Rethinking crisis, resistance and strategy

historical materialism Athens Conference
2-5 May 2019 Panteion University

http://historicalmaterialismathens2019.net
e: historicalmaterialismathens@gmail.com | f: @historicalmaterialismathens
In the past years Greece became a case-study not only for the dynamics of the combined crisis of neoliberal capitalism and the European Integration, but also for the ability of mass movements to drastically alter the political balance of forces. However, subsequent developments brought to the fore the crisis of left strategy, exemplified in the defeat of the struggles and aspirations of the subaltern classes in Greece; in the inability to produce a radical alternative to the neoliberal European Integration and in the aggressive return of the xenophobic far right.

These developments underline the need to open up once again the theoretical debate regarding the capitalist crisis, the forms of bourgeois hegemony, and the form of a potential hegemonic project of the subaltern classes. They underline the need for a return to Marxist theory and historical materialism in order to conceptualize and problematize the new forms of crisis, resistance and hegemony.

This is why we need to revisit the “urgent tasks of our movement”: What are the character and manifestations of the capitalist crisis? How is it linked to the current forms of rivalry and antagonism in the international plane? What forms does the crisis of European Union take? How does the recent rise of far right relate to the broader pattern of political crisis? What kind of movements and struggles have we experienced during the crisis period? What new forms and practices of resistance and organization have emerged?

How to评估 the ‘pink tide’ in Latin America? What is to learn from experiments such as Rojava? How do we create new forms of unity and common struggle with refugees and migrants, and more generally with the diverse subjects of oppression and emancipation? How can we articulate the struggle against sexism and patriarchy and the movements against the impending environmental disaster with a renewed socialist perspective? Is it possible to rethink today the possibility of a revolutionary road? Can a ‘left government’ be part of a radical socialist strategy or it will lead to capitulation? What is the role of theory in the attempt to deal with these questions? What forms of collective research can we think of? How can we combine the openness of the debate with the militant commitment to struggle?

The conference aims to contribute to the ongoing resurgence of Marxist theory and the revolutionary prospect, in the conviction that systematic research and open dialogue can lead to the overcoming of the dead ends of dogmatism and empiricism. Two centuries after the birth of Karl Marx and as currents of radical thought proliferate, Marxism remains the starting point to rebuild the ‘the real movement which abolishes the present state of things’.

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, 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 costs €22 and covers all transportation within these 3 days.
- If you are planning to stay longer, check the 5-day ticket that costs €9 and 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. On Saturday night, after the plenary, a drinks reception will be held in the garden of Panteion University.

During the conference the Collective self-organized 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 the collective Kitchen, with vegan and vegetarian options or not!
**A1**

Marxism and philosophy stream

**Georg Lukács’s politics of de-reification I**

**Frank Engster**

Lukács’ existentialism. The three formula of a revolution: Classical Marxism, Lenin and Lukács

**Konstantinos Kavoulakos**

Crisis and praxis in Lukács’s Marxism of the 1920s

**Patrick Eiden-Offe**

Towards a biography of the problem of organisation: Friends – party – disciples

Chair: Kostas Gousis

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**A2**

Marxism and philosophy stream

**Discussing primitive accumulation and the commons**

**Sami Khatib**

The return of the repressed: “Primitive accumulation” and capitalistic temporalities

**Łukasz Moll**

From communal turn in late Marx to new communism of the commons

**Gabriel Kliment**

The XVIII century vagrancy crisis in Poland? Discussing primitive accumulation on the peripheries

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

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**A3**

Questions of strategy in the historical revolutionary movement

**Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez**

The shadow of October in the heat of July: the memory of the Russian Revolution in the anarchist “debate on power”, Spain 1936

**Evangelos Karatzis**

From the combat party to the art of insurrection: The Bolshevik strategy reexamined

**Fiorian Wilde**

Revolution as Realpolitik: Ernst Meyer and the origins of the united front strategy of the KPD

Chair: Alexandros Minotakis

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**A4**

The political economy of Latin American struggles

**Laura Farah Feitoza**

Identirary struggles and the need for a broader understanding of the concept of class

**Taygeti Michalakea**

Corporate accountability in times of transition: The case of Colombia

**Guilherme Prado | Almeida de Souza**

There’s No Alternative: Growth and development as a poor fate to Latin America?

**Beatriz Pereira dos Santos**

The erosion of labor rights under austerity and the new configurations of collective representation in Brazil

Chair: Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros

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**KARAGIORGA II**

Political and urban ecology stream

**Gentrification, commodification and the right to housing: Struggles and threats**

**Tonia Katerini**

Overburdening and surrender of residence and small property. The anti-auction movement and its relation to the issue of private property

**Antonios Tsiligiannis**

A materialist approach to the urban crisis through the commodification of housing in Athens, Greece

**Giorgos Sykas | Kostas Gourzis | Stelios Gialis**

Drawing the links between historical-dialectical materialism, spatial fixes, and gentrification

**Nikos Kourachanis**

Social housing policies in crisis Greece and their social impact

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

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**KARAGIORGA I**

Labour in the global value chain

**Panagiotsis Iliopoulos | Ashok Kumar | Giorgos Galanis**

Labor positionality in GVCs: Power dynamics in a network context

**Ashok Kumar**

A dynamic logic to global value chain and workers bargaining power

**Muhammad Azeem**

The quest for a post-colonial theory of labour law: Labour conditions under Chinese investment in Pakistan

Chair: Jamie Woodcock

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**BOOK LAUNCH**

The corporation, law and capitalism, by Grietje Baars

Maia Pal, Alexandros Alexandropoulos and Grietje Baars (author)

Chair: George Souvlis

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**KARAGIORGA III**

Labour in the global value chain

**Panagiotsis Iliopoulos | Ashok Kumar | Giorgos Galanis**

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**KARAGIORGA IV**

Labour in the global value chain

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**BOOK LAUNCH**

The corporation, law and capitalism, by Grietje Baars

Maia Pal, Alexandros Alexandropoulos and Grietje Baars (author)

Chair: George Souvlis
**Thursday, May 2 | 14:45 - 16:30**

**A1**
Marxism and philosophy stream

**Paul Reynolds**
Comradeship, left phlegmatism and care in radical politics

**Ioannis Alysandratos**
Marxist ethics. Time, reflection and morality

**Dimitrios Krassas**
The Red Prophet: A textual analysis of Rosa Luxemburg’s brochure "Socialism and the churches"

Chair: Alexandros Chrysis

**KARAGIORGA I**
Power, subject and resistance: Marx, Althusser, Foucault

**Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**
From law to norm heading to subject(i)vation: Althusser and Foucault revisited

**Evelina Praino**
Everyday resistance: a break in the panoptic vision

**Nikos Polinas**
Collaboration, discipline and freedom

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

**KARAGIORGA II**
Governance, migration and consciousness

**Shahrzad Mojab | Genevieve Ritchi**
The ideology of democracy/dictatorship as youth migrate

**Dan Swain**
“A Seventh Man” and the politics of migrant labour

**Pablo Muyo | Cristina Gerantoni**
Borders, police, neoliberalism – The formation of subjectivity in the neoliberal state, the role of the police and significance of borders

**Birgul Yilmaz**
Translanguaging and political economy in humanitarian crises

Chair: Olga Lafazani

**B1**
There is always an alternative: Rethinking culture and politics to take on the far right

**Alexandros Minotakis | Kostas Gousis**
The rise of far right and the weaponization of mass culture

**Anita Zsurzsán**
Claiming back the everyday: Fighting fascism through culture and the arts

**Victor Strazzeri**
For a politics of human emancipation: Rethinking politics beyond alienation

Chair: Parastou Saberi

**C1**
Feminist strategy and the Left

**Mauricio Hashizume**
Abyssal matrix: Colonial and patriarchal coercions as part of capitalist hegemony

**Clarisse de Almeida**
Left’s refoundation, protofascism and women: Entrenching Brazilian resistance on the fight for the common

**Somayeh Rostampour**
The emergence of “local feminism” at the crossroads of armed struggle (in Turkey)

Chair: Penny Galani

**AUDITORIUM 2**
Political crisis and strategy stream

Perspectives on the EU crisis I

**Alexis Cukier**
What to do in Europe? The strategic debate on the EU seen from France

**Spyros Skamnelos | Vasilis Panagou**
Separatist movements as an indicator of crisis in the European integration project: The case of Catalonia

**Angelos Kondogiannis-Mandros**
Euroscepticism in (post-)crisis Greece

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

**AUDITORIUM 3**
Issues of contemporary political economy I

**Dimitris Groumpos | George Economakis**
Foreign direct investments: A theoretical challenge for Marxist economics

**Nikolaos Chatzarakis | Persefoni Tsaliki**
The dynamics of capital accumulation in Solow’s growth model and Marx’s schemes of expanded reproduction

**Lefteris Tsoulfidis | Dimitris Paitaridis**
Capital intensity, unproductive, activities and the Great Recession in the US economy

Chair: Stavros Mavroudeas
THURSDAY, MAY 2 | 17:00 - 18:45

KARAGIORGA I

Marxism and philosophy stream

Reading (with) Gramsci

Siamandouras Sotiris
Claude Lefort, reader of Gramsci. On an absence, in an absence

Marko Hocevar
(Mis)readings of Gramsci? On ideology and hegemony

Michele Filippini
Decentralize populism: Four critiques to Laclau

Lila Leontidou
Reflections on Mediterranean geographies inspired from Gramsci’s historical materialism

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

A2

Marxism and philosophy stream

Marxism and Critical Theory

Ioannis Perperidis
Psychoanalysis and Marxism: Fromm and Marcuse’s debate over the intermediation between basis and superstructure

Nejc Slukan
It’s not really about recognition: A Marxist critique of contemporary concepts of alienation

Daniel LeBlanc
Aesthetic ecology: The concept of nature in Adorno

Chair: Edon Qesari

A4

Political crisis and strategy stream

Subjectivity, organization and emancipation

Ioannis Dimopoulos
Revolutionary subjectivity in a post-capitalist world

Sebastian Fritsch
Reconsidering the organizational question as a question of social theory

Doruk Atahan Erbas
In search of lost subject: Marx’s historical materialism, subject and existentialism

Thomas Zimmermann
Back and forth: Renaissance of the original proletariat and neo-artisan forms of resistance

Chair: Kanakis Leledakis

A1

Political crisis and strategy stream

Political crisis in Europe

Thibault Bisciahe
Ideological crisis, radical centre and the European elections in France

Loren Balhorn
Berlin is not (yet) Weimar: The federal republic in protracted decline

Ioannis Gerasimos
Subaltern counterpublics: In quest of the fading coordinates of democracy

Chair: Dionisios Tzarella

B3

Revolutionary theory needed for revolutionary practice: Assessing one’s socio-economic country structure is necessary to map the strategy and tactics for revolutionary change

Christos Mais & Manolis Arkolakis
Class against class strategy or strategy without class: Party and front building as a proletarian strategy for seizing power

Eric Schmidt
On the question of semi-feudalism semi-colonialism today

Abhinav Sinha
Problems of revolutionary communist movement in India: The question of program, strategy and general tactics

Chair: Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros

B1

Political and urban ecology stream

Political ecology and socio-environmental struggles

Alexandar Popov | Konstantin Georgiev
Liquid crises: Utopian remappings of the socioeconomic imaginary

Florian Wagner
The species-being in the Anthropocene: Finding companionship and collectivizing struggle in Gary Snyder’s “Turtle Island”

Viviana Asara | Maura Benegiamo | Laura Centemeri | Alice Dei Gobbo | Emanuele Leonardi | Salvo Torre | Luigi Pellizzoni
Environmental conflicts and political ecology in Italian debate

Chair: Giorgos Velegkas

B5

The Memorandum legacy: A lasting farewell to debt crises or a bitter return to the markets just until the next financial crises? Destruction tales by Cyprus, Portugal and Greece

Petros Kosmas
The transformation of Cyprus to International offshore centre

Eugenia Pires
Generalised impoverishment in Portugal

Leonidas Vatikiotis
In record levels the unemployment and privatizations in Greece

Chair: George Souvlis

AUDITORIUM 3

Building the new: Radical democracy, women’s liberation, media and ecology in Rojava and beyond

Rosa Burg
Reassembling the nation-state: The kurdish quest for democratic confederalism

Hüseyin Rasit | Alexander Kolokotronis
Decentralist vanguards: Women’s autonomous power and Left convergence in Rojava

Vedran Štimac
Revolution in Rojava as an alternative for crisis of political imagination on the dominant “Western” Left

Kerem Schamberger
“We are the free press” – Kurdish media system and journalism in Rojava

Anselm Schindler
Ecology and freedom in Rojava (with skype-connection to internationalist commune in Rojava)

Chair: Alexis Cukier

Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki
THURSDAY, MAY 2 | 19:00 - 21:00

KARAGIORGA I

Marx and the political
Savvas Michael
Marx and the bio-political

Giorgos Kalampokas
Marx (and the) political: From the “critique of politics” to the “new practice of politics”

Warren Montag
Marx’s critique of criticism before 1848

Alexandros Chrysis
Reinventing democracy, fighting for communism. Demos as a missing link of revolutionary politics

Chair: Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

KARAGIORGA II

Political crisis and strategy stream

Gilets jaunes: A persistent uprising
Frédéric Lordon
The French “Yellow Vests” uprising: A philosophical and political view

Maia Pal
Thoughts on local organising during the Gilets Jaunes movement in France

Stephen Bouquin
Popular revolt in France. The “Yellow Jacket” rebellion against the socio-historical background

Discussants: Alexis Cukier | Grietje Baars
Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris
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<td>KARAGIORGA I</td>
<td>Marxism and philosophy stream</td>
<td><strong>Marxism and philosophy stream</strong>&lt;br&gt;Georg Lukács’s politics of de-reification II&lt;br&gt;Richard Westerman&lt;br&gt;Organization and social practice: Lukács’s overcoming of the thought-being dichotomy&lt;br&gt;Nikos Foufas&lt;br&gt;The persistence of reification&lt;br&gt;Giorgos Papafragkou&lt;br&gt;The Western Marxist tradition and the problem of the subject</td>
<td>Chair: Kostas Gousis</td>
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<td>KARAGIORGA I</td>
<td>Political crisis and strategy stream</td>
<td><strong>Political crisis and strategy stream</strong>&lt;br&gt;Populism and Marxism&lt;br&gt;Spiros Makris&lt;br&gt;Social antagonisms and democratic counter-hegemonies. Some reflections on Ernesto Laclau’s contribution&lt;br&gt;Grigoris Markou&lt;br&gt;Populism and Marxism: Friends or foes?&lt;br&gt;Anton Jaeger&lt;br&gt;Corporate and co-operative commonwealths: States and intermediary bodies in populist political philosophy&lt;br&gt;Florian Geisler</td>
<td>Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris</td>
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<td>KARAGIORGA I</td>
<td>Art in times of crisis</td>
<td><strong>Art in times of crisis</strong>&lt;br&gt;Theodoros Chioti&lt;br&gt;Why is Slavoj Zizek afraid of Virginia Woolf? Contemporary Greek poetry and the (apparent) abnegation of politics&lt;br&gt;Angelos Evangelinides&lt;br&gt;Street art as a as a form of visual communication of social movements in times of crisis&lt;br&gt;Elina Otta&lt;br&gt;Lost &amp; shared: A laboratory for collective mourning, towards affective and transformative politics</td>
<td>Chair: Angela Dimitrakaki</td>
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<td>B1</td>
<td>Studying labour struggles today</td>
<td><strong>Studying labour struggles today</strong>&lt;br&gt;Lotte Schack&lt;br&gt;Organising against state sanctioned precarity: Lessons from Berlin&lt;br&gt;Dimitrije Birac&lt;br&gt;Workers’ headquarters for the defense of companies as an embryo of workers’ control – Croatian case&lt;br&gt;Alexis Cukier&lt;br&gt;Can labour law actually limit exploitation ? The French case</td>
<td>Chair: Jamie Woodcock</td>
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<td>B1</td>
<td>Marxist feminist stream</td>
<td><strong>Marxist feminist stream</strong>&lt;br&gt;Women, family and reproduction in modern and contemporary Greece&lt;br&gt;Tryfonas Lemontzoglou&lt;br&gt;Trends towards “illegitimate” births in the early twentieth-century Greece: Evidence from the natural movement of population, causes of death, and agricultural censuses of Greece, 1921-1938&lt;br&gt;Martha Makarantzi&lt;br&gt;Emancipation and education: Women in doubt via Greek history textbooks&lt;br&gt;Isabel Gutierrez Sanchez&lt;br&gt;Familial reconfigurations: Self-organised institutionalities of social reproduction in crisis-fraught Athens, Greece</td>
<td>Chair: Stella Christou</td>
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<td>KARAGIORGA I</td>
<td>Technocapitalism &amp; cyberpolitics</td>
<td><strong>Technocapitalism &amp; cyberpolitics</strong>&lt;br&gt;Edon Qesari</td>
<td>Chair: Dimitris Lenis</td>
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<td>KARAGIORGA I</td>
<td>Migration/Refugee stream</td>
<td><strong>Migration/Refugee stream</strong>&lt;br&gt;Housing: Camps and alternatives&lt;br&gt;Ariana Dongus&lt;br&gt;The Camp as Labo(u)rary&lt;br&gt;Jamini Mathioudaki</td>
<td>Chair: Salim Nabi</td>
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**FRIDAY, MAY 3 | 12:00 - 13:45**

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<th>Marxism and philosophy stream</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>21st century capitalism and beyond: The logic of transition</strong></td>
<td>Marxism and philosophy stream</td>
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<td>Dimitrios Koulos</td>
<td>Hegel and the “French moment”</td>
<td>Theodora Kotsaka</td>
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<td>The development of the social character of labor and the formation of a new subject</td>
<td>Gregor Modér</td>
<td>Commons transition and the role of the state: A new question for the Left</td>
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<td>Konstantinos Fagogenis</td>
<td>Theatricality of power: From Foucault to Hegel</td>
<td>Begüm Özden Fırat</td>
<td>Fırat Genç</td>
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<td>Between structure and consciousness</td>
<td>Michalis Tegos</td>
<td>The commons, class recomposition and strategy</td>
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<td>Spiros Boikos</td>
<td>The philosophy of history and the theory of the event: Hegel and the “French moment”</td>
<td>Asimina Paraskevopoulou</td>
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<td>Organizational and political function of Communism in capitalist and socialist society</td>
<td>Thomas Telios</td>
<td>Responses to crisis in the Athenian milieu: exploring the street art movement</td>
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<td>Eleni Michalopoulou</td>
<td>Solidarity’s double bind</td>
<td>Chair: Dimitra Alifieraki</td>
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<td>Perspectives on the challenge of the environment: Theoretical frameworks in the 21st Century</td>
<td>Chair: Zachos Christodoulopoulos</td>
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<td>Giannis Ninos</td>
<td>The production of the subject and the dynamics of transition to socialism in the 21st century</td>
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**AUDITORIUM 3**

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<th>Marxism and technology</th>
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<td>Kotsifakos Dimitrios</td>
<td>Fascist threat: The past and the present</td>
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<td>From Marxist perspectives on technology and the role of machines in the mode of production to the transition to M2M (Machine to Machine) conditions in the organisation of production: reversal, confirmation or else?</td>
<td>Ankica Cakardic</td>
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<td>Themistoklis Tzimas</td>
<td>What is fascism? Clara Zetkin’s lessons from 1923</td>
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<td>Dependency and the role of new technology</td>
<td>Penny Galani</td>
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<td>Lévio O. Scattolini Junior</td>
<td>Not in the name of truth: Biology, reductionism and the rise of a new far-right</td>
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<td>Is technology a way out?</td>
<td>Aleksander Matkovic</td>
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<td>Chair: Dimitris Lenis</td>
<td>The political economy of German fascism: Our past and its present</td>
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<td>Adriana Silva Gregorut</td>
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<td>Crisis as a mode of governance: A study of the Brazilian economic crisis and the rise of the authoritarian far-right</td>
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**KARAGIORGA I**

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<tr>
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<td>Marianna Charitonidou</td>
<td>Michael Heinrich</td>
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<td>Juxtaposing autogestion and autonomy: Urban politics at the crossroads of state reason and human reason</td>
<td>The political significance of a Marx biography</td>
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<td>Dimitris Poulos</td>
<td>Thanasis Giouras</td>
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<td>Economic crisis and the limits of radical urban political theory</td>
<td>The political significance of the new editions of Karl Marx’s works</td>
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<td>Elsa Papageorgiou</td>
<td>Discussant: Giorgos Kalampokas</td>
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<td>Crisis, resistance and strategy: The ambiguity of the spatialisation of politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giorgio Chiappa</td>
<td>Fascist threat: The past and the present</td>
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<td>A theatrical course in class history: The Schaubühne Berlin in the 1970s as an example of artistic Marxist analysis</td>
<td>Ankica Cakardic</td>
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<td>Rachel Aumiller</td>
<td>What is fascism? Clara Zetkin’s lessons from 1923</td>
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<td>Alsena Kokalari</td>
<td>Penny Galani</td>
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<td>Dramatic resistance: Benjamin and partisan theater</td>
<td>Not in the name of truth: Biology, reductionism and the rise of a new far-right</td>
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<td>Remembering the communist past in Albania: The case of Bunk Art Project</td>
<td>Aleksander Matkovic</td>
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<td>Benji Boyadgian</td>
<td>The political economy of German fascism: Our past and its present</td>
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<td>Still waters: A walk along a Roman aqueduct in Jerusalem, Palestine</td>
<td>Adriana Silva Gregorut</td>
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G| FRIDAY, MAY 3 | 14:30 - 16:15

A1 Marxism and philosophy stream
Marx, between Machiavelli and Spinoza
Michalis Bartsidis
“Discordance’s eulogy”: Democracy as an active balance of forces in Machiavelli
Michael Rahlwes
Althusser reading of Machiavelli in the light of Capital vol. 1
Giannis Maramathas
Crisis, unity and violent forces: From Marx to Spinoza

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

A2 [Marxist Notebooks Journal table]
The capitalist crisis and the way of life: Modern developments, resistances and hegemony
George Lechouritis
Crisis and everyday life. The need for a new paradigm
Triantafyllopoulou Eleni
Precarity and the everyday life of urban youth. In search of new forms of resistance
Alexandros Minotakis | Arhodula Varvaki
Towards a Marxist approach to social media

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

A4 1967 and beyond - continuity and rupture in the trajectory of the Arab Marxist Left
Samuel Carshamre
Nation, class and religion: Political subjectivation in Arab Marxism
Francesco Anselmetti
“Responsibilities of the present”: Arab Marxist historiography after 1967
Discussant: Samer Frangie
Chair: Maia Pal

A3 The past and future lives of Cypriot communism
Leandros Fischer
Rethinking class politics in the Republic of Cyprus in times of crisis
Daphnos Economou
The first career of the Communist Party of Cyprus
Antonis Pastelopoulos | Alexis Ioannides
The nation “Left” nobody out - Examining the national question through the dilemmas of the Cypriot Left

Chair: Spyros Sakellaropoulos

B1 Marxist feminist stream
Queer Marxist perspectives on bodies, sexualities, movements I
Mathias Klitgård
Queer materialism: Diffractions of materialisms old and new
Jakub Stanczyk
Literary production of an HIV+ gay body
Discussant: Angela Dimitrakaki
Chair: Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

B5 History and strategy revisited
Luka Bogdanic
October 1917: Revolution, dictatorial proletariat, and hegemony in Lenin and Gramsci
Yang Yang
The rise of the young Trotskyist movement in Hong Kong in the 1970s

Chair: Dimitra Aliftieraki

B2 Migration/Refugee stream
Migrant struggles, solidarity and research methods
Dimitris Parsanoglou | Vassilis S. Tsianos
Migration, subalternity and mobile commons: Struggles around/for the right to the city
Konstantinos Gousis
Militant research in migration studies: A contradictory process in the making
Amy Bartholomew | Hilary Weinwright
Showing it could be otherwise: Migrant spaces of radical democracy, prefigurative politics, and the challenge to left political parties

Chair: Olga Lafazani

KARAGIORGA I

Crisis, neoliberalism and critical education policy features in Greece
George Grollios
Crisis, neoliberal – neocorporative reconstruction and evaluation of education in Greece
Gianna Katsiampoura
Neoliberalism, austerity and the Greek universities: A critical pedagogy account
Kostas Skordoulis
Neoliberalism and the new political economy of knowledge production in education

Chair & discussant: Polina Chrysochoou

KARAGIORGA II

Political crisis and strategy stream
Authoritarian neoliberalism and the far right
Kevin Ovenden
Authoritarian neoliberalism and the category of fascism
Yorgos Michailidis | Panagiotis Mavroidis
Nationalism and the emergence of far-right in Greece and Europe. Problems and challenges for an anti-capitalist, communist, response
Attila Antal
A hegemonic project against authoritarian neoliberalism and authoritarian right in Eastern Europe

Chair: Loren Balhorn
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<td>Armin Schneider, Zachos Christodouloupolous, Valentina Antoniol</td>
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<td>The Marxism of Robert Linhart</td>
<td>Eren Kozluca, Dimitris Papafotiou</td>
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<td>Back to the 30s? #1. Crisis and transition</td>
<td>Samir Gandesha, Carmelo Buscema, Zoltan Pogatsa</td>
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<td>Class, labour and finance</td>
<td>Michael Lazarus, Adam Dylan Hefty, Matthew Cole, Ghada Waked</td>
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<td>Re-imagining social rights constitutionalism in Europe through transindividuality</td>
<td>Michael Wilkinson, Eirini Tsoumani, Kyriaki Pavlidou</td>
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<td>B4</td>
<td>Economic Liberalization, dispossession, and the current migrant crisis in the Maghreb</td>
<td>Nicos Trimitkiniotis, Dario Frenze, Giannis Gkolfinopoulos</td>
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<td>Anika Jugovic Spajić, Stella Christou, Andreas Chatzidakis, Lynne Segal</td>
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<td>Health welfare state and neoliberalism</td>
<td>Michael Wilkinson, Eirini Tsoumani, Kyriaki Pavlidou</td>
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<td>C4</td>
<td>Health social movements in anti-austerity contexts: The cases of Greece and Spain</td>
<td>Nicos Trimitkiniotis, Dario Frenze, Giannis Gkolfinopoulos</td>
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<td>Economic Liberalization, dispossession, and the current migrant crisis in the Maghreb</td>
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Chair: Paul Reynolds, Giorgos Kalampokas, Grietje Baars, Panagiotis Sotiris, Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni
KARAGIORGA II

PLENARY

Karl Marx and contemporary capitalism
John Milios
Value, fictitious capital and finance. The timeless of Karl Marx’s Capital

Michael Roberts
Marx’s theory of crisis in the 21st century

Costas Lapavitsas
Financialized capitalism and its prospects

Chair: Alkisti Prepi

Message from the organizing committee of HM Ankara 2020

We are excited to announce that we will be welcoming you to Turkey for Historical Materialism Conference in Ankara. The conference will be held from 10th to 12th April 2020 at the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences on METU Campus.

The main theme of the conference is planned to be “Resisting the Far-Right in the Global Context.” We hope to broaden the ongoing debate on authoritarianism by focusing on how to overcome it. We expect the contribution of our comrades from all over the world. Please, spread the word!
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<td>Žižek and the dialectical materialist theory of belief</td>
<td>The origins of Marx’s communism in Hegel’s “Phenomenology of Spirit”</td>
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<td>Haralambos Ventis</td>
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<td>Pacifist pluralism versus violent truth: Christianity at the service of revolution in the work of Slavoj Žižek</td>
<td>Labour, product and tool: The practical constitution of subject and object in Marx and Hegel</td>
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<td>Dionyssios Skliiris</td>
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<td>The community of those who are not included in a concept</td>
<td>Historical materialism and Marx’s critique of Hegel: Dialectics and contemporary reality of legal judgment, especially on environmental law</td>
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<td>Transcending Christianity’s perverse core with Slavoj Žižek</td>
<td>The subject and political action: From Hegel to Marx and from Marx to us</td>
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**Chair:** Costas Raptis

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<td>Locating precariat: New class or labor market effect?</td>
<td>Is “social economy” an alternative to the current economic crisis? From Karl Marx’s critique of capitalist forms of cooperation to Michel Foucault’s critique of “Entrepreneur of the Sell”</td>
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<td>Organising the new shift: Youth struggles in Greece during the crisis</td>
<td>A braver new world? Notes on the emerging neoliberal social dystopia - And beyond</td>
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<td>Damjan Jugovic Spajic</td>
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<td>The future of work in neoliberal Serbia: Investigating practices of youth volunteerism</td>
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**Chair:** Dimitira Alifieraki

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<td>Tobias Reinhardt</td>
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<td>Global movement for (radical) democracy: The PKK and subaltern internationalism</td>
<td>A feminist critical approach to Marxist theory</td>
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<td>Nazan Üstündag</td>
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<td>Building a television for women by women</td>
<td>“Caliban and the Witch” and women as an ontological category</td>
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<td>Neighborhood as the battleground: The urban dynamics of the Kurdish movement and self-rule resistance in Sur</td>
<td>Physical abuse of women as inherent to social structure shaped by capitalist mode of production</td>
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<td>Forced migration and Kurdish political mobilization in Kurdistan and Turkey</td>
<td>Perceptions of collective identity, solidarity and resistance strategies in the feminist thought of Nancy Fraser, Gayatri Spivak and Judith Butler: An attempt to understand and analyze the social movements of the crisis in a post-marxist era</td>
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**Chair:** Rosa Burç

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<td>Perspectives on the EU crisis II</td>
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<td>Internet oligopoly vs. journalism: How Google &amp; Facebook took over the news</td>
<td>The beauty and the beast of neoliberal rationality: A postcrisis assessment</td>
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<td>Digital labour meets false consciousness: When digital activists turn trolls</td>
<td>Brexit, Grexit, Lexit: Against the fallacy of generalization</td>
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**Chair:** Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros

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<td>The political economy of European Integration: Portugal’s path from colonial empire to European periphery</td>
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<td>Victoria Stadheim</td>
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**Chair:** Olga Lafazani

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**Chair:** Alexandros Minotakis
Political crisis and left strategy

Ines Schwerdtner
Contradictory left strategies in Europe’s core

Josep Maria Antentas
Integral strategy, party and the dialectics of dual power and counter-power

Panagiotis Sotiris
The strategic question revisited

Catarina Principe
To leave or not to leave? The European Union and the role of nation states

Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas
**KARAGIORGA II**

**Labour exploitation and subcontracting: Case studies from the Balkans**

**Bojana Tamindzija**
Working conditions in the textile industry in Serbia as a paradigm of the position of workers on the periphery of capitalism

**Georgi Medarov**
Garments subcontracting in Bulgaria: The limits of sectoral agreements

**Bora Mema**
Challenges of trade unionism in the garments sector in Albania

**Kristina Ampeva**
Garments working conditions in Macedonia: A view from Shtip

Chair: Jana Tsoneva

**BOOK LAUNCH**

The origins of capitalism as a social system. The prevalence of an aleatory encounter, by John Milios

Nicos Trimikliniotis | Vasillis Tsianos | Michael Heinrich | John Milios (author)

Chair & discussant: Giorgos Kalampokas

**A4**

Navigating the Zeitgeist, by Helena Sheehan
Costas Skordoulis | Costas Lapavitsas | Helena Sheehan (author)

Chair: George Souvlis

**Conotructions and limits of the European Integration**

**Stelios Fotelopoulos**
The future of European capitalism – can it become more aggressive? The case against supranationalism and the EU’s White Paper as the roadmap for a new most aggressive European Union

**Dionysios Tzarella**
The crisis and the transformations of the European superstructure

**Vincenzo Maccarrone**
The new European economic governance and its impact on national industrial relations

Chair: Christos Bagavos

**Turkey’s ‘68 in the global Long “Sixties”: Politics, student mobilization and culture**

**Omer Turan**
The ‘68 movement/s in the world and in Turkey: One movement or many?

**Erol Ulker**
Anti-imperialism, Kemalism, and youth movements in Turkey’s Long 1960s

**Nikos Christofis**
Student mobilization and Cyprus in Turkey’s Long 1960s: Kemalism, nationalism and anti-imperialism

**Kenan Behzat Sharpe**
From psychedelic rock to socialist realism: Cultural production in the Long Turkish 1960s

Chair: Anastasia Matsouka
## A1
**Marxism and philosophy stream**

**Value form and philosophy: Marx with Deleuze and beyond**
- Felik Onur Acar: Surplus value at the molecular level in Deleuzian sense
- Morteza Samanpour: Capital or capitalism? The value-form theory and the global South
- Siyaves Azeri: The crisis of value, “right-wing populism”, and the prospects of human emancipation

**Chair & discussant:** Dimitris Papafotiou

## A2
**Technology and society: Critical perspectives**

**Value and society: Critical perspectives**
- Vasilis Gatil: We have never been abled-bodied: Thoughts on dis/ability and technology
- Maria Jaidopulu Vrijea: The everyday life as a machine and the war on rhythms, times and spaces
- Aristotle Tympas: Analog-feminine labor, digital-masculine capital: Technical concepts in social contexts

**Chair:** Natalia Avlona

## A3
**Back to the 30s? #2. Nationalism, populism, and the limits to liberalism**
- Jeremy Rayner: Back to the 30s? Nationalism, populism, and the limits to liberalism
- Michael A. Wilkinson: Authoritarian liberalism in the postwar constitutional imagination: A misdiagnosis of the 1930s?
- Saygun Gokariksel: The return of the interwar? Historical lineages of anti-communism and “militant democracy” in postsocialist eastern Europe

**Chair:** George Souvlis

## B1
**Changing dynamics in Latin America**
- Guilherme Leite Gonçalves & César Mortari Barreira: The plasticity of the democratic state of law: The Brazilian legal coup as capitalist expropriation
- Luiz Renato Martins: Brazil 2013-2019: The Worker’s Party political collapse and the bourgeois class war declaration

**Chair:** Alkisti Prepi

## B2
**Questions of international political economy**
- Monika Mokre & Patrick Mokre: Trump versus free trade. Just a crazy President or a new way of dealing with conflicts within the capitalist class?
- Sascha Radel: The political economy of Germany’s new engagement in the Southern Mediterranean: The case of Tunisia, 2010-13
- Neofytos Karkotis: Reflections of US imperialism and Russia regional rivalries: The “Americanization” of Cyprus financial sector
- Theodoros Rakopoulos: Commodity citizenship: The international market for EU passports

**Chair:** Zachos Christodoulopoulos

## B3
**Migration/Refugee stream**
- Parastou Saberi: Left politics and anti-racism: Europe’s urban crisis and the question of Islamophobia
- Daniel Gutiérrez: Mapping methods: Field notes on militant inquiry in Berlin’s migrant movement
- Maral Jefroudi: Back to the future: From Iranians of 1980s to Syrians of 2010s, political refugee experiences in Turkey

**Chair:** Kostas Gousis

## C1
**Political and urban ecology stream**
- Marianna Charitonidou: Marxist theory and the impact of architectural drawings’ digitization on the dissemination of knowledge
- Srdjan Atanasovski: Practices of listening and class analysis
- Eva Kekou: Cities calling out: Public space and art in public space as a terrain of expression
- Yonathan Listik: Aesthetic regime’s occupation of representation

**Chair:** Thanos Andritsos

## C2
**Marxist feminist stream**
- Queer Marxist perspectives on bodies, sexualities, movements II
  - Ciara Cremin: Be a man? No, thanks! The politics of femininity
  - Ben Miller: Friedrich Radszuweit and the false security of collaboration
  - María Teresa Martínez González: LGTBI movements in Tunisia, a network of support for LGBT asylum seekers

**Chair:** Eirini Gaitanou

## C3
**When resisting is not enough: Critical reflections on survival, endurance and strategy in Rojava**
- Fouad Oveis: Toward a left realpolitik: Evaluating the technicalities of resistance in Rojava
- Behnam Amini: Rojava and the radical Left: When theory fails solidarity
- Sara Kermanian: After statelessness and the limits of Rojava’s political time

**Chair:** Rosa Burç
M| SATURDAY, MAY 4 | 16:45 - 18:30

AUDITORIUM 2
Rethinking capitalist crisis and forms of exploitation
Theofanis Papageorgiou
Marx on crisis: Between tendencies and laws
Dimitris Lenis
New technologies, old exploitation: is capital near a technological revolution?
Spyros Lapatsioras | John Milios | Dimitris P. Sotiropoulos
Capitalism, financial system and forms of exploitation
Vasilis Minakakis | George Pisinas
Capitalist relations and crisis in the 21st century: Methodological issues and contemporary debate
Chair: Giorgos Kalampokas

AUDITORIUM 3
BOOK LAUNCH
The left case against the EU, by Costas Lapavitsas
Panagiotis Sotiris | Costas Lapavitsas (Author)

Chair & discussant: Petros Papaconstantinou
PLENARY

Migration - Marxism - Movements

Sandro Mezzadra
The gaze of autonomy, a Marxist gaze? Taking stock of the autonomy of migration approach

Ranabir Samaddar
A historical perspective on globalisation and migrant labour

Shahrzad Mojab
Migration as class struggle: A Marxist feminist analysis

Olga Lafazani
City(zenship) Plaza: Challenging multiple borders from below

Chair: Kostas Gousis

After the plenary, a wine reception will be held in the garden of Panteion University.
**SUNDAY, MAY 5 | 10:30 - 12:15**

### A1
**Marxism and philosophy stream**

#### Revisiting French readings of Marxist philosophy

- **Gabriella Paolucci**
  - Bourdieu and Marx. The fecundity of a difficult relationship

- **Omur Birler**
  - Revolution and political collectivism in Alain Badiou’s thought

- **Jacob Collins**
  - The free development of each: Lucien Sève and the Marxist theory of the Individual

**Chair: Giannis Maramathas**

### A4
**History, commons and moral economy**

- **Leonidas Moiras**
  - Who is the leader of the brigands Karl Marx and what is the Kırımızı Cumhuriyet? The Ottoman perceptions of socialism and communism during the second half of the 19th century

- **Nikos Potamianos**
  - Moral economy, the anti-profiteering protest and the shopkeepers of Athens 1912-1945

- **Bartłomiej Błesznowski | Mikotaj Ratajczak**
  - Principles of the common: Towards a political philosophy of Polish cooperativism

**Chair: Paul Reynolds**

### B1
**Political crisis and strategy stream**

#### Crisis/recomposition of the Left

- **Mert Büyükkarabacak**
  - Why can’t the left develop a counter hegemonic project during the economic crisis period?

- **Lewis Bassett**
  - Corbynism: Between ideology and practice

- **Emmanouil-Stylianos Skoufoglou**
  - SYRIZA: The failure of the “broad party” strategy

**Chair: Kostas Gouvis**

### B5
**Cyprus and the Left: Comparative perspectives on the national issue and anti-imperialism**

- **Alexis Alecou**
  - AKEL, anti-imperialism and the national issue in Cyprus

- **Abdullah Korkmazhan**
  - The left movements in the Turkish Cypriot community

- **Antonis Antoniou**
  - National ideology, anti-imperialist politics and social protest: Communist party of Greece and the Cyprus issue in the 1950s

- **Nikos Christofis**
  - The Greek and Turkish Left over Cyprus: Between anti-imperialism and nationalism

**Chair: Leandros Fischer**

### C1
**Political and urban ecology stream**

#### Environmental policies vs enviromental justice

- **Nikos Karfakis**
  - Neoliberalism, technocracy and the struggle for environmental justice within the EU

- **Natalie Suzelis**
  - Climate struggle and social reproduction

- **Ioannis-Panagiotis Raptis**
  - Contradictions in environmental policies

**Chair: Giorgos Velegakis**

### A2
**Resistance to neoliberal education**

- **Giorgio Stamboulis**
  - Teaching Marx in neoliberal Italian High school: A dialectical contradiction?

- **Jakub Krzeski | Krystian Szadkowski**
  - Rethinking the crisis in, against and beyond the university through Marx’s method of critique

- **Julia Damphouse**
  - Power is knowledge - political education in the SPD after 1891

**Chair: David Broder**

### A5
**Marxist feminist stream**

#### Feminist movements against neoliberalism and the far right

- **Rosa Vasilaki**
  - Feminism in dark times: Between postsecularism and femonationalism

- **Ewa Majewska**
  - ... and another time as farce. Antifascist counterpublics in time of fascism, again

- **Ioulia Livaditi | Dimitra Spanou**
  - New feminist movements in Greece: Understanding the crisis through a gender violence perspective

**Chair: Irini Gaitanou**
PLENARY

Social reproduction and Marxist feminism for the 21st century

Ankica Cakardic
Early social reproduction theory and its contemporary strands

Holly Lewis
A Marxist feminist approach to queer struggle

Lynne Segal
Building resistance to capitalism’s comprehensive crises of care

Angela Dimitrakaki
The technological imaginary, social reproduction, and feminism for the 99%

Chair: Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni
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<td>Political crisis and strategy stream</td>
<td>Kumru F. Toktamis, Deniz Yoncu, Hendrik Erz, Rui Coelho</td>
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<td>A4</td>
<td>Questions of critique of political economy</td>
<td>Thanasis Argyriou, Vangelis Bantekas, Tomasz Plominski</td>
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<td>15:00</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Marxism and historical research</td>
<td>David Broder, Emile Chabal, Panagiotis Zervoudakis, Helge Hiram Jensen</td>
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<td>16:05</td>
<td>K1</td>
<td>Counter-hegemonic struggles in Iran</td>
<td>Seevan Saeed, Alan Hassaniyan, Katya Lachowicz</td>
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<td>15:00</td>
<td>K2</td>
<td>Contentious politics in times of austerity</td>
<td>Seraphim Seferiades, Loukia Kotronaki</td>
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<td>16:05</td>
<td>K3</td>
<td>Subjects of strategy</td>
<td>Will Darwall, Dave Mesing, Aaron Berman</td>
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<td>15:00</td>
<td>K4</td>
<td>Ethnoarcheology of foraging</td>
<td>Helge Hiram Jensen</td>
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<td>16:05</td>
<td>K5</td>
<td>Rights, tactics, and subjectivity</td>
<td>Will Darwall, Dave Mesing, Aaron Berman</td>
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<td>15:00</td>
<td>K6</td>
<td>Contemporary political anthropology</td>
<td>Helge Hiram Jensen</td>
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<td>16:05</td>
<td>K7</td>
<td>From forms of subsumption to pathways to recomposition?</td>
<td>Will Darwall, Dave Mesing, Aaron Berman</td>
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**Panel Chairs:**
- Q: Giorgos Kalampokas
- A1: Dimitris Lenis
- A2: Ismini Mathioudaki
- A3: Salim Nabi
- A4: Costas Raptis
- B1: Kostas Gousis
- K2: Panagiotis Sotiris

**Sponsors:**
- Q: George Souvlis
- A1: Kostas Gousis
- A2: George Souvlis
- A3: Kostas Gousis
- A4: George Souvlis
- B1: Dimitris Lenis
- K2: George Souvlis

**Discussants:**
- Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros
- Kostas Gousis

**Topics:**
- Marxism and philosophy stream
- Revisiting Althusser’s contribution and antinomies
- From “Theory of Theoretical Practice” to “Philosophy as class struggle”: Adventures of dialectical materialism across Althusser’s revisions
- From state to non-state. Louis Althusser’s contribution to a Marxist theory of the state
- Reading Althusser
- Lukács and Althusser in Fredric Jameson’s Marxism
- Marxism and historical research
- Marxism and the English (and French) Marxists
- Looking south: Eric Hobsbawm and the renewal of Marxist thought from the periphery, 1956-1995
- Ethnoarchaeology of foraging: tracing parallel subsistence models
- Beyond state-centred “realism” - A Gramscian comparison on Sámi and Sardinian political anthropology
- Contentious politics in times of austerity
- “Populism” as deceptive invocations of the popular: A political approach
- The politics of solidarity: Mapping collective action during the refugee crisis
- Subjects of strategy
- Rights, tactics, and subjectivity: Some strategic paradoxes
- Theory, strategy, and the tactics of the subject
- From forms of subsumption to pathways to recomposition?
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<td>Eurozone crisis, shadow banking and ECB’s response: An Insight through Marx’s theory of world money</td>
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<td>Politics of solidarity versus biopolitics of the state and NGOs: Reflections on practices in Lesbos, Greece post EU-Turkey Statement</td>
<td>Alexandros Alexandropoulos</td>
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<td>Hegel &gt; Marx</td>
<td>Dimitra-Dora Teloni</td>
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<td>Stephanie Yu</td>
<td>Antiracist and solidarity movement in the era of crisis: Lessons for social services and social work</td>
<td>Chair: Dimitra Alifieraki</td>
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<td>Time for desire and fury. Counter-tendencies in the neoliberal conjuncture</td>
<td>Value-form and the expropriation of social reproduction and nature</td>
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<td>Flexible bodies and precarious lives: Gender, work and education in crisis Greece</td>
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<td><strong>Nelli Kambouri</strong></td>
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<td>Althusser, Žižek and the Hegelian critique of ideology</td>
<td><strong>Chair: Eleni Prokou</strong></td>
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Historical Materialism is an interdisciplinary journal dedicated to exploring and developing the critical and explanatory potential of Marxist theory. The journal started as a project at the London School of Economics from 1995 to 1998. The advisory editorial board comprises many leading Marxists, including Robert Brenner, Maurice Godelier, Michael Lebowitz, Justin Rosenberg and others.

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