10th Annual Historical Materialism Conference

Making the World Working Class

7-10th November 2013
Central London
‘Capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons’ - and between classes. The complex task of analysing class structures and, at the same time, transforming and transcending them is at the core of Marx’s legacy.

2013 marks the 75th anniversary of CLR James’s “The Black Jacobins” and the 50th anniversary of EP Thompson’s “The Making of the English Working Class”. Wary of all reifications of class, Thompson showed how the working class was not only made by capital, but made itself in everyday struggles and political agitation. James affirmed the need to look at the international division of labour in the context of race and imperialism, and gave voice to the revolutionary agency of the ‘black Jacobins’ and other historically neglected enemies of capitalism and colonialism.

In the wake of the new conflicts thrown up by decolonisation and more recent processes of neoliberal ‘globalisation’, research in the field of labour and working class history has acquired an increasingly global dimension, and become more attentive to the critical role played by race and gender in the formations of working classes. Social struggles and resistance – from Latin America to Eastern Europe, from the Arab-Islamic world to East Asia – continue to show that working classes worldwide have not ceased remaking themselves, at the same time as they struggle against capitalist strategies to turn class composition into class decomposition, to unmake a world working class.

Significantly, in order to understand this changing reality and the roots of the crisis of the neoliberal system, a growing body of scholarship questions the representation of labour as a passive factor in production, and investigates how workers’ struggles co-determine processes of capitalist development, as well as cultural mutations and political transformations.

Despite rising levels of class struggle - from a growing working class movement in China to the Arab uprisings and mobilisation against austerity in Southern Europe – discourses of class remain largely marginal to political debate and action. Class struggle is often recognised, namely through the language of inequality, but is being increasingly filtered, also on the left, through notions of ‘the people’ or ‘the 99%’.

The tenth annual Historical Materialism aims to provide a forum for debating the descriptive and prescriptive roles that concepts of class and class struggle can have today. More generally, we seek contributions that account for how Marxist theory, historiography and empirical research can explain and intervene in the contemporary conjuncture. We will be hosting a stream on “Race and Capital” (for which a separate call for papers is forthcoming, along with a CFP building on last year’s “Marxism and Feminism” stream).

The conference is self-funded and we will depend on voluntary donations by attendants and participants to support the organisation and running of the event. The suggested donation on the door is £75 for waged and £35 for unwaged.

For logistical and other support – Historical Materialism would like to thank the
- School of Oriental and African Studies
- Faculty of Law and Social Sciences at SOAS
- Brill Academic Publishers
- Deutscher Memorial Prize committee
- Socialist Register.
Performance Aesthetics and Practice
Chair: Steve Edwards
Larne Abse Gogarty – Proletarian dance – reproduction and communist consciousness
Marina Gerber – Collective actions and J. Cage
Josefine Wikström – Between practice and performance: Socialist objects and dematerialised commodities

Rosa Luxemburg in Revolution
Chair: Sebastian Budgen
Ben Lewis – ‘Is that our programme – Karl?’ Luxemburg – democracy and the challenge of the German Revolution
Ottokar Luban – Was Rosa Luxemburg’s confidence in the cleverness and creativity of the Proletarian masses justified? Examples in the German Revolutionary Movements 1918/1919
Peter Green – Rosa Luxemburg versus Lukács on Class Consciousness – Party and Revolution

American power in decline? Theorizing the future of world order
Chair: Alex Anievas
Sean Stairs – American economic power hasn’t declined, it globalized! Summoning the data and taking globalization seriously
James Parisot – American empire and emerging powers: In or against empire?
Stephen Maher – Empire and resistance in the Middle East

Marxist theory and the human sciences
Chair: Giorgos Galanis
Alexandre Feron – Tran Duc Thao and Marxism
Catherine Moir – Ideas for a materialist philosophy of language
Phillip Houborg – Sign, symbol and fetish
Johan Siebers – Wisdom in Communism

Law and Class in 19th century Britain
Chair: Robert Knox
Marc W. Steinberg – Workplace subjugation and the materiality of law: master and servant law and exploitation in Victorian England
Edith Hall – The Greek and Roman classics and social class in Britain 1789-1939
Colin Barker – Marx on the factory acts: some questions

Marxist perspectives on digital labour
Chair: David Broder
Ursula Huws – ‘Productive and reproductive labour in the internet age’
Christian Fuchs – ‘Defining and theorizing digital labour’
Christoph Hermann – ‘Digital labour and working time’
Eran Fischer – ‘The ideology of digital labour’

Queer theory 1
Chair: Paul Reynolds
James Penney – Is there a queer Marxism?
Holly Lewis – Towards a Marxist theory of sex and gender
THURSDAY  B 15.45-17.30

116 Imperialisms old and new
Chair: Adam Hanieh
Luke Cooper – Class, state power and transition in China
Tyler Shipley – New Canadian imperialism
Tony Norfield – British imperialism

102 Art, Race and Capital
Chair: Sebastian Budgen
Ben Pritchett – “These dying centres”: Constructivism and anti-colonialism in ‘This is Tomorrow’
Tim Fisken – “Mass culture and political form in C. L. R. James’ ‘American Civilization’”
Nizan Shaked – Alliances? The left versus identity politics in US Art

111 Race, Caste, Class
Chair: Dae-Oup Chang
Doris Lee – Racialization of mainland Chinese ‘outsiders’ in Hong Kong, policies, politics and culture
John O’Brien – Indian contradictions: Caste inequalities without class alienation?
Riya Mary Al’sanah – Zionism and the enemy within: the struggle for Palestinian liberation in Israel

426 Neoliberalism and Financialisation
Chair: Giorgos Galanis
Marcus Banks – Neoliberal welfare production relations in Australia
Serdar Sengul – Finance and financialisation from the perspective of Marx’s Value Theory
Jim Wolfreys – Neo-liberalism and its limits

429 Race, Migration and Class
Chair: Lucia Pradella
Matthew Cooper – The remaking of the British working class: trade unions and black and Asian workers in Britain 1949-1984
Michael M. Hall – Class and ethnicity in the formation of the early Sao Paulo Working Class, 1890-1930
Shaun Harkin – Neoliberalism, migration and the US working class.

50 Social Reproduction Feminism
Chair: Sue Ferguson
Nicole Leach – Transitions to capitalism: Social reproduction feminism encounters political Marxism
Ann Wiesental – Inherent contradictions and the crises of social reproduction
Selma James

G51 Gramsci
Chair: Peter Thomas
Kasim Tirmizey – Gramsci at the peripheries: Revisiting theories of the post-colonial state
Aaron Bernstein – Gramsci’s reading of Marx’s 1859 Preface
Robert Jackson – Is there a theory of fetishism in Gramsci’s Prison Notebooks?
Alen Suceska – Gramsci and Bakhtin. A Marxist philosophy of language

L67 The theoretical and political legacy of Yugoslav self-management
Chair: Toni Prug
Catherine Samary – From the Yugoslav ‘social ownership’ to the ‘Commons’
Gal Kirn – Yugoslav Self-Management after the market reform (1965): between the logic of vanguard and capital

4426 From French Philosophy to French Theory
Chair: Esther Leslie
Tzuchien Tho – From French Philosophy to French Theory: 1964
Andrew Ryder – Badiou and the Hegelian Dialectic in 1960s French Philosophy
Samo Tomsic – The Capitalist unconscious: Marx and Lacan
Knox Peden – (discussant)
**B102**

**Contemporary racisms and the right**

Chair: Paul Reynolds
Kevin Ovenden – Which crisis; whose multiculturalism?
Benjamin Opratko and Fanny Müller-Uri – What’s in a Name?
The Challenge of “Islamophobia” and Critical Theories of Racism
Dimitra Kotouza – Repressive Crisis Management, Nationalism and Surplus Populations in Greece

**B111**

**Concepts in Marxist Theory: time, machinery and the state**

Chair: Matteo Mandarini
Jonathan Martineau – Capitalist value – appropriation and clock-time: temporal alienation and the dialectics of capitalist time
Giorgos Kalampokas, Tassos Betzelos and Panagiotis Sotiris – State, political power and revolution: Althusser, Poulantzas, Balibar and the “Debate on the State”

**G50**

**On reproduction and new motherhood**

Chair: Alex Anievas
Ana Vilenica – Becoming a Mother: From neoliberal regime of motherhood towards radical political subjectivisation
Daniela Danna – Surrogacy contracts: the ultimate workers’ exploitation?

**L67**

**The International Dimension to the Russian Revolution**

Chair: Sebastian Budgen
Adam Collins – Arthur Ransome in Revolutionary Russia 1917-1923
Kevin Morgan – In and out of the swamp: the unpublished autobiography of Peter Petroff
John Riddell – Clara Zetkin in the Lion’s Den
Jean-François Fayet – “Karl Radek and Paul Levi in 1921: Two Conceptions of Communism or of International Discipline ”

**4426**

**Cinema and Photography**

Chair: Steve Edwards
Louis-Georges Schwartz – Cinema hostis or historicizing the time and movement images
Agata Pyzik – Representations of communist Poland on film – pride or contestation?
Grant Mandarino – Capturing class: Photographic experience and Proletarian representation

**4429**

**The Politics of Anti-Colonialism**

Chair: David Broder
Nate George – The Prose of insurgency: Anticolonial movements and historiography
Rianne Subijanto – Communist women and the anti-colonial struggle in Indonesia
David Barber – Anti-Colonial Revolution and the origins of the 1960s

**FG01**

**Adorno, the Bourgeois Interior and the Ontology of Hell**

Chair: Esther Leslie
Sebastian Truskolaski – Adorno in the Mirror: Inversion and redemption in the bourgeois intérieur
Tom Allen – Angelus in the boudoir: Adorno and the angel of the negative
Jacob Bard-Rosenberg – The interior without children: Adorno and the Kindertotenlieder

**Senates House (room 264)**

**N.B. 18.00**

**The Market, violence and consumers**

Keynote Speaker: Heide Gerstenberger, University of Bremen

This talk is organised as part of the Royal Holloway MA Marketing Camp, it begins at 6pm.

The talk will take place in Senate House, which is located between the Brunei Gallery and Malet St.
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<th>Venue</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<th>Speakers</th>
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<td>116</td>
<td>Racialisation and Black Radical Politics</td>
<td>Chair: Brenna Bhandar  HLT Quan – Black radicality and ungovernability  Adam Elliott-Cooper – Race to the city: Black-led social movements – space and the neoliberal state  Anna Curcio and Miguel Mellino – Race at work. The rise and challenge of Italian racism</td>
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<td>B102</td>
<td>Antisemitism and Socialist Strategy 1: Central and Eastern Europe – 1880-1917</td>
<td>Chair: Peter Thomas  Brendan McGeever – Socialists and antisemitism in Revolutionary Russia: February to October 1917  Gerald Surh – Antisemitism in the eyes of a Jewish Revolutionary  Wiktor Marzec – “Polish and Jewish workers should struggle together, under one common banner”. Antisemitism and counter anti-semitic discursive strategies in political language during the 1905-07 Revolution in the Kingdom of Poland  Lars Fischer – Comparing Social Democratic responses to racism and antisemitism in Imperial Germany</td>
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<td>B104</td>
<td>Migrant struggles</td>
<td>Chair: Lucia Pradella  Rossana Cillo – Immigrant workers in the Italian agricultural sector: Between informalisation – casualisation and irregularisation  Bernhard Weicht – The production of migrant care work: benefiting from the intersection of economic, cultural and global inequalities  Richard Braude – Crisis in the cleaning sector</td>
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<td>B111</td>
<td>Activity Theory: from Lev Vygotsky to Evald Ilyenkov</td>
<td>Chair: Adam Hanieh  Alex Levant – The subject of activity theory: A CHAT with Ilyenkov  Vesa Oittinen – Vygotsky and Ilyenkov on Spinoza’s Significance for and Analysis of Mind  Peter Jones – Vygotsky – Marxism and Pavlov’s reflexology  Brecht de Smet – Labor struggles in Sadat City. Workplaces in/of Revolution</td>
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<td>G50</td>
<td>Researching Class and Development: Panel 1</td>
<td>Chair: Dae-Oup Chang  Owen Miller – The making of the North Korean working class, from colonial to postcolonial state capitalism  Liam Campling – The class dynamics of EU-Africa fisheries relations  Ben Selwyn – The many determinants of class and development: Evidence from export grape production, North East Brazil</td>
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<td>L67</td>
<td>Marxist Feminism and Art</td>
<td>Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki  Giulia Smith – The biological imaginary of the independent group: Mother-whore  Robin Simpson – Hidden mothers and matrices: Exposing reproductive labour in nineteenth century studio photography</td>
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<td>4426</td>
<td>Class: Concepts and Controversies</td>
<td>Chair: Sebastian Budgen  Eduardo Sartelli – From Chiapenean Aborigines and Argentinian Picketers to Spanish indígenas: The global rebellion of surplus population and the dilemmas of class consciousness and socialist revolution at the beginning of the twenty-first century”  Toni Prug – Hacking Marx’s circuits of reproduction: Towards egalitarian accumulation and mode of production – UK national accounts and public housing</td>
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<td>4429</td>
<td>Trajectories of Class Formation</td>
<td>Chair: Jamie Allinson  Pepijn Branden – Popular Orangism and the making of the Dutch working class  Richard Roman and Edur Velasco Arregui – Straddling the border: The transnational making of the Mexican working class  Cagri Idiman – The Development of the Agrarian Questions</td>
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<td>FG01</td>
<td>Avant-Garde</td>
<td>Chair: Matteo Mandarini  Rory Dufficy – the everyday life of the avant-garde  David Mabb – Off with his head! Reworkings of Tatlin’s Monument to the Third International and monuments to Lenin in art since the 1960s.</td>
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13:30 – 2:15pm

Lunchtime meeting: Meet the editors of the HM Book Series and Journal to discuss any prospective projects. Room G50.
FRIDAY

F 14.15-16.00

116

The Unknown
Rosa Luxemburg: 
Her writings on anthropology – 
political economy – and post-capitalist 
society reconsidered

Chair: Alex Anievas
Chris Knight – Rosa Luxemburg on ‘Primitive Communism’: How do her ideas stand up today?
Riccardo Bellofiore – A revolutionary economic theorist: Rosa Luxemburg’s Accumulation of Capital – 100 years later
Peter Hudis – Rosa Luxemburg’s contribution to developing a vision of a post-capitalist society
Jan Toporowski – Luxembourg and underconsumptionism

B102

Queer Theory 2

Chair: Paul Reynolds
Gianfranco Rebucini – Homonationalism and «Integral State». Neoliberal policies of rights and GLB collusion in France
Johanna May Black – Queer rights and sexual regulation and the neoliberal, post-welfare state
James Hooper – Queer materialism and the Byzantine eunuch

B104

Theorising Contemporary Racisms

Chair: Brenna Bhandar
Richard Seymour – Racial states in crisis: Poulantzas and racial formations
Stella Magliani-Belkacem and Félix Boggio Éwanjée-Épée – Social-chauvinism as a political category
Razmig Keucheyan – Environmental Racism: A Marxist perspective

B111

Politics and 
Political Economy of Consumption

Chair: Mary Robertson
Dave Beech – Facebook and the privatisation of the general intellect
Alan Bradshaw, Norah Campbell and Stephen Dunne – The politics of consumption
Ishay Landa – Buying out of it: working-class consumption under capitalism

G50

Marxism and 
Postcolonial Theory: 
What’s left of the debate? Part 1

Chair: Jeff Webber
Paolo Novak – Borders: Marxist territories and postcolonial terrains
Pranav Jani – Writing about 1857: Marxism and Representation
Sharae Deckard and Rashmi Varma – Left Turns: the Politics of Critique in Postcolonial Theory
FRIDAY

116
Workers’ struggles and social movements under neoliberalism
Chair: Lucia Pradella
Win Windisch – Self-assertiveness and leadership. From worker’s recalitrance to new trade union activism
Jeff Goodwin – The rise and fall of Occupy Wall Street: A class analysis
Elizabeth Humphrys – How labour built neoliberalism

B102
Class, Capital and Politics in Russia and Eastern Europe
Chair: Gregory Schwartz
Eric Sevauty – The Legacy of Russian Left Communists
Paul Kellogg – Miners of Vorkuta
Alexandr Buzzgalin – Russia’s “Jurassic Capitalism”: A Caricature of the West?
Andre Mommens – Russia at the crossroads: Popular protests – social transformations and Putinism

B104
Reformism and Left Strategy
Chair: Peter Thomas
Paul Blackledge – Left Reformism – the State – and the Problem of Socialist Politics Today
Jonah Birch – Social Democracy and Class Mobilization: the Left without Reformism?
Daniela Chironi – Radical left-wing parties and “anti-neoliberal social movements” in Western Europe: strategic interactions in time of crises. A comparative study of Italy and Greece
Panagiotis Sotiris – Gramsci and contemporary Left strategy: The ‘historical bloc’ as a strategic concept

B111
Materialism, Affect and Alienation: The French Marxist Use of Spinoza
Chair: Paul Reynolds
Geoff Pfeifer – Ideology – Imagination – and History: Althusser’s ‘Heretical’ Spinozism
Jason Read – Economies of affect/affective economies: Towards a Spinozist critique of political economy
Ted Stolze – Revisiting a Marxist Encounter with Spinoza: The Case of Alexandre Matheron

G50
Emancipatory politics in the Arab World in an era of Revolutions
Chair: Adam Hanieh
Anne Alexander – ‘The Arab Revolutions and the rebirth of the workers’ movement in the Middle East’
Nadine El-Anany – ‘The Limits of Law as a Revolutionary Tool: Rough Music in Egypt since Jan 25 2011’
Philip Marfleet – ‘The Streets and the Revolutions’
Joel Beinin – ‘Arab Workers and the Popular Uprisings of 2011’

G51
Discussion of Postcolonial Theory and the Spectre of Capital
Chair: Sebastian Budgen
Neil Lazarus
Benita Parry
Vivek Chibber

L67
Marxism and the International
Chair: Jamie Allinson
Steven Rolf – Uneven Development and uneven and combined development: towards a unified theory
Hannes Lacher – Political Marxism and global history
Jessica Evans – Uneven and combined development – migrant labour and working class formation
Cemal Burak Tansel on Capitalism – Class and Geopolitics: Marx and Engels on the ‘Eastern Question’

4426
Gender and the Making of the Working Class
Chair: Lucia Pradella
Estelle Cooch – Trouble at t’Mill - class and gender in the 1853 Preston lock-out
Margot Beal – Domestic work in and around 19th century Lyon (France): gender and class conflicts within the household
Sian Moore – Gender and the making of the English Working class: the Bradford worsted industry 1780-1845

4429
The Agrarian Question
Chair: Jeff Webber
Wendy Matsumura – Uno Kozô’s analysis of the ‘agrarian question’, post-WWII Okinawa’s small producers and prospects for the attainment of revolutionary subjectivity
Florian Schafer – Revisiting the Agrarian Question: Ethiopia’s New Agrarian Capitalists
Ye im Akmeraner – Resistance of Agricultural Petty Commodity Production in Turkey: Working Class Formation of Peasant-Based Workers
Eric Aunoble – Making Revolutionary Proletarians Out of Ukrainian Peasants
Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Prize Lecture

Chair: Gilbert Achcar

David McNally
winner of the 2012 Deutscher Memorial Prize

The Blood of the Commonwealth: War–the State and the Making of World Money

Room B34, Main Building, Birkbeck, University of London
Malet Street – Bloomsbury London WC1E 7HX

(N.B. This location is not at SOAS)

At the lecture the winner of the 2013 Deutscher Memorial Prize will be announced. The following books have been shortlisted:

- Heather Brown
  Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study (Brill, 2012)

- Vivek Chibber
  Postcolonial Theory and the Spectre of Capital (Verso, 2013)

- Leo Panitch & Sam Gindin

- Massimiliano Tomba
  Marx’s Temporalities (Brill, 2013)
**SATURDAY  9.15-11.00**

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<td><strong>Class Struggles in India</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Jamie Allinson&lt;br&gt;Amit Anshumali – Class formation and localized agency of migrant farm workers in Central India&lt;br&gt;Elisabeth Armstrong – Turning to the village to fight neoliberalism: Inter-sectoral organizing in the All India Democratic Women’s Association&lt;br&gt;Snehal Shingavi – Class Struggle in “Shining India”&lt;br&gt;<strong>Marxist-Feminist Political Organising</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Nina Power&lt;br&gt;Johanna Brenner – Socialist-Feminist Politics Today&lt;br&gt;Hannah Dee – Marxism, feminism and austerity&lt;br&gt;<strong>Realism, Actualizations of a Committed Art</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Steve Edwards&lt;br&gt;Robert Burghardt – For a new Realism in Architecture&lt;br&gt;Johannes Paul Raether – Our Realism – From political art to artistic politics.&lt;br&gt;Kerstin Stakemeier – Realism and Naturalism. Another Media-Specificity&lt;br&gt;<strong>Challenges and Opportunities for the Central and East European Left</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Kate Hudson&lt;br&gt;Goran Markovic – `Challenges of the Czech Radical Left’.&lt;br&gt;Daniel Jakopovich – ‘Scorched Earth and Subterranean Blues: Notes on the Landscape of the Democratic Left in Croatia’.&lt;br&gt;Anastasia Riabchuk – ‘Recent Developments in Workers’ Struggles in Ukraine’&lt;br&gt;Gavin Rae – ‘Recent Developments on the Polish Left’</td>
<td><strong>The Legacy of Italian Marxist feminism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Sue Ferguson&lt;br&gt;David Palazzo – Italian feminism in the social factory: reproduction and the crisis of class composition&lt;br&gt;Maya Andrea Gonzalez – Refusal or self-valorization: Rethinking wages for housework today&lt;br&gt;Anna Frisone – Labour Feminism in Italy in the 1970s. Giving voice to working women: an oral history</td>
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<tr>
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<th>G3</th>
<th>(DLT) G2</th>
<th>KLT</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Marxism, Revolution, Insurrection</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Matteo Mandarini&lt;br&gt;Peter Hallward – Blanqui and Marx reconsidered&lt;br&gt;Anindya Bhattacharyya – Karl Korsch as a precursor of Alain Badiou&lt;br&gt;Harrison Fluss – Rational tyranny: On Hegel, Robespierre and Revolutionary crisis&lt;br&gt;Nathaniel Boyd – Stratification and status: Hegel’s interrogation into modernity’s foundational split&lt;br&gt;<strong>Dimensions of Settler-Colonialism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Rafeef Ziadi&lt;br&gt;Brenna Bhandar – Title by Registration: instituting property &amp; conjuring race in the settler colony&lt;br&gt;Niko Block – Nation-building oppressions: a historical framework of settler colonialism and reproductive rights&lt;br&gt;Parastou Saberi – On working-class struggles and the politics of space in white-settler-colonial metropole&lt;br&gt;<strong>How Bourgeois were the Bourgeois Revolutions?</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Mary Robertson&lt;br&gt;Mary Robertson&lt;br&gt;Neil Davidson&lt;br&gt;Charles Post&lt;br&gt;Colin Mooers&lt;br&gt;<strong>Communication and the End(s) of Art</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair – Benjamin Noys&lt;br&gt;Jaleh Mansoor – Readymade Matrices: Notes on Determinism and the Artist&lt;br&gt;Marina Vishmidt – Nihilation, Congelation, Art: For More Useless Mediations&lt;br&gt;Anthony Iles – Intentional abolition of art is only more art&lt;br&gt;Daniel Spaulding – Value-Form and Art-Form: The End of the European Neo-Avant-Garde – 1957-1979</td>
<td><strong>Weimar Culture and Art</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Esther Leslie&lt;br&gt;Daniel Mourenza – The Creation of a Proletarian Techno-Body: Walter Benjamin on Class and Technology&lt;br&gt;Gene Ray – Science in the Force Field: Brecht’s Galileo Now&lt;br&gt;Sabine Hake – Weimar Culture and Proletarian Modernism&lt;br&gt;Jenny Nachtigall – The politics of reproduction in Dada and beyond</td>
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### 116 Recent Workers’ Struggles
**Chair:** Lucia Pradella

**John Smith** – The Rana Plaza disaster: how Bangladeshi workers prop up the British economy

**Pierre Odin** – Unionism and class struggles in the French West Indies: the case of LKP coalition (2009)

**Bill Crane** – The Contradictions of “Capitalism of the Oppressed” in the U.S. and India

### B102 Marxism in the Third World: New Configurations of Struggles
**Chair:** Amanda Latimer

**Radha D’Souza** – ‘Class in the ‘Epoch’ of Imperialism: Global Apartheid and Lenin’s Labour Aristocracy Thesis’

**Júlio da Silveira Moreira** – ‘Investment megaprojects, state violence and the actual configuration of capitalism in Brazil’

**Andy Higginbottom** – ‘Chain extraction - chain reaction: Following the extractivist chain: mining, finance, imperialism and the BRICS’

**Karen Gabriel** – The Work and World of Surrogacy

### B104 Deforming – Refunctioning – Destroying Capital
**Chair:** Matteo Mandarini

**Alberto Toscano** – Transition Deprogrammed

**Sami Khatib** – Deforming the Forms of Capital. On Destruction, Negativity and Nihilism

**Benjamin Noys** – Days of Phuture Past: Capitalism, Time and Acceleration

### B111 Social Wage and Social Reproduction: Global Struggles in Mexico, South Africa and North America
**Chair:** Elizabeth Esch

**Christina Heatherton** – ‘Red Love: Alexandra Kollontai, social reproduction and the Mexican revolution’

**Kate Doyle Griffiths-Dingani** – ‘Women, work and the precarious state in South Africa’

**Jordan T. Camp** – ‘Urban insurgency in Detroit: Black freedom and socialist struggles for a social wage’

**Stevphen Shukaitis** – Learning from affective revolts: social reproduction & political subjectiviation

### G50 CLR James and History
**Chair:** Robert Knox

**Scott McLemee** – Proletarian Journalism of a New Type: C.L.R. James and Correspondence

**Kevin Edmonds** – Revisiting CLR James and the West Indian Federation

**Christian Høgsbjerg** – People’s History and Socialist Theory: When E.P. Thompson met C.L.R. James

### G51 Feminism’s dangerous liaisons: neoliberalism, liberalism, nationalism
**Chair:** Angela Dimitrakaki

**Catherine Rottenberg** – Containing the Liberal Imagination: How Superswoman Became Balanced

**Sara R. Farris** – State feminism and productivist ethics in times of workfare

**Sinead Kennedy** – Feminism and Marxism in an Age of Crisis: A Response to Nancy Fraser

### G3 Marxist Literary Theory
**Chair:** Esther Leslie

**Jernej Habjan** – From cultural third-worldism to the literary world-system – and back

**Daniel Hartley** – Towards a Marxist poetics: A critical reconstruction of Raymond Williams’s theory of style

**Roberta Fabbri Viscardi** – The impossibility of class mobility in the great gatsby by F. Scott Fitzgerald

### (DLT) G2 The role of women in building a strong left: between patriarchy and imperialism in the periphery (Roundtable)
**Chair:** Chiara Bonfiglioli

**Andrea Milat**

**Jelena Petrovic**

**Mariya Ivancheva**

**Matija Medenica**

### KLT The Arab Uprising Through the lens of Marxism: Around Gilbert Achcar’s The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising
**Chair:** Adam Hanieh

**Gilbert Achcar**

**Joel Beinin**

**Maha Abdulrahman**

### L67 Critical Perspectives on Rancière
**Chair:** Jamie Allinson

**Ledys Sanjuan Mejia** – “We Speak in Tongues”: A Woman of Colour Critique of Rancière’s Political Subject

**Knox Peden** – The Irony of Equality: Rancière’s Control Group

**Max Kubinyi** – Reflections on the Making of Revolutionary Agency in E.P.Thompson and Jacques Rancière

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13:00-13:45pm

Lunchtime meeting: For International Initiative for the Promotion of Political Economy (IIPPE) **Room 116**
Problematising Histories of Capitalism: Working class – law and state formation
Chair: Robert Knox
Frantz Gheller – Rethinking the social roots of Quebec’s development: The challenge of international relations
Xavier Lafrance – ‘Problematising capitalism and re-thinking the making of a working class in France’
Maia Pal – ‘Processes of jurisdictional accumulation in early modern Spain & France: a pre-capitalist history of international law’
Javier Moreno Zacarés – Rethinking the Spanish empire and world systems capitalist development: the role of burghers

Althusser and Thompson revisited
Chair: Peter Thomas
Paul Reynolds – ‘We cannot have love without lovers, nor deference without squires and labourers’: Thinking the moral agency and practice in Marxist thought with Althusser and Brophy
Susan Brophy – From Pashukanis to Thompson to Banaji: Fresh Avenues in Law and Marxism Studies
Marcelo Badaro Mattos – E. P. Thompson, historical materialism and political intervention: a view from Brazil

Class struggles in Latin America
Chair: Jeff Webber
Laurent Baronian – The economic genesis of contemporary left-wing States in Latin America: the cases of Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela
Thomas Chliasson-LeBel – Class relationships in Ecuador and Venezuela: a comparative study on class organizations under left wing governments
Leonardo Brito – The impasse of capitalism and democracy in the twenty-first century Brazilian: the debate on Lulism
Ana Cecilia Dinerstein – Autonomy and emancipation in Latin America: On shaping absences and the untranslatable excess

Workers’ Inquiry Yesterday and Today
Chair: Alberto Toscano
Salar Mohandes – Workers’ Inquiry: A Genealogy
Liz Mason-Deese – Unemployed Inquiry and Investigation in Argentina.
Jamie Woodcock – An attempt at a workers’ inquiry in a call centre: possibilities of resistance, potential for organisation

Photography & the Left: Producing Politics & Publics
Chair: Steve Edwards
Blake Stimson – Photographic Communism
Sarah James – Picturing Communism in LIFE: Photography Against the Grain
Jorge Ribalta – Politicisation vs Institutionalisation

Marxist Feminisms: Theoretical contributions to anti-capitalism
Chair: Sara Farris
Susan Ferguson – Theorizing Class Through Gender and Race
Shahrzad Mojab – From Women’s Revolt to Revolutionary Marxist-Feminist Organizing
Abigail B. Bakan – Marxism, Feminism, Indigenousity: Re-thinking/re-reading Engels’ Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State
Heather Brown – Gender, Politics and Political Thought: Revisting Marx’s Political Economy

Registering Class: Launching the 50th volume of the Socialist Register
Chair Leo Panitch
Vivek Chibber
Ursula Huws
Bryan Palmer
Alfredo Saad-Filho

Book Launch: Profiting without Producing (Costas Lapavitsas book roundtable)
Chair: Dae-oup Chang
Costas Lapavitsas
Charles Masquelier
Samantha Ashman
Samuel Knafo

The Politics of Trade Unionism
Chair: Dimitris Milonakis
Immanuel Ness – State Repression of New Workers Movements
Sai Englert – Zionism, workers and the Histadrut: laying the foundations of the Israeli state
Samuel Hayat – The role of representative government in the making of the French labour movement
### Saturday 15.45-17.30

**116**

**Popular and communist politics in early Soviet Russia**

Chair: Ana Cecilia

Gleb J. Albert – Bolsheviks, Workers and ‘Proletarian Internationalism’ in NEP Russia

Simon Pirani – The politics of working-class dissent: Moscow, Petrograd and Kronstadt in 1921

Arturo Zoffmann – Russian Working Class Identity in a Period of Ideological Crisis: 1900-1921

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**B102**

**Class movements in China**

Chair: Lucia Pradella

Paula Nabuco – Laid-off workers and social struggles at the Chinese “rust belt”

Tim Pringle – Reflections on Labour in China: From a moment to a movement

Pierre Roussset – Reflections on post-1949 revolution and counter-revolution in China

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**B104**

**Politics and Morality from Machiavelli to E.P. Thompson**

Chair: Peter Thomas


Carlos Frade – The political meaning of the plebs’ moral economy in Thompson vis-à-vis the people’s desire in Machiavelli and its implications for a communist political strategy

William Dixon and David Wilson – E.P. Thompson and the Moral Depletion Hypothesis

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**B111**

**Occupation and Liberation in Israel/Palestine**

Chair: Adam Hanieh

Neve Gordon and Nicola Perugini – The Human Right to Kill

Steve Nutt – Liberal Zionism and the Question of Labour

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**G50**

**Capitalist Crisis and Critique: Race, Class, Gender, Nation**

Chair: Mary Robertson

Nancy Fraser – Crisis, Critique, Capitalism

Rose Brewer – “Capitalist crisis and social transformation: The black radical tradition today, gender, race, class and nation”

Tania Toffanin – Marxism or feminism, class or gender: The analysis of the Italian case

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**G51**

**Debates in Marxist Political Economy**

Chair: Dae-Oup Chang

Michael Roberts and Guglielmo Carchedi – The long roots of the present crisis: Keynesianism, Austerians and Marx’s law

Radhika Desai – Reassessing Regulation Theory: productivity, post-Fordism and finance

Ricardo Bellofiore – Sweezy and Mattick on capitalism and crisis

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**G3**

**Non-Western Critical Marxisms**

Chair: Jeff Webber

Jorge Murga Armas – Marxism and Racism in Guatemala

Samuel Carshamre – Materializing Tradition. Arabic Marxist writing on Islamic Intellectual History

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**(DLT) G2**

**Marxist Feminisms and Anti-Capitalist Organizing Today**

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Alan Sears – Queering anti-capitalist organizing: Learning from sexual and gender liberation

Clarice Kuhling – Marxist Feminism – Sexual violence and anti-capitalist organizing

Rafeef Ziadah – Lessons of Palestine organizing

Mary-Jo Nadeau – Towards a politics of critical diversity: Reflecting on the legacy of left anti-racist struggle in Canada’s women’s movements

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**KLT**

**Socialist Register at 50: Class and Politics in Britain**

Chair: Greg Albo

Madeleine Davis

Colin Leys

Andrew Murray

Leo Panitch

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**L67**

**Virtual paupers: The politics of surplus populations**

Chair: Matteo Mandarini

Ken Kawashima and Gavin Walker – Resurrection and Insurrection: On the figure of Lazarus in Marx’s Capital

Daniel Zamora and Nic Gortz – The ‘They’ below ‘Us’
G2

Half-Plenary: Historical Materialist Geography

Chair: Mary Robertson

Alex Loftus – The violence of geographical abstractions

Kanishka Goonewardena – Marxism and totality: Henri Lefebvre on state capitalism, urbanization and everyday life

KLT

Half-Plenary: The Other Face of the BRICs

Chair: Sam Ashman

Tim Pringle

Snehal Shingavi Inqilab Zindabad – the contradictions of Indian economic development

Aleksandr Buzgalin

Maria Cevasco – Where does the anger in the streets come from? Perspectives from Brazil

20.00
Wine and Cheese Reception

SOAS Student Bar (downstairs from the book stalls)
SUNDAY L 10.00-11.45

116 What Was “Real” in “Really Existing Communism”? Revisiting ideas and narratives of the Soviet age, Part 1: Platonov and the October Revolution
Chair: David Broder
Oxana Timofeeva – ‘Animality and Utopian Community: From Kafka to Platonov and Back’
Artemy Magun – ‘Andrey Platonov’s Negative Revolution’
Maria Chehonadskih – Communism in Desert: Political Weakness and Potentiality of the “Poor Life” in Andrei Platonov’s “Dzhan”

B102 Feminism, Corporations and the Capitalist World Order
Chair: Abbie Bakan
Adrienne Roberts – Gender, leadership and the corporate-led aid industry
Genevieve LeBaron – Corporatizing feminism
Sara Wallin – The EBRD and privatised ‘solutions’ to re(production) in Turkey
Julie Dowsett – The historical/theoretical roots of contemporary corporatized feminism

B104 James, Mariategui, Fanon and the national question
Chair: Lucia Pradella
Vasant Kaiwar – The category of class in the oppositions to capitalism and imperialism.
Felipe Lagos – Marxist method in Imperialist Times: reading Mariategui on Marxism and the national issue
Neil Larsen – Fanon, the Brazilian
Selma James – Discussant

B111 Revolutionary Internationalism
Chair: Sebastian Budgen
George Paizis – The Federacion of Salonica – Jewish, Internationalist, anti-war, the foundation of the Greek Communist Party [KKE]
Maurice Andreu – The Communist International and the World Working Class - an ideological approach
William A Pez – The Myth and Reality of the International Working Men's Association as a Facilitator of Strikes and workers' movements. 1864-1874

G50 The Poor Stockinger, the Luddite cropper and the deluded followers of Joanna Southcott (Luke Fowler 2012)
Film Screening and panel
Owen Hatherley, Steve Edwards and John Roberts – Discussants
Fowler’s 61-minute film mixes archive footage with newly-shot material in an a typically evocative video essay that reflects on the life and times of the critic, historian and activist E.P. Thompson.
SUNDAY

12.00-13.45

116

What Was “Real” in “Really Existing Communism”? Revisiting ideas and narratives of the Soviet age, Part 2: Communism, state, sexuality and present reverberations of the Soviet legacy

Chair: Sebastian Budgen
Alexei Penzin – The State that Falls Asleep: An Update to Lenin’s Idea of Communism
Keti Chukhrov – Sexuality in the Conditions of the Non-Libidinal Economy
Ilya Budratskis – Soviet, Anti-Soviet and the identity of the Russian Left

B102

Lineaments of Social Reproduction, Past and Present: Examples from domestic labour and sex worker struggles

Chair: Paul Reynolds
Laura Schwartz – ‘Servants’ Trade Unions and Feminist Debates on Work, Britain 1900-1914’
Kate Hardy – Sex Work, Social Reproduction and the Neoliberal State: The case of AMMAR
Katie Cruz – ‘Sex work as or against wage labour’

B104

Crossing borders: writing the histories of Marxism in a transnational perspective

Chair: Lucia Pradella
David Mayer – Transnational Marxism in Latin America – actors and ideas in connection
Bertel Nygaard – ‘Young Marx to the North: The use of Marx and Engels in Denmark during the 1840’s’
Jean-Numa Duncange – ‘What is Marxist historiography? Elements for a transnational historical method’

B111

Dilemmas of Democracy

Chair: Alex Anievas
Fabio Frosini – Emancipation in the singular
Alfredo Saad-Filho and Alison J. Ayers – Democracy against neoliberalism: paradoxes, limitations, transcendence
Romain Felli – Markets against democracy in environmental governance

G50

Should dialectics break weird? Speculative realism and/or historical materialism. A Mute magazine discussion

Chair: Benedict Seymour
Giorgio Cesarale – A dialectical critique of the ‘necessity-contingency’ couple in speculative realism
John Cunningham – Speculative Horror, Weird Marxism and the Dread of Real Abstraction
Svenja Bromberg – The politics of an object-oriented aesthetics
Sebastian Truskolaski – Reflections on Realism – Adorno contra Meillassoux
Alviero Toscano – Discussant

G51

Logistics, supply chains and the internationalisation of production

Chair: Dae-Oup Chang
Jonny Jones – Logistics and labour in the global economy
Grietje Baars – Regulating away the revolution?: Supply chain regulation and resistance in the Bangladesh garment sector
Frido Wenten – Making sense of class struggle in global capitalism – The internationalisation of a global automotive firm to Mexico and China, 1970s to today

G3

Wrestling with the Legacy of 20th Century Marxism

Chair: Giorgos Galianis
Georg Souvlis – History and Politics: Revisiting Perry Anderson’s historical sociology
Kimon Markatos – Passages from Modernity to Postmodernity: Perry Anderson as a cultural thinker
Christoph Jünke – A contribution to the critique of philo- and neo-Stalinism: Notes on Canfora and Losurdo

(DLT) G2

Existence and politics: the work of Race & Class and the Institute of Race Relations

Chair: Esther Leslie
A. Sivanandan – “Catching history on the wing: a conversation with Avery F. Gordon”
Jenny Bourne – “Revolution and reconstruction: a political history of the Institute of Race Relations”
Colin Prescod – “The seeds of opposition: culture, anti-racist struggles and communities of resistance”
Liz Fekete – “In the shadow of the new nativism: European racism and the ‘migrant’ experience

KLT

The Turkish Working Class

Chair: Peter Thomas
Ismail Doga Karatepe – State, Bourgeoisie and Economic Policies in Turkey
Isil Erdinc – Reconnecting with the Leftwing Political Parties as a Working Class Strategy: The case of Trade Unions and Leftwing Politics in Turkey since 2002 in a Context of Political Repression and Social Inequality
Ezgi Pinar – A Class Finding Its Way: A Historical Period from the Turkish Labor History
Aylin Topal and Galip Yalman – The Turkish Winter of Discontent and its Aftermath: The Case of Tekel Workers

4429

The Politics of the Critique of Political Economy

Chair: Adam Hanieh
Paula Rauhala and Miika Kabata – Heinrich and abstract labour
Massimiliano Tomba – Forms of subsumption of labour
Elena Louisa Lange – The Spectre of Japanese Marxism – Uno Közö, Karatani Kōjin and the problem of value

L67

Althusser and Politics 1

Chair: David Broder
Katja Kolske – Althusser and Hegelian Totality
Ozren Pupovac – Althusser’s Three Elements of the Dialectic: Structure, Fusion, Rupture
Agn Hamza – Althusser’s Žižek
116 Peter Sedgwick’s legacy: Politics, psychiatry & freedom
Chair: Paul Reynolds
Ian Birchall – Peter Sedgwick, Lenin and ‘Leninism’
Tad Tietze – Neither psychiatry nor anti-psychiatry, but mental health as radical politics
Helen Spandler – The ethical-political value of Sedgwick’s concept of illness

B102 Marxism and Music
Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki
Martyn Hudson – Music and materiality: Avant-garde and worker’s music in Tippett and Cardew
Nicholas Till – Pop Star to Opera Star: Class, labour and value in post-fordist societies
Mark Abel – The African roots of Western popular music – A reconsideration

B104 Financialisation and the Transition in post-Yugoslavia
Chair: Mary Robertson
Mislav Žitko – After the Crisis: Financialisation and Credit Euroization in Eastern Europe
Andreja Živković – From the Market...to the Market: On the origins of the present debt crises in the former Yugoslavia
Jan Toporowski – Discussant

B111 Class Wars and Green Wars
Chair: Sebastian Budgen
Andreas Malm – ‘To cut off the source of power’: Attacks on fossil infrastructure as a strategy of class struggle, from the general strike of 1842 to the present
Les Levidow – ‘The Green Economy’ agenda: marketising natural resources, dispossessing communities
Anders Ekeland – Do the ecosocialist left have an “exit strategy” from fossil fuel capitalism?

G51 Considerations on Contemporary Brazil
Chair: Jamie Allinson
Ruy Braga – Class Configuration in Lula’s Brazil
Edu Teruki Otsuka – Social disintegration in contemporary Brazil, through Beatriz Bracher’s fiction
Ivone Daré – Figurations of Contemporary metropolitan Life
Valerio Arcary – Is there a new middle class in Brazil?
Maria Elisa Cevasco – Wither is Brazil bound?

4429 Althusser and Politics 2
Chair: Peter Thomas
Thomas Carmichael – Atomism and Class Formation: Louis Althusser and the underground current of class struggle
Laurent de Sutter – Louis Althusser and the Theatre of the Trial
William Lewis – Philosophical Cosmopolitanism and Class Politics
Juha Koivisto – Discussant

Chair: Dae-Oup Chang
Kamran Matin – Marxism and the Postcolonial Challenge: What Is To Be Done?
Lucia Pradella – Postcolonial theory and the making of the world working class
Subir Sinha – ‘Some observations on primitive accumulation and subaltern political subjectivity’
Alf Gunvald Nilsen – Welcome debate? A critical reading of Chibber’s postcolonial theory and the specter of capital

(DLT) G2 A comparative analysis of socialist/class struggle feminism in France and Britain in the 1970’s and 1980s
Chair: Nina Power
Josette Trat – Contribution to the history of feminist class struggle in France as part of second wave feminism
Terryn Conway – Socialist feminism in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, hidden from history
Penelope Duggan – The feminist challenge to traditional political organising
Fanny Gallot – Professional equality policies tested among the popular class: the case of the female workers in France from 1968 to the 1980s

KLT Free labour and Wage Slavery
Chair: Alberto Toscano
Heide Gerstenberger – The political economy of capitalist labour
Robin Blackburn – Dynamics of the Second Slavery
Priyamvada Gopal – A ‘Barbaric Independence’: Morant Bay 1865 and the Meaning of Freedom
Closing Plenary

Labour, Race and Gender in the Making of the World Working Class

*chair:* Robert Knox

David Roediger
The Self-Emancipation of U.S. Slaves: 
The Jubilee of Freed people and Freedom for All

**Abigail Bakan** (OISE, University of Toronto)
When Class meets Race and Gender: Reflections on Method

**S’bu Zikode** (Founder of Abahlali baseMjondolo, shack dwellers’ social movement in South Africa)

Cruciform Lecture Theatre 1
University College London
Gower Street
(N.B. This location is not at SOAS)
Historical Materialism is a Marxist journal – appearing four times a year – based in London. Founded in 1997 – it asserts that – notwithstanding the variety of its practical and theoretical articulations – Marxism constitutes the most fertile conceptual framework for analysing social phenomena – with an eye to their overhaul. In our selection of materials – we do not favour any one tendency – tradition or variant. Marx demanded the ‘merciless criticism of everything that exists’: for us that includes Marxism itself.

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

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

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