestheti</p>	<p>My paper will explore Lukács's central concept of mimesis, which he treats at length in several chapters of The Specificity of the Aesthetic. Lukács gives a genetic account of art's emergence, centered on the increasing capacity of human beings to reflect reality by the specific means of art. Art's forms, and the multiple emergences of its various media and modes in the system of arts, represent the historical unfolding of this capacity. In turn, art gives rise to autonomous aesthetic worlds, representing specific parts of the worldly totality, insofar as artworks realize art's mimetic task of reflecting reality in a specific way, different from instrumental technique or science. In his conception of mimesis, Lukács offers an ontological and anthropological grounding for an aesthetics of realism, which is for Lukács the underlying principle and criteria for judgment of art as such in his aesthetic. What is art is realist; what fails to be realist, fails to be art and falls into oblivion, as Lukács would have it. Somewhat paradoxically, this axiomatic principle requires Lukács to articulate a highly flexible notion of the ways in which various arts can reflect reality mimetically, even overextending his claims to postulate mimetic properties for non-representational arts such as music and architecture. Yet ultimately, Lukács needs to claim mimesis as a universal principle of art in order to have art fulfill the critical task of defetishization: the revelation and restoration of the human sensuous praxis on which the objects of our collectively shared reality depend and which is occulted by the mechanisms of class (and especially capitalist) society. In reshaping objective reality into the autonomous formed worlds of artworks, Lukács suggests, artistic mimesis may disclose in sensuously vivid forms the entwinement and dependence of the objective world's concrete features on shared human thought and practice.</p>
<p>Alex Potts: Changing political configurings of a Marxist aesthetic in Lukács</p>	<p>The publication of an English translation of the first half of Lukács' late The Specificity of the Aesthetic is not just a major contribution in its own right to understandings of Lukács critical and theoretical writing about art for those unable to read the original German text. It provides an opportunity to reconsider the broader significance of his interventions in modern discussions about literary and artistic culture and the politics of modern artistic formations. More particularly it invites reflection on the significance today of issues that engaged him as a committed Marxist adapting his take on aesthetics and tendencies in the artistic (mainly literary) culture of his time to radical shifts in the political landscape taking place over the latter part of his long career. In particular, this talk offers some preliminary commentary on differences between his thinking and polemical interventions on the cultural politics and formation of the modern novel in his high Soviet moment of the 1930s, and his later struggle to fashion a viable post-Stalinist perspective on the place and function of the aesthetic in the modern world.</p>
<p>Bruna Della Torre: Back to Lukács. The Specificity of the Aesthetic (1963) and Art Criticism Today</p>	<p>Georg Lukács' assessments of modernism and the avant-gardes cost him an aesthetic discredit still widely dominant in Marxist art criticism, a so-called dogmatic shadow that followed his writings from the 1930s on and also spread to his late aesthetics. Theodor W. Adorno criticism of his Marxist positions, especially those present in his Negative Dialectics (1966) and Aesthetic Theory (1970) – books that associate Lukács ontology with Martin Heidegger's existentialism, a fall into humanism – prevented those affiliated with critical theory from further engaging with Lukács aesthetics from the 1970s on. This paper delves into the concepts of "form" and "work of art" discussed in Lukács' The Specificity of the Aesthetic (1963) and Adorno's Aesthetic Theory, focusing mainly on Lukács' advocacy for organic works of art (closed) and Adorno's defence of non-organic (open) artworks. Each of these positions involves theorizing the relationship between subject and object in aesthetics and, therefore, a different way of approaching dialectics. Therefore, this paper</p>

will reexamine this stiff dialogue and discuss the relevance of Lukács aesthetics beyond Adorno's criticism, as well as the relevance of Lukács aesthetic theory in a world dominated by war and fascism.

Sunday, 14:45– 16:30
New Cold War, Imperialism, and Capitalist Geopolitics [RB01]

Andrew Wright: Capitalist Geopolitics

"The 'return' of geopolitical rivalry, war, and multipolarity has disrupted delusions about a peaceable globalised world under American 'unipolar' tutelage. Many Marxists had bought into some version of these ideas. For them, the term 'imperialism' has lost (or never possessed any) utility and the search for a structural link between capitalism and competitive geopolitics is futile.

I disagree. There is such a link, but classical and contemporary theories have not adequately captured it. (Symptomatically – those who agree one exists, radically diverge on how to analyse it.

We need a rethink.

I suggest a more 'political' conception, rejecting economistic interpretations, but not severing it from the logic of capitalism. There is a distinctively capitalist geopolitics whose logic is not a generic power-political one (nor an 'intersection' of such with the logic of capitalism, as some argue).

I suggest the institutional conjugation of economics and politics in capitalism is not monotonic but varies according to the uneven and combined development of a set of distinct 'determinations' (which crystallise into distinct political-economy 'moments') rooted in capitalism's deep structures.

The same variety applies to capitalist geopolitics (imperialism) which also displays a range of different forms. For this morphology, I suggest a typology which I'd like to christen (in the spirit of the late Giovanni Arrighi) a new geometry of imperialism.

A common theme undergirding this morphological variety is the idea that capitalist sovereignty is as explosive a contradictory form as the commodity. (The cell form of capitalism whose 'two-sided' nature ramifies outward into the entire structure of capitalism and its violent pathologies and contradictions.)

Analogous to the atom, these cell forms of capitalism (the commodity and capital – in its political economy – and the sovereign state in its geopolitics) are packed with explosive energy.

Gareth Dale: Contender states' in capitalist geopolitics

"In 1955, Global South countries met in Bandung to voice resistance to imperial oppression. In 2023, some of those same countries met again in Johannesburg, South Africa, as BRICS welcomed six new member nations into its coalition. This paper begins by interrogating the notion that BRICS+ manifests a new anti-colonial formation that challenges the West's global domination. Certainly, BRICS+ represents a challenge to the West, but this is principally in view of the "contender" states among its members. The main body of the paper explores the dynamics of "contender" states within the geopolitics of capitalism.

At the heart of capitalist geopolitics is the intersection between the state system and the world economy. Each state is imbricated in a world society and economy whose movements it can influence but not control; its stability and status depend upon processes beyond its borders. It necessarily transgresses its national character, as it seeks influence beyond its borders: massaging and manipulating frameworks of rights, partnering and clashing with other states, etc.

If this is the core contradiction in capitalist geopolitics, it is overdetermined by the steep hierarchy of the world system. In the main body of the paper I develop a typology of contender states: those that challenge, or appear to challenge, the global hegemon. China, the most recent case in point, has supplanted the U.S. as the major trading partner of most of the world's nations, occupies a significant position in competition over digital networks, supply chains, infrastructure, finance, etc., and increasingly projects diplomatic influence (the formation of BRICS+ is an instance). Given its exclusion from America's club, China is

	<p>systemically obliged to project power, initially regionally but increasingly on the global stage—regardless of whether or not Beijing openly voices hegemony as the ultimate telos. This paper has been developed in dialogue with Andrew Wright, and in connexion to his proposed HM paper on capitalist geopolitics. If both are accepted, they should be grouped in the same panel. His will be principally theoretical; mine moves from theory to concrete historical examples.</p>
<p>Filip Ilkowski: Rethinking the relationship between capitalist imperialism and the capitalist state - abstraction and concretization</p>	<p>Imperialism - again! - returned to the very heart of really existing capitalism. However, the theoretical debate on it seems to have lagged behind events, taking mainly the form of heated disputes on various 'positions', especially in the context of the war in Ukraine. Without denying the importance of the concrete, let us start with its relationship with the abstraction - the place of imperialism in the capitalist mode of production, existing through the mediation of the capitalist state. Is there an abstract 'essence' of the capitalist state, and if so, how is imperialism built into it? In what way in this context 'force is itself an economic power', as Marx famously stated?</p> <p>We are some fifty years after profound debates about the position of the state in capitalist society and more than twenty years after renewed discussion about the Marxist theory of imperialism. The moment of the 'poly-crisis' of the actually existing capitalism – the imperialist horror including – brings with it the need to rethink their adequacy. The aim of this paper is to re-evaluate the theoretical approaches of the relationship between imperialism and the capitalist state, in front of contemporary developments. A thesis is put forward about the validity of recognizing the 'laws of motion' of capitalist states also at the level of abstraction and treating capitalist imperialism as a phenomenon rooted in the specificity of their rivalry.</p>

Sunday, 14:45– 16:30

Figures of the Global Proletariat [RG01] *Marxism and Culture*

Recent years have seen renewed debates on the identity, location and activity of the global proletariat in the era of the demise of a large-scale, organised working class. From Social Reproduction Theory to notions of “wageless life” (Denning), post-autonomist debates on class composition to major developments in the theory of “racial capitalism”, the recent period has generated a multitude of figures of the global proletariat (including that of the “multitude” itself). Inspired in part by Fredric Jameson’s Marxist refunctioning of Erich Auerbach’s theory of figural interpretation, this panel traces the cultural figurations and valences of the global proletariat across a range of cultural productions: from world cinema to the visual iconography of borders as sites of class struggle. Focussing in particular on figures of dispossession, the panel will draw attention, not only to the positive representations of subalternity, but to the ways in which subaltern cultural productions themselves enable us to identify blind spots in dominant, Eurocentric variants of Marxist thought itself. In doing so, they seek to expand our very conception of ‘culture’.

<p>Daniel Hartley: Beyond Alienation: The Cultural Logic of Agrarian Struggle</p>	<p>Most contemporary peasant movements – from the Brazilian Landless Workers’ Movement to La Via Campesina (“the peasant way”) – formed as responses to neoliberal land dispossessions and the ecological commodification of the global corporate food regime. They are not relics of a pre-capitalist past or living evidence of ‘incomplete’ modernisation; they are an active, contemporary social and political force, operating within fully developed civil society, opposing capitalist agribusiness, and fighting for a post-capitalist food and land system. They have generated a wealth of interest in the fields of critical agrarian studies, ethnography, and historical sociology, but less attention has been paid to the major repercussions of these movements for how we conceive of culture.</p> <p>This paper will elaborate upon the cultural logic of contemporary agrarian struggles, focussing in particular on those aspects that reveal ideological blind spots within classical, Eurocentric Marxist theory. Using Raymond Williams’s Keywords definition of ‘culture’ as a guiding thread, it will reconstruct the connection between the intrinsic shift in meanings of ‘culture’ throughout capitalist modernity in relation to the history of primitive accumulation and dispossession. In doing so, it will emphasise a conception of alienation as loss of objectivity (as opposed to subjective estrangement), and will identify in today’s global agrarian struggles lines of thought and practice that point beyond capitalist</p>
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	<p>alienation to a communist re-appropriation of objectivity that cannot be equated with a romantic, pre-modern pastoral yearning.</p>
<p>Charlotte Spear: <i>Illegal Figurations and Labouring Subjects: The Contemporary Forced Migrant and Capitalism's Labour Crisis</i></p>	<p>Building on Hannah Arendt's influential suggestion that the refugee lacks the very "right to have rights" (1966), human rights scholars have examined the loss of fundamental rights embodied by the figure of the forced migrant in the terms of a "gap" in legal protections, presuming the forced migrant to exist somehow "outside" the law (Bauman 2007; Stonebridge 2022). And yet, as De Genova notes, the forced migrant's rightlessness does not result from their place "outside" of the law, but rather from their dialectical (il)legalisation: Europe's need for the "precarious and thus tractable labour" (2013) that the forced migrant provides both feeds and is fed by the very illegality of the forced migrant in European discourse. As such, the forced migrant's subjectification by capital can only be understood in terms of "the embodiment of labour power" (De Genova 2013).</p> <p>Drawing on Mati Diop's 2019 feature film, <i>Atlantique</i>, which tells the story of a group of men forced to leave Senegal in search of sufficient economic opportunity elsewhere, this paper examines the interconnected "figure" and "subject" of the forced migrant. Firstly, I follow Sharpe (2016) and De Genova (2013), in exploring the social spectacle of the forced migrant "figure" as "illegal" in contemporary European discourse. Secondly, I engage with Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) to highlight how this illegalisation of the forced migrant characterises capitalism's requirement for organised exploitation of the global proletariat's labour. Ultimately, I argue that contemporary forced migration must be understood through the figuration of what Larsen calls "monetary subjects without money" (2001): those populations forcibly integrated into an exploitative capitalist world-system which does not have the capacity to adequately remunerate their labour and, as such, requires their illegalisation.</p>
<p>Mark Steven: <i>Against the Wall: A Cinematics of Dispossession</i></p>	<p>Proletarianization begins with dispossession: a severing of bonds between humans and the resources needed to sustain life. Historically, dispossession has assumed the form of colonial landgrabs, enclosure of the commons, and the wholesale conversion of a natural world into private property. This paper provides an outline of dispossession for the present conjuncture and as a force perpetuated by the logic of borders and border walls. Beginning with the changing meanings of the Berlin Wall, the paper looks to the visual iconography of borders from Mexico, Brazil, and Palestine to articulate a global vision of social class as humans either stranded or fleeing and in want of the most basic means of subsistence. How, the paper asks, do we envisage class solidarity at a time when dispossession ensures an overwhelming population must subsist without the guarantee of food, shelter, and safety? To that end, this paper looks to state borders, border policing, and border walls as a mechanism for dispossession and as a foundational site of resistance on and against which acts of solidarity take place.</p>
<p>Paloma Ozier: <i>Future Temporalities of Work Across London's Creative Industries</i></p>	<p>This paper examines dynamics of futurity for creative workers seeking to enter and navigate London's creative sectors. While much scholarly consideration has been given to the precarious nature of the creative industries (CCIs), less focus has been placed upon the worker subjectivities associated with these conditions. The fragmentation and contingency of the U.K. labour market has intensified individualized, self-promotional practices and conditions across the cultural sector, while wage erosion and hyper-competitiveness has narrowed possibilities for individuals to sustain and reproduce themselves through creative work.</p> <p>Against this landscape, this paper examines the way in which workers draw upon affective reserves of hope in pursuit of unrealised, and often unrealisable, creative futures. Focusing on the experiences of precarious London-based creative workers, sourced through a series of semi-structured interviews, this paper is interested in occurrences of 'cruel optimism' across London's creative sectors (Berlant, 2011). Following Berlant's work, it is argued that hope and optimism are experienced as discontinuous yet may psychologically mitigate</p>

	<p>struggles associated with the present. Rather than representing a form of false consciousness, creative workers relate in complex ways to affective, individualized registers of hope and aspiration. Though workers may experience ‘pattern[s] of enchantment and disenchantment’ (Morgan & Nelligan, 2015), attitudes toward the conditions of creative work – and attendant futurities – may be understood as non-linear, contested, and ambivalent.</p> <p>This paper therefore seeks to establish how subjective orientations of optimism and disillusion relate to the fragmentation and precarity of the creative sector and labour process. It is argued that conceptions of creative futures – entangled with cruel optimism – often underlie workers’ capacity to withstand extended periods of material insecurity. At the same time, these futurities appear for workers as opaque and phantasmagorical, underscoring contradictions and structural difficulties involved in pursuing creative work.</p>
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Sunday, 14:45– 16:30
Capitalism, Militarism, Technology and Spectacle [BBK-MAL-251]

<p>Hajer Moghraby: Wars in Marvel reconstruct pasts, inform presents, and project futures: Neoliberalism, common-sense, and the spatiotemporal interaction of fiction and reality</p>	<p>Popular entertainment is vastly fictional, superseding the temporal scale of reality. However, fiction has a unique relationship with the ‘real world’: it holds the potential to influence, respond to, and escape from reality. Popular culture is a vessel through which knowledge is manufactured and disseminated, connecting people, places, and ideas to form biographical narratives of continuity and possibility. Complementary to this structure, war is productive and connective (Barkawi, 2004a), enabling its prevalence within fictional media.</p> <p>Furthermore, politics and popular culture are co-constituted (Grayson et al., 2009), therefore necessitating our understanding of entertainment media to be contextualised spatially; geopolitically and geoeconomically (Cowen & Smith, 2009). The emergence of a neoliberal world order is reflected in popular entertainment through commercialisation and sensationalisation of the ‘war’ subject; reinforced as a cultural constant. Furthermore, whilst the practice of war consolidates national identity through moralising a distinction between self and other (Nelson, 1998), war as entertainment adapts collective memory and individual subjectivities into sites of strategic significance (Barkawi, 2004b). For example, post-9/11, the integration of ‘wars’ into processes of daily life has functioned to normalise perceptions of the mystified ‘other’ as a threat to stability. At the same time, increased politicisation of the comic book medium reveals neoliberalism’s fraying edges. The direction of public discourse and its guiding force – the cultural institution – is mutually constituted with perceived threats to the maintenance(struggle) of the existing social order. Therefore, to examine the relationship between war in popular entertainment and reality, the threads of these predominantly fictional narratives may be traced spatiotemporally. As explored through Marvel, this may reveal that wars are not confined spatially; nor are they distinctly of past, present, or future. Rather, the fictional wars waged in/by Marvel reconstruct pasts, inform presents, and project futures.</p>
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<p>Jacob Mundy: Who owns war? The American military-industrial complex in the age of financialised rentier capitalism</p>	<p>What drives the United States to pursue overtly imperialist policies, often in radical opposition to public opinion and any rational sense of national security? The past thirty-five years have witnessed a staggering level of US military interventions across Northwest Africa and Southwest Asia, from the Sahara-Sahel to the Himalayas. Simultaneously, efforts have been underway for over a decade to redirect the United States’ comparative advantage in armed violence towards China and Russia. However, Israel’s genocidal response to the 7 October 2023 operation by Hamas has rendered the region, once again, as a critical node in the material and ideational infrastructures of North Atlantic hegemony in 2024. The struggle to control the petroleum wealth of the region is often presented as a necessary, if not sufficient, explanation of the long arc of Anglo-American imperialist interests in the region. In reality, the issue is not so much direct access petroleum but rather the indirect effects of processes of securitisation elaborated over the course of the past fifty years. These have become a critical condition of possibility to extract political power and financial windfalls from oil. Just as petroleum wealth has been recycled into</p>
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	<p>extravagant arms purchases, primarily from North Atlantic armaments firms, desecuritizing the so-called Middle East has likewise required a robust apparatus of militarized violence applied externally, often legitimated in the same grammar as protection racketeering. While these processes and incentive structures are well understood, the changing nature of corporate ownership in the arms industry has yet to be integrated into these accounts. Inspired by Adam Hanieh’s work on the financialisation of the North Atlantic petroleum sector, this paper seeks to understand the diverse and often contradictory forces that now own war and the American military-industrial complex.</p>
<p>Peter Bloom: Commodifying Control: The Rise of the Authoritarian-Financial Complex in the Global Economy</p>	<p>This paper explores the emergence of the Authoritarian-Financial Complex, where financialization, surveillance, and regulatory mechanisms converge to commodify control and shape global power dynamics. It examines how complex power brings together socio-economic and psychological complexes, embedding control within both social structures and individual mindsets to transform insecurity into tools for profit and social governance.</p>
<p>Jon Las Heras: Military Thought as reproductive of the value-form</p>	<p>This presentation explores the role of military thought as a fundamental aspect in the reproduction of the value-relation within contemporary capitalism. It examines how military strategy, conceptualized as the logic that relates to the Other in competitive and antagonistic ways, becomes a critical vector of capital accumulation. Through an analysis of the value-form, the talk outlines how modern capitalism integrates military imperatives into its structures, not merely as a form of defense or coercion but as a means to generate and reproduce value, both personified by capitalists and workers. The reconfiguration of the social division of labour along global chains of production and distribution, coupled with austerity neoliberal politics, marks a new phase in capitalist accumulation in which the working class is an active subject in the reproduction of capital accumulation through its compartmentalised and corporatist strategies, one that is sustained by the logics of war and militarization, even in spaces of apparent peace.</p>