

## historical materialism

research in critical marxist theory



# Fifth *Historical Materialism*Annual Conference 'Many Marxisms'

7-9 November 2008

at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, WC1

In association with *Socialist Register* and the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Committee

The annual Historical Materialism conference is organised by the editorial board of *Historical Materialism* in association with the Deutscher Memorial Prize committee and the *Socialist Register*. The conference has become an important event on the Left, providing an annual forum to discuss recent developments on the agenda of historical-materialist research and has attracted an increasingly high attendance over the past four years. The Editorial Board of *Historical Materialism* welcomes attendance and active engagement in discussion with panellists from new as well as prior participants with an interest in critical-Marxist thought.

One of the principal objectives of the conference has been to build bridges among the various Marxist communities, including the breaking down some of the linguistic and intellectual barriers which continue to hamper the circulation and expansion of critical-Marxist thought. The fifth annual *Historical Materialism* Conference, under the banner of 'Many Marxisms', promises to continue and take forward this objective.

The conference is organised around three plenary sessions (the *Deutscher* lecture, the launch of the *Socialist Register 2009*, and *Historical Materialism's* plenaries) as well as workshops dedicated to specific themes. Some of the themes for the panels include: the financial crisis, ecology, Bolshevism yesterday and tomorrow, cognitive capitalism, racism, Italian workerism, utopianism, competitiveness, historiography, philosophy in the early Marx, the Venezuelan state, religion, urbanism, architecture, imperialism, the neoliberal state, art under capitalism, literature, film noir, revolutionary politics in the Middle East, theories of value, banking, the labour-process, Indian Marxism, and the Latin American left.

Attendance is free. However, the conference is largely self-funded and we will depend on voluntary donations by attendants and participants to support the organisation and running of the event. The **suggested advanced online donation** is £40 for waged and £15 for unwaged < http://mercury.soas.ac.uk/hm/conference2008.htm>, and the **suggested donation on the door** is £50 for waged and £20 for unwaged.

For logistical and other support, *Historical Materialism* would like to thank the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Centre for International Security and Diplomacy. For sponsorship, thanks to the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences at SOAS, SOAS Student Union, Brill Academic Publishers, the Deutscher Memorial Prize committee, *Socialist Register*, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, the International Initiative for the Promotion of Political Economy and Bookmarks.

Sincerely,

The Editorial Board of Historical Materialism

#### **REGISTRATION: 9am – 10am SOAS Main Reception**

#### NB: THE BRUNEI BUILDING IS DIRECTLY OPPOSITE THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO SOAS

SESSION ONE: 10am - 12noon

MANY MARXISMS: FINANCE AND CLIMATE CHANGE, LEARNING FROM WESTERN' APPROACHING MARXISM AND THE	DERSDECTIVES
Chair: Paul Reynolds Chair: Sam Ashman David Jack Gerard Dumenil Chair: Jeffery Webber Chair: Alberto The crisis of neolibralism under US horizon: Fredric Jameson's Marxist hermeneutics?  Alykut Kilic Chair: Sam Ashman Gerard Dumenil The crisis of neolibralism under US hermeneutics?  Alykut Kilic Chair: Alberto Toscano Chair: Sebastian Budgen Chair: Sebastian Budgen Christian Høgsbjerg Christian Høgsbje	FROM MARX'S 'JEWISH QUESTION' Chair: Alex Colas Robert Fine Marx and the critique of anti- Semitism John Rose Karl Marx, Abram Leon and the Jewish question: A re-appraisal Peter Bratsis Toward a Marxist theory of political corruption

LUNCH BREAK: 12 noon – 1.30pm

#### **SESSION TWO: 1.30pm – 3.15pm**

G3	G50	G51		G52		L67
MANY MARXISMS: PROBLEMS AND POLEMICS Chair: Paul Reynolds	RACISM, CLASS AND POLITICS Chair: Sebastian Budgen Juliane Edler	DEVELOPME	D COMBINED :NT: TOWARD A EORY OF 'THE NAL'?	THE STATE IN THE BO REVOLUTION: MARXIS ANALYSES Chair and discussant: Je	ST	CAPITALISM AND ARCHITECTURE Chair: Esther Leslie Owen Hatherley
Jørgen Sandemose  The enmity between Marxisms  Spyros Lapatsioras, John Milios and Dimitris P. Sotiropoulos  Marxism, class struggle and ideology: Problems and opportunities raised by the multicleavage of Marxism	Theorising racism: Historical specificity, social relations and the struggle over meaning in East Germany Satnam Virdee Racism, antiracism and emancipatory class politics Nicola Short The southern question: Gramscia perspectives on racialised difference and uneven development	Reflections of development accumulation passive revo Sam Ashman Transhistoric Marxist theologuet Justin Roser Neil Davidson The specifici combined de Capitalism, to the internation	on uneven :: Primitive n, Mexican revolution, lution c categories and ry: The antinomies of aberg ty of uneven and evelopment: ranshistoricity and	Thomas Purcell  State power and endog development: an investhe organisational form	genous tigation into ns of labour an revolution ntributions	The becoming logo of architecture: Iconicity, regeneration and the artistic legitimation of neoliberalism  Gail Day  1968 and theory: The case of architecture and utopia  Discussant: Jon Goodbun
B102	B104		B111		KLT	
EVERYDAY LIFE (SITUATIONS)  Chair: Michael Pelias  Dennis Broe	PERSPECTIVES FROM ALT Chair: Peter Thomas Thomas Carmichael	HUSSER	SURPLUS POPULATI APPROACHES Chair: Alberto Toscano		REVOLUTIO EAST Chair: Deme	NARY POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE
Lefebvre and film noir: Class, crime the everyday Iván Zatz	Aleatory materialism, laws of and the moving train in the	of consecution	"intermediary exploit	s populations, and tation"	Revolutiona liberation: P	im Abdulhadi  ory Marxism as anti-Colonial  Palestinian new Left and the politics  e and alliance-building
Screen space, contemporary capita regulation, and the organization of subjectivity in everyday life Dominic Wetzel	Marxism(s) after Althusser: of an uneven theoretical de Mike Hill	velopment	Katsuhiko Endo Finance capital, surp agrarian problem: Ur contemporary capita Aaron Benanav		Jamie Allinso Contours of optimism in	J
Religion, Marxisms and the loss of lifeworld	the Of multitudes and moral syn Thompson, Althusser, Adar		Marxism and the que populations	estion of superfluous		

COFFEE BREAK: 3.15pm – 3.45pm

#### SESSION THREE: 3.45pm - 5.30pm

<b>G</b> 3	G50		G51		G52		L67
MARXISM OUTSIDE THE "WEST"		D CRISIS (JOURNAL ARIAN CHANGE)	THEORIES OF CL Chair: Peter Thoma		RELATIONS. A DISCUSSION KEES VAN DER PIJL'S NOMADS, EMPIRES, STATE Chair: Alex Anievas Kees van der Pijl Neo-Gramscianism goes international: Modes of fore relations instead of superstructure of capitalism		SITUATIONISM AT THE LIMITS: MUST WE BURN DEBORD?
Chair: Gavin Capps Evren Hosgor  A class theoretical reinterpretation of the conflict between Islam and secularism in Turkey Kevin B. Anderson  Marx and the non-western "other"	Philip Mcl A food re world foo Tim Lang Crisis? W current s Jan Douw The third	gime lens on the od crisis  /hat crisis? Is the ituation normal? re van der Ploeg worldwide agrarian d new forms of	Sergio Lessa  Marx, Lukács and ontological found social classes  Rob Lucas & Nick (Endnotes)  Capital, subsump history of the class	ation of the Gray tion and the			Chair: Esther Leslie Paul Mattick Do we live in a 'society of the spectacle'? Zwi Negator Catastrophe and the Situationist limit Tom Bunyard Debord, Lautréamont and détournement
B102		B104		B111		KLT	
LIFE, POLITICS & CAPITALISM Chair and discussant: Alberto Tos Nick Dyer-Witheford Species being: For bio-communication Andrea Fumagalli and Cristina Months The value of life put to work: to theory of life-value	<b>nism</b> orini	MARXISM AND METR Chair: Demet Dinler David Cunningham Metropolitics: collect to the city Antonio Carmona Báe Towards a Marxist ar and the re-compositi class	tivity and the right z and Martin Cobian nalysis of the urbar	MATERIALIS  Chair and disc  Alan Sears  Queer nation  Peter Drucker  The impact of  LGBT identit  queer  Jamie Gough	of neoliberalism on ies: transgender and	INITIATI POLITIC Chair: B Bruno T Sam As Jan Top Jeff Pow	inel hman orowski vell Milonakis

**IIPPE/DEUTSCHER RECEPTION: 5.30pm – 6.30pm** Outside Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

SESSION FOUR: 6.30pm - 8.30pm

The Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture:

Rick Kuhn

'Economic crisis, Henryk Grossman and the responsibility of socialists'

Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre (Chair: Esther Leslie)

WINE RECEPTION: 8.30pm – Outside Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

#### **SESSION FIVE: 9.30am – 11.15am**

G3	G50	G51		G52		L67	
MANY MARXISMS IN INDIA Chair: Liam Campling	ECOLOGICAL CRISIS AND MARXIST THEORY		AL MATERIALISM DEVELOPMENT	COGNITIVE CAPITAL KNOWLEDGE CAPITAL		THE FUTURE OF WORLD CAPITALISM	
Subir Sinha	Chair: Paul Reynolds		liscussant: Sam	NEW ECONOMY		Chair: Colin Mooers	
The 'decline of class' thesis	Ted Benton	Ashman		Chair: Alberto Toscano	)	Radhika Desai	
and the limits of Marxist party	Marxism and the ecological	Iain Pirie		Carlo Vercellone		Nations and the future of world	
politics in India	crisis of capitalism: Are we up to the challenge?	the critique	hang: A critique of	The new articulation wages, rent and prof	-	capitalism	
Saroj Giri	Alex Loftus	Ben Selwyn	1	cognitive capitalism	IL 111	Alan Freeman	
The dissident Left, Maoists and the search for the political	The nature of everyday life		al materialist	Cristoph Hermann		Why poverty is not becoming history: The poverty of	
subject in India	Elinor Jean		of Friedrich List and In day followers	Value and knowledge insights from Marxis		statistics and the statistics of poverty	
	Making and shaping the town- country divide: An exploration			theory of the transformation of work in the new economy		Galip L. Yalman	
	of Marx's meta-bolic rift theory in water law			Discussant: Guido Starosta		Discourse and practice of poverty reduction strategies: Reflections on the recent experience in Turkey	
B102	B104		B111		KLT		
MARX AND FETISHISM	CONTEMPORARY RADICAL		MARX AND PHILOS		SOCIALI	ST REGISTER	
Chair: James Furner	AND MARXISM: AGAMBEN,			ALIENATION		US FINANCIAL POWER IN CRISIS	
Nicole Pepperell	Chair: Matteo Mandarini		Chair: Martin McIvor		(ROUNDTABLE LAUNCHING US EMPI AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF		
Through a mirror, darkly: Marx a		Sean Sayers				ATIONAL FINANCE)	
Hegel's phenomenology	Giorgio Agamben, Marxism resistance in the camp	and	-		Chair: Greg Albo		
Oliver Jelinski	Paul Kellogg		Gaspar Miklos Tama		Leo Pani	tch	
On the fetishism of fetishism	The only hope of the revolu	tion is the	The uniqueness of normative content of	capitalism and the of a socialist political	Martijn Konings		
		crowd: The limits of Žižek's Leninism		·	Thomas Sablowski		
			Nicholas Joll		Peter Go	wan	
			The normativity pro theory: Adorno, Be	oblem in critical rnstein, Freyenhagen	Riccardo	Bellofiore	

#### **SESSION SIX**: 11.45am – 1.30pm

G3	G50		G51		G52		L67
NORTH EAST ASIAN MARXISMS AND SOCIALISMS					BEYOND GLOBAL VALUE CHAIN ANALYSIS IN COMMODITY STUDIES (IIPPE)		MARXISM AND CINEMA: FILM NOIR AND NEO-NOIR
Chair: Alex Anievas		MY TO ECONOMICS' OM ECONOMICS	Chair: Alberto Toscano				Chair: China Miéville
Owen Miller	IMPERI/	ALISM TO		assimiliano Tomba & Riccardo C		l	Carl Freedman
The universal and the particular, progress and stagnation: Korean	A N ID DIA	NOMICS' BY BEN FINE MITRIS MILONAKIS		for operaismo?	Guido Starosta  Global commodity chains		The end of work: From Double Indemnity to Body Heat
Marxist historiography between authoritarianisms	Chair: Sa	am Ashman	Steve Wright		the Marxian law o		Greg Tuck
Robert Stolz	David Mo	cNally		om above? Money	Ben Richardson		Laughter in the dark: Capitalism,
Tosaka Jun's 'Space of	Geert Re	euten	and class com operaismo	nposition in	Accumulation and the		comedy, violence and neo-noir
Everydayness' and the	Michael	White	Matteo Mandar	rini	commodity boom sugar and develo		Mark Bould and Sherryl Vint
materialist view of history Nik Howard		lents: Ben Fine and	The problem of Lenin in Negri		dualism in Brazil		Fantastically fucked-up masculinity: The Machinist
	Dimitris			and Tronti			
Meiji Japan	e origins of socialism in late eiji Japan				Financialisation of coffee chains		
B102		B104		B111		KLT	
THE LATIN AMERICAN LEFT TOD	PAY	UTOPIANISM	THEORIES OF PR		RACTICE	SOCIALIST RE	GISTER
Chair: Sebastian Budgen		Chair: Esther Leslie	Chair: Paul Reynolo Keith O'Regan		ds		APITALISM ACTUALLY-EXISTING
Emilia Castorina		Andrew Milner				BARBARISM?	
Crisis and re-composition in Arg	entina:	Pillars of fire: Marxism a	nd utopianism		he safe:	Chair: Colin Le	•
Assessing Peronist transformisn	10	Ishay Landa		Experimentation a Brecht's Marxist a	and production in		
Diana Raby		On the socialist necessit	y of re-	of re- Timm Ebner and Jörg Nowak			violence today
The Venezuelan revolution and it Implications for anti-capitalist str	alnnır	appropriating pleasure				Vivek Chibber	taniam and the LIC nalitical
Jeffery R. Webber		Discussant: Matthew Beau	imont	practices	ept of material	American militarism and the US political establishment: The real lessons of the inv	
Left-indigenous populism and the	e re-			Richard Greeman		of Iraq	
awakening of Bolivia's right				Castoriadis and th	he future of	Ulrich Oslender	
				socialist practice		Colombia: Old	and new patterns of violence

**LUNCH BREAK: 1.30pm – 2.45pm** 

SESSION SEVEN: 2.45pm - 4. 30pm Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

Historical Materialism Plenary: The Global Financial Crisis: Causes and Consequences

Gerard Dumenil

Robert Brenner

David McNally

Discussant: Costas Lapavitsas

(Chair: Sebastian Budgen)

COFFEE BREAK: 4.30pm - 5.00pm

SESSION EIGHT: 5. 00pm - 6. 45pm Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

Socialist Register Plenary: Marxisms and Violences: Gender and Race

Lynne Segal

Violence's victims: The gender landscape

Barbara Harriss-White

Girls as disposable commodities in India

Ruth Wilson Gilmore

Race, prisons and war: Scenes from the history of US violence

(Chair: Leo Panitch)

CONFERENCE DINNER: 8pm Tas Restaurant, 22 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1

#### SESSION NINE: 10am - 11.45am

G3	G50		G51	G52	L67		
SOCIALISM IN SEARCH OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM (IIPPE)	RESTRUCTURING		ASPECTS OF IMPERIALISM Chair: Jeffery Webber	BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE	BOLSHEVISM: YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW		
Chair: Ben Fine	Chair: Paul Reynold	S	Peter Custers	Chair: Colin Barker	Chair: Sebastian Budgen		
Dimitris Milonakis  New market socialism: A case for rejuvenation or inspired alchemy?	state in neoliberal State restructuring	globalisation:	Marxian crisis theory and contemporary US wars in the Middle East Andy Higginbottom	materialism back into historical materialism	Paul LeBlanc  Revolution, democracy, socialism: Lenin yesterday and tomorrow		
Al Campbell The socialist alternative: Transcending markets and human transformation Pat Devine Socialism as the subordination of the economy to a self-governing society	Sebnem Oguz The relevance of P concept of authori understanding nec restructuring: Insig Turkish case Gregory Albo Empire security an powers: Reframing international polici	tarian statism for bliberal state ghts from the d secondary g Canada's	Mehmet Ufuk Tutan and Al Campbell Financial Domination of International Capital in Developing Countries: Turkey: 2001-2007	The base and superstructure model and	John Ridell The internationalist dimension of the Bolshevik tradition Discussant: Suzi Weissman		
B102	•	B104		B111			
VALUE: POLITICAL AND EC	CONOMIC	PHILOSOPHY IN Chair and discussa	THE EARLY MARX	TIME, TEMPORALITY, HISTORY Chair and discussant: Alberto Toscano			
Chair: Alex Anievas		Frieder Otto Wolf	ann r Gior Frienide	Benjamin Noys	1 decario		
Bob Cannon			g about Marx before Marx: Looking	The future lasts a long time: <i>Longue durée</i> Marxism			
Marxism without a labour	theory of value		'Paris manuscripts'	Andrew McGettigan			
Maya Gonzalez		Dennis Maeder		What is orientation in Marxist thinking? Communist			
Beyond exchange: Value, real abstraction and Marx's practice a revolution		s a philosopher in the Poverty of	practical reason and historical time				
Roni Demirbag							
The problem of measurem implications of the failure and objective theories of v	of both subjective						

COFFEE BREAK: 11.45am - 12 noon

#### SESSION TEN: 12 noon – 1.45pm

G3	G50	G51		G52		L67	
MARXISMS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA	MONEY AND BANKING UNDER NEOLIBERALISM	RESTRUCTU AND LABOU	•	POLITICAL CA MARXISM	ATEGORIES OF	ART AND CAPITALISM Chair: Esther Leslie	
Chair: Liam Campling	Chair: Jim Kincaid	Chair: Demet	Dinler	Chair: James I	Furner	Melanie Gilligan	
Gavin Capps		Bruno Tinel		Colin Barker		Derivative days: Notes on art,	
Can Marxism account for the chiefs? Towards an	Dick Bryan and Michael Rafferty  A time and a place for		ting analysis ench industry data	'Movement' a underdevelop Marxist politic	ed category in	finance and the unproductive forces	
appropriate analytical category	everything: Foundations of commodity money	Ergin Bulut		•		Kerstin Stakemeier	
African 'development' and	Mike Beggs	The transformation of the Turkish vocational training		Marviem as an introduction to		Mimicry: Contemporary problems of art and critique	
Marxist theory: Tragic optimism or farcical	Marx, Keynes, and the making		ation of lifelong al technicians		of onto-politics	Discussant: Steve Edwards	
pessimism?	of the neo-liberal central bank		nd Chuck Davis	Verity Burgma	nn		
Discussant: Bridget O'Laughlin	James Meadway		skill formation,	The spectre of	of the manifesto		
	Stealing the tools: The development of neoliberal monetary policy		ersality of labour				
B102	B104		B111		KLT		
PHILOSOPHIES OF REVOLT AN	D FROM THE GRUNDRISSE	ΓΟ CAPITAL	EARLY MODERN C	CAPITALISM	THEORIES OF IM	PERIALISM	
REVOLUTION	Chair: Matteo Mandarini	Chair: Sebastian Bu		dgen Chair: Alex Colas			
Chair: Alberto Toscano	Massimiliano Tomba	Pepijn Brandon		Spyros Sakellarop		oulos and Panagiotis Sotiris	
Alex Levant	Pre-capitalistic forms of pr			-modern		non territorial capitalist	
	thinking spontaneity: re-reading primitive accumulation: Mar xemburg through Benjamin and historiography from the <i>Gru</i> amsci <i>Capital</i>				imperialism: The Marxist theories of Alex Callinicos	e necessity of a revaluation of of imperialism	
Dhruv Jain	Geert Reuten and Peter Tho	mas				lobal political economy	
Henri Lefebvre and Alain Badio Theorists of revolt	u: From the 'fall of the rate of Grundrisse to the cyclical of the profit rate in Capital				Discussant: Andrew		
Evan Calder Williams  The offence of lost causes: In defence of vanguardism	Discussant: Alan Freeman						

**LUNCH BREAK: 1.45pm – 2.45pm** 

### SESSION ELEVEN: 2.45pm – 4.30pm

G3	G50		G51		G52		
MARXISMS, FEMINISMS AND WOMEN'S POLITICS	INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (IIPPE)		THE POLITICS OF THE PROMOTION OF GLOBAL COMPETITIVENESS		LABOUR-PROCESS AND RESISTANCE		
Chair: Paul Reynolds	Chair: Jeff Powell				Chair: Demet Din	ler	
Lindsey German	Elisa Waeyenberge		Chair: Liam Campling Paul Cammack		Maria Cristina So	ares Paniago	
The Marxist tradition of	Knowledge for development: A			d be built on	Worker's emanc management in	ipation and worker's self-	
organising women	strategic role for the World Bank?		'Competitiveness shoul values': The 'decent wo		Ricardo Antunes	actories	
Nina Power	Kate Bayliss		the ILO			ology of the working class today	
One-dimensional woman: A	Privatisation and public sector refo	rm	Lucy Ferguson		Hsiu-man Chen	blogy of the working class today	
critique of consumer feminism	Ben Fine		Challenging the possibi competitiveness: A view			u Beflections on international	
	Assessing research at the World Ba	ank:	Honduras	v II OIII	anti-sweatshop	nd hegemony: Reflections on international -sweatshop movements in global commodity	
	1.3723 cheers for Deaton		Stuart Shields		chains		
		'How to make transition ed work': The global promotion competition and the Europ for Reconstruction and De		otion of ropean Bank			
B102	B104	KLT	-	B101		B103	
MARXISMS AND RELIGION Chair: Peter Thomas John Roberts Marx and the 'critique of the critique of religion' today Sami Khatib Capitalism as religion: Rereading Walter Benjamin's Marxism Alberto Toscano The mask of apocalypse, the flag of fanaticism: Marxism and religious revolt	HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM Chair: Sebastian Budgen Jean Ducange What was the meaning of the French revolution for a German Social Democratic Party member before 1914? Bertel Nygaard Historiography and the formation of Marxism David Mayer Comparative studies of modern Revolutions – The case of the 'Leipzig school' of the GDR	THE INTEREL Cha Gilb Mar para Mich Wor Poli theo poli	RXISM AND THE CORY OF ERNATIONAL ATIONS ir: China Miéville ert Achcar x, Engels and the three adigms of IR theory nael Krätke eld markets and world tics: Marx's views and ories of international tics eussant: Peter Gowan	Chair: Matteo M Adrian Wilding Adorno, theory Marcel Stoetzler All that is fluid sex, individuali Werner Bonefeld Emancipatory I conceptuality in	, praxis is frozen to stone: ity, non-identity	MARXISMS AND LITERATURE Chair: Esther Leslie Tim Dayton How are poems political? The case of American anti-war verse 1914-1930 Richard Godden A diamond bigger than the Ritz: F. Scott Fitzgerald and the gold standard Discussant: Michael Sayeau	

**COFFEE BREAK: 4.30 – 4.45pm** 

**SESSION TWELVE: 4.45 – 6.30** 

Khalili Lecture Theatre	G50
FINANCIALISED CAPITALISM	HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION
Chair: Sam Ashman	Chair: Alberto Toscano
Costas Lapavitsas	Peter Linebaugh
Financial expropriation: A core aspect of financialised capitalism	Mrs. Gertrude Kugelman and the Five Gates of Marxism
Paulo dos Santos	Discussants TBA
The transformation of banks in the era of financialisation	
Juan Pablo Painceira	
Developing countries in financialised capitalism: From deficit accumulation to reserve accumulation	