

Organising in the Capitalocene

Labour and the Struggle against Disaster and Genocide



historical materialism Athens

24-27 April 2025 Panteion University

In cooperation with the Department of Social Policy, Panteion University, and with the support of Ektos Grammis

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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.

Organised in cooperation with the **Department of Social Policy, Panteion University of Social and Political Science, Athens**, and with the support of **Ektos Grammis**

We now live in a world of genocide and disaster. That we are witnessing the Israeli war machine destroying Gaza and attacking Lebanon while the Earth is crossing one 'climate-change' threshold after another suggests that catastrophe is becoming the 'new normal' of contemporary capitalism.

From orchestrating a genocidal project to escalating inter-imperialist rivalry and the militarisation of societies, from the cynical refusal to act against the worst aspects of an environmental collapse (no longer impending but actual) to treating the vast majority of the global population as an expendable factor of production and to openly endorsing all sorts of patriarchal and racist positions, the reality of contemporary capitalism is unbearable. It makes radical social change from below more urgent than ever.

If Capitalocene – a term that specifies the cause of our predicament- implies transition to a historical period where capital turns into a force solely of destruction,

without any claims to some 'positive' hegemonic project, then collective resistance is the sole barrier to extinction. The question is how to organise this resistance, how to make it capable of reversing processes of destruction that now seem almost unstoppable. Such an endeavour is all the more difficult in the current political conjuncture. Following a decade of popular uprisings and anti-austerity political projects occasionally engaging governmental power, the protracted crisis of strategy in the Left has now turned into a wholesale strategic impasse that allows ever newer versions of far-right and ultra-libertarian projects to present themselves as credible responses to the anxieties of the popular masses.

We must not forget that at the heart of this complex ensemble of antagonisms and conflicts, which turn the Capitalocene into a global disaster zone, remains labour, class, and exploitation. Against efforts to present the capitalist economy as an endless flow of commodities and assets, as a process of self-produced (and in times of crisis, self-destroyed) value, capitalism must be seen for what it is: a system of exploitation of living labour. In the vortex of new for-profit technologies and the further precarisation and intensification of labour, as new waves of struggle are met with new waves of repression, the reality of labour tends to be sidelined. And yet, only capital's drive towards the full exploitation of labour, in all its aspects, can explain both the unstoppable depletion of anything identified as 'resources' and the unleashing of all forms of violence against societies and nature.

In terms of exploitation, in terms of struggle and organising, labour provides the common 'red thread' that explains the dynamics of contemporary capitalism and imperialism while pointing to how we can bring together social forces, movements and resistances into a common project of survival and emancipation. It is labour's resistance and struggle that really makes a difference in crucial moments: from refusing to load weapons for the Israeli war machine to exposing the devastating impact of fossil capitalism, from creating spaces of solidarity for the subaltern to forming movements that battle capital's incursions in everyday life, from cities to the countryside.

In saying this, we do not forget the complex and multi-layered character of the contemporary condition of subalternity, the intertwining of production and social reproduction, as well as the many intersections between labour, gender, race, ethnicity, ableness and nature; nor do we deny the relative autonomy of diverse struggles in their proper conjunctural singularity. We see the need for a united front of struggles than cannot be limited to labour, and the urgency for a new internationalism against the cynicism of contemporary imperialism and settler-colonialism. All the above remain connected to essential aspects of a politics of labour -a politics that sees social transformation from below as a labour of struggle, solidarity, and care. Organising is, precisely, this labour of struggle, solidarity and care. By organising, we fight for unity and against re-emerging tendencies of disaggregation, fragmentation and despair. Organising is the answer to capital's ability to act strategically and coordinate disaster through the State. Organising is the way to create laboratories of new forms of militant intellectuality and strategy, spaces of prefiguration and experimental terrains for new social configurations.

The Critical Marxist tradition provides the framework for this discussion, and for revisiting strategic challenges that remain open questions, by means of renewing collective and militant thought. Historical Materialism Athens offers a meeting place for sharing perspectives on organising against capital's piling disasters, against the subjugation of labour, and against the genocide suffered by the Palestinian people. Fostering an egalitarian ethos among delegates and rejecting dogmatism, Historical Materialism Athens welcomes comradely dialogue and debate to nurture theoretical advances but also collective projects.

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

A1

Uneven development, supply chains, and labour

Eylem Taylan

The uneven decline of neoliberal globalisation: Privatisation, inter-imperial rivalry and labour mobilisations at the port of Piraeus

Alice Niffoi

Super-exploitation of labour, neo-imperialism, and resistance: An analysis of the free trade agreement between Mercosur and the European Union through the lens of Marxist dependency theory

Ashok Kumar

Global labour standards from below: How spatial flexibility determines workers' structural power

Chair: **Giorgos Velegarakis**

A2

Marxist feminist stream

The gendered labour of survival: Marxist feminism and social reproduction in the Capitalocene

Rosita Scerbo

Francia Márquez and Black women's resistance to extractivism in Colombia: A Marxist feminist analysis

Naveen Minai

Strangers and ghosts in the postcolony

Neelofer Qadir

Against removal and dispossession: Chagossian and Palestinian freedom dreams

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

B1

Socio-environmental stream

Marxist perspectives on urban planning

Marianna Charitonidou

Toward a Marxist theory of planning: Urban spaces as physical manifestations of the social dynamics of capitalist production

Henry Jennings

Transitional spaces: Picturing a socialist city in the USSR, 1928-1940

Chair: **George Souvlis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Althusser, labour, and class

Dimitra Bei

From Althusser to Deleuze – A study of contingency and differential ontology within class struggle

Renan Santos Ferrão | Pedro Luiz de Oliveira Pinto

The precarisation of Haitian immigrant labour in São Paulo: An analysis through the lens of Althusserian historical materialism

Roberto Mozzachiodi

Listening to the silences: Althusser's contribution to class composition and workers' inquiry

Chair: **Giorgos Kalampokas**

AUDITORIUM 3

Technology, automation, and resistance

Platform labour I

Barış Yentür

Precarious employment and labour unrest in China's platform economy

Caetano Patta Barros

Recentralisation and working class power in platform capitalism: Insights from the Global South

Nihira Ram

Gig work and informal labour in India

Cailean Gallagher | Marion Lieutaud

Surveying from below: An experiment in platform worker data science

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

A1

Marxist theory of value and its significance

Tamara Caraus

Marx's global law of value

Ege Çoban

Crisis: Anachronism of value and contemporaneity of the globally modern

Mithra Lehn

Barbarism revisited: Capitalist totality as political form

Chair: **Giannis Ninos**

A2

How to resist imperialism today?

S. Anandha Krishna Raj

Imperialist armed humanitarian intervention and the abuse of the principle of R2P

Jack McGinn

Visual archives and revolutionary dialectics: Documenting repression and resistance in Syria

Michael Giesbrecht

Antinomies of anti-imperialism: Towards a critique of geopolitical reason

Alberto Martínez Delgado

The great confusion: Genocide, tribal imperialism and postmodern fiction

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

B1

Technology, automation, and resistance

Academic labour, technology workers, and struggle

Anna Chiara Mezzasalma

From hegemony to precarity: The transformation of academic labour in the neoliberal era

Sofia Menemenlis

Science and the commodification of catastrophe

Chair and discussant: **Alexandros Minotakis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Marxist feminist stream

Feminism and law

Jana Kujundzic

Investments in punishment: A Marxist feminist critique of carceral capitalism

Marianna Haug

Relationship between law and gender oppression in capitalism

Chair: **Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

AUDITORIUM 3

Socio-environmental stream

Food, agroecology, and landscape

Júlia Louzada

The discontents of hunger

Brad Bauerly

The politics of food inflation in an era of climate breakdown and geoeconomic fracturing

Miqdad Fadhil Muhammad

Peatland agroecology: Examining community-led eco-socialist strategy

Conor Smith

A Thessalian Plantationocene: Ecological collapse, extraction, and race in the draining of lake Karla

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

KARAGIORGA II

Ideas and debates from Italian Marxism(s)

Giorgio Cesarale

Dialectics and positivism in Italian Marxism in the 1960s and 1970s: Luporini's discussion with Della Volpe and Colletti

Emanuele Lepore

The crucible of freedom. The Marxism of Nicola Badaloni

Matteo Mameli

On Timpanaro and irretrievable losses

Umberto Novi

Antonio Banfi: Between critique, labour, and science – the Copernican humanism

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

A1

Marxist feminist stream

Caring communities

Rivka Saltiel | Anke Strüver

Shifting caring communities: collective forms of care and provision

Anna Verwey

From protest to provision: People's kitchens as spaces of collectivised social reproduction and resistance

Evgenia Mavridi

Care crisis: Social reproduction and care fixes

Kyriaki Lampropoulou

Care and social reproduction: Parallel and opposite discourses? Convergences, differences and future prospects

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

B1

Technology, automation, and resistance

Critical infrastructure studies

Emine Esra Nalbant

Late Ottoman lighthouse network as a form of navigation safety infrastructure for the capital circulation

Julie Peruch

The market value of digital visual productions as an analytical prism for rethinking digital techniques and infrastructures

Luis Cortés

Prolonged obsolescence in the global automotive industry: the cases of VW do Brasil and Škoda

Chair: **Antonis Faras**

AUDITORIUM 3

Marxism and contemporary philosophy

Cecilia Escobar

Plato's practical idealism, Russell's contemplative materialism, and Marx's materialist conception of history

David Bremner

Attitude problems – or, chewing and swallowing: Some of the Hegel in Marx, some of the Marx in Sellars, and some of what's wrong with expressivist-attitudinalism

Lucas Azevedo Maksud

Understanding hostility to the Other in Alain Badiou's materialism

Marianna Charitonidou

The intersections of Freud, Marx and Deleuze: From psychoanalysis to schizoanalysis

Chair: **Peter Bratsis**

A2

New-exilic mobilisations in the age of Capitalocene:

New-wave displaced intellectuals in Germany

Latife Akyüz

The intellectual resilience of new-exile academics: Critical knowledge production and precarity in displacement

Eylem Çamuroğlu Çığ

New-exile journalism: Violent accumulation and new forms of precarisation

Melehat Kutun

New-wave displaced women politicians and activists in Germany: Reproducing the life, subjectivity and activism

Hakan Altun

Divergent perspectives of new-exile artists: Seeing the world through a butterfly's thousand eyes

Chair: **Bediz Yılmaz**

B5

Islamic capital

Deniz Parlak

Islamic capital's struggle for cultural hegemony: Modern mosques

Tarık İzibiyük

Vision 2030: Capitalistic dreams, authoritarian realities in Saudi Arabia

Chair: **George Souvlis**

KARAGIORGA II

EKTOS GRAMMIS | BOOK LAUNCH

"Nation and Imperialism. On the Critique of Contemporary Capitalism", by John Milios

Panagiotis Sotiris, Giannis Maramathas, Giorgos

Kalampokas, and John Milios

Chair and discussant:

Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

A4

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI, political economy of green capitalism, and technofixes

Marko Mann

Carbon capture and storage: The cost and coordination motives behind state involvement

Stefan Aleksić

Should the Left support nuclear energy?

Chair and discussant: **Dimitris Lenis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Financialisation, debt, and precarity

Inka Maria Vilhelmiina Hiltunen

Financialisation of the state and precarisation of labour: making the public sector 'investible' for private capital?

Berkay Kabalay

Gray practices of resisting to indebtedness

Eleftheria Marmataki

The impact of globalisation, financialisation and political shifts on the labour share of three nations

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

PLENARY

Technology, artificial intelligence, and work

Gavin Mueller

AI and the automation of everything

Matteo Pasquinelli

Knowledge automation from the perspective of value form and labour form

Eugenia Siapera | Charis Papaevangelou

State, platform capitalism and infrastructural power: Microsoft's data centres in Greece 2.0

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

A1

Technology, automation, and resistance

From datafication to algorithmication / Within and beyond datafication of social life**Matthew Alexander**

We are not data: An analysis of representation, production, and resistance

Paul Geyer

Subscription subjects of the world, (pay and) unite! A new point of resistance in the digital world

Francesca Carta

AI and psychometrics: Socio-classification in a monopolised digital age

Chair: **Natalia Rozalia Avlona**

B1

Youth movements and uprisings**Myrto-Iris Spyridaki | Kyriakos Zacharakis**

'Where defeat becomes persistence': Rethinking youth mobilisations in contemporary Greece

Luis Meiners

Class struggle in the 2019 uprising in Chile

Vasileios Rongas

1999–2014: The organisational endurance of greek social movements

Chair: **Costas Gousis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Western Marxism and the debates around it**Kaan Kangal**

Friedrich Engels and the problem of the beginning of Western Marxism

Leon Schlüter

'An object among other objects': Frantz Fanon's critique of reification

Ada Kus

The retreats from class – The transposition of industrial capitalism and its consequences for theory

Keti Chukhrov

On the philosophic utopia of the use value

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

A2

Marxism, revolutionary politics, and emancipation**Shea Hennum**

Notes towards a philosophy of defeat and victory

Aimen Remida

Marx and Engels on the three criteria for being a communist

Karlo MikićReal movement Marxism versus the political movement
Marxism: A call for a Marxist return to the fundamentals of historical materialismChair: **Victor Strazzeri**

B3

Critical pedagogy: Emerging trends between the academic and the political**Gianna Katsiampoura**

Infusing criticality in the history of science: The workers history of science

Labrina Gioti

Critical reflection as ideology critique in the context of critical adult education

Aristotelis Gkiolmas

Critical pedagogy as an explanatory schema for the economic crisis: Methodological and contextual issues

Kostas Skordoulis

On the notion of "critical consciousness" in critical pedagogy. Inputs from Vygotsky and Lenin

Chair: **Kostas Skordoulis**

AUDITORIUM 3

Socio-environmental stream

Looking back: Insights from history on Marxism and the environment**Meindert Boersma**

Hegemony in a world of fire: A Gramscian approach to climate crisis

Fran Radonić Mayr

Moishe Postone and ecology

Pola Melonowska

Garlands for May Day: romantic environmentalism in the making of the Polish socialist movement (1890-1914)

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

A4

Crisis, civil society, and the state**Thiago Canettieri**

The security society of administered collapse: Crisis, violence and the dissolution of social forms

Yasmin Afshar

Conflict management and national security: On Keynesianism and sociology of conflict in the Cold War years

Gökhan Demir

Beyond the state-civil society dichotomy in Turkey: A Gramscian analysis

Mohamed Bouzebra

The eupatridae state and the production of scientific space: Intellectuals' dressage or amorfati?

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

B5

Critical approaches to political economy**Nikolaos Vratsis**

Reframing labour in the social factory: Value appropriation in rentier urbanism

Bülent Hoca | Ferda Uzunyayla

The costs of inflation targeting for labour and development in Turkey

Guillaume Dreyer | François-Xavier Hutteau

Capital's network: Socio-technological criticality, industrial stratification and the equalisation of the rate of profit

Hedvig Lärka Endgame

A Marxist theory of international tax law

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

KARAGIORGA II

EKTOS GRAMMIS | BOOK LAUNCH

Roundtable on Matteo Pasquinelli's "The Eye of the Master: A Social History of Artificial Intelligence" in front of its forthcoming Greek edition**Telis Tympas, Giannis Ninos, Eugenia Siapera, and Matteo Pasquinelli**Chair and discussant: **Dimitris Lenis**

A1

Migration and refugees stream

Racial capitalism and labour: The case of migrant resistance

Hessa Aianumi

The racial politics of policing: Migrant labour and state formation in the Gulf

Abdul Vajid Punakkath

Migrant as a revolutionary subject: Postulates at the intersections of racial capitalism, abolitionism, and the critique of citizenship

Sibyl Italia Pineda Salazar

The migration industry: New forms of exploitation and expropriation of irregular migrants

Andrea Girometti

Bourdieuian conception of the state, migrants and radical democracy in the reflexive sociology of Abdelmalek Sayad

Chair: **Costas Gousis**

B1

The new rise of the Far Right

Irene Perperidou

Democracy, polarisation, parties, and Far Right

Nátaly Guilmo

Social participation in Lula's third government and confronting the Far Right

Alexandros Oikonomidis

The rise of the Far Right in Greece

Melek Zorlu

A comparative analysis of right-wing conservative discourses: The cases of Turkey's AKP and Germany's AfD

Chair: **George Souvlis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Racial slavery and social reproduction

Leah Kaplan

The impossibility of reproductive labour

Tapji Garba

Blackness, social reproduction, and real subsumption

Sara-Maria Sorentino

The slave and the mother: Infanticide, real abstraction, and the question of sovereignty in social reproduction

Morgan Slade

The labour of the negative in the idiom of guilt

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

A2

Technology, automation, and resistance

Technology, labour process theory, and subsumption

Alec Israeli

Intellectual activity and the process of real subsumption: A case study in the early US iron industry

Murilo Amadio

The subject of law in front of information technologies: Considerations for a critique of ideology

Alexandros Minotakis

Control consent coercion: Rethinking labour process theory in the age of platforms and AI

Chair: **Roberto Mozzachiodi**

B3

Socio-environmental stream

The political ecology of technology

Dylan Murphy | Patrick Brodie

The political ecology of data centre contestation in Ireland

Lukas Geiszler

'Metabolic interactions' in whale oil and oil wells - Looming technological shifts in 'lighting the world'

Burç Köstem

Techniques of limitation: Communism, transition and eco-technical struggles

Dimitris Lenis

The dominant discourse as conspiracy theory: The case of climate crisis

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

AUDITORIUM 3

American Empire in times of geoeconomic fragmentation, rising rightwing nationalist forces, and climate breakdown

Brad Bauerly

The unmaking of global capitalism? The continued relevance of Panitch and Gindin's theory of American empire during heightened hegemonic competition

Sear Starrs

The US is now remaking global capitalism: Structural power, dependent integration, and China's extraordinary weakness

Ingar Solty

US-China high-tech rivalry, the New Bloc confrontation and the limits of American imperial power

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

A4

Socio-environmental stream

Strategy, tactics, and the environment

Başak Koşanay

The global political ecology of degrowth: A political Marxist approach for repoliticising socio-natural relations and spaces in a degrowth order

Joost Wijffels

Eco-socialist critique and self-canonisation: A critical reflection on the three stages of eco-socialism

Alistair Bernal Holmes

Out of time: Exploring the temporal dimensions of the climate crisis

Paris Selinas

The creation of the social individual: Towards aesthetic materialist praxis

Chair: **Giorgos Velegarakis**

B5

Technology, automation, and resistance

Technology, utopia, and resistance

Megi Popova

The need for a return of utopias in politics

Alexandra Petrus | Rüdiger Brandis

Escaping the grind: Resisting the capitalist realism of digital games

Chair: **Antonis Faras**

KARAGIORGA II

Althusser, Spinoza, Hobbes

Juan Domingo Sánchez Estop

Through a Spinozist lens: Reading Hobbes with Althusser

David McInerney

Althusser on Hobbes: The mark, the sign, and the social contract

Panagiotis Sotiris

The many Spinozas of Louis Althusser

Chair: **Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

A1

Reading Althusser today I**Yannis Kotsampasis**

Althusser's nominalist Marxism in the 1960s and the 1970s

Guido Mangialavori

The mirror and the enemy: Aesthetics and politics in Althusser and Deleuze

Giorgos Kalampokas

The crisis of Marxism re-revisited

Giorgos Karageorgopoulos Kouloumpis

The revolutionary interpretation of Machiavelli by Gramsci

Chair: **Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

A2

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI, technology, surveillance, and warfare**Giorgio Ciani**

Pattern recognition in warfare and political economy: From perceptron to pattern-of-life analysis

Dimitris M. Moschos

Contesting the division between internal and foreign politics in Russian aggression: an infrastructural approach

Valerio Specchio

Algorithmic governmentality and the nomos of the air: Conflicts and power within the theory of drone

Chair: **Antonis Faras**

A4

Socio-environmental stream

Labour, ecology, and transition**Bengi Akbulu**

Labours of just transition: Insights from feminist political economy

Dominic Roule

Class, hegemony and state in times of energy transitions: The case of Quebec

Gregory Prescott

Collaborative repair: Repairing space for de commodified and dealienated labour

Jason Langford

Whose community is allowed to garden? How class and ideology continue to shape the development of urban agriculture in Montréal

Chair: **Angela Dimitrakaki**

B1

Labour, nature, and the state: 150 years of Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme I**Manuel Disegni**

Marx's Copernican revolution of the social question

Giovanni Zanotti

The withering away of labour and the state: On socialist negative freedom

Chair: **Victor Strazzeri**

B3

The alt-right in Greece. Transformations of the extreme right in the post-pandemic period**George Souvlis**

"My body, my choice", "Dictatorship" and "The New World Order": Anti-vaccine discourse and counter-movements of the Greek Alternative Right

Rosa Vasilaki

"The war of identities": The role of religious identity in the making of the Greek alt-right

Andromachi Koutsoulenti

The "anti-woke" religion of the alt-right: Gender and LGBTQ+ rights in the Far Right cyberspace.

Nikos Antonakos

"The right side of history": The public history and memory of the Far Right (2018-2024)

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

B5

Migration and refugees stream

'The workingmen have no country': Labour extraction under diverse market-regimes**Raluca Bejan | Kristi Allain | Tracy Glynn**

'Don't touch them because they have COVID': Discrimination against migrant workers in Prince Edward Island (PEI)

R. Bejan | Alex Liță | Manuela Boatcă

The litmus paper of working conditions: Covid-19 and Romanian workers in Germany

R. Bejan | A. Liță | Wasfi Al Nassef | Georgiana Dănculescu

Migrant workers' conditions in the semi-periphery: Romania as a case study

Tamina Batan Rody-Lima

Unpaid work and voluntary work - An analysis on the Iberoamerican migration scope

Chair: **Olga Lafazani**

AUDITORIUM 2

Palestine: Genocide and exploitation**Ognian Kassabov**

Extermination, economic peace, and the future of dignity

Ekin Su Yiğit

Instrumentalising ethics: An analysis on how media constructs amorality of genocide in the Israeli-Palestinian war

Jill Manske | Benji Boyadgian

Transfiguring oppression into tourism

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

AUDITORIUM 3

Marxist feminist stream

Social reproduction and/in capitalism**Emanuelle de Castro Moreira**

Domestic work in Brazil: Analysis from work and alienation in Karl Marx

Elif Hacısalihoğlu

When everything falls apart: Looking inside the household to understand the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on working women

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

KARAGIORGA II

Socio-environmental stream

Extractivism, environment, and Marxist political thought**Petros Psarreas**

Capitalist development and extractivism: From Hobson and dependistas to shale gas

Alie Hermanutz

Fossil hegemony in Alberta's regulatory regime

Patrick Brodie

Clouds, wind, fish, peat: Datafication and resource-making at the frontiers of green capitalism

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

A1

Marxist feminist stream

Nationalisms, fascisms and antifascism

Tom Cowin | Tanja Weis

Black shirts, pink triangles: Historicising the emergence of contemporary queer fascism

Isabela Alline Oliveira

Racism, patriarchy, and capitalism: A symbiotic history

Ewa Majewska

Careless whispers: Queer public and artistic archives in the state of exception

Chair: **Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

B1

Socio-environmental stream

Labour and social reproduction within the environmental crisis

Sofia Adam | Alex Pazaitis

Prefigurative practices addressing the social reproduction crisis: potential and limits

Leon Switala

Eco-socialist politics against capitalist growth without class?

Theryn Arnold

Climate, crisis, and worker health: Green capitalism and state policy in Canada

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

AUDITORIUM 3

Humanism and ideology

Michalis Tegos

Marxism and humanism

Thanos Theodoridis

Freedom as a commodified illusion: How neoliberal rationality redefines self-improvement and autonomy

Giannis Ktenas

Ideology and utopia: On Karl Mannheim's broadening of 'ideology' concept

Chair: **George Souvlis**

A2

Socio-environmental stream

Capitalism and environmental movements in the ecological crisis era

Tania Gomez

Anticolonial resistance for the Earth we share and the many worlds we inhabit

Kurt Semm

Primitive accumulation and genocide: Settler-colonialism, water rights, and dispossession in the cases of American Indians and Palestinians

Yakup Atamer Aykaç

Earth, capital, and the metabolism debate: A synthesis

Maghfira Fitra Yuliantini

Green grab through elites of Indigenous communities: A case from Poco Leok geothermal power plant project in Flores Island

Chair: **Dimitris Lenis**

B3

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI and labour I

Sebastião Quelhas Freire

Making labour - The retroactive production of generative AI

Saad Chassot

The dead labour of dead actors: AI implementation in the film industry, and resistances to automation and autonomisation

Jason Kalathas

Looking into AI work: Tech worker perspectives on developing tech for the AI capital

Caio Antunes | Peterson Pessôa | Joana Freitas | Marcel de Sousa | Lênio Tomazett | Leonardo de Andrade | Pedro Duarte

Artificial intelligence and organic composition of capital

Chair: **Antonis Faras**

KARAGIORGA II

BOOK PRELAUNCH

Roundtable on Aristides Baltas's forthcoming book "After Objectivity, After Althusser"

Panagiotis Sotiris, Giorgos Fourtounis, William Lewis, and Aristides Baltas

Chair: **Giorgos Kalampokas**

A4

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI and contemporary capitalist transformation of education

Niharika Singh

Surveillance in education: A look at the increasing interaction of technology speak in Indian politics

Adda Daniela Lima Figueiredo Echalar

The educational and ideological purposes that guide technological innovation in academic production in the field of education in Brazil

Jhonny David Echalar

Meritocratic managerialism as a guideline for ICT inclusion policies in basic education - The case of the state of Goiás-Brazil

Dimitrios Kotsifakos

Critical pedagogy in vocational education and training: Considering the content of technical knowledge and the uses of technology as tools of social change

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Imperialism and contemporary geopolitics

Antonis Balasopoulos

On the actuality of V.I. Lenin: Politics, the national state, and the theory of imperialism

Ashok Kumar

Yemen's naval blockade and the vulnerabilities of giant shipping alliances

Sean Kenji Starrs

The capitalist rise of China has strengthened US hegemony: Understanding dependent integration in contemporary geopolitical dynamic

Marlène Rosano-Grange

Rethinking nationalism in light of European integration

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

PLENARY

Migration at the core. Working-class politics, the Far Right, and strategies for resistance

Manuela Bojadžijev

Contestations over migration

Bernd Kasperek

A territorial union? Europe after the summer of migration

Giorgio Grappi

Organising in transnational disorder: Coming to terms with the Third World War we are in

Giorgos Maniatis

Migration struggles for justice and the authoritarian backlash

Chair and discussant: **Olga Lafazani**

A1

Migration and refugees stream

Borders, camps and cities: Geographies of dispossession, containment and struggle I

Salim Nabi

Camps: The architecture of bordering and refusals

Lorenzo Vianelli

Extractive containment: Profiting from the warehousing of people on the move in the Greek Islands

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou | Maria Kaika

Biopolitics of energy infrastructures and silent resistance in refugee camps in Thessaloniki

Chair: **Olga Lafazani**

A2

Capitalist biopolitics

Dimosthenis Papadatos-Anagnostopoulos

Health under capitalism and beyond: notes on the Marxist legacy in public health

Angeliki Papathanasiou

Alexander Rüstow's vitalpolitik, Michel Foucault's biopolitics and neoliberalism

Pier-Luc Turcotte

Assisted dying and biocapitalism: Necropolitics, economic well-being, and the killing of the disabled poor

Chair: **Giannis Ninos**

A4

Marxist archaeology in the Capitalocene: Historical materialist views of the past in the present for the future I

Ianir Milevski | Savas Michael-Matsas | Vicente Lull

Introduction: Marxist archaeology in global capitalism today

Pablo Jaruf

Social formations in the late prehistory of the Southern Levant: A historical materialist critique of the Chalcolithic period (4500-3800/3700 BCE)

Eni Soriano

Metal use-wear analysis or use-wear analysis on metal? An approach from historical materialism

Chair: **Savas Michael-Matsas**

B1

Marxism, coloniality, and the nation

Malav Kanuga

The problem of common sense: Anticolonial Marxism without guarantees

Komal Mohite

Caste and capitalist transition in India: Revisiting the mode of production debates

Reetu Raj Kashyap

Progressive cultural movement of the 1950s in a frontier: Imagining the international differently

Gregorio Demarchi

Despotism of capital and wage slavery

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

B3

Histories of war, resistance, and genocide

Vassilis Georgakis

Food scarcity and women's collective action during the First World War: The case of Greece, 1915-1916

Kumru Toktamis

For some women war never ends: Re-focusing, re-centering the history with Yasar Khanum

Pandu Sujiwo Kusumo | Dianto Bachriadi

Agrarian change and genocide in Padang Halaban plantation 1965-1971

Amy Tait Westwell

Historical materialist pedagogy in Dundee, Scotland

Chair: **Ewa Majewska**

B5

Philosophy, materialism, and emancipation

Adolfo Lizárraga-Gómez

Multitude and war. Antonio Negri's historical materialism

Florian Geisler

Marx or Spinoza? Fragments for a critical dialogue with contemporary speculative materialism

Kanishka Goonewardena

Fredric Jameson and the concept of totality

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

B6

Socio-environmental stream

Capitalism and complicity: A political ecology of design

Sean Tyler

John Claudius Loudon's suburban ideals: Colonial improvement on Whadjuk Noongar country in the 1830s

Karina Vabson

Place-making in the Pollinators' Corridor project in Tallinn: Recuperation and the spectacle in urban governance driven by market mechanism

Maroš Krivý

A catalyst for (the) new capital: The Urban Catalyst group and neoliberal planning in post-reunification Berlin

Mira Samonig

Imaginary vacuums: Far Right ecologies, cooptation and the paradox of the vulnerable

Chair: **Angela Dimitrakaki**

AUDITORIUM 2

Technology, automation, and resistance

Critical theory of technology

Joel Hänninen

Technology and the master's house – AI and critical theory of technology

Peter Bratsis | Kristin Lawler

Big babies: The infantilisation of everyday life

Tony Iantosca

Artificial intelligence, the corporate university and the capture of the general intellect

Shaun Terry

Crisis, preventive counterrevolution, and capitalist media

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

AUDITORIUM 3

Socio-environmental stream

Labour, commodities, and the Anthropocene: Marxist perspectives

Ekınsu Devrim Daniş | İrmak Ertör

The simultaneous destruction of workers and the environment: Commodity frontiers and slow violence at shipbreaking yards in Aliaga, Izmir, Turkey

Nikos Markogiannakis

The ecology of separation: The restructuring of the international division of labour and its socio-metabolic consequences

Richard Hames

Towards a Marxist collapsology

Chris Krol

Capitalocene, Anthropocene and discount date

Chair: **Katharina Hunfeld**

KARAGIORGA II

Technology, automation, and resistance

Digital labour and artificial intelligence:

**Pinpointing the production of value in the era of
“heteromation”**

Iraklis Vogiatzis

Examining AI as a human-machinic assemblage: Digital labour and the question about the ‘end of work’

Christos Krystallis

Digital work as manual work

Diego Rivera

The planterities of artificial intelligence. A look from its human and more-than-human interdependencies

Eleni Tsatsaroni

Coding together: How AI is transforming programmer skills

Chair: **Giorgos Kalampokas**

A1

Marxist feminist stream

Intersecting violence and accumulation

Mariana Teixeira

Pedagogies of cruelty in the apocalyptic phase of capital: Rita Segato on the interconnections between capitalism, racism, and patriarchy at the borders

Bob Jeffery | Ruth Beresford | Valeria Insarauto

Understanding sexual harassment in UK hospitality: A synthesis of zemiology, class composition analysis and feminism

Rhaysa Ruas

Theorising life and death capitalist (re)production: From the 'genocide of the Brazilian Negro' to Social Reproduction Theory

Chair: **Angela Dimitrakaki**

A2

Spinoza and the affective turn: applications in ecology, feminism, and social theory

Stefanos Regkas

Affectivity in Spinoza's metaphysics

Kynthia Plagianou

Spinozist sources of contemporary ecologies: Towards an affective ecology

Sotiria-Ismini Gounari

Contemporary approaches to the Spinozist theory of affects: Spinoza and affective feminisms

Giannis Maramathas

Spinozist aspects of the affective turn in social theory

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

A4

Marxist archaeology in the Capitalocene: Historical materialist views of the past in the present for the future II

Miguel Valério

Early writing and state structures

Júlia Lull | Vicente Lull | Rafel Micó | Camila Oliart |

Cristina Rihuete Herrada

Individual body-social body. Funerary practices and Marxism

Vicente Lull | Rafael Micó | Cristina Rihuete Herrada |

Eni Soriano

Men, women and other appearances: A Marxist archaeological perspective

Chair: **Pablo Jaruf**

B1

ROUNDTABLE

Radical media in Greece: Progress, limits, and prospects

Konstantinos Poulis, Loukas Stamelos, Danai

Maragoudaki

Chair and discussant: **Christos Avramidis**

B3

The making and unmaking of the Greek state through wars, class divisions, and regional conflicts. From the First World War to the long interwar period

Charalampos Minasidis

"None [...] have been able to understand why we went to Russia": The Greek intervention in the Russian civil war

George Chraniotis

Drafting the Greek nation, radicalising the Greek society: War veterans and the Greek communist movement in Greece after the defeat, 1922 – 1928

Nikos Vafeas

From desertion to the armed movement: The "stance of the deserters" in western Crete (1921-1922)

Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez

Defend the nation, crush the people: Desertion and civil war in Greek Macedonia, 1916–17

Chair: **George Souvlis**

B5

Resistances, solidarity, defeats

Dogukan Dere

Viomet and Kazova: Two cases of recovered factories in Greece and Turkey

Costas Gousis

Reflecting on the Greek July 2015 bailout referendum and the refugee solidarity movement in tandem: Intellectual responses, intersections, and implications ten years later

Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros

The legacy of failed prospects: Political cynicism and electoral abstention in the aftermath of the 2015 Greek bailout referendum

Chair: **Olga Lafazani**

AUDITORIUM 2

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI, governance/governmentality, and power

Alexandros Kalemis | Dimitrios Kotsifakos

The city as a field of resistance: Sustainable architecture and social action in the Capitalocene

Zamile Kampa

AI in surveillance: Preventive counterrevolution and governance models

Angeliki Drongiti

Algorithms and urban security: The immaterialisation and reification of spatiality?

Chair: **Paris Laftsis**

AUDITORIUM 3

EKTOS GRAMMIS | BOOK LAUNCH

"Breaking Things at Work. The Luddites are Right about Why you Hate your Job", by Gavin Mueller

Christina Korkontzelou, Alexandros Minotakis, Iraklis Vogiatzis, and Gavin Mueller

Chair: **Marilia Keatinge**

KARAGIORGA II

Socio-environmental stream

Nature and liberation: Technologies of the Capitalocene

Giorgos Velegrakis

Anthropocene, Capitalocene, and the question of technology limitations

Nikos Folinas

Differentiated perceptions of nature in Marx's work

Angeliki Poulou

Performing the Anthropocene in and/through digital arts

Alex Damianos

Ecological translation: Smart oceans and the Capitalocene

Chair: **Peter Bratsis**

A1

Migration and refugees stream

Borders, camps and cities: Geographies of dispossession, containment and struggle II

Ahmad Gharbieh

Refugees as city-makers: Spatial case studies from Beirut

Alex Tomas Fusco

Producing neighbourhood space

Eva Papatzani

Processes and contestations of displaceability between the camp and the city

Miguel Duarte

Understanding why people die - The role of border regimes in contemporary capitalism

Chair: **Charalampos Tsavdaroglou**

B1

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI, ideology, and media

Kostas Maronitis

The artificial representation of the post-industrial working class: Precarity, isolation and the intelligence of capitalism

Panos Tsimpoukis | Nikos Smyrnaiois

Shaping AI narratives: Polarisation, industry influence, and resistance in France (2012–2022)

Anthony Iles

Wall newspapers

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

B6

Marxist endings

Vicky Sparrow

The end of politics; the end of the poem

Peter Ely

The ends of the nation: Borders in the contemporary novel

Tom Allen

A past both personal and collective: Ways of ending in the novels of Antoine Volodine

Francesca Medici

Eschewing the dystopian: Visual trend or effective formal strategy in contemporary British theatre?

Chair: **Giannis Maramathas**

A2

Political economy of socialism I

Christos Balomenos

The contradictions of humanity's first historical challenge to commodity production and the law of value

Aurélie Andry | Vladimir Unkovski-Korica

Yugoslav self-management and the British movement for workers' control, 1960s-1980s

Roberto Mozzachiodi

Charles Bettelheim and the value form: The problem of the real socialisation of the productive forces in socialist transition

Salvatore Tinè

Bukharin and the economics of transitional period

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

B3

Histories of Zionism

Madhumita Varma

The purpose of a political label: 'Terrorism' and the historical Zionist genocide of the Palestinian people

Jana Tsoneva

The Zionist antisemitism synthesis: A return to the repressed

Alexandros Oikonomidis

Western perspectives on the alterity: The cases of Israel and Jewish populations

Markos Adamopoulos | Giannis Eustathiou

The Greek affinity to Zionism: putting the rising Greek-Israeli alliance in context

Chair: **Costas Gousis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Althusser: Materialism and method

David McInerney

For a materialist 'history of ideas': Althusser and Skinner

Samuel J.R. Mercer

What is 'Marxism in sociology'?

William S. Lewis

The 1963 seminars, or, Althusser versus the social sciences

Ozren Pupovac

The limit of interpellation

Chair: **Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

A4

Marxist archaeology in the Capitalocene:

Historical materialist views of the past in the present for the future III

Ianir Milevski

Marxist archaeology, war and the national question

Savas Michael-Matsas

From prehistory to history as communism

Closing remarks by the panel

Chair: **Vicente Lull**

B5

Marxist feminist stream

Social reproduction and the state

Kristen Cheung Shui Yee | Alex Lau Pak To

The dialectics of patriarchy and capital: A comparative analysis of social reproduction in Greater China's capitalist development

Paula Magalhães

Models of women in bourgeois society

Clara Camps Calvet | Anna Morero Beltran

Egg freezing and social reproduction: An analysis of women's labour, neoliberalism, and maternity in Spain

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

AUDITORIUM 3

Socio-environmental stream | BOOK LAUNCH

"Crude Capitalism: Oil, Corporate Power, and the Making of the World Market", by Adam Hanieh

Giorgos Velegrakis, Panagiotis Sotiris, and Adam Hanieh

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

Technology, automation, and resistance

AI and labour II

John Sokol

Fascism as a socio-psychological phenomenon: A historical materialist analysis of fascist thought characterised as a crisis in mental-health

Simos Kalfas

Amazon's mechanical Turk: An interface to the expert of the future

Thodoris Eracleous

AI labour and precarity

Natalia Rozalia Avlona

Data quality as paradox in medical AI: From technolegal imperatives to invisible data labour

Chair: **Paris Laftsis**

A1

Migration and refugees stream

Humanitarianism, capitalism, refugee crises

Andrea Contenta

The management model of humanitarian organisations. How authority, self-exploitation and coloniality rule the humanitarian sector

Deena Dajani | Lucy Earle

The unknowable cost of camps: An exploration of WASH spending in Zaatari camp, Jordan

Olga Lafazani

The political economies of migration management: Greece in the aftermath of the 2015 'refugee crisis'

Danai Avgeri

Refugee rentierism, racialised extractivism and the spatio-racial fix of humanitarian assistance in times of capitalist crisis

Chair: **Costas Gousis**

B1

Marxist feminist stream

Epistemologies and debates

Irene Rapanelli

Alienation and dispossession: New perspectives on political and epistemological critique

Maria Georgouli-Loupi

Using Social Reproduction feminism to study the reproduction of the Greek middle classes: Questions of method and ethics

Mitaja Chakraborty

Some methodological concerns: Life-making and meaning-making in the local garment activism spaces in Dhaka (tentative)

Asmen Rojda Uruk

German debate on intersectionality and Marxist criticism

Chair: **Ewa Majewska**

AUDITORIUM 2

The many faces of contemporary fascism

Alvaro Bianchi

Fascism and neo-fascism in Brazil

Jamil Kowcun

The use and abuse of calling things fascist: How well do existing theoretical accounts of 'fascism' help to understand Hindutva?

Luca Micaloni

Liberalism, state capitalism, authoritarian state. The Frankfurt School's quest for a critical theory of fascism (1931-1947)

Yunus Yücel and Berkay Kabalay

Fascisation of politics: Transformation of state-class relations and reframing antagonism

Chair: **George Souvlis**

A2

Revisiting the legacies of Ghassan Kanafani and Mahdi Amel

Sophie Chamas

Study and the Arab political imagination during genocidal conjunctures

Charles des Portes

Mahdi Amel's materialist theory of coloniality

Chair and discussant: **Rafeef Ziadah**

B3

Socio-environmental stream

Energy, value, nature, and thermodynamics: Marxist perspectives

Tatiana Fernández

The Nature mystification

Aristotle Tympas

Althusser, a perceptive student of the thermodynamic machine ('fire engine'): On understanding how nature is turned into 'capital' and its 'environment'

Jan Overwijk

Thermodynamic Marx: The conservation of energy and value

Filip Drača

The role of productive forces in Marx's mature critique of capitalism

Chair: **Giannis Maramathas**

AUDITORIUM 3

Technology, automation, and resistance

Platform labour II

Ling Zhang

A scratch embellishing an empty face: "Shamate" subculture and Chinese migrant workers in We Were Smart (2019)

George Briley

Student workers and hospitality platform control in Britain

Gregory Tsardanidis

Efood: The platform strikes back

Chair: **Antonis Faras**

A4

Socio-environmental stream

Marxism and the city: Urban movements and city struggles

Tamara Zambiasi

Financialisation and water governance: Lessons from São Paulo's 2014-2015 water crisis

Selma Değirmenci | Ayla Ezgi Akyol Giagtzoglou

The climate crisis and the struggle against industrial agri-food system in the city: The case of Istanbul

Elia Apostolopoulou | Danai Liodaki

Austerity infrastructure, gentrification, and spatial violence: A ceaseless battle over urban space in Exarcheia neighbourhood

Chair: **Kanishka Goonewardena**

B5

Subaltern struggle and emancipation

Costas Galanopoulos

Ancient Germans, white male workers and present-day Amazonians. A Marxian theory for them all

Joshua Graf

Workers communism and revolutionary subjectivity

María José Jordán Edwards

Agrarian cooperativism, market integration and agro-culinary transitions in the Peruvian Andes

Chair: **Victor Strazzeri**

KARAGIORGA II

BOOK LAUNCH

Roundtable on Kostantine Tsoukalas' "Age of Anxiety"

Michalis Spourdalakis, Kristin Lawler, Peter Bratsis

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

PLENARY

Combating the Far Right: Struggles and theory

Houria Bouteldja

To combat fascism, we must above all combat those responsible for fascisation

Stathis Kouvelakis

Can the Left take back the popular classes from the Far Right?

Nantina Vgontzas

From disincorporation to degrowth: Working-class politics in the protectionist turn

Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

Gender and/in the nation: Converging and diverging discourses

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

After the plenary, a wine reception will be held in the courtyard of the New Building at Panteion University.

A1

Frankfurt School revisited

Isabelle Le Bourdais

Reification revisited: The late Frankfurt School's theoretical impasse and the crisis of Marxist social critique

Daniel Rogers

Adorno, reification, and the struggle against nationalism

Giorgos Papafragkou

Dialectic of enlightenment at 80: Can the concept of progress be reconstituted?

Alkis Nikolakeas

Adorno on education and genocide

Chair: **Giannis Maramathas**

A2

Capitalism, labour, and exploitation

Nikos Folinias

Beyond the division of labour(?): Destructive forces, exploitation and revolution in Marxian corpus

Luis Cortes | Gabriel Rivas

Genocide as an expression of the general laws of capitalist accumulation: On the contemporary forms of surplus working-class population production

Dionysios Perdikis

Subjective labor: (Un)productive character and subsumption to capital

Chair: **Costas Gousis**

A4

Technology, automation, and resistance

Political economy of technology and political power

Erkin Güney | Yiğit Yiğitsoy

The digital nexus of neofascism: Cyberspace, class conflict, and the rise of the tech-bourgeoisie

Diego Ramírez Reinoso, Carlos Alberto Duque García

Pattern of technical change by sectors in Colombia from 2001 to 2022

Marianna Haug | Débora Araújo Costa

Big tech, mercancy production and the class struggle

Lorenzo De Lellis

From rational agents to taskbots: A genealogy of human functions encoding through abstraction and labour

Chair: **Peter Bratsis**

B1

Art and literature

Myrto Sarma | Dimitra Trousa

Artistic means to an end: The role of performing arts in the formation of the sociopolitical imaginary

Blake Stimson

Art and politics after the defeat of the cultural turn

Elise Archias

Managerial vs. materialist aesthetics at the end of the neoliberal order

Patryk Szaj

Struggle against the Capitalocene through poetry: The case of Polish eco-Marxist poet Szczepan Kopyt

Chair: **Angela Dimitrakaki**

B3

Socio-environmental stream

Nature in the Capitalocene

Łukasz Moll

Escapes routes from 'capitalocentrism': Runaway ecologies of the commons

Joseph Rodriguez

Nature's tools: Epistemic injustice and the rights of nature

Jaskiran Dhillon

Climate change, environmental epistemes and guideposts for world making into the future

Dimitra Papadopoulou

Dialectics of human and nature: Unveiling the capitalistic roots of disasters

Chair: **Katharina Hunfeld**

B5

Socio-environmental stream

State, infrastructure, and the environment

Kendall Gardner

(Un)stable coastlines: A critical theory of climate-related land loss

Antonis Petras

Failing infrastructure: State abandonment and self-organising amidst flooding

Christos Avramidis

Environmental Impact Assessment: Protecting the environment or the entrepreneur?

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

B6

Capitalism, technology, and education

Kalliopi Rigopouli | Dimitrios Kotsifakos | Yannis Psaromiligkos

Vygotsky and creativity in learning design

Anastasia Themeli | Dimitrios Kotsifakos | Yannis Psaromiligkos

A framework to design technology-enhanced educational scenarios for managing the risk of students' failure: Building upon Vygotsky's theory

Rodrigo Roncato Marques Anes

The contributions to dialectical historical materialism to expose regulations directed to teaching work in contemporaneity

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Populism and political strategy

William S. Lewis

Is populism compatible with Marxist political strategy?

Vangelis Papadimitropoulos

Post-hegemony: Revisioning the Left within and beyond the Left

Ali Behran Ozcelik

Economism was not useful for combating fascism, nor is it useful for analysing rightwing populism

Louis Kontos

Fixations of bourgeois criminology: The blind spot of the criminological gaze and its tangible abstractions

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

AUDITORIUM 3

Reassessing the state of emergency in the Greek conjuncture: Law and praxis, from the interwar to the Greek Civil War

George Souvlis

The legal state of exception of Metaxas regime. Towards an authentic 'democratic' political contract?

Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez

The constitutional road to dictatorship: States of exception and authoritarianism in Europe, 1900-39

Fotis Koutsopoulos

Military occupation and international law: The Greek intellectual milieus, during the Axis occupation

Sissy Tsavdara

What entails a sign? Declarations of repentance as an extra-legal measure of surveillance and repression

Chair: **Eleftheria Papastefanaki**

Reading Marx today

Giannis Ninos

'The circular course of presentation' and the problem of methodological immanence: Remarks on the dialectic of circulation

Tom Ladendorf

Freedom and unfreedom in Marx's Capital

Kaan Kangal

Young Marx and the wood theft debates in Prussian Rhineland in the early nineteenth century

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

HM London 2025 Call for papers is out!

twenty-second annual conference:
resurgent reaction: marxist strategies at the end
of the liberal order

6th to 9th November 2025, SOAS, Russel Square,
Central London

[https://www.historicalmaterialism.org/event/
twenty-second-annual-conference/](https://www.historicalmaterialism.org/event/twenty-second-annual-conference/)

A1

Political economy of socialism II

Bogdan Ovcharuk | Olena Lyubchenko

'Soviet political accumulation' between social reproduction and socialist law

Max Hancock

An eye for an eye: Self-ownership and socialist strategy

Chair and discussant: **Roberto Mozzachiodi**

A2

Labour, nature, and the state: 150 years of Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme II

Eden Young

The Marxism and Leninism of the dictatorship of the proletariat

Emanuela Conversano

"Nature [is] the primary source of all instruments and subjects of labour": From village-communities to communist society

Victor Strazzeri

The 'political Marx' and the Marxian critique of the political

Chair: **Giannis Maramathas**

A4

BOOK LAUNCH

"Citizen Marx: Republicanism and the Formation of Karl Marx's Social and Political Thought", by Bruno Leipold

Kaan Kangal | Cailean Gallagher | Amy Tait Westwell | Bruno Leipold

Chair and discussant: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

B1

Socio-environmental stream

Class politics, climate change, and eco-socialist perspectives

George Sotiropoulos

'Reason in the world': On the historical logic of (eco) socialism as a political project

Altan Alaybeyoğlu

A critique of degrowth from an econophysics perspective

Murat Arsel | Fikret Adaman

Class politics of climate change: Political economy of climate adaptation in Jakarta, Indonesia

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

B3

Marxism and (pop) culture

Nikos Filippaios

Sirens and dices: Contemporary mediterranean pop music faces cultural hegemony

Gavin Mueller

How Stalin invented the meme and how memes (re) invented Stalin

Christos Krystallis

The proletarian experience: From labour research to auto-fiction

Konstantinos Savvopoulos

Rap, hyper-masculinity and class consciousness

Chair: **Maria Georgouli-Loupi**

B5

Revolutionary conjunctures

Olia Sosnovskaya

Exhaustion, interruption and rethinking revolutionary time through the 2020-21 uprising in Belarus

Gianni Del Panta

Revolutionary situations in the 21st century

Liam Cook

The difference between individual and state terrorism in light of current events

Chair: **Olga Lafazani**

AUDITORIUM 2

Marxist feminist stream

Christos Marneros

Beyond the law and the outlaws: The case of Rote Zora

Eleftheria Papastefanaki

Socialism and feminism in interwar Greece: The case of the Socialist Women's Group

Eleanor Careless

'Women speak out against Zionism': Anti-imperialism in the archives of 1980s British feminism

Chair: **Angela Dimitrakaki**

AUDITORIUM 3

Reading Althusser today II

Michalis Bartsidis

The shifted negation, Althusser and Hegel revisited

Juan Domingo Sánchez Estop

Althusser: Philosophy as topography

Giorgos Fournounis

The 'authorless theatre': A structuralism for politics (and its "Subject")

Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

Bodily performativity and the imaginary: Aspects of (de) subjectivation

Chair: **Giorgos Kalampokas**

KARAGIORGA II

Technology, automation, and resistance

Left strategy beyond platform- and AI-capitalism

Dionysios Skliris

Platform capitalism and how to respond to its contradictions

Robert Latham

AI, workers, and the politics of the Left and Right

Georgios Marias

Is Left accelerationism still relevant today?

Gianni Fraioli

A communitarian approach to digital data

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

A1

Marxist feminist stream

Gender, materialism, and the symbolic order

Kostas Pinnikas

The phantasmatic dimension of gender: Rethinking performativity in Judith Butler’s work

Grietje (River) Baars

Drowning, cruising, working: The construction and subversion of the sexual subject in the colonial encounter as inspiration for the necessary recommoning of subjectivity in the present

Júlia Lull

Historical materialism, psychoanalysis, and feminism: Towards an archaeology of the symbolic order

Tasos Travasaros

Social constructionism: Critical analysis from a Marxist perspective

Chair: **Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

B1

Socio-environmental stream

Global economy, power, and green growth dilemmas

Çağın Erbek

Textile industry and green growth dilemma: Development strategies and capital accumulation in Türkiye in the context of the European Green Deal

Viktoriya Vinik

Monopolised Earth: A play on property, power, and the politics of class

Adam Benjamin

Fields of gold: A world-ecological approach to the Brazil-China soy-meat complex

Chair: **Giorgos Velegrakis**

AUDITORIUM 2

Socio-environmental stream

Securitisation, disasters, and development: Critical perspectives

Ghada Waked

Urbicide and creative destruction – Destruction as opportunity for urban planning

Alkisti Prepi

How I learned to stop worrying and love disaster: A critical inquiry into adaptation and urban development

Angeliki Paidakaki

Democratising planning and implementation processes in New Orleans

Chair: **Costas Gousis**

A2

Solidarity to Palestine: Strategies and tactics

Helena Zohdi

Palestine solidarity in the belly of the beast? Tactics and strategies in the movement for a free Palestine in Germany

Zouhair Hammana

Bone deep witnessing: An exploration of solidarity practices in (radical) leftist organising

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

B3

Socio-environmental stream

Labour, class power, and the question of the environment

Konstantinos Loizos

Class consciousness for radical institutional change and universal problems: A Lukács–Veblen approach

Katharina Hunfeld

Rewilding as ecosocialist strategy - A perspective from Scotland

Cemil Yildizcan, Cihan Ozpinar

Rethinking state and class power in political-ecological perspectives

Chair: **Alexandros Minotakis**

AUDITORIUM 3

Technology, automation, and resistance

Historical and critical approaches of technology and the AI paradigm

Aristotle Tympas

“Ideology has no history, ...it has no history of its own”: Who, then, may be the owner of the history of artificial intelligence?

Débora de Araújo Costa | Marianna Haug

Marxist critique of technological determinism

Vasilis Mitanis

Towards the recentralisation of class struggle and proletarian negativity. Prerequisites for a Marxist theory of machines

Zachos Christodoulopoulos

Conceptual engineering and conceptual disruptions in the age of AI: The quest for meaning

Chair: **Antonis Faras**

A4

Socio-environmental stream | BOOK LAUNCH

“How To Break an Addiction: A Method-in-a-Manifesto for Quitting Capitalism”, by Annie Spencer

Maro Pantazidou, Ivar Festers, Eleni Ploumidi, Themistoklis Pellas, and Annie Spencer

Chair: **Malav Kanuga**

B5

Technology, automation, and resistance

Aspects of labour, technology, and subjectivity

Koulos Dimitris

On the formation of the collective subject of labour in the era of imperialism

Nicole Sarla

Artificial intelligence and platform capitalism: Two technological aspects of the fragmentation of subjectivity

Dimitris Kilakos

Technological enhancement of human nature: Marxism vs trans-/post-humanism

Nikos Christodoulakis

The notion of personality in Soviet psychology as a paradigm against bourgeois psychology

Chair: **Giannis Ninos**

KARAGIORGA II

Marxism, imperialism, and the nation

Anna Koumandaraki

The relationship of nationalism with class exploitation: Preliminary remarks in Marxist social theory

Kanishka Goonewardena

Revisiting theories of imperialism and fascism

John Milios

The ‘natural boundaries of nations’ and imperialism

Chair: **Giorgos Kalampokas**

PLENARY

Palestine, internationalism, and the Left

Adam Hanieh

Disrupting the fossil order: Palestine and imperialism at a time of collapse

Robert Knox

Liberatory legality? Capitalism, racism and legal form in Palestine

Rafeef Ziadah

From Gaza to the shop floor: Building worker solidarity and rank-and-file organising for Palestine

Riya Al'Sanah

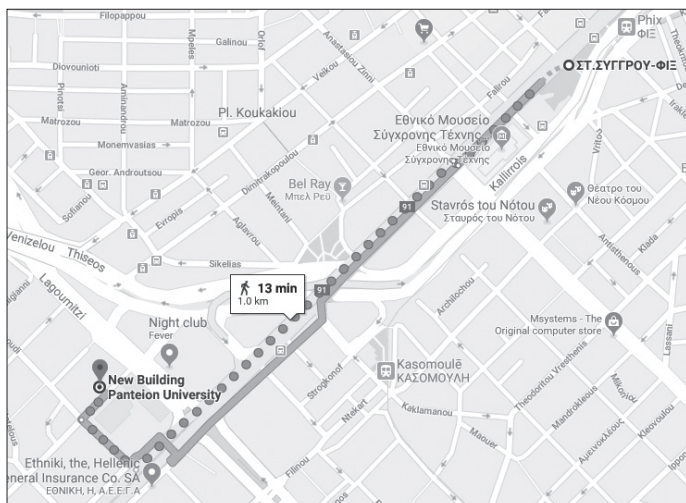
Palestine, settler colonialism, and the struggle for justice

Chair: **Alkisti Prepi**

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 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, 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

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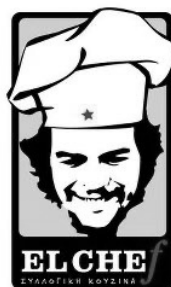
-If you are planning to stay longer, check the 5-day ticket that covers all transportation but does not include the transportation from and to the airport.

The venue

The conference takes place in the “New Building” of Panteion University. All the conference rooms are located in the same building (signs will lead you around) and the registration desk is on the ground floor.

El Chef Collective Kitchen

During the conference, the Collective self-organised Kitchen “El Chef” 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 El Chef, with vegan and vegetarian options or not!



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