# STATE IN/AND CRISIS

Theory and Movement in a Dangerous World



## **HM Athens**

We do not view this conference as a traditional academic conference. Rather we see it as an open space for comradely critical theoretical and political discussion. We believe that this is one of the basic conditions in order to rebuild a movement than can really challenge capitalism. Traditional conferences where people go just to present their paper and to listen just to 'star' presentations enable neither dialogue nor critical research and cannot contribute to the elaboration of collective projects of emancipation. That is why we encourage participants to take part in the entire conference. We also urge participants to take out subscriptions to the Historical Materialism Journal.

Organized in cooperation with the Department of Social Policy, Panteion University of Social and Political Science, Athens.

We live in a dangerous world. With the pandemic not yet over, climate disaster impending and the war in Ukraine seeming like the first stage of a global conflict, a sense of impasse and imminent danger is in the air.

We are in a period of multiple crises. Inflation combined with the absence of growth point to the fact that the pandemic recession was not conjunctural but reflected deeper contradictions of capitalist accumulation. In 'liberal democracies', the elements of a crisis in hegemony are evident in the increased disillusionment with the political system, accentuated by a lack of alternatives and the new rise of the far-right, enhanced by the political mainstream's endorsement of racism and authoritarianism. The state is right at the centre of this crisis-ridden and dangerous world. The much advertised 'Return of the State' during the pandemic also brought forward the very crisis of the state-form, despite the authoritarian expansion of disciplinary measures.

Capitalist states have been instrumental in bailing out contemporary financialized capitalism, in enhancing the commodification and privatization of vital services and goods, in institutionalizing racism, in reproducing patriarchy and sexism, in aggressively disaggregating the subaltern classes and in promoting war and aggression. At the same time, contemporary capitalist states are themselves in crisis. Unable to reverse the crisis dynamics, to deal with emergencies (exemplified in the lack of any real plan to tackle climate change) or to find ways to gain positive and active consent from large segments of societies, they rely increasingly on mechanisms of state repression against

social turmoil. A new form of 'State of exception' is emerging. time and again, as the way to cope with these crises - first and foremost, by suspending civil rights, attacking political freedoms, and increasing the rate of exploitation of the ethos, which means that everyone is invited to contribute working classes.

All the above pose important theoretical and political challenges - besides their existential edge. Discussing the attend the entire conference, not just their own session. The changes that are underway in contemporary capitalism - the new phase of both accumulation and class antagonism, the restructuring of the state, the new polarized architecture of the international system but also the dynamics of contestation and resistance emerging – is not a theoretical luxury but an exigency, if we want to engage in transformative politics based on knowledge and understanding of the terrain we are standing on. From the dynamics of capitalist crisis to the modern forms of imperialism, from the linkage between accumulation and climate change to the transformation of the state and the deepening erosion of democracy, and from overcoming patriarchal relations to devising a new internationalism from below, there are many questions that we need to deal with. And in 2022, we must face the fact that despite the resources of hope offered by struggles against austerity, patriarchy, racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, climate disaster, so far these struggles have not transformed into effective strategy – as exemplified by the defeat, failure or containment of attempts towards 'left governance'. Critical Marxist theory, in its multiple traditions and schools, is still the necessary starting point for raising and engaging with such difficult yet urgent questions.

We want this conference to be something more than an



academic exchange. We want it to be a meeting point for, and a step towards, creating communities of research but also practical action. That is why we insist on a strictly egalitarian in a comradely spirit. The conference is open to all currents of critical Marxist theory, and we expect all presenters to conference is an important part of the broader Historical Materialism project - including the journal, the book series, and the global network of HM conferences – and we wish to encourage all conference participants to get involved with these different aspects of the work we do.

## How to get to Panteion University

- Panteion University is at 136 Syngrou Avenue.
- The easiest way to get to Panteion University is to take the Red Metro line and get off at the Syngrou-Fix metro station. Then you can either walk for 13 minutes or take almost any bus (10, 106, 126, 136, 137, 550, A2, B2, E90) and get off at Panteios Bus Station (the third one from the Metro Station).
- From the airport you take the Blue Metro line and change at Syntagma Metro Station to take the Red Metro line and get off at Syngrou-Fix Metro Station. Alternatively, you can get the bus X95 from the airport (Arrivals level) and get off at Syntagma Square (last stop) from where you can get the Red Metro line and get off at Syngrou-Fix metro station. Information on the Athens Airport Bus, including the timetable, can be found here: https://www. athensairportbus.com/en/ Taxis from the airport to the city centre (Syntagma Square) cost about €38.

#### Tips

-If you are going to use the metro from the airport to the city and back within 3 days (72 hours), check the 3-day tourist ticket that covers all transportation within these 3 days.

-If you are planning to stay longer, check the 5-day ticket that covers all transportation but does not include the transportation from the airport.

#### The venue

The conference will take place in the "New Building" of Panteion University. All the conference rooms will be in the same building (signs will lead you around) and the registration desk will be on the ground floor.

During the conference "Magic Kitchen" will run the bar where one can find coffee, tea, juices, sweet and savory snacks. From Friday to Sunday, in the extended break around 14:00, lunch will be served by Magic Kitchen, with vegan and vegetarian options or not!

Environment / Urban stream

The cities in the ecological crisis context

### Antonio Cerquitelli

Wounded cities: a Marxist perspective on urban question

#### **Ghada Waked**

Austerity policies and hegemonic space: the case of Beirut

#### Nikolaos Vrantsis

State, capital and the production of space in Thessaloniki's West Front

#### Stefan Aleksic

Daily migrations and public transport: from use value to exchange value of the city - how public transport is being transformed into semiconductive class membrane

Chair: Defne Gönenç

Authoritarianism and inequalities as forms of endangering democratic societies

### **Georgios Daremas**

Psycho-sociological grounds of authoritarian characterformation and authoritarianism

#### **Dimitrios Kotsifakos**

Digitality and technical culture

#### Anastasia Chalkia

Unseen aspects of gender violence: the case of economic violence against women

#### Panagiotis Terzopoulos

Technologies in the food production chain: theses, antitheses, antinomie

**AUDITORIUM 2** 

## **Emily Lymperaki-Besson**

Gender discriminations in the labor market

Chair: Rania Kalatzi

Whom does the law serve? Legal form and its functions

Crisis of value, overexploitation of labour and the

Chair & discussant: Yannis Flytzanis

Precarious labour and resistance

Rethinking the legal form

weakening of the legal form

Nicos Tzanakis Papadakis

Ticiane Natale

### Anna Traianou

Educational conflict, teacher trade unions and state reformation in Greece 2010-2023

#### Nicholas Abrams

The role of non-unionized labour activism amid shifting terrains of class struggle in South Africa

#### Elli Leventaki

Class distinction and art-related labour in Greece: the struaale is real

Chair: Alexandros Minotakis

Literature, art and/in crisis

### **Panos Stathatos**

Periodizing modern greek literature of the financial-debt Is there a late Marx for these late hours? crisis

### Angeliki Poulou

Digital arts: lieu of the 'political'?

## Many Marxisms

Costas Galanopoulos

## Paul Reynolds

The vagaries of western Marxism: some reflections

## Giorgos Kalampokas

The "crisis of Marxism" revisited: Is there anything to keep for Chair: TBC the current strategic impasse?

**Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris** 

#### KARAGIORGA

Marxist feminist stream

An anti-capitalist art: imagining reproductive freedom in feminist texts of the 1970s

### **Eleanor Careless**

'Striking progress': the past and future of feminist strikes in women's movement magazines

#### Jess Cotton

The story of the Janes: towards a theory of abortion as freedom

#### Matthew Holman

Alice Neel: motherhood and Marxism

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

#### KARAGIORGA II

Migration / Refugee stream

## Space and subjectivities

#### Sofia Poulia

Post-Yugoslav diasporic subjectivities: the ambiguities and complexities of belonging among Bosnian families in London

## Eva Papatzani

Institutional and everyday displacement in the asylum accommodation policies: places, (im)mobilities, and practices towards refugees' settlement in Greece

#### Helen Mackreath

Tracing the racialised subject in Istanbul

#### Nikhil Malik

Accumulation through cooperation: building a refugee township in post-partition India

Chair: Olga Lafazani

Class, crisis and inequality in Greece

Nikos Pontis | Charalambos Domenikos | Vlassis Missos Hardening the EU core-periphery lines, 2009-2019: dependency, neoliberalism, welfare reformation and Frida or Kahlo? On the commodification and depoliticization income inequality in Greece

#### Costas Passas

A contribution to the economic and historical debate on social classes: an empirical investigation of the productive and unproductive labour categories in Greece from 1987 to 2020

### Tasos Papafragkos

Structural characteristics of the Greek crisis compared to Portugal: a political economy approach

Chair: Victor Strazzeri

Marxism and social history

## Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez

The plebeian road to dictatorship: vigilantism in Southern Europe, 1914-1926

### Eleftheria Papastefanaki

Social change according to polytechnical education. The Greek case

#### Nicos Potamianos

Class struggle over market regulation. The moral economy of rent control. Greece 1916-1936

Chair: TBC

#### KARAGIORGA II

Migration / Refugee stream

## Migrant labour and movements

## Geoffrey Boyce | Diego Martinez-Lugo

Immigrant labour and the racialized differentiation of disposability during the COVID-19 pandemic

## Hannah Cross | Stephan Liebscher

Migration, labour, and anti-capitalist approaches to socioecological transformation

## Ma'avan Ashash

The emergence of "local feminism" at the crossroads of armed struggle (in Turkey)

Chair: Nelli Kambouri

Marxist feminist stream

## Critiques of mainstream feminism

#### Debora Justin Eller

of feminism in late-stage capitalism

#### Scott Ritchie

Against woke masculinity: how liberal feminism uses identity to mask exploitation and avoid redistribution

### Yanis Iqbal

Gendered discourses of the urban in neoliberal India

### Rosa Vasilaki | George Souvlis

Instrumentalising gender: from interwar fascism to the alt Autism, class, and labour in contemporary capitalism: right in Greece

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

New thinking on alienation – political economy and strategy

#### Ali Yalcın Gövmen

Making sense of the authoritarian tide: crisis of neoliberalism, alienation and emancipation

## Cihan Özpınar

The riddle of alienation

#### Cemil Yıldızcan

De-alienating frames and logics through collective performativity: a reflection on alternative food economies

Chair: Paul Reynolds

## Labour and subjectivity

#### Danai Kriki

Memes, immaterial & affective labour in late capitalism

#### Dogukan Dere

Class-formation, subjectivity, consent, and resistance In the higher education factory: experiences of the research assistants from the Vakıf Universities in Turkey

### Tony lantosca

Turning antagonisms inside out: subjectification beyond biopower's limits

#### Bernardo Paci

some insights from the Italian case

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

#### KARAGIORGA

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

Critical perspectives on labour and technology

#### Alexandros Panagopoulos

Visible digitalization machines, invisible digitalization labour: cases from recent digitalization projects in Greece

#### Yon Prifti

Labor and automation in media discourses on artificial intelligence and related technologies: comparing the Albanian and Greek experience

## **Aristotle Tympas**

Is there such things as digital labour?

### Jason Kalathas

"Mouth without a brain, work without the worker?": capitalist socio-technical imaginaries in the era of Al revolution

Chair: Alexandros Minotakis

## C| THURSDAY, APRIL 20 | 17:00 - 18:45

Migration / Refugee stream

Perspectives on migration: "resiliency", solidarity and social change

Shirin Haghgou

Unsettling resettlement: "resiliency" in migration policies

C R. Yadu

Migration, livelihood gains and social change: a case study of two villages in India

Christos Stavrakakis

Urban marginalization, social networks and refugees' housing in Athens

Marxist feminist stream

Feminism, Marxism, the Left: critiques, dilemmas, strategies

Mónica Soares

The life-capital conflict: important critiques & notes for contemporary Marxist feminism

Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

Feminism in the last instance: class and ideology at the intersection

Aliki Kosyfologou

Gender, feminism and the contemporary anti-capitalist Chair: Ismini Mathioudaki Left: drawing from the Greek experience

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

Transformation of the state

**Dimitrios Kivotidis** 

The curious case of the 'executive state': a critical review of recent administrative reform in Greece

Matilde Adduci

Rethinking the 'shifts' in the mainstream of development in the light of the Gramscian concept of 'integral state'

Nima Nakhaei

The 'post-colonial type of state' at crossroads: the case of the Middle East

Chair: George Souvlis

## Henri Lefebvre and the social production of space

[A roundtable discussion on Christian Schmid's book "Henri Lefebyre and the Theory of the Production of Space"1

Yannis Flytzanis

Chrysoula Mitsopoulou Kanishka Goonewardena

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

Technology and labour: theoretical and

contemporary aspects

Christos Krystallis

Did Marx have a theory of machines?

Nicole Sarla

Models of the subject of labor and the production of the means of production

**Dimitris Koulos** 

Automation of production and the development of creative labour

Iraklis-Alexandros Vogiatzis

Digital labor as a social transformation: algorithmic management and surplus-value extraction

Chair: Iraklis Vogiatzis

**AUDITORIUM 2** 

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

Platform capitalism

Vageesh Vishnoi

Appropriation and accumulation by creating commons: a labour process view of platform mediated gig work

Asmita Bhutani

Women workers on data annotation platforms in the Global South Generalised impoverishment in Portugal

Ezgi Akcalı Türker

Digitalization and global division of labour: a critical analysis of future of work and platform economy

Chair: Natalia Avlona

#### AUDITORIUM 3

## Turkey at the crossroads I

## Alp Kayserilioglu

consolidation: Turkey on the Eve of Elections 2023

## Yunus Furkan Arican

accumulation, hegemony, and the state

### Ertan Erol

The rise and fall of the Turkish subimperialism: the political economy of the Turkish foreign policy under the AKP rule

## **Axel Gehrina**

The Turkish armaments industry and the tension between strategic autonomy and political-economic ratio

Chair: Costas Gousis

#### KARAGIORGA

### Media and resistance

#### Ari Stillman

Caught between neoliberal restoration and authoritarian Wage war: antiwork and proletarian class consciousness on Reddit

Maria Rantou | Georgios Makridis | Mike Tastsoglou

The emergence of national neoliberalism in Turkey Monitoring police violence: a content analysis of the media coverage of a police violence incident

Chair & discussant: Alexandros Minotakis

#### KARAGIORGA II

## The politics of emancipation today

## Alexandros Chrysis

"Something more is needed" Negri's and Hardt's anticapitalist politics: a Marxist evaluation

### Savvas Michael-Matsas

Beyond globalized capital and beyond Leviathan

## Panagiotis Sotiris

Turning subalternity into hegemony: rethinking anticapitalist politics through Gramsci and Althusser

### Richard Westra

Getting the movement target right as capitalism morphs into something more predatory

Chair: Paul Reynolds

#### KARAGIORGA II

**PLENARY** 

Rethinking Marxism and migration: a critical discussion on contemporary theories and methods

**Ashok Kumar** 

Ayse Caglar

Dimitris Parsanoglou

Céline Barry

Chair: Olga Lafazani

## E| FRIDAY, APRIL 21 | 10:00 - 11:45

Migration / Refugee stream

Political aesthetics and visual storytelling

#### Dimitris Kechris

Political aesthetics of the technical image: reflections on

#### Nagehan Uskan

Visual storytelling as resistance: what is a pushback? Video by the Kino Mosaik video collective

#### Nelli Kambouri

Sound and silence in migrant detention and migrant resistance

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

One thousand and one nights of the totality: a History and Class Consciousness marathon I

### Konstantin Baehrens

Introducing new agendas: Lukács' prefaces to HCC

#### Alexandros Minotakis

Lukács on Orthodox Marxism

#### Ankica Cakardic

Algebra of revolution: Marxism and Hegelianism of Rosa Luxemburg

Chair: Victor Strazzeri

## Against the state Soichiro Sumida

Marx against the state: toward a possible assembly communism

#### Timm Graßmann

The state of crisis. 20 years of analysis and opposition to Bonapartism in Marx - what remains?

#### Giannis Efstathiou

The "kenosis" of the state: from the intersectional crisis of the capitalist state to the generalized Bonapartism

#### Fernando Quintana

On the strategic implications of the 'withering away' of the Law and the State thesis

Chair: Dimitra Alifieraki

Digitalization, the public sphere and anti-corruption: Philosophy with and beyond Marx the politics of objectivity in Eastern Europe

#### Veronika Stoyanova

The global campaign against corruption and the rise of 'integrity-tech'

#### Jana Tsoneva

"The state must be a smartphone app": transparency, anticorruption and the automation discourse in Bulgaria

#### Sava Stefanov

Human capital and the politics of objectivity of the public institutions

## Georgi Medarov | Tania Orbova

Automating censorship: The antinomies of liberal struggle against "Russian propaganda" in Bulgaria

Chair: Nikolay Karkov

#### **AUDITORIUM 3**

Marxist feminist stream

Methodologies & processes of solidarity

### Christina Grammatikopoulou

'If you need help, come to me': Feminist Networks of Care in Greece

#### Alexia Stouraiti

Restorative & social justice in the #MeToo Era

#### Garima Panwar | Maria Laura Martinelli

Beyond Lysistrata: notes for a genealogy of feminist strikes Amedeo Policante

Chair: Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

### Michalis Tegos

A Marxism for the time of Empire: the case of Alexandre Kojève

### Constantine Filippakis

An excursus on Badiou's recent philosophical reclaiming of the Absolute

## Ian Tewksbury | S. Cross

Marx's Epicurean materialism: or, the poverty of objectoriented ontologies

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

#### **AUDITORIUM 2**

Marxism and capitalist crisis

## Geoffrey McCormack

Canadian capitalism in crisis: a classical Marxist analysis

## Sergio Cámara Izquierdo

Structural change in the US economy and its potential impacts on the world economy

### Sam Salour

Secular stagnation in historical perspective: from Paul Sweezy's monopoly capitalism to Robert Brenner's political capitalism

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

Environment / Urban stream

Ecological crisis: aspects and alternatives

#### Ines Silva

Still/Steal the plantation: Odemira and the colonial violence of globalisation

#### Eliana Otta

Manifesto: fertilizing mourning – Global South's offering to a world in flames

Mutant ecologies: manufacturing capitalogenic life-forms and securing the reproduction of capital

#### Facundo Martín

Marxian critique: romantic, modernist or both? A Latin American perspective

Chair: Ioannis-Panagiotis Raptis

#### KARAGIORGA II

## Facing war and imperialism I

## George Labrinidis

Imperialist money: the form that lies behind the currency war

## Fotis Koutsopoulos

Mediations of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict on the Greek 'security discourse': The limits of the neorealist approach

#### Alexandros Oikonomidis

Western imperialism and racism

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

Migration / Refugee stream Border regime and digital surveillance

## Rebecca Glyn-Blanco | Danae Io | Maria Mclintock

A critical study of the Centre for Management of Incidents & Emergencies, Athens

#### Ismini Mathioudaki

The EU digital border as a micro-governance tool: the Mariana Teixeira multiplicity of the digital loci as a counterweight of free movement

Rethinking climate change and ecological debate

Anthropocene, Capitalocene, and the challenges of

Can climate change litigation have an anticapitalist

The Ecological Debate over the Theory of Value, elements

Lamprini Panagiotopoulou-Nika | Yorgos Pisinas

Shades of a radical answer to climate crisis

#### Stelina Portesi

120 nautical miles: from Makronisos to Levitha

Chair: Costas Gousis

Marxist feminist stream

## **Epistemologies**

## Katrine Høghøj

Is the subject of intersectionality compatible with the subject of historical materialism? On the conditions of possibility of an intersectional Marxism

Feminist standpoint theory and the relevance of Lukács' History and Class Consciousness on its 100th Anniversary

#### Konstantinos Pinnikas

Gaps and perspectives of the contemporary debate between Marxist and postmodern feminism

#### Ariadni Polychroniou

Towards a new feminist epistemology of pro-refugee resistance

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

## The continuing relevance of Hegel

#### Stanisław Chankowski

Hegel's emancipation from capitalism trough the state and philosophy

#### Faik Onur Acar

Chair: Ewa Majeskwa

Time in the Heaelian sense and proletariat

#### KARAGIORGA

## Capitalism and crisis

#### Ashok Kumar

Crisis and the production of difference

#### Ken Kawashima

Marx's Capital, Dubois' Black Reconstruction and Uno's Theory of Crisis

#### Marini Thorne

Planning for finance: the crisis of capitalism and the transformation of the state in the Indian 1970

#### Sam Salour | Raven Hetzler

The value of money: a contribution to the critique of Marx's Maximos Spyridon Theodoropoulos theory

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

Approaching Turkey with class analysis in its centennial 1923-2023: against the strong current of liberal/

### nationalist historiography I

### Y. Dogan Cetinkava

Social classes and the state in the making of modern Turkey 1908-1950: the rise of historical materialism in the historiography on Turkey

### Erol Ülker

National bourgeoise versus cosmopolitan bourgeoise: communists' class-based analysis of Kemalism and the Republic during the interwar period

#### Sinan Yildirmaz

Changing definitions of the Turkish peasantry in a centurylong class struggle

Chair: Y. Dogan Çetinkaya

#### AUDITORIUM 2

## Marxism and religion

#### **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

### Kaan Kangal

Young Marx on fetishism, sexuality, and religion. Revisiting the Bonn Notebooks

#### Constantine Efaplomata

Whose false consciousness? Towards a theology of class struggle

## Sivaves Azeri

The pandemic, surplus-population and the spiritual crisis: Marx on religion revisited

Chair: George Souvlis

#### KARAGIORGA li

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

## Videogames – virtual reality

## Giannis Perperidis

From factories to playgrounds: a critical approach to the gamification of the workplace

#### Giorgio Chiappa

Furio Jesi at the arcade. Analysing Right- and Left-wing culture in video games

#### James Steinhoff

Virtual reality and Marxism

"I think we are alone now": videogame development culture in Greece

Chair: Natalia Avlona

## AUDITORIUM 3

for a Marxist response

Ioannis-Panagiotis Raptis

## Critical pedagogy

Gianna Katsiampoura

Environment / Urban stream

Theodoros Pelekanidis

Riccardo Fornasari

potential?

climate change for historical thinking

How critical feminism can enhance critical pedagogy

## Gioti Labrina

Critical adult education: socio-political and educational philosophy and perspectives of criticality

## **Kostas Skordoulis**

Towards an epistemology of critical STEM education

Chair: Anna Traiannou

Chair: Maria Georgouli Loupi

## Confronting the far-Right

#### Madhumita Varma

In the name of security: counter-terrorism and the case of Social form, legal form and the formation of public wealth the far-Right in France, 2015-2020

#### Nils Makauskas

The importance of splitting hairs on fascism, populism, Pashukanis' critique of legal fetishism conspiracism, and exceptional state forms

#### Katarina Peovic

Morbid symptoms - contemporary forms of fascism and the liberal tradition

Chair: George Souvlis

Environment / Urban stream

Moving forward? Ecological questions within the crisis context

#### Mateusz Nowacki

Climate urbanism and the future of grassroots resilience. The case of Mikro Dom Kultury in Poznan

## Sofia Adam

Use-values and social needs: a much needed exploration

Ecology at bay: situating New Delhi in the recovery of the 'sensuous'

### Tamara Egger

Visibilizing the invisibilized: learning from real utopias toward a circular built environment

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

## AUDITORIUM 2

## Turkey at the crossroads II

#### Deniz Parlak

"New" cultural crisis or the quest for cultural hegemony? A brief Marxist debate beyond the prevailing narrative in Turkey

## Hülva Kendir

Civil society and social movements in Turkey during the pandemic: a Marxist perspective

#### Hacan Gunes

Contextualising Turkish foreign policy within Imperialism and sub-imperialism theories: neo-Ottomanism and Turkish foreign policy in 21st century

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

Law, social forms and capitalism

## Toni Prug | Mislav Žitko

### Yannis Flytzanis

Legal form, ideology and exchange value. Updating

Chair: Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni Ayça Çubukçu

Migration / Refugee stream

Race, class, and struggles

Dimitris Parsanoglou | Nikos Trimikliniotis | Vassilis

In defence of the autonomy of migration as the cause for 'the wretched of the earth': a response to old comrades

#### Raluca Bejan

Ukraine: race, class and nation

Chair: Olga Lafazani

**Class Composition Project** 

Panel discussion with the Notes from Below editors

#### AUDITORIUM 3

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

## Critical Inquiries into automation and Al

### Alan Diaz

On machine intelligence and technological fetishism

### Vali Stan

Left Luddism today

#### Satomi Mikamoto

Marx's "real subsumption" and Braverman: the transformation of the labour process by the introduction of Al

Chair: Sanja Petrovska

## Facing war and imperialism II

#### Joe Grim Feinberg

What Is internationalism? (and why we need a history of the idea

### George Sotiropoulos

From utopia to apocalypse: revolutionary politics today and the case for a "new defeatism"

On Left internationalism

Chair: Katharina Hunfeld

#### KARAGIORGA I

Marxist feminist stream

Social Reproduction I: positions on care

#### Ana Maria Miranda Mora

Domestic work and global care chains: solidarity in the face of crisis

### Ömür Kurt I Ezgi Pinar

Different forms of social reproduction: Findikli/Turkey

## Kvriaki Lampropoulou

Care and Social Reproduction: Parallel and Opposite Discourses? Convergences, Differences and Future Prospects

## Cynthia H. Malakasis

How Much Nature Is "just right?": "Rationalities" of Reproduction in the Land of Piled-up "Crises"

#### Tilbe Akan

Whistleblowing as a feminist methodology: a study of Turkey, Argentina and the USA

Chair: Alex Stoffel

#### KARAGIORGA II

Evald Ilyenkov: the concept of the Ideal in social practice

## Maxim Morozov

Evald Ilyenkov and Marek Siemek on marxist epistemology: cognition as praxis

## Paul Feldman I Corinna Lotz

De-alienating the state

### Andrew Brown

The neglected role of 'causal powers realism' in Ilyenkov's philosophy and political economy

## **Kyril Potapov**

The architect and the bee: alienation and the dialectics of nature

Chair: Giannis Ninos

Public sphere and media representations

## Nikos Smyrnaios

Digital monopoly platforms as tools of State censorship

#### Helena Sheehan

The disinformation wars: an epistemological, political and socio-historical interrogation

#### Eric-John Russell

Certainty in an uncertain world: towards a critical theory Ethical foundations of classical Marxism of opinion

### Malay Kanuga

Media and narrative power in an era of crisis and convergence

Chair: Natalia Avlona

Revisiting Marx's philosophy

#### Alkis Nikolakeas

The concept of 'Sinnlichkeit' from Feuerbach to Marx

#### Andrew Johnson

Magic, monsters, and machines: conceptual personae in Hadia Akhtar Khan Marx's gothic nightmare?

## Beshir Özgür Nayır

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Value, extraction and resistance in rural Pakistan

#### Shozab Raza

Conjugating universalisms: communist internationalism across tribe and nation

The value theory of labour in Pakistan: migration, masculinity and the family

#### Arsalan Samdani

Class-caste formation and resource extraction in rural Pakistan: natural gas and class-caste struggle in Northwestern Pakistan

#### Sarah Suhail

Beyond bondage: Hari women's communities of struggle

Chair: Noaman Ali

Critical theory revisited I

#### Sanja Petkovska

The overview of the critical theory today and its analytical power

#### Luca Micaloni

Monopoly capitalism and libidinal infrastructure. Against the "culturalist" interpretation of Frankfurt School Critical Theory

#### Nikos Folinas

The current character of Marcuse's Soviet Marxism

Chair: Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

One thousand and one nights of the totality: a History and Class Consciousness marathon II

## **Eden Young**

What can be recovered from Lukacs' Class Consciousness?

### Victor Strazzeri

Reification (I): Georg Lukács as a Marxist

#### Giovanni Zanotti

Reification (II): antinomies in 'The Antinomies of Bourgeois Thought'

Chair: Mariana Teixeira

**AUDITORIUM 2** 

Rethinking the Left and the Cyprus problem in the troubled triangle of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus: an appraisal of the past with view to the challenges of the world out of joint

**Nicos Trimikliniotis** 

Nicos Christofis

Avishai Ehrlich

Chair & discussant: Eleni Bouleti

#### **AUDITORIUM 3**

Marxist perspectives on Latin America

## Philipp Wolfesberger

Ambiguities of the state in Latin America: the blurred boundaries of state apparatus and criminal organizations

### Rafael Shimabukuro

The crisis in Peru: a critical approach

## Aberaldo Marina-Flores

Critical analysis of the outcomes and shortcomings of the progressive government of Mexico since 2018

### John Brown

Deepening democracy in post-neoliberal Bolivia and Venezuela: advances and setback

Chair: George Souvlis

KARAGIORGA I

Representation frameworks: queer & feminist takes

## Dimitra Kvrillou

Marxist feminist stream

The representation of the LGBTQ+ community in Greek cinema

#### Sanem Su Avci

Looking for a place: representations of women in Greek and Turkish cinema in the 1970s

## Sahika Karatepe

A Marxist feminist critique of late Ottoman gender historiography

#### Rebekah Rutkoff

Attachments: Love, Marxism and Other Compensations

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

### KARAGIORGA II

Migration / Refugee stream

"Second generation immigrants" and citizenship struggles: politics, identity and hidden potentialities

Michael Afolavan

Costas Gousis

Ilirida Musaraj

Chair: Olga Lafazani

**PLENARY** 

# Work, technology and struggle

**Eleni Papagiannaki**Against techno-determinism and value negators: a materialist political economy of the 4th industrial revolution

## Jamie Woodock

The role of technology at work: labour process theory and class composition

# Alexandros Minotakis | Paris Laftsis Fight against platform capitalism: the case of e-food workers

Chair: Natalia Avlona

## J| SATURDAY, APRIL 22 | 10:00 - 11:45

#### A 1

New thinking on alienation – alienation and cultural, social and technological transformations

## Ali Yalçın Göymen

Class, power and alienation in neoliberal era

## Özgür Narin

Artificial intelligence, information and alienation: a critical historical analysis

## Paul Reynolds

Culture, aesthetics and the composition of contemporary alienation

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

Approaching Turkey With class analysis in its centennial 1923- 2023: against the strong current of liberal/nationalist historiography II

#### **Ahmet Bekmen**

The state crisis in Turkey: considerations on its historical roots

## M. Görkem Dogann

Challenges of Turkish labour unions after the long decline: seeking for the meager possibilities of labour revitalization in the age of neoliberalism

## Özgün Akduran Erol

Class character of tax expenditures in Turkey under pandemic conditions

Chair: Ahmet Bekmen

A5

Marxist feminist stream

Social Reproduction II: Environment/s

#### Anna Beria

Struggle for the reproduction of life: reading ecofeminist movements as affirmative resistances - the case of Georgia

#### Harshani Fernando

Demanding the rights of the killer or the women's fight against the capitalist development model

## Tatiana Liaguno

Unsustainable lives: the role of the production/ reproduction divide

## Panagiota Chaliori | Ariadni Meletaki

Cyborg-feminism and anti-speciesism: a post-anthropocentric expansion of the boundaries of the political subject

Chair: Ervin Kondakciu

A 2

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

Labour and exploitation in the era of digital capitalism

#### Maro Pantazidou

Precarious time and post-work

### C. Henning

The dialectics of sharing: assessing the sharing economy from a Marxist perspective

## Marko Đordevic | Aimilianos Tsakiroglou

Digital labour, class struggle and communist politics in the Western Balkans

## **George Briley**

Weaponized digital incompetence and resistance in the outsourced workplace

Chair: Costas Gousis

#### KARAGIORGAI

Environment / Urban stream

Revisiting marxist thinking in the environmentalcrisis context

#### **Jakub Bokes**

Basis in natural history: ecology, capitalism, and the origins of environmental law

#### Toros Günesh | Esgün Birdal

Catastrophes of the spirit: Hegel and the controversy on anthropocene/capitalocene

### Harry Holmes

Making lemonade from lemons – disasters, accumulation, and new sites of struggle

#### Alexander Blocki

M. Lifshitz on the environment

Chair: Yorgos Pisinas

#### KARAGIORGA II

## Rethinking nineteenth century revolutions

#### Daniel Forrest Banks

The logistics of bourgeois revolution: Giuseppe Garibaldi, Italian state formation and the expansion of global capitalism

#### **Andres Carla**

Military trials against rebel women of colour during the Ten Years' War in Cuba, 1868-1878

## Elisavet Papalexopoulou

Conservative revolutionaries: bankers, philhellenes and the Greek Revolution of 1821

Chair: George Souvlis

A3

Marx's critique of political economy: a re-evaluation

#### Richard Westra

Philosophical economics of Marx's Capital

#### Gianmaria Brunazzi

Economic structures and class consciousness: re-reading Marxist production in historical perspective

#### Dennis Badeen

Internal relations Marxism and the analysis of open systems: a metatheoretical approach

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

#### **AUDITORIUM 2**

Critical theory revisited II

#### Angeliki Papathanasiou

Authority, power and the subject in late capitalism: Erich Fromm and Michel Foucault

#### **Arthur Bueno**

From the standpoint of the proletariat to the authoritarian personality, and back

#### Iraklis Mavridis

Critical theory versus The sociology of knowledge: A friendly enemy?

Chair: Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

#### **AUDITORIUM 3**

Marxism and the dynamics of crisis in the Middle East

### Mona Khneisser

Unsettling crisis: rethinking crisis narratives & epistemes in theorizing revolution & the everyday in Lebanon

### Helena Zohdi

Travelling theory from below: revolutionary socialists and the theory and political practice of Marxism

### Nina Nakhaei

Crisis of neoliberal imperialism and the regionalization of hegemonic struggles in the Middle East

#### Sohrab Rezvani

Iran's uprising: the crisis of (re)organization of the revolutionary front toward a program of democratic socialism

Chair: Costas Raptis

[Yale Working Group on Globalization and Culture I] The fallout of war: chronologies of conflict

Damanpreet Pelia

Michael Denning

Lucero Estrella Javier Porras Madero

Salonee Bhaman

Open questions in Marx's theory of society

Kanakis Leledakis

Theorising society: Marx's fundamental insights

Marina Burik

The formation of the consciousness of the historical subject in modern society

Giuseppe Quattromini

The dialectic of national and global in Marx's theory of the From legal form to the derivation debates and back again so-called primitive accumulation

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

Relations in law, mystification, marxism

**Grea Davies** 

Apex courts and territorial state unity: a Marxist perspective

**Aoife Bowdler** 

Spectres of pre-emptive self-defence: international law and the materiality of spectres

Hugo Lundberg

Chair: Iraklis Mayridis

The crisis of the "European road"

Mike Wilkinson

The end of the end of history, and the unfinished conjuncture of Europe

Aurélie Andry

Social Europe, the road not taken

**Anastassios Chardas** 

Post-pandemic European Union: insights from critical political economy

Keti Chukhrov

The war and the crisis of meaning in emancipation theories

Chair: George Souvlis

Chair: Aanchal Saraf

Class, political struggles and social

reproduction in contemporary capitalism

**Dimitris Koulos** 

The relation between manual and creative labour in the age of Lean Production

Dionysis Tzarellas

The eniama of social classes: theoretical approaches to social classes and social stratification

Giannis Ninos

The concept of "class" in the 21st century: Marx's and Bourdieu's methodological legacy

Daniel Evans | Owain Hanmer

The role of the petty bourgeoisie in the current crisis- a kingmaker class?

Chair: Ervin Kondakciu

Migration / Refugee stream

Deportation, detention, and beyond

Valentina Azarova

Disappearance, necroviolence and posthumous politics in the borderlands: from the Sonoran Desert to Evros

Nefeli Belavila-Trova | Varvara Christaki | Christina

Karvouni

"Moria was a hell": documenting and researching the deaths that occurred inside the notorious detention center in Lesvos, Greece, March 2016-September 2020

Alexander Ephrussi

Navigating deportation, performativity and materiality among Afghans in Turkey

Chair: Ismini Mathioudaki

**AUDITORIUM 2** 

Environment / Urban stream

Climate change, Disasters and the

**Environmental movements** 

Shachi Mokashi

Tracing the conceptualisation of uncertainty in the construction of climate futures: a study of oil corporations

Defne Gönenc

Is democratization and environmental protection possible through civil society actors? A discussion on potentials and limits from the Aegean region of Turkey

Achilleas Mantes

Modelling socio-environmental crises: an environmental rift catastrophe

Lila Leontidou

Crisis and its morbid symptoms: cities of social exclusion after the covid-19 pandemic

Chair: Nikos Nikisianis

**AUDITORIUM 3** 

Spinoza-Marx and the epistemology of class struggle

Sam Samore

"It's the system, man": Spinoza and the vernacular structuralism of the New Left

**Andrew Smyth** 

Where immanent grammars burst: demotic rhythm, productive forces, and the philosophy of language in Spinoza-Marx

Clancy Murray

"One mind and one body": Spinozist lessons on revolutionary political leadership

Giannis Maramathas

Absolute capitalism? A spinozist approach

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

KARAGIORGA I

Marxist feminist stream

The state

Ewa Majewska

But I am your mother! The caring control of sexuality in the neoliberal state of exception

Bianca Griffani

No Husbands, No Jobs! The gendered politics of citizenship in post-Fordist Italy

Anaeliki Dronaiti

Materialist feminism approaches of military service: (Re) producing the "male class" in Greece

Nesa Vrecer

The question of state feminism in socialist states

Chair: Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

## K| SATURDAY, APRIL 22 | 12:00 - 13:45

### KARAGIORGA II

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream Capitalism, Data and Platforms

## Özgür Orhangazi

Intellectual monopoly capitalism. Implications for Marxian economic theory

Charis Papaevangelou | Eugenia Siapera Beyond data colonialism: Greece 2.0 as a tech colony

#### Jonas Valente

Exploitation and precarization in digital labour platforms: towards a Marxist approach for platform labour

Chair: Natalia Avlona

14

13.50 - 14:30 Meet the editors of Historical Materialism (Room A1)

## L| SATURDAY, APRIL 22 | 14:30 - 16:15

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

Theoretical perspectives 4th industrial revolution

#### **Antonis Faras**

The capitalist mode of production and the maintenance of technology: a Marxist perspective

## **Georgios Marias**

Exercises in futurism

#### **Dimitrios Kotsifakos**

The contrast of intellectual-manual work in the 4th industrial revolution

Chair: Natalia Avlona

One thousand and one nights of the totality: a History and Class Consciousness Marathon III

#### Mariana Teixeira

Reification (III): Lukács and the standpoint(s) emancipation

#### Victor Strazzeri

Reflections from a prevented revolutionary future: on the Myrto Sarma | Dimitra Trousa forgotten chapter of HCC

#### **Costas Gousis**

State, Law, and Marxism: Thoughts on Lukács' 'Legality and Illegality' essay

Chair: Anita Zsurzsán

Marxism and aesthetics

### Iro Mandilara | Spyros Potamias

The socio-political function of art in Lukacs' thought

## of Antonis Balasopoulos

(Mis)reading Orwell: on Raymond Williams and the politics of the British New Left

Dramaturgical practices and the politicisation of artistic labour

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

History and memory wars

#### Nikos Christofis

The Cyprus Mines Corporation (CMC): exploitation and Raluca Bejan class consciousness in interwar colonial Cyprus

## Bryan Gigantino | Sopo Japaridze | Beka Natsvlishvili

Struggle, Marxism and memory wars: the Soviet past in post-soviet Georgia

### Miguel Palmeira | Bruno Zorek

A controversy among academic and militant Brazilian Marxists

Chair: Eleftheria Papastefanaki

Legal regimes and policies

Migration / Refugee stream

Bureaucratic violence in the time of Greece's governance under New Democracy

### Sasa Haizler

Post-Yugoslav alternative border politics: trial and (t)error along the Balkanroute

Chair: Ismini Mathioudaki

Biopolitics and the pandemic

## Filippa Chatzistavrou | Konstantinos Papanikolaou

The political uses of the covid pandemic in the rise of Greek neo-authoritarianism

#### Stella Christou

The healthcare arena as an arena of political contestation: lessons from two health crisis settings in Greece

## Apostolis Kapsalis | Vagelis Koumarianos | Nikos

## Kourachanis

Managing permanent crises in Greece: social policy in the wake of neoliberalism

Chair: Ewa Majewska

#### **AUDITORIUM 3**

Environment / Urban stream

Within and beyond the socio-ecological crisis

#### Nikos Nikisianis

Ecology VS democracy: the technocratic tradition in the science of ecology

### Olga Balaoura

Climate change and spatial transformation

Chair: Kanishka Goonewardena

#### KARAGIORGA

Marxist feminist stream

Community, social movements & feminist struggles

## Laya Hooshyari

How imperialism, nationalism, militarism and patriotism produced and resisted during the Jina uprising among female Iranian immigrants in Manchester

### **Emily Dobrich**

Community self-defense organizing as embodied social movement building: a strategy for women's resistance to capitalist state violence and renewal of collective well-being

## Zulal Nazan Ustundag

Women, life, freedom against femicide and politicide in Kurdistan and beyond

## Irene Perperidou

Fight wealth: the power of women's anger

Chair: Maria Georgouli-Loupi

KARAGIORGA II

## Revisiting Althusser

#### Vittorio Morfino

Althusser's aleatory materialism and the young Balibar

## Stefano Pippa

Reassessing Althusser's theory of ideology - notes for a theory of 'overinterpellation'

## Giorgos Kalampokas

Towards a new althusserian concept of overdetermined encounter?

## Giorgos Fourtounis

The "last analysis" as deconstruction? Revisiting the Derridian critique of Althusserian early structuralism via Spinozist immanence

**Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris** 

One thousand and one nights of the totality: a History and Class Consciousness marathon IV

#### Anita Zsurzsán

Lukács' critical observations on Rosa Luxemburg's "Critique of the Russian Revolution" 100 years on

#### Dimitra Alifieraki

Lukács on the 'Organisation Question'

#### Konstantin Baehrens

Introducing new agendas II: Lukács' 1967 Preface to HCC

Chair: Costas Gousis

Marxist feminist stream

A Marxist feminist educative praxis:

intersectionality, social reproduction, and social transformation

Sara Carpenter | Chandni Desai | Shahrzad Mojab | Genevieve Ritchie

### KARAGIORGA II

Imperialism, nationalism and war

#### John Milios

Nation, imperialism, war

#### Noaman Ali

Sub-imperialism and semi-colonial dependence: Gulf states and Pakistan

#### Georgia Pagiavla

Western Balkans: A New Era in European Imperialism

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

#### AUDITORIUM 2

## Peasants, indigenous populations and migration

#### **Derek Baron**

From proletarianization to dispossession: federal boarding schools, settler territorial expansion, and the geographies of colonial racial capitalism

#### Muhammad Nasir

The perpetuation of asymmetrical dependency: a historical study of bonded labour literature

## Matt Myers

On peasants and immigrants: Robert Linhart's contribution to Marxism

## Kleoniki Alexopoulou

Labour transformations in Sub-Saharan Africa from colonial to postcolonial times

Chair: Giorgos Velegrakis

Marxism and metatheoretical questions

#### **Thodoris Dimitrakos**

Capital's materialism and the metaphilosophy of Marxism

### Zachos Christodoulopoulos | Vasilis Papadimitriou

Against all odds: Hessen-Grossman thesis as a starting point to construct a modern, Marxist critique to science

#### Nicole Sarla | Nikos Christodoulakis

Revisiting L.S. Vygotsky's approach to emotions for a Marxist Guilhem Mevel approach to psychotherapy

#### Thomas Workman

Aesthetics and science: assessing Harvey's crisis theory

Chair: George Souvlis

Migration / Refugee stream

Regimes of accumulation, reproduction and migration

#### Pauline Gardiner Barber | Catherine Bryan

Skill, Value, and the social reproduction of Philippine-Canada migration

### Ayse Caglar

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki Coloniality of migration: capital accumulation, social reproduction, and the making and remaking of migrant lives

#### Winnie Lem

Asian migrants in a global metropolis and the dialectics of capitalist reproduction

#### **Gavin Smith**

Migrants as surplus to the negotiated politics of selective hegemony

#### Anne-Christine Tremon

The role of social reproduction in excluding migrant surplus populations

#### Annamaria Laudini

Indian "housewives" in neoliberal Italy: virtuous womanhood and capital aligned?

Chair: Pauline Barber | Winnie Lem

## AUDITORIUM 3

## Temporalities of resistance

#### Lea Kuhar

Taking back the future: the critique of Longtermism

#### Jonathan Martineau

Between historicity and temporality: interdisciplinary critical reflections on "Presentism"

#### Serhat Celal Birdal

"Organizing pessimism" in the age of uncertainty: on the possibility of a Left political theology

#### Christos Mais

Publish or perish: The production and dissemination of revolutionary theory in Greece

Chair: Paul Revnolds

Open questions in marxist theory

### Achilleas Mantes | Konstantinos Evangelopoulos

Civil conflict, complexity science and Marxism. an agentbased model investigation

### Hedvia Lärka

Social form theory and the question of the state - A reconstruction of systematic dialectics

The evasion of dialectics: the neoliberal production of a new socialist divide

### Giorgos Charalambous

Communicating Crises on the Left: Diagnostic and Prognostic Frames During Three Periods

Chair: TBC

Technology, digital labour & class struggle stream

Resistance in gig economy

#### Julia Nueno Guitart

Riding the Algorithm. Repurposing delivery workers' data into a digital commons

### Tavfun Mertan

Labour organization and digitalization in platform capitalism: experiences from Turkey

#### Caspar Shaller

Gorillas in the digital fog: self organized labour activism in plattform capitalism - a Berlin case study

#### Daniel Evans

How to resist the Uberisation of a solid job. Lessons from the current postal worker strikes in the UK

Chair: Paris Laftsis

#### KARAGIORGA I

## The Greek 2010s revisited: from revolt to defeat

### Dimitris Barkas

Identities, emotions, and ideology. Socio-psychological perspectives on political participation prior to the 2015 Greek Referendum

#### Christos Avramidis

"No it's not enough" - social movement theory's deficit in examining impact because of the divorce with Marxist theory

## Mania (Maria) Sotiropoulou

Intra-party democracy and transformations of the state: from SYRIZA to SYRIZA-Progressive Alliance

## Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros

Muted radicalism and political apathy in post-2015 Greece

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

#### KARAGIORGA I

**PLENARY** 

The impending climate disaster and how to avoid it: with what strategy against climate change?

Giorgos Velegrakis

Katharina Hunfeld

**Andeas Malm** 

Chair and discussant: Alkisti Prepi

A1

[Yale Working Group on Globalization and Culture II] The fallout of war: metaphors of militarism

**Aanchal Sar** 

Jessica Marion Modi

Madeleing

Han Manu Pabón

Monique Flores Ulysses

Chair: Michael Denning

A 2

Marxist feminist stream

Against nature: moral panics and the resurgent far-Right

Naomi Alizah Cohen | Felix del Campo

Down with Capital, Down with Nature: transphobia and far-Right 'anticapitalism'

Miri Davidson

Primitivism against Marxism? non-alienated nature and the critique of capitalism

**Alex Stoffel** 

Eros against civilisation? antagonism and recuperation in the history of radical queer struggle

Max Fox

The history of sexuality as real estate

Chair: Maria Georgouli Loupi

AUDITORIUM 2

Strategy after defeat

**Panagiotis Sotiris** 

Paul Reynolds

Chair and discussant: Victor Strazzieri

Magic Kitchen Team

in Greece (2014-2022)

Migration / Refugee stream

Nikolaos Vasilopoulos

Movements and resistance

The Magic Kitchen experience: the making of a vegan cooperative eatery by refugees, migrants and locals in the heart of Athens

From counter-state to regulatory policy-making and back:

anthropological views of the refugee solidarity movement

Dipsita Dhar

The survival strategy among the Malayali diaspora in Malta: negotiating through collective action and community organisation

Chair: Nelli Kambouri

Environment / Urban stream

Trans-species approach to labor, exploitation, and solidarity: animals under capitalist abstraction

Deniz Dile

Toward a more-than-human approach to labour, value, and class: possibilities of trans-species solidarity and liberation

Zeynep Gizem Haspolat

Nonhuman animals and production time: a look into live cattle imports

Dogukan Dere

Biotechnology and abstraction within the animal-industrial complex

Chair: Giorgos Velegrakis

KARAGIORGA II

Revisiting state socialist philosophy

Stefan Baghiu

Una Blagojevic

Alexandru Cistelecan

**Christian Ferencz-Flatz** 

Adela Hincu

Jiri Ruzicka

KARAGIORGAI

Populism, postdemocracy and neoliberalism

Ayan Das | Debajit Goswami

Reconciling republicanism and populism within the left policies of West Bengal, India

Selin Dingiloglu

Marxist theories of fascism and the "lumpen debate"

Gökhan Demir

Post-democracy versus left populism: a critique of Chantal Mouffe

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki

Chair: Joe Grim Feinbreg

AUDITORIUM 3

Crisis, politics and the state

Ali Behran Ozcelik

On the dangers of economism as the state returns

Pierre Parrouffe

Reifying struggle: lifestyle politics and the 'progressive' as late capitalist bourgeois

Louis Kontos | Bahar Tabakoglu

The lawlessness of the bourgeoisie in a neoliberal context

Marianna Charitonidou

Marxist perspective and spatial planning theory: exploring the interconnections between the infrastructural, regulatory and ideological spheres

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

#### Δ1

Five years KRISI-Biannual Scientific Review: (re) thinking marxism in social and human sciences

Jannis Kozatsas

Introduction

Maria Choleva

Archaeology and Marxian concepts

Christina Dimakopoulou

Art history and Marxism

**Thodoris Dimitrakos** 

Marxism and HPS (History and Philosophy of Science)

Nikos Folinas

Marxian Studies and Political Theory

Angeliki Poulou

Marxist approaches to the digital/post-digital

Chair: TBC

A4

Migration / Refugee stream

Refugee camps at the borders of Europe: technologies of power and the political economies of the humanitarian regime in Greece

Lafazani Olga

30 years of camps in Greece: sociospatial tensions and in/visible geographies

Kandylis Giorgos | Koutrolikou Penny

Un/Documenting the refugee camp: materials and representations of the humanitarian system

Panos Hatziprokopiou

On the economic geographies of migration and border controls: The camp as a growth machine?

Thanasis Tyrovolas

The economies of refugee camps: insights from camps around Athens

Chair: Costas Gousis

AUDITORIUM 3

[BOOK LAUNCH]

Nationalism as a Claim to a State

Yannis Maramathas

Nikos Trimikliniotis

John Milios (author)

A 2

Launch of Karel Teige's Marketplace of Art Sezgin Boynik

Joe Grim Feinberg

Chair and discussant: Angela Dimltrakaki

A3

Marxist feminist stream

Social Reproduction III: milk, class, strike

Susan Newman

Nurture commodified? Commercial human milk supply chains

Irina Herb

Who should own the means of reproduction? Discussing assisted reproductive technologies from a materialist perspective

Rebecca Carson

Social reproduction, expropriation and class in an era of rentier

Anna Fabbri

A critical discourse analysis of the Italian 8th March feminist strike

Chair: Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

AUDITORIUM 2

Abolition politics today

Safae el Khannoussi el Bouidrini

Prison in the postcolony: towards an abolitionist critique of carcerality in the Maghreb

Valeria Ruiz Perez

The unconstitutional state of affairs in Colombian prisons: a paradoxical power

Chair: Natalia Avlona

<u> A5</u>

New regimes of accumulation

Joel Garrod

What can feudalism teach us about global capitalism? Thoughts on the blockchain and neofeudalism

Dimitra Bei-Konstantinidi

Big tech companies' dominance under the prism of the theory of regulation

Dipsita Dhar

Understanding gig economy and socially reproductive labour: a case study from India

Ryuji Sasaki

Rentier Capitalism and Marx's "Capital"

Chair: George Souvlis

KARAGIORGA I

Socialist art and culture in the Balkans: anticapitalism, anti- colonialism, and alternatives

Ovidiu Tichindeleanu

Real socialism in-between decolonization and decoloniality: Romania's engagement with Africa and Asia

Nikolay Karkov

Dimitar Dimov's Tyutyun, between (post)socialism and coloniality

Bojana Videkanic

Yugoslav people's art: thinking through alternative artistic practices in socialism

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

KARAGIORGA II

From current modes of extraction to geongineering- infrastructures and the renewal

of ecological crisis

Jessica Hope

The infrastructure of sustainable development: roads, extraction & finance in the Amazon

**Dimitris Lenis** 

The need for a Green Revolution

**Petros Psarreas** 

Back to the future: war and future fossil fuel extraction plans in the era of climate crisis. The case of Greece

**Andreas Malm** 

The future is the termination shock: on the antinomies and psychopathologies of geoengineering

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

Chair and discussant: Panagiotis Sotiris

#### A1

Marxist feminist stream

Queer critiques and organising

Jamie Magnusson

Cities as Securitised Zones: Implications for Queer and Trans Abolition Organising

Jana Kujundzic

Limits of Carceral Feminism: A Marxist Feminist Critique of the Criminalisation of Young Queer People

Nada Bobicic

Something old, something new: feminism, queer and the

Left in (post-)Yugoslavia

Chair: Alex Stoffel

#### A 2

Environment / Urban stream [BOOK LAUNCH]

The Commonist Horizon: futures beyond capitalist urbanization

Anthony Iles

Stavros Stavrides

Penny Travlou

Noah Brehmer (book editor)

Chair: Thanos Andritsos

#### A 4

Memory, emancipation, ideology

Johanna Bröse

Relations of solidarity and memory politics

Leila Haghighat

The anti-relationality of racial capitalism in the post-colonial city

Maya Kantar

Imagining in blue: utopian poetics as a method of emancipation

Vladimir Rizov

More than practices of description? Ideology in the works of Louis Althusser and Sylvia Wynter

**Louis Kontos** 

The symbolic order of neoliberalism

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

#### A 5

[BOOK LAUNCH]

Radical journalism: resurgence, reform, reaction

Alexandros Minotakis

Christos Avramidis

**George Souvlis** 

Chair and discussant: Helena Sheehan

#### AUDITORIUM 2

Migration / Refugee stream

Marxism and migration

Genevieve Ritchie | Sara Carpenter | Shahrzad Mojab

As migrants move: (re)formations of class and class struggle

**Philip Marfleet** 

Marxism, migration, and the state

Shirin Haghou

Dissent interrupted: settling refugee youth

Leandros Fischer | Martin Bak Jørgensen

Marxist perspectives on migration between autonomy and hegemony: an intervention for a strategic approach

Chair: Genevieve Ritchie

#### AUDITORIUM 3

Environment / Urban stream

Current marxist approaches on the environmental question

Vasiliki Krommyda | Stelios Gialis | Anastasia Stratigea State-led spatial and labour injustices in energy transition: the case of Greece

Jacopo Nicola Bergamo

In defence of historical materialism in recent ecological debates

Chair: Yorgos Pisinas

#### KARAGIORGA I

Questions of strategy and power

Yiannis Kokosalakis

Crisis, state building and class dictatorship: Lenin's 'Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power' as founding text of socialist governance

Fenia Chatzinikolaou | Yorgos Karagiannopoulos

Great chaos under heaven! Working-class' standpoint on the recurring crises and its struggle against them

Pedro Meira Gava Ramos Barbosa

Dialectics of conflict: classes and class struggle in Daniel Bensaïd's thought

Lefteris Karamitrou

Cooperatives as part of market socialism: The case of Cuba

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

#### KARAGIORGA II

**PLENARY** 

# Exploitation and emancipation: Marxist feminist perspectives

Ewa Majewska

Surveillance, care and resistance

Shahrzad Mojab
Debates on woman life freedom: a case study for the critique of intersectionality

Demet Shahende Dinler

Workers' struggles today: a Marxist feminist perspective

Keti Chukhrov

**Emancipatory epistemologies** 

Chair and Rejoinder: Angela Dimitrakaki

NOTES 22

NOTES 23

**SUBSCRIBE** 

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Research in Critical Marxist Theory



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