



# 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Historical Materialism Conference

# TAKING ON THE RIGHT

SOAS University of London  
10 Thornhaugh Street  
Russell Square  
London WC1H 0XG



<http://www.historicalmaterialism.org>



[historicalmaterialism@soas.ac.uk](mailto:historicalmaterialism@soas.ac.uk)

8-11th November 2017

 #HM2018

# 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Historical Materialism Conference

## TAKING ON THE RIGHT

**hm**

The Historical Materialism conference is not a conventional academic conference but rather a space for discussion, debate and the launching of collective projects.

We therefore discourage ‘cameo appearances’ and encourage speakers to participate in the whole of the conference. We also strongly urge all participants to take out personal subscriptions to the journal.

☆ Organised in collaboration with the **Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Committee** and **Socialist Register**

There is no escaping the resurgence of far-right racisms, nationalisms, populisms and fascisms across the globe. From Trump’s America to right-wing nationalist politics in Europe and Brexit in the UK; from the erosion of social democracy in its Scandinavian bastion to the rising popularity of authoritarian nationalisms in the Middle East; from deepening autocracy in Turkey to the often unchallenged influence of a belligerent Israel; and from the exercise of imperialist global power by financial structures and institutions across the Global South to right-wing nationalist revanchism from India to Russia – the rapid expansion and interlocking of these phenomena suggests that something dramatic is taking place. Yet concrete analyses and political responses from the left are lagging behind the juggernaut of contemporary reaction.

The aftermath of 11 September 2001 consolidated and intensified the colonial marriage of racism, xenophobia and far-right politics. Austerity and the prolonged impact of the 2008 global financial crisis has encouraged right-wing populisms. They have gathered support by blaming the centre for the collapse of traditional politics and castigated its (very limited) reforms in the field of human rights and equality, thereby promoting a nativist backlash against ‘minority rights’. The buds of fascism are showing in Germany, Italy and central European countries like Poland and Hungary where fascism had been publicly rejected since the end of the Second World War. International powers fuel war in Syria and destabilise countries such as Libya, whilst

refugees from the region provide convenient scapegoats for all social ills. Elsewhere, from Charlottesville to Sofia, violent neo-fascists and neo-Nazis reclaim a street presence and impact that would have been roundly condemned and resisted two decades ago. Now, it finds succour with Trump’s patronage and thanks to superficial claims for free speech. Across the globe, the limited gains of reformism have been rolled back and replaced by a renewed immiseration of the working classes and the denigration of women, racialised others, the disabled, non-gender-conforming people, the dispossessed and the different.



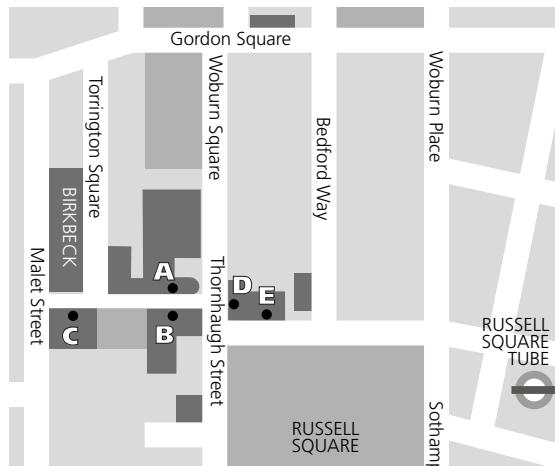
Whilst, amongst some, such a state of affairs might encourage melancholia and withdrawal, for others it cries out for a radical left response. There are, however limited, seeds of hope to come from principled resistance to right-wing fascisms, nationalisms and populisms. The left must unify those who are threatened and those who are committed to resisting the right in solidarity, whilst transcending factionalist disagreements or a facile but politically naive and counterproductive left populism. This requires a renewed commitment to concrete analyses that challenge, oppose and dissect the cancerous growth of the contemporary far right: what are the class compositions, cultural resources, psychic structures and gender logics of its various manifestations? How is it anchored in the racism, authoritarianism and imperialism of






the early twenty-first century world-order? What do the analyses of fascism, racism, nationalism and right-populism tell us about new articulations of the relationship between ideology, hegemony and political economy? No less important are, of course, the challenges for an effective resistance.

What strategies for combatting the far right have proved productive – what can be learnt from countries where it has been kept in the margins? What are the potentials and limitations of militant anti-right politics, antifascisms, left populism, resurgent reformism and other forms of ‘progressive’ politics in the present moment?

Drawing on a century of Marxist antifascist and anti-right-wing theory and practice, this year’s Historical Materialism conference seeks to elicit discussions about how to confront, challenge, expose and take on the far right. Can classical Marxist theories provide guidance during the present moment? How would they have to be updated and revised in the light of unfolding developments and changed circumstances? How can we rethink the conditions for a radical left strategy that would avoid sectarianism and work towards the mass mobilisation of subaltern classes around an anticapitalist project? Are there new dimensions of fascism, racism, sexism, homophobia and contemporary nationalisms that today require new and different as well as restated responses? What are the scope, limits and key characterising features of this latest articulation of right-wing politics? Are we seeing versions of ‘populism’ or a more problematic ‘dark side of liberal democracy’, as some claim?

## → ROOM GUIDE



- A SOAS Main College Buildings**  
Rooms without a prefix (e.g. **4467** fourth floor); starting with 'G' are on the ground floor; 'L' are on the lower ground floor; **KLT** Khalili Lecture Theatre, lower ground floor; **DLT** (Kamran) Djam Lecture Theatre, ground floor
-  Steps to main entrance. There is a z-shaped ramp to the right as one faces the building.
- B Brunei Gallery**  
Rooms starting with 'B' (e.g. **B101**: first floor) **BGLT** Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, lower ground floor
-  Entrance has steps but to the right, about 5 metres, is a ramp to a side entrance.
- C Paul Webley Wing (Senate House North Block)**  
Rooms starting with 'S' (e.g. **S118** ground floor)
-  The main entrance has two short, shallow ramps from the pavement.
- D Faber Building**  
Rooms starting with 'F'  
 Steps to the entrance; to the left there is a ramp to an alternative entrance.
- E SOAS language centre**  
Rooms starting with 'T'  
 This building does not have wheelchair access.



The convenient spot for

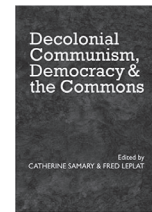
**Lunch  
Snacks  
Drinks**

Open all through the conference

## A: THURSDAY 13.00-14.30

### → B211

*Strategy Stream*



BOOK  
LAUNCH

Decolonial  
Communism,  
Democracy and  
Commons

**Catherine Samary**  
**Gilbert Achcar**  
**Fred Leplat**  
**Darko Suvin**  
Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

### → G51A

The Crisis in Turkey

Transforming Turkey? The  
Emergence of a New Form of  
Authoritarian State in an EU  
Candidate Country

**Galip Yalman**  
Transformation of the AKP in  
16 Years: From Neopopulism  
To Neofascism  
**Mert Büyükkarabacak**  
Chair: **Demet Dinler**

### → B204

International and  
Historical Perspectives  
on the Far Right,  
Anti-Fascism, and (the)  
National Question(s)

Towards a Critique of Sinhala-  
Buddhist National Ideology in  
Sri Lanka (1977-2018)

**Kanishka Goonewardena**

Dilemmas of Historical anti-  
fascism: Henri Lefebvre and  
the National Question(s) in  
Imperial Context

**Stefan Kipfer**  
Resurgent Nationalisms and  
Populist Politics: South Africa,  
India, and the US  
**Gillian Hart**  
Chair: **Andreas Malm**

### → 273

*Race and Capital Stream*

Imperialism, Austerity  
& Oppression in  
the Caribbean

**Robert Cuffy**  
**Natalie Matos**  
**Jose Sanchez**  
Chair: **Alberto Toscano**

### → 4426

Marxism and  
Digital Worlds I

Algorithm and Capital:  
Against "Computational  
Ontology"

**Joseph Goodhew**

Financial Technology and  
Neoliberal Ideology: The  
Role of Big Data Analytics,  
Algorithms, Machine Learning  
in Right-Wing Populisms

**Sharry Anne Taylor**  
Technical Change in the Labor  
Process: The Management  
Contradiction and the  
Workforce Contradiction  
**Matt Vidal**  
Chair: **TBC**

### → G3

*Philosophy Stream*

The Fundamentals  
of Western Marxism:  
Marx, Lukács  
and Korsch

Marx and Lukács on  
Reification  
**Konstantinos Kavoulakos**  
The myth of Korsch's  
Hegelianism.  
**Darren Roso**  
Praxis as Absolute – Georg  
Lukács's incomplete return  
to Hegel  
**Daniel Lopez**  
Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

### → G51

Capital, Class and the  
State in Rural Morocco

Extraction and Agriculture as  
Class War in Morocco

**Fayrouz Yousfi**

Neo-tribalism and Old  
Charisma in the Rif  
**Hamza Esmili**

Rural anti-racism in Morocco:  
a Process of Decolonization  
**Soraya El Kahlaoui**

Imperial EU and the Rif  
**Joe Hayns**  
Chair: **Miriyaam Aouragh**





Breakfast on the picket line: UCU members out on strike February this year

## B: THURSDAY 14.45-16.15

### → 4429

Turkey, Diaspora and Left Politics

The Question of Passive Revolution Revisited: Trajectories of the AKP's Populism in Turkey  
**Irem Tascioglu**  
 From Cultural and Moral Leadership to Decadent Hegemony: The Dilemmas of Right-wing Gramscism in Turkey  
**Evren Hosgor**

Anti-racism of Fools or Allies in Struggle Against Far Right in Europe? Pro-AKP diaspora politics in the Netherlands  
**Maral Jefroudi**

Chair: **Demet Dinler**

### → G51A

The Mexican Labyrinth: Media Activism and Left-Wing Populism in Mexico

**Colin Mooers,**  
**Kurt Hackbarth**  
**Nidia Roja**

Chair: **TBC**

### → B204

*Race and Capital Stream*  
 Racism in Europe

Racism, Fascism and the Far Right in Britain Today  
**David Renton, Anindya Bhattacharyya**

Framing PIGS: Patterns of Racism and Neocolonialism in the Euro Crisis  
**Jonas Van Vossole**

Chair: **Andreas Malm**

### → 4426

Radical Democracy and the Kurds - A Joint Panel by Pluto Press and The Region

One State, one Nation, one Flag – one Gender? HDP as a challenger of the Turkish nation state and its gendered perspectives  
**Rosa Burc**

Rethinking Left Praxis: Komala, Communism and the National Question in Iranian Kurdistan (Rojhelat)  
**Kamran Matin**

Iraqi Kurdistan's experience with statehood and why the Kurdish Left has redefined the concept of Self-Determination  
**Mohammed Elnaiem**

Rojava – The land of revolution?

**David Graeber**

Chair: **Sara Salem**

### → G51

Latin American Political Economy

New Debates in Marxist Dependency Theory. Lessons to be Learned From Current Struggles in South America  
**Mariano Félix**

Neostructuralism and its Class Character in the Political Economy of Bolivia Under Evo Morales

**Angus McNelly**

Chair: **TBC**

### → FG01

History and Politics: Re-examining Eric Hobsbawm's legacy

The Popular Front and Marxism in Eric Hobsbawm's Historical Works  
**George Souvlis**

Eric J. Hobsbawm, Capitalism and the Long Durée  
**Çagri Idiman**

Uncommon Communists: Eric Hobsbawm and the Italian Road

**David Broder**

From 'Halted March' to a 'Rational Left': The Development of Eric Hobsbawm's Political Thought  
**Matt Myers**

Chair: **John Merrick**

### → B211

State, Class, and Marxism in France from the Eighteenth Century to the Present

Absolute Monarchy, Reformist Assemblies, and The French Revolution

**Stephen Miller**

Toward a History of Marxism in France

**Jean-Numa Ducange**

Situating the Making of a Working Class and the Rise Of Socialism in the Non-Capitalist Context of Post-Revolutionary France

**Xavier Lafrance**

Discussant: **Henry Heller**

Chair: **Christopher Isett**

### → G3

*Strategy Stream*

European Left Strategy I

Can Corbynism Win?

**Jonas Patrick Liston**

Challenging the Populist Hegemony: An Assessment of the Italian Socialist Left Political Strategies

**Matteo Cavallaro, Guido Salza, Massimo Angelo Zanetti**

Between Power and Opposition: Strategic Debates for Broad-Left Parties in Europe

**Catarina Principe**

Chair: **Bhaskar Sunkara**

→ **B211**

*Strategy Stream*

Challenging the Right in Europe

Against the EU: The Battle against the Extreme Right and Fascism passes through the Fight against EU

**Eleni Mavrouli, Alexandros Minotakis**

The Emerging Relationship Between Conservatives and the New Right in Germany  
**Ines Schwerdtner**

Challenges Of Collective Will Formation Against Authoritarianism: The Parable of Gezi Resistance and its Aftermath

**Aylin Topal**

Chair: **Andreas Malm**

→ **G3**

*Race and Capital Stream*

Radical Perspectives on Colonialism

Racialisation, Accumulation, and the Settler Colonial War on Indigenous Women

**Julie Tomiak, Justin Paulson**

Settler Colonization as Uneven and Combined Development

**Jessica Evans**

After the 'peaceful Violence' of Neoliberal Coloniality

**James Trafford**

Chair: **Maïa Pal**

→ **B204**

*Marxist Feminism Stream*

Feminism and the Far Right

Transphobia and Fascism

**Joni Alizah Cohen**

Women Rising: the Fight against Femonationalism and the Far-Right in Germany

**Kathleen Brown**

Reclaiming Women's Struggle for Gender Justice from the Right: Case studies from India

**Paromita Chakrabarti**

Oppression, Exploitation and Expropriation: Intersectionality, Social Reproduction and (on-going) Primitive Accumulation

**Olena Lyubchenko, Rhaysa Sampaio Ruas da Fonseca**

Chair: **Demet Dinler**

→ **273**

The Spatial and Affective in Political Struggle

Composing Buenos Aires: Towards an Autonomist Socio-Spatial Dialectic

**Nick Clare**

Chile 1972-3: Production of Space during Insurrections

**Daniel Tut**

Affective Labour in Agonistic Politics

**Sarah Stein Lubrano**

The Political Action of Relative Surplus Population: The Organization of the Inhabitants of the Shantytowns of the City of Buenos Aires (1946-1983)

**Julieta Pacheco**

Chair **Juan Grigera**

→ **4426**

*Philosophy Stream*

Adorno and Beyond

Problematic Subjects: Object Oriented Ontology, New Materialism and T.W. Adorno

**Kathy J. Kiloh**

Theodor W Adorno and Paulo Arantes: On the Possibility of a Critical Theory on the periphery of Capitalism

**Frederico Lyra**

Deleuze's Critique of Dialectics and its Challenge Afforded by Adorno's Negative Dialectics

**Nektarios Kastrinakis**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ **G51**

*Philosophy Stream*

Materialisms old and new

Old Materialisms for New Materialists: Reading for the Aleatory Encounter

**Marah Nagelhout**

The Object-oriented Critique of Political Economy

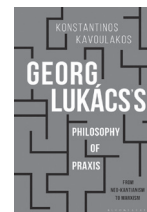
**Lea Kuhar**

Marxism and Panpsychism?

**Graham Jones**

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ **4429**



BOOK LAUNCH

Konstantinos Kavoulakos, "Georg Lukacs's Philosophy of Praxis. From Neo-Kantianism to Marxism (Bloomsbury, September 2018)

**Richard Westerman**

**Rob Jackson**

**Daniel Lopez**

**Konstantinos Kavoulakos**

→ **G51A**

Dialectics, Politics and Critique

Beyond Abstraction: Dialectics and Dualism in the Work of Sohn-Rethel

**Conrad Bongard Hamilton**

Contradiction vs. Antagonism: A Re-Examination

**Giorgio Cesarale**

Tendentiality and Directionality: Elements of Intervention for a Marxian 'Critique of Politics'

**Eren Kozluca**

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

→ **FG01**

China, the Left and Marxism

The Contemporary Crisis of Identity in China and the Philosophical Explanations

**Chengbing Wang**

Left Resistance and the Politics of Death in the PRC

**Ian Liuja Tian**

Palimpsest: A Marxist Geo-Historical Method for a World of Regions

**Majed Akhter**

Chair: **TBC**







Glasgow strike: Thousands of women bring city 'to standstill' in dispute over equal pay this October.

## D: THURSDAY 18.45-20.45

### → 279

*Philosophy Stream*

Althusser at One Hundred (1918-2018)

Contingency and 'The Emptiness of a Distance Taken': Althusser and the Agnostics of Aleatory Materialism

**Thomas Carmichael**

Althusser as Critical Theorist  
**William S Lewis**

State, Subject, Global: Althusser and Sassen on the Production and Reproduction of the Conditions of Production

**Geoffrey Pfeifer**

Discussant: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

Chair: **TBC**

### → 4429

*Race and Capital Stream*

Thinking Race and Class

Black Leninism in the Mid-20th Century

**Robert Maclean**

Revisiting Race and Marxism: A Conversation Between Gramsci, Hall, and the Operaisti

**Daniel Gutiérrez**

Frantz Fanon: Black Marxist?

**Chris James Newlove**

Africana Historical Materialism: A Lens for Marxist Social Inquiry

**Sholnn Freeman**

Chair: **Miriam Aouragh**

### → B211

*Marxist Feminist Stream*

Social Reproduction as Political Practice

A Decent House, a Decent Job, a Decent Life: Social Reproduction Theory and Working Class Organizing in Cape Town.

**Adrian Murray**

The People do it Better? Occupy Sandy and Social Reproduction

**Peer Illner**

The Contradictory Care-Ethos as both a Resource for Neoliberal Management as well as a Resource of Resistance – The Case of Trade Union Organization of Care Workers in German hospitals

**Rhonda Wolf, Luigi Koch**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

### → B204

*SALVAGE Panel*

Identity Politics in the 21st Century

**Richard Seymour**

**Asad Haider**

**Annie Teriba**

**Parastou Saberi**

Chair: **Rosie Warren**

### → G3

What Strategy for Labor in the US?

**Eric Blanc**

**Kim Moody**

**Tithi Bhattacharya**

**Charles Post**

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ 563

Strategy Stream

Issues in Left Strategy: The Case of Brazil

The Right-Wing Movements against Corruption in Brazil: The Valence issues that hide Capitalist Expropriation

Amelia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel

Radical Left Strategy in the Brazilian Context: Debates within the Left Reorganization

Marcelo Badaro Mattos

Women, Class and Race: Between the Barriers of Oppression and Revolutionary Potentiality in Brazil

Nathalia Assmann Gpnçalves, Amélia Coelho Rodrigues Maciel

The Battle of Castanheiras (fortaleza-ce, 1968): Counter-Hegemony, Class Consciousness and Fight Memories

Marcelo Henrique Bezerra Ramos

Chair: TBC

→ 360

Philosophy Stream

Marxism, Philosophy and Revolution

Marx's Concept of Permanent Revolution as a Philosophy of Absolute Negativity and a Transformation of Hegel's Dialectic

Franklin Dmitryev

Shaping the Subject in Language: Stalinism and Neoliberalism as Pedagogical Projects

Craig Brandist

Not Only Economists are fond of Robinson Crusoe Stories: The Underlying Critique of Political Philosophy in Marx's Capital

Allan M. Hillani

Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris

→ DLT

The Politics of Social Reproduction

Freud and Social Reproduction

Félix Boggio

Social Reproduction and the Welfare State: The case of early 20th Century-Britain

Jasper Stange

Pierre Bourdieu: Theorist of an Iron Law of Social Reproduction? Reflections on the Place of Social Transformation in Bourdieu's works

Bridget Fowler

Chair: TBC

→ 559

Anti-Communism: How the Right Constructs Its Hegemony

Capitalist Unconscious in Communist Imaginaries

Keti Chukhrov

Anti-Totalitarianism as Anti-Communism: Public Art and the Blind Spot of Critique

Angela Dimitrakaki,

Erasure of the Common – Anti-Communism as a Strategy of Pacification of the Left – Case Study: Poland

Lukasz Moll,

The October Revolution in Poland: A History of Anti-Communist Repression

Bartosz Wojcik

Chair: Krystian Szadkowski

→ 4426

Race and Capital Stream

Race and Capital: International Perspectives

Whose/Who's Trash? Lebanon in Crisis

Alice M Kezhaya

The Contradictions of Eureka: Race, Class and Capital Accumulation in Australia

Joe Collins

Enclosing Africa: Peasants, Land Grabs and Capitalisms End Game

Michael Andrew Zmolek

The Citizen and the Tailand: Racializing Labour Power in Israel

Matan Kaminer

Chair: Demet Dinler

→ G3



BOOK LAUNCH

Marx: La produzione del soggetto

Fetishism in 'Capital': Between Theory and History

Luca Basso

'Another' Machiavellian Moment: Politics, Contingency and Subjects in Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire

Stefano Visentin

Money, Abstraction and the Genesis of the 'Social'

Michele Basso

Gender Relations and Reproductive Work in Marx's Early Writings and in Capital

Tania Toffanin

Chair: Giorgio Cesarale

→ 4429

Marxist Feminist Stream

Gender, Capitalism and Reproductive struggles

Abortion as Disruption of Social Reproduction: The case of USA in the light of the Authoritarianism of Neoliberalism

Alessandra Spano

Pregnancy, Childbirth and Anti-Capitalist Struggle

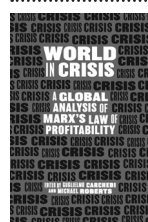
Anna Fielder

A Womb by any Other Name: On the Emancipatory Potential of Ectogenesis

Oana Uiorean

Chair: TBC

→ G51A



BOOK LAUNCH

World in Crisis - A Global Analysis of Marx's Law of Profitability

A Global Analysis of Marx's Law of Profitability

Michael Roberts

The Exhaustion of Western Capitalism

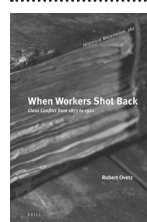
Mino Carchedi

The Speculative Heart of Capital

Tony Norfield

Chair: Sebastian Budgen

→ B201



BOOK LAUNCH

When Workers Shot Back: Class Conflict from 1877 to 1921

Robert Ovetz

Achille Marotta

Magally Miranda

Chair: Jamie Woodcock

→ T102

Work Stream

Humans, Machines and Measure in Artificial Intelligence

Human-Machine Relations on the Shop Floor. New Modes of Value Extraction?

Kendra Briken

The Production of Intelligence by Capitalist Mediation

Frank Engster

Black Box and Hidden Abode: Conceptualising Algorithmic Management

Simon Joyce

Artificial Intelligence and Humans as Resource

Phoebe Moore

Chair: Matt Vidal

→ G51

Germany's November Revolution: 100 Years On

The German Revolution 1918 - Spartacists, Councils and the birth of Communism

Ralf Hoffrogge,

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky on the Prospects for a Socialist Democracy

James Muldoon

Activate the Party: Reassessing the Origins of the United Front Policy in German Revolution 1920-21

Sean Larson

Chair: Loren Balhorn

→ 459

Marxist Theories of Law

Subjectivation and Resistances: Is Law the Only Way?

Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni

The Law of Revolution? Aporias of the Law in the Transition to Communism

Kevin Arauz, Diego Arrocha

Towards a Queer Antiracist Marxist Theory of Law

Grietje Baars

Chair: Maia Pal

→ 459

Marxism and Welfare

From Objects to Subjects: Demarginalising Disabled Peoples Experiences in Discussions of Care Work  
**Kush Westwood**

Hegemony in the Restructuration of Welfare State in the age of Fiscal Consolidation: The Case of the Finnish Municipal Service System Reform  
**Petro Leinonen**

Financialisation of Right to Housing  
**Ozlem Çelik**

Chair: TBC

→ DLT

*Marxist Feminist Stream*

Mapping Global Social Reproductive Labour

Land, Work, and Food: Untangling the Reproduction of Gender Inequalities in the Uzbek Economic Transition  
**Lorena Lombardozzi**

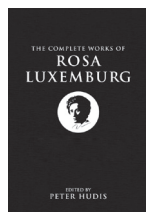
Immigrant Labor in Japan: Class, Gender and Ethnicity  
**Mariana Shinohara Roncata**

They Say it is Love, we say it is Unpaid Work: Emotional Labour and Gendered Subjectivity  
**Alva Gotby**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ G51

*Race and Capital Stream*



BOOK LAUNCH

Rosa Luxemburg's work, as a perspective on Racism, Class and Nation

Luxemburg, Race and Class  
**Peter Hudis**  
Rosa Luxemburg's Fight Against National Oppression: A Reconsideration  
**Eric Blanc**

Family, Identity and the Shaping of Rosa Luxemburg  
**Rory Castle**

Chair: **Ankica Čakardić**

→ 559

*Philosophy Stream*

Spinoza Revisited

Alexandre Matheron's Interpretation of Spinoza and his Place within Marxist-Inspired Spinozism  
**Nicolas Lema Habash**

Spinoza's Circle and the Activity of Form  
**Greg Flemming**

The Majority of the People: a Spinozist Analysis  
**Bernardo Bianchi**

The Autonomy of Resistance: Marx, Spinoza and Primitive Accumulation  
**Jakub Krzeski, Anna Piekarska**

Chair: TBC

→ B201

War Communism and Transition

Rethinking Transition: Bettelheim and Linhart on War Communism and the New Economic Policy  
**Dimitris Papafotiou, Panagiotis Sotiris**

The Myth of "War Communism"  
**Lars Lih**

Interwar Debates on the Nature of the USSR: Soviet Marxism as Common Ground for Bureaucratic-Collectivism & State-Capitalism Theories  
**Dimitris Papafotiou**

Chair: **Evgeni V. Pavlov**

→ 360

Strikes and Workers Struggles

Ernst Toller, the Machine Breakers, and some thoughts about sabotage  
**Kerstin Schroedinger**

The Beginning of Workers' Inquiry in Italian Marxism  
**Marco Vanzulli**

From Control over Workers to Worker Resistance in the Logistics Sector: Some Insights from Amazon and Food Delivery Workers in Italy  
**Bartek Goldmann, Lorenzo Cini**

Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

→ G3

Writing, Race and Critique

Centralism is a Dangerous Tool: On CLR James's History of Principles  
**William Clare Roberts**

Of Savages and Vampires: Race and the Right in the Writings of Furio Jesi  
**Alberto Toscano**

Abstraction and Racism after Postone  
**Neil Levi**

Chair: **Miryam Aouragh**

→ G51A

*HMSPEN Stream*

Queer Experience and Challenges from the Right

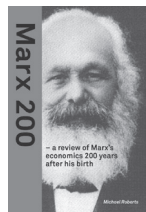
#MeToo, Class and Queer Experience  
**Peter Drucker**

Criminalizing Queer/Trans BIWOC: Understanding Capitalisms Production of Illegal Economies and Ultra-Right Policing  
**Jamie Magnusson**

Queer Resistance in Diaspora and The Rise of Ultra-Right  
**Sabra Rezaei Farimani**

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

→ 4426



BOOK LAUNCH

Marx 200

Looking at Marx  
**Riccardo Bellofiore**

Marx's Three Laws of Motion  
**Michael Roberts**

Marx's Reproduction Schema and National Accounts  
**Brian Green**

Chair: TBC

→ 4429

White Skin, Black Fuel: The Anti-Climate Politics of the European Far Right

**Andreas Malm**  
**Dounia Boukaouit**  
**Ilaria di Meo**  
**Sonja Pietilainen**  
**Irma Allen**

Chair: **Sara Salem**

→ T102

Thinking Critical Aesthetics

Against Aesthetic Singularity-Events: Critical Temporalities in Contemporary Installation Art  
**Marah Nagelhout**

The Hijacking of Social Art Practices by Right, Capitalist and Corporate Systems of Production  
**Evanthia Tselika**

Class Compromise and the Art World  
**Jose Maria Duran**

Chair: TBC

→ 563

Renewing Socialist Theory

Renewing Socialist Theory: From Materialism to an Ontology of Powers  
**Alain Savard**

Marx's "Socialism": the Movement of Human's Socialization and Individualization  
**Shuguang Zhang**

Globalized Capitalism Aboard  
**Heide Gerstenberger**

Chair: **Demet Dinler**

LUNCH BREAK  
(13.20-14.00)

→ G3

hm

Meet the Editors - Historical Materialism and Book Series



→ 563

*Strategy Stream*

Left Strategy and Workers/Community Politics

The Political and Legal Strategies of Worker-Recuperated Enterprises in Argentina

**Jack Meakin**

The Basis for Large-Scale Cooperation: Mutualism and Socialism

**Kenneth Surin**

The Wheat and the Chaff: Strategy, Working-Class Politics, and Community Organizing

**Clement Petitjean**

The Poverty of Anti-Populism

**David Broder**

Chair: **Matt Vidal**

→ B211

*Work Stream*

Strikes

Underbidding of Wages: A Three-Part Battle

**Lovisa Brostrom**

Credible Strike Threats and Working Class Recomposition in the US

**Robert Ovetz**

Organizing a Working-Class Rent Strike: Social and Political Class Composition under 21st Century Extractive Capitalism

**Bjarke Skaerlund Risager**

Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

→ G3

*Race and Capital Stream*

The Political Economy of Race and Class

Enemies of Humanity, Enemies of Capital: Racialised Pirates in the Age of Imperialism

**Tor Krever**

'Well Calculated for any Nation Under the Heavens': Spenceanism, Primitive Accumulation and Transnational Revolt, 1790-1820

**Ajmal Waqif**

Marxism And Racial Oppression: Toward A Unified Theory

**Charles Post**

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ 559

The Fascist Imagination

**Rose-Anne Gush**

**Larne Abse Gogarty**

**Dimitra Kotouza**

**Hannah Proctor**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ G51

The Revolutions of 1918–19 in Russia and Germany: Sponsored by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

Presentation of Vol. 6, 7/1 and 7/2 of the German edition of the Collected Works of Rosa Luxemburg

**Evelin Wittich**

Voices from Russia

**Marion Schutrumpf**

The so-called Spartacus Uprising of 1919

**Jorn Schutrumpf**

Chair: **TBC**

→ B201

Cult and Counter-Cult: Stalinism, Anti-Fascism and the Communist Cult of the Individual

Stalin, Dimitrov and the Cult of the Individual

**Kevin Morgan**

Anti-Fascist Leader Cults and the Image of Fascism: Willi Münzenberg and the Campaign for Ernst Thälmann's Liberation, 1933–1939

**Kasper Brasken**

Maurice Thorez: Anti-fascism, Populist Nationalism and Cultism

**John Bulaitis**

Discussant: **Lars Lih**

Chair: **TBC**

→ DLT

*Marxist Feminist Stream*

What's next for Marxist Feminism? An HM MF Stream Round table Discussion

**Tithi Bhattacharya**

**Angela Dimitrakaki**

**Sue Ferguson**

Chair: **Demet Dinler**

→ T102

*Strategy Stream*

European Left Strategy II

Beyond the Black Bloc: Insights from France

**Félix Boggio, Stella**

**Magliani-Belkacem**

Strategic Perspectives on the French Left since 2001

**Mathieu Bonzom**

Greek Left and Revolutionary Politics in post-SYRIZA era

**Melpomeni Galani**

Chair: **Andreas Malm**

→ G51A

*HMSPEEN Stream*

Critically Queer

Doing (Cis)Gender: The Laboring of Femininity

**Joana Matias**

What Are We For: Harry Hay's Vision of Queerness as Labor

**Ben Miller**

Queer and Trans Politics in Workplace Organizing Struggles

**Michelle Esther O'Brien**

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

→ 4426

'Contested Origins of Capitalism – Vying Marxist Conceptions of the Medieval and Early Modern'

Value, Tribute and Capital: Empire and Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean

**Lorenzo Bondioli, Nicholas Matheou**

A Mode By Any Other Name: Marxist Historiography of the Byzantine Empire, and the Lacuna of the Household

**Jules Gleeson**

Islam and pre-Capitalism: al-Mʿal, social class, and technology in the pre-Alawite Maghreb

**Joe Hayns**

Chair: **Ashley Bohrer**

→ 4429

*Strategy Stream*

Thinking Revolutionary Strategy with Marxism

Revolutionary Strategy and Historical Materialism: Reflections on Daniel Bensaid's "On the Return of the Politico-Strategic Question"

**Anders Ekeland**

What is a Hegemonic Project? Revisiting Questions of Strategy in Contemporary Debates

**Panagiotis Sotiris**

Broad Parties or Revolutionary Parties? Reflecting on Mandel's Notion of Revolutionary Class Consciousness

**Kostas Skordoulis**

Which Revolutionary Alternative Facing the Contemporary Organic Crisis?

**Emmanuel Barot**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ 360

Authors Meet Critics. The Social History of Agriculture: From the Origins to the Current Crisis

**Stephen Miller**

**Robin Blackburn**

**Michael Zmolek**

**Neil Davidson**

**Christopher Isett**

Chair: **John Merrick**

→ S209

*Strategy Stream*

Challenging Authority: Cases and Perspectives

Daddy got no Secrets Anymore: Challenging Authority in a time of Monsters

**Jan Niggemann**

Integral Strategy and the Dialectics of Dual Power and Counter-Power

**Josep Maria Antentas**

Counter-Power to Dual-Power in Our Times: A Theory of Revolutionary Reform and Punctuated Gradualism

**Antje Dieterich, Victor Hertzfeld**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ B211

*Work Stream*

International Perspectives on Class Composition

Precariat and New Proletariat: Differences Between the Working Class of the North and the South

**Ricardo Antunes**

Tunisian Transition to Neoliberalism: A Class Composition Approach

**Lorenzo Feltrin, Kira Brenner**

The Political Composition of Strikes in Vietnam

**Joe Buckley**

Chair: **Juan Grigera**

→ S312

*Race and Capital Stream*

Metastases of Identity and Value: Blackness, Indigeneity, and the Post-Colony in the Art's Political Economies Today

Between Not-Everything and Not-Nothing: Some Current Metabolisms of Negativity

**Marina Vishmidt**

Synthetic Identity as a Materialist Category: Adrian Piper's Indexical Presence

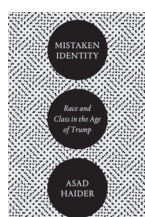
**Nizan Shaked**

After Intersectionality: Aboriginal Labour, Reconciliation, Social Replication and Totality

**Jaleh Mansoor**

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ DLT



BOOK LAUNCH

Mistaken Identity: Race and Class in the Age of Trump

**Asad Haider**

**Robert Knox**

**Tithi Bhattacharya**

**Samir Gandesha**

Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

→ 4429

*Philosophy Stream*

The Philosophy and Politics of Gramsci

Why was the Italian Working Class Defeated? Gramsci's Self-Criticism in Prison Notebooks

**Mikko Lahtinen**

Lessons for the Modern Prince: Civil Society in Gramsci's 'Philosophy of Praxis'

**Moinak Choudhury**

What is Passive in Antonio Gramsci's notion of Passive Revolution?

**Gianmarco Fifi**

Chair: **TBC**

→ 559

Thinking with Badiou

On Badiou's Immanence des vrits (2018)

**Peter Hallward**

Badiou/Gramsci: Contributions from the Materialist Dialectic of Alain Badiou to the Meta-Theoretical Grounding of Neo-Gramscian Studies

**Jorge Enrique Forero**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ B201

Marxism and Aesthetics

Emile Copfermann and the Idea of Revolutionary Theatre in May 68

**Sophie Coudray**

Soviet Architectural Projects of the 1920s

**Claire Thouvenot**

A Reversed Perspective on Factography

**Marina Gerber**

Chair: **Evgeni V. Pavlov**

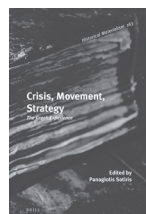
**17:45 SOAS STUDENT BAR**

**Deutscher Wine Reception**

sponsored with Historical Materialism

→ 563

*Strategy Stream*



BOOK LAUNCH

Crisis, Movement, Strategy: The Greek experience

**Stathis Kouvelakis**

**Jeff Webber**

**Despoina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni**

**Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros**

**Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros**

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ G51

Understanding the Arab Right

Attempts at Hegemony: Revanchist Ethnonationalism and War on Terror in Lebanon

**Elia El Khazen**

The King and his 'ayasha

**Miriyam Aouragh**

The Counter-revolutionary Role of Regional and International Actors in the Syrian Uprising

**Joseph Daher**

Monopolising the Revolution: Militarist Neo-liberalism, Carceral Economies and the political geography of El Sisi's Egypt

**Hannah Elsisy**

Chair: **Joe Hayns**

→ G51A

Germany, History and the Left

The Road to the KPD: Germanys' Radical Left between Politics and Education

**Sean Larson**

Political Education in Pre-War German Social Democracy

**Julia Damphouse**

Ripples of October: The Soldiers' Uprising of 1918

**Jana Tsoneva**

Two Soldiers Fighting for Their Cause: Gershom Scholem, Werner Scholem and the German Revolution of 1918

**Ralf Hoffrogge**

Chair: **Loren Balhorn**

→ G3

Marxism, Language, Literature and Revolution

Marx and Language. How to Criticize Language while Using it?

**Juliette Farjat**

Wizarding Capitalism. Reification, Class Struggle and Subalternity in the World of Harry Potter

**Paul Guillibert, Frédéric Monferrand**

Time that Precedes Us and Survives Us: Registering the Anthropocene in Late DeLillo

**Thomas Travers**

The Voices of Capital: Poetics of Critique Beyond Sentiment and Cynicism

**Daniel Hartley**

Chair: **TBC**

→ 4426

Critical Studies on the Emergence of Capitalism

Ideology and the Making of Capitalism in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England: A Contribution to Recent Debates within Political Marxism

**Esben Bøgh Sørensen**

Extraterritoriality and Diplomacy From Early Modern Empires to Trump: Jurisdictional and Capital Accumulation

**Maïa Pal**

A Work Filled With Hope: Critique of Political Economy and Marxist Historiography of the Ancient World in Italy

**Sebastiano Taccola**

Chair: **John Merrick**

I: 18.15-20.00

→ DLT



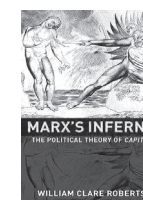
Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture

Chair: **Chris Wickham**

Marx's Social Republic: Then and Now

**William Clare Roberts**

Author: *Marx's Inferno: The Political Theory of Capital*



→ G51

*Strategy Stream*

Communism and Revolution

Guerrilla Strategies Revisited: The 21st Century Resonances of the Guerrilla Concept  
**Michael Norman Goddard**

Decentralist Vanguards: Marxism, Anarchism, and the Search for a New Mode of Public Power in Rojava  
**Huseyin Rasit, Alexander Kolokotronis**

Communism, Uncertainty and Spontaneity. Marx and Lenin. Derrida and Ranciere.  
**Peter Green**

Chair: **Evgeni V. Pavlov**

→ G3

*Work Stream*

Studying the Workplace

Labour and Logistics on the Docks: Union Organising Across Scales and Networks  
**Jonny Jones**

The Condition of Unskilled, Non-Unionised Workers in Modern Taylorist / Fordist Factories: A Case Study in 3 South East England Plants  
**Emily Ivanova**

Doing Pro-Worker Academic Research  
**George Tsogas**

Between Research and Organising: Reflections on Workers inquiries in India and South Africa  
**Lorenza Monaco**

Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

→ G51A

*HMSPEN Stream*

Reform the System and the Subject Will Transform, Transform the Subject and She will Dismantle the System: Between Pragmatic and Utopian Politics

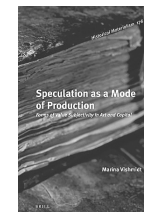
Reading Marx in Beirut  
**Sophie Chamas**

Transforming the Transgressive into the Norm: Activist Struggles for Marriage Equality and Reproductive Justice in the Republic of Ireland  
**Miureann Meehan Speed,**

Discussant: **Peter Drucker**

Chair: **Holly Lewis**

→ 273



BOOK LAUNCH

Speculation as Mode of Production

**Marina Vishmidt**

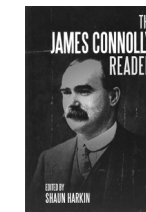
**Jaleh Mansoor**

**Larne Abse Gortary**

**Stewart Martin**

Chair: **TBC**

→ B204



BOOK LAUNCH

Sean Harkin's James Connolly Reader

**Sean Harkin**

**Neil Davidson**

**Tithi Bhattacharya**

**Maev McDaid**

Chair: **TBC**

→ S208

Reading and Thinking Marx Today

Late Marx: New Theories of Revolution

**Kevin B Anderson**

Forever Young? Marx at 200

**Riccardo Bellofiore**

Marx 150 and Marx 200 - What has Changed?

**Paula Rauhala**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ KLT

*Marxist Feminist Stream*

Lessons Learned and Possible Futures: Notes from Social Reproduction Organizing in Small Town America

**Marcela Romero Rivera**

**Hannah Dickinson**

**Bret Leraul**

**Kartyn Evinson**

Chair: **TBC**

→ 4429

Bodies, Media, Art

On the Jihadi-LGBT-Communist Alliance: An Analysis of Slovenia's Right Wing Press  
**Nejc Slukan**

Dissident Bodies and Censorship: Art and the Rise of the Right in Brazil  
**Mauricio Ianes**

The Psychosocial Body in Late Capitalist Hyper-Depersonalisation: Follism and the Swarm Media  
**Lukas Meisner**

Chair: **Esther Leslie**

→ DLT

Applying Marxist Political Economy

Is there an Alternative to Crisis and Austerity?

**Karl Beitel**

The Separation Between State, Market and Civil Society in Capitalism: A Marxist Approach to Civil Society in (Neoliberal) Capitalism  
**Mathias Hein Jessen**

Capital not Market. A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy of Science and Higher Education.  
**Krystian Szadkowski**

Black Snake in the Grass: The New Political Economy of Pipelines  
**Troy Vettese**

Chair: **Maia Pal**

→ B201

Popular Sovereignty, Popular Politics

Sovereignty of the People in Times of Retreat

**Eirini Gaitanou**

Rethinking Sovereignty, Democracy and Nationalism  
**Andoni Olariaga**

Places of Communal Production  
**Adrien Durrmeyer**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ 559

*Marxist Feminist Stream*

Global Commodity Chains, Gender and Social Reproduction I

The Gender (& Social Reproduction) of Global Commodity Chains  
**Alessandra Mezzandri**

Global Fertility Chains: A new Political Economy Approach to Understanding Transnational Surrogacy  
**Siggie Vertommen**

Global Care Chains: Bringing in Transnational Reproductive Labourer Households  
**Nicola Yeates**

Chair: **Camille Barbagallo**

→ 4426

*Philosophy Stream*

Dialogues Between Philosophy Marxism and Politics

Why Was Marx's Account of Bonapartism Primarily Political? Lessons from the Capital Analysis in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte  
**Omid Mehrgan**

Marx and the Rabble. Poverty as the Condition of Philosophy  
**Ari Korhonen**

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ 279

Rights and Liberal Imaginaries in Anti-Capitalist Movements and the European Crisis

**Radha D'Souza,**

**Paul O'Connell**

**Robert Knox**

**Mario Novelli**

Chair: **Demet Dinler**



→ **B201**  
 Marxism, Music, Sound  
 Musical Modernism and the National Question  
**Stephan Hammel**  
 Sound as Social Form: on Theodor Adorno's Listening Theory  
**Vincent Chanson**  
 Shostakovich: A Hero of Anti-Formalism? or a Formulation of Anti-Heroism?  
**Jamil Alessandro Kowcun**  
 Chair: **Evgeni V. Pavlov**

→ **G3**  
*Work Stream*  
 The Notes from Below Project and Technical, Social, and Political Composition  
**Jamie Woodcock**  
**Lydia Hughes**  
**Seth Wheeler**  
 Chair: **Demet Dinler**

→ **4426**  
*Race and Capital Stream*  
 Race and Class: Global Perspectives  
 Survival Pending Revolution: Self-Determination in the Age of Proto-Neo-Liberal Globalization  
**John Narayan**  
 Detroit: Creative Destruction, Myth and Rebellion (1913-2018)  
**Mark Jay**  
 Chair: **Rob Knox**

→ **4429**  
*Philosophy Stream*  
 Aleatory Althusser  
 The Politics of the Encounter: In Search for a New Practice of Philosophy  
**Giorgos Kalampokas**  
 Aleatory Materialism: A Philosophy for Marxism?  
**Alexander Gorman**  
 Althusser's Knots: The Difficulty of Being a Marxist in Philosophy  
**Roberto Mozzachiodi**  
 Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ **G51A**  
*HMSPEN Stream*  
 Queer Communism  
 Sexual Hegemony and the Gay Communist Tradition  
**Max Fox**  
 What's Queer About Communism and What's Communist About Queer? Insights from 2017-2018 French Social Movements.  
**Gianfranco Rebutini**  
 "We Should All Live With Each Other, Not Against Each Other": Social Reproduction and Queer Domesticity  
**Daniel Howell**  
 Chair: **Paul Reynolds**

→ **559**  
 Image, Film, Critique  
 The Commodification and Fetishization of Frida Kahlo's Image  
**Sanjay Lanka, Evelyn Lanka**  
 Eisenstein and the Roots of Permanent Revolution  
**Fleury Marcela**  
 Film Representations of Labour in Neoliberal Times  
**Alejandro Pedregal**  
 Chair: **TBC**

→ **KLT**  
*Marxist Feminist Stream*  
 Critical Issues in Marxist Feminism  
 Appropriating the Alien: A Critique of Xenofeminism  
**Annie Goh**  
 Curating, Social Reproduction, and Affective Resistances  
**Barbara Mahlkecht**  
 Thinking about Feminist Solidarity  
**Hester Eisenstein**  
 Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ **273**  
*Marxist Feminist Stream*  
 Global Commodity Chains, Gender and Social Reproduction II  
 Disciplining Women at the Bottom of Global Value Chains: Labour Control and Resistance in Factories and Households in Senegalise Export Horticulture  
**Elena Baglioni**  
 Dangerous Sex, Invisible labour: Sex Work and the Law in India  
**Prabha Kotiswaran**  
 The Home-Based Industrial Work as a Form of Production  
**Tania Toffanin**  
 Chair: **Camille Barbagallo**

→ **279**  
 Socialist Democracy Against Fascism: The Late Georg Lukacs as a Thinker for our Times  
 The Quiet Copernican Revolution: The Centrality of 'Everyday Life' in Lukács' Later Works and its Critical Potential  
**Victor Strazzeri**  
 Lukács' Concept Of Racism in The Destruction Of Reason  
**Anita Zsurzsán**  
 Lukács and the Popular Front  
**Alexander Minotakis**  
 Lukács's, Anna Seghers's and Ernst Bloch's Accounts on Ideological Preconditions of Nazism And Holocaust  
**Konstantin Baehrens**  
 Lukács Within the Movements of the 60s and the Organisation Question  
**Kostas Gousis and Dimitra Alifieraki**  
 Chair: **Juan Grigera**

→ **G51**  
 Migrant Labour: Left Perspectives  
 The Economics of Migration, Open Borders and Marxist Political Economy  
**Nick Deschacht**  
 The Evolution of Migration Regimes: Imperial, National, EU  
**Gareth Dale**  
 Women and Kafala: Migrant Domestic Workers and Social Reproduction in the Gulf States  
**Siobhán Saravanamuttu**  
 Social Reproduction and Migrant Women Domestic Workers: The Turkish Case  
**Ozlem Tezcek**  
 Chair: **Maïa Pal**

→ **S208**  
 Neo-Liberalism and the Right  
 Far-Right Neoliberalism and The Current Stage of the Brazilian Social Crisis  
**Romulo Lima**  
 Regime of Accumulation and Rise of Authoritarian Right: A Case Study of Two Indian states  
**Soham Bhattacharya**  
 Russian Marxism in Reactionary Times: Anatoly Lunacharsky and the Religion of Labour  
**Marina Simakova**  
 Chair: **Miriyaam Aouragh**

→ **B204**  
 Rab-Rab Press Panel  
 Lenin and Language  
**Sezgin Boynik**  
 E.P. Thompson in Yugoslavia  
**Slobodan Karamanic**  
 Works on Paper  
**Minna Henriksson**  
 Free Jazz Communism  
**Taneli Viitahuhta**  
 Aesthetic Praxis  
**David Muoz**  
 Chair: **Esther Leslie**

→ **DLT**  
 The Far Right: Critical Interrogations  
 Politics of Emotion: Class, Gender and Race within the Swedish Far-Right  
**Pseudonym**  
 Resisting the Far Right in the 21st Century from Eleanor Marx's Point of View; Going Ahead with the Foremother of Socialist-Feminism  
**Dana Mills**  
 Global Right-Wing Strategies in the Global South: Defending the Family in the 21st Century  
**Victor Hugo Ramirez Garcia**  
 The Antifascist Politics of Caribbean Communists: From the Italo-Ethiopian War to the Ton-Ton Macoutes  
**Jackqueline Frost**  
 Chair: **Andreas Malm**

## 13.15-14.00 Lunchtime Panel

→ **KLT**  
 The rise of the far right: now Bolsonaro in Brazil  
**Alfredo Saad Filho**  
**Pedro Mendes Loueiro**  
 Chair: **Juan Grigera**



→ **G51A**  
*HMSPEN Stream*  
 Sexuality and Resisting the Right  
 Resistance and Struggle in Anti-fascist and Sex Worker Histories  
**Cassandra Troyan**  
 A Queer Marxist Assessment of Contemporary Far-Right Ideology  
**Holly Lewis**  
 Lesbians and Gays Against the Right: Learning from Organizing Against Neoliberal Moral Conservatism, 1977-1984.  
**Gary Kinsman**  
 Chair: **Peter Drucke**

→ **273**  
*Work Stream*  
 Notes from Below: Workers Inquiries  
 It's a Game Innit: Working Class Recomposition And Mobilisation at a UK Pub Chain  
**Callum Cant**  
 Marx in the Cleaning Sector: Analysing Exploitation and Struggle in the London Cleaning Industry  
**Achille Marotta**  
 Camaraderie, Affective Labour and the Union: A Hospitality Workers Inquiry  
**Joe Kearsey**  
 Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

→ **DLT**  
 Antisemitism, the Labour Party and the Left  
**Richard Kuper**  
**Catherine Rottenburg**  
**Lynne Segal**  
**Brendan Mcgeever**  
 Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ **279**  
*Philosophy Stream*  
 Renewing Materialist Philosophy Under the Post-Colonial and Post-Socialist Condition  
 A Materialist Philosophy in Marx?  
**Svenja Bromberg**  
 The Materialist Philosophy of History: An Epistemological Approach  
**Maria Chehonadskih**  
 Althusser's Third Definition of Materialist Philosophy: Thinking the Rupture as 'fait à accomplir'  
**Stefano Pippa**  
 Violence and Subjectivity  
**Andres Saenz de Sicilia**  
 Chair: **John Merrick**

→ **G51**  
 Radical Historiographies  
 Political Radicalism in Historiography  
**Theodoros Pelekanidis**  
 Fighting Antisemitism: The Dreyfus Experience  
**Ian Birchall**  
 The League for Democracy in Greece: Resisting the British Labour Party's Appeasement of Greek Fascism, 1945-1951  
**Isabel Victoria Papadimitriou**  
 Chair: **TBC**

→ **KLT**  
*Socialist Register Launch 2019*  
 A World Turned Upside Down? The Trump-Xi Conjuncture  
 Neo-Liberal Capitalism: The Authoritarian Turn  
**Alfredo Saad-Filho**  
 Trumping the Empire  
**Leo Panitch**  
 Locating Trump: Paleoconservatism, neoliberalism, and anti-globalization  
**Ray Kiely**  
 Can China Unmake the American Making of Global Capitalism?  
**Sean Starrs**  
 Chair: **Greg Albo**

→ **B204**  
 Deconstructing Fascism  
 Fascism in the State-Finance Nexus  
**Steve Wexler**  
 Spectres of Fascism  
**Samir Gandesha**  
 Fascism and the Challenge of Mass Society  
**Ishay Landa**  
 Chair: **Andreas Malm**

→ **G3**  
 Questioning Populism  
 Populism Beyond Identity: An American Alternative  
**Anton Jaeger**  
 The Practical Political Consciousness of the Populist Turn  
**Veronika Stoyanova**  
 Populism in Europe: Lessons from the Italian Laboratory  
**Antonio Astolfi**  
 Populism as Social Reproduction Struggle: An Approach to the Question of "Left Populism"  
 Michael Bray  
 Chair: **Rob Knox**

→ **559**  
*Philosophy Stream*  
 Capitalism science and reification  
 Technoscience Within and Beyond Capitalism: From Classic Marxist Debates To Current Ones  
**Les Levidow and Luigi Pellizzoni**  
 The Aestheticization of Technopolitics: The Internet, the Far Right and the Warming Planet  
**Tomislav Medak**  
 Discussant and chair: **Juan Grigera**

→ **4426**  
*Strategy Stream*  
 Innovation-Restoration: Money-Culture Consortia in Contemporary Brazil  
 A Brazilian Love: Money and Form, Born for one Another  
**Luiz Renato Martins**  
 Representations of Money-form in Marx's Capital  
**Jorge Grespan**  
 The Banker With The Movie Camera (1968—2018): Revisiting 68's Insurrections  
**Ana Paula Pacheco**  
 Chair: **Juan Grigera**

→ **4429**  
 Revolution, War and the State in the Emergence of Capitalism  
 'A Civil Life on the Banda Islands': Capitalism, War and Empire in the Aftermath of the Dutch Revolt  
**Pepijn Brandon**  
 Scotland and the Origins of Bourgeois Revolution from Above  
**Neil Davidson**  
 War, the State and the Emergence of Capitalist Finance  
**David McNally**  
 Discussant and chair: **Maia Pal**

→ **S208**  
*Red Wedge Stream*  
 Aesthetics from Above and Below  
 "Trash-thetics" and Dys/Utopian Praxis  
**Alexander Billet**  
 The Work of Art in the Age of Digital Reproduction  
**Adam Turl**  
 Transgression as a Process  
**Shannon Bell**  
 Chair: **Jordy Cummings**

→ **B201**  
 The Theoretical and Political Relevance of Marx Biographies  
**Michael Heinrich**  
**Sven-Eric Liedman**  
**William Clare Roberts**  
 Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ **B204**  
Critical Studies on Value

The Dual Character of the Reality - The Matrix Trilogy and Marx's Value Theory  
**Heesang Jeon**  
Structural Marxism Head Over Heels: A Structural Reading of Marx's Theory of Value  
**Miguel Garcia-Duch**  
Value Form, Subtractive Structure and Implied Temporality  
**Uros Kranjc**  
Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ **G3**  
*Work Stream*

Notes from Below: Workers Inquiries and technology  
Building Worker Power in the Tech Industry  
**Wendy Liu**  
Tidy: A Case Study of Social Reproduction in the Gig Economy  
**Magally Miranda**  
Organising in the Tech Industry Today  
**Two anonymous speakers**  
Chair: **Jamie Woodcock**

→ **S208**  
Marxism and North African Politics

French Communism and the Origins of Algerian Nationalism  
**Selim Nadi**  
Les Enfants D'Algérie: Fanon and Témoignage  
**Hector Uniacke**  
Chair: **Miriyaam Aouragh**

→ **B201**  
*Philosophy Stream*

Radical Philosophical Questions  
Minorities, Class Struggle, and the Limits of Philosophy  
**Kai Heron**  
Temporal Alienation and Social Acceleration  
**Jonathan Martineau**  
A Philosophical Turn Towards Hegemonic Politics: Hobbes, Locke, Shaftesbury, Hume  
**Juha Koivisto**  
Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ **G51**  
*Red Wedge Stream*

Marxism, Neoliberalism, and Music  
Hippy, Punk and the Cultural Background to Social Neoliberalism  
**Neil Davidson**  
A Standard Polaroid World: On early 80s electronic music and the interregnum between Callaghan and Thatcher  
**Joe Sabatini**  
Notes on Cultural Appropriation  
**Crystal Stella Becerril**  
Chair: **Alexander Billet**

→ **KLT**  
*Philosophy Stream*

Screening of the Film: Evald Ilyenkov – A Documentary  
Discussant: **Rozhkov Alexander (Director)**  
Chaired by **Paula Rauhala**  
*Sponsored by the Aleksanteri-Institute. Finnish Centre for Russian and Eastern European Studies.*

→ **273**  
*Strategy Stream*

The Libidinal and Symbolic Foundations of the New Right  
The Libidinal-Economy of Fordism and the New Right  
**Peter Bratsis**  
Symbolic Dispossession and Political Disorientation in Contemporary Neo-Fascisms  
**Carlos Frade**  
"It started as a joke": Alt-Right vs. Radical Left Digital Countercultures  
**Athina Karatzogianni and Marc Tuters**  
Chair: **Andreas Malm**

→ **DLT**



BOOK LAUNCH

Case Studies in the Origins Of Capitalism  
Industrial Transition in England  
**Michael Andrew Zmolek**, Colonialis(S), Race and the Transition to Capitalism in Canada  
**Jessica Evans**  
The Origins of Capitalism in Catalonia  
**Javier Moreno Zacaes**, The Origins of the Taiwan Miracle  
**Christopher Isset**  
Chair: **Xavier Lafrance/ Charles Post**

→ **G51A**  
*HMSPEN Stream*

Critical Issues in Sexual Politics  
Sexuality: Consent and Dispossession  
**Alan Sears**  
Chemsex, Capital and Repressive Incitement  
**David Alderson**  
What is a Marxist Erotics?  
**Paul Reynolds**  
Chair: **Gary Kinsman**

→ **4426**

Althusser and Critique  
Althusser's Philosophy for Marxism as a Contribution to the Critique of Political Philosophy  
**Fabio Bruschi**  
All or Nothing: A Critique of Althusser's Conception of Feuerbach  
**Magnus Møller Ziegler**  
The Second Theoreticism of Louis Althusser  
**Matija Jan**  
Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ **4429**

Marxism and Debt  
Haiti, Debt and the Invention of Structural Adjustment  
**Robert Knox**  
The Capitalist Form of Debt and its Historical Presuppositions  
**Bruno Hofig**  
The Portuguese Initiative for a Citizens Debt Audit (IAC): Failures and Achievements of an Anticapitalistic Front of Resistance in a Globalized and Highly Financialized World  
**Eugénia Pires**  
Chair: **Evgeni V. Pavlov**

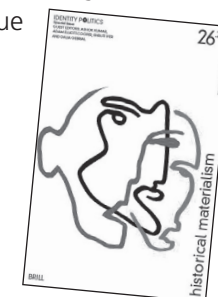
→ **279**

Europe in Crisis  
Secular Stagnation in the Eurozone: A Strategic Response  
**Ben Tippet**  
Germany's Hidden Crisis: Social Decline in the Heart of Europe  
**Oliver Nachtwey**  
Nationalism and the Uneven Development of Europe  
**Benjamin Bürbaumer**  
Austria's Latest Authoritarian Turn: A Conjunctural Analysis  
**Benjamin Opratko**  
Chair: **Loren Balhorn**

**N: 18.30-20.30**

→ **KLT**

Plenary:  
**The Politics of identity**  
HM Identity Politics Special Issue  
Afro-Pessimism and the Unlogic of Anti-Blackness  
**Annie Teriba**  
Intersectionality and Marxism  
**Ashley Bohrer**  
Jewish Identity Formation Between Zionism and the Nazi Genocide  
**Sai Englert**  
Feminism Against Crime Control: On Sexual Subordination and State Apologism  
**Koshka Duff**  
Defining my own Oppression: Neoliberalism and the Demands of Victimhood  
**Chi Chi Shi**  
Racism and the Logic of Capital: A Fanonian Reconsideration  
**Peter Leslie Hudis**  
Chair: **Ashok Kumar**



**20:00 SOAS STUDENT BAR**  
**Historical Materialism Wine Reception**  
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→ 4429

Hindu Nationalism and the Primitive Mode of Accumulation

Centralisation, Hindutava and the Indian Mode of Accumulation: Probing the Role of State and Nation.

**Pritam Singh**

Hindutva and Neoliberalism  
**Bhabani Shankar Nayak**

Accumulation by Dispossession To Gendered Accumulation: Critical Reflections on Mining Led Industrialisation in Odisha, India

**Geeta Sinha**

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ 559

Land, Labour, Commodities

The Content of Commodity Inputs: Formal Logic or Dialectical Logic in the Transformation Problem?

**Andy Higginbottom**

The False Opposition of the Labour and the Monetary Theory of Value – the case of Japanese Marxian Economy  
**Elena Louisa Lange**

In Defense of the Concept of Landowners as Third Class  
**FTC Manning**

Concerning Labour Markets and the Commodification of Social Difference in the Alberta Oil Sands  
**Ewen MacArthur**

Chair: **TBC**

→ G3

*Philosophy Stream*

Philosophy, Marxism and Gender

Social Reproduction Theory and the Problems of Labor-Power Form

**Aaron Jaffe**

Reading Silvia Federici in the Age of #MeToo: Gender, Capitalism and Witchhunts  
**Miriam Bak McKenna**

The Uncanny/Arcane of Reproduction: Capitalist Contradictions and Aesthetic Transgressions in the Home  
**Carina Brand**

Chair: **Esther Leslie**

→ G51A

*Leftover Live and HMSPEN*

Transsexual Marxism (20th-21st Century)

Rediscovering Transgender Inclusion in Radical Feminism: The Reification of Feminist Historiography

**Sylvia McCheyne**

Accumulation/Regulation - An Old Story About Trans\* Bodies

**Joyce Hanna**

Foundations for a Transsexual Materialism: Gender Construction Between Stone and Butler

**Rosa Lee**

Chair: **Jules Joanne Gleeson**

→ B211

Marxism and Theorising the Social

Ideas as Intellectual Instruments Insights from Spinoza, Marx And Vygotsky

**Vesa Oittinen**

The Problem of Nature in Saint-Just's "De la nature, de l'état civile, de la cité ou les règles de l'indépendance du gouvernement"

**Jennifer Harvey**

Rosa Luxemburg's Ideas on the Council System as Realization of her Basic Democratic Concept

**Ottokar Luban**

Two Spaces of the Social in Marx: Between 'das Gesellschaftliche' and 'das Soziale'

**Seung-wook BAEK**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ 4426

Questions of Class

Extreme Right and Middle Class: The Case of the Traditional Petit Bourgeoisie in Greece During the Economic Crisis

**Valia Aranitou**

Surplus Proletariat, Circulation Struggles, and the New Right  
**Dennis Buescher-Ulbrich**

Canadian Class Composition Analysis in 1970s Radical Organizing and the Present  
**Gary Kinsman**

Chair: **Rob Knox**

→ KLT

*Red Wedge Stream*

Under the Cobblestones: '68, Uneven and Combined Development and the Cultural Heritage of the Long Sixties

Masood Kimiayi's Qaisar and the Unlikely Iranian 68 Moment  
**Arash Azizi**

Lineages of the Prague Spring: International Counterculture Encounters Stalinism  
**Jordy Cummings**

The Beatles and the Counterculture

**Toby Manning**

Chair: **Crystal Stella Becerril**

→ L67

Questions of State and Left Strategy

Belgium as a Model Integral State: A Gramscian Research Agenda from the Social Pact of 44 to Aftermath of the Crisis of 2008

**Sebastien Antoine**

Authoritarian Statism and Right-wing Radicalization in Contemporary Greece  
**Angelos Kontogiannis-Mandros**

Socialist Strategy in a Post-socialist State: Lessons from Slovenia

**Jasa Veselinovic, Zan Zupan**

Chair: **Rob Knox**

→ B204

Gramsci and Politics

Lenin and Gramsci. "Cultural" Revolution and 'Translatability'

**Rocco Lacorte**

Ethical Socialism as Passive Revolution: Gramscis critique of Henri De Man

**Brecht de Smet, Jelle Versieren**

The Socio-political Alliance Question in Gramsci  
**Derek Boothman**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ G51

*Philosophy Stream*

BOOK LAUNCH

What is To Be Done Under Real Subsumption?

**Mattin Artiach**

**Anthony Iles**

**Marina Vishmidt**

**Rob Lucas**

**Andres Saenz de Sicilia**

Chair: **TBC**

→ B211

Literature Against Empire: Narrating Class Struggle in the Capitalist World-System

Frontier Tragedy: Commodity Production in West African Literature

**Kate Montague**

Plants in the Free Trade Garden: US Foreign Policy, Revolution and Rice in Isaan Literature

**Treasa De Loughry**

Guerrilla Field Manuals and the Fight for Latin America

**Mark Steven**

Chair: **Demet Dinler**

→ G51A

*Leftover Live and HMsPEN*

Queer Social Reproduction

To Abolish the Family: Communist Struggle and the Working-Class Family in Capitalist Development

**Michelle O'Brien**

Two Debates, One Solution: Rethinking the Essential Categories of Social Reproduction Theory

**Maya Gonzalez**

Queer Workers, Social Reproduction, and Left Strategy

**Kate Doyle Griffiths**

Chair: **Rosa Petterson**

→ 559

India and Marxist Analysis

Hindutva, Hinduism and Neoliberal Capitalist Accumulation in Contemporary India

**Bhabani Shankar Nayak**

Shapurji Saklatvala, Subaltern Cosmopolitanism, and the Workers' Welfare League of India

**Daniel Edmonds**

The Reasons Behind the Rise of Western Europe from an "Indian Perspective"

**Kaveh Yazdani**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ 4429

*Strategy Stream*

Profane Politics and the Uncertainties of the In-Between

Bensaid and Deleuze: in the middle of the plane of immanence

**Darren Roso,**

Silicon Valley's sovereign individuals and the rise of occult politics

**Hager Weslati**

Chair: **TBC**

→ G3

*Philosophy Stream*

Temporalities of Politics and History

Power and Temporalisation. A Sartrean Contribution to the Debate on Plural Temporalities

**Matthias Lievens**

Time's Carcase: Spectral Objectivity and the Marxist Critique of Phenomenology

**Itai Farhi**

Time, Marx, Populism: Ernst Bloch's Nonsynchronism in the Present

**Filippo Menozzi**

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ L67

*Philosophy Stream*

The Legacy of Ilyenkov

The Ideal and the Dream-world: Evald Ilyenkov and Walter Benjamin on the Significance of Material Objects

**Alex Levant**

From Spinoza to Marx and Ilyenkov: Materialist Dialectics and the Challenge of Questioning Contemporary Theoretical Doctrines

**Anastasia Matsouka**

Ewald Ilyenkov's Communist Cosmology and Contemporary Speculative Thought

**Alexei Penzin**

Philosophy as Criticism: Ilyenkov on Logic and Scientific Knowledge

**Siyaves Azeri**

Chair: **TBC**

→ 4426

Interpretations of Historical Materialism

For a Radical Humanism: Jos Carlos Maritegui and Amerindian Communities' Contribution to Left Politics

**Laura Lema Silva**

Amilcar Cabral's Interpretation of Historical Materialism

**Zeyad Sameh El Nabolsy**

What's Philosophy of Marx

**Kejian Lu**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ KLT

The Right and Neo-Liberalism under a Critical Gaze

Postfascism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism

**Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen**

Mythical Concepts: The Irrational Appropriation of Reason

**Orestis Didimiotis**

The World Bank, Inclusiveness, Power and Neoliberal Political Rationality

**Maika Sondarjee**

Chair: **Andreas Malm**

→ BGLT

Benjamin

Glowing the Arcades: Marx Through the Eyes of Walter Benjamin

**Zachos Christodoulopoulos**

Walter Benjamin's Anti-Fascist Radio

**Kester Richardson-Dawes**

Critique or Violence: Arendt's Critique of Totalitarianism and Benjamin's Violence of the Constellation, a Messianism

**Jack Robery Coopey**

Benjamin and the Stalinist Aestheticization of Politics

**Clara Figueiredo**

Chair: **Esther Leslie**

→ B204

*Strategy Stream*



BOOK LAUNCH

Kim Moody's On New Terrain

**Charles Post,**

**Kim Moody,**

**Katy Fox-Hodess**

Chair: **Jeff Webber**

→ G51



BOOK LAUNCH

Revolution, Defeat and Theoretical Underdevelopment: Russia, Turkey, Spain, Bolivia

**Loren Goldner**

Discussants: **Neil Davidson**  
**Asad Haider**

Chair: **TBC**

→ **KLT**

*Socialist Register Launch 2019*

A World Turned Upside Down? The Left, Britain and the European Crisis

The European Crisis and the Left

**Alan Cafruny**

Corbyn and Post-Brexit Britain: Is There a Way Forward for the Left?

**Colin Leys**

Labour's New Strategy

**Andrew Murray**

Organizing Challenges for a New Left: Momentum and British Labour

**Laura Parker**

Death to the Corporation: A Modest Oroposal'

**David Whyte**

Chair: Leo Panitch

→ **G51A**

Marxism, Alienation and the Body

Communism's "Basic Prerequisite": The Reduction of Work-time, Anti-work Politics and Human Emancipation

**Oisín Gilmore**

Corporeal Organisation: Marx's Analysis of the Human Body

**Søren Mau**

From Left Melancholia to Left Phlegmatism: Towards a 21st Century Left Disposition

**Paul Reynolds**

Chair: **Svenja Bromberg**

→ **L67**

Contextualising Migration, Borders and the Rise of the Right: Methods and Strategies

**Paolo Novak**

**Hannah Cross**

**Fabian Georgi**

**Adam Hanieh**

Chair: **Andreas Malm**

→ **B204**

*Philosophy Stream*

Marxist Temporalities

Plural Temporality, or Brushing the Marxist Tradition Against the Grain

**Vittorio Morfino**

The Non-Contemporaneity of Populism and the Need for a Non-Conclusive Marxist Theory: Methodological Notes on Bloch and Krahl

**Elia Zaru**

The Non-Contemporaneity of The Last Instance: Plural Temporality in For Marx and Reading Capital

**Joseph Serrano**

Remembering the Future/Anticipating the Past: Reconciling Benjamin and Bloch

**Sarah Mason**

Chair: **Panagiotis Sotiris**

→ **B211**

India and Fascism

Countering Neo-Fascism in India: The Forgotten Lessons of a Religious Left

**Aditya Mohan Bahl**

Rise of the Sangh - Indian Version of Fascism and How to Resist it

**Navdeep Singh Viridi**

Discussant: **TBC**

Chair: **Ashok Kumar**

→ **4429**

Thinking with Lukacs

Defining Lukacs's Middle Period

**Richard Donnelly**

The Commercialization Model in Lukacs's Analysis of the Social Being and its Context

**Murillo Van Der Laan**

Reification and the Contradictions of Capital's Life-Process

**Arthur Bueno**

Chair: **Sebastian Budgen**

→ **BGLT**

Theoretical Debates within Marxism

Justice, Relations of Production and Agency: Marxism and the Distributive Justice Discourse

**Omri Evron**

Analysing Workplace Ideologies: Marxism and the Psychology of Work

**Daria Saburova**

Ernst Bloch: The World as Learned Terror and (Un)Knowing Eyes

**Sacha Kahir and Sean Bonney**

Chair: **TBC**

→ **G3**



BOOK LAUNCH

The Long Roots of Brazilian Formalism (HM book series)

**Ana Paula Pacheco**

**Juan Grigera**

**Luiz Martins**

Chair: **Jeff Webber**

→ **4426**

Crime and the Carceral State: Critical Perspectives

Governing through Numbers: Reconsidering Corruption

**Ilia Xypolia**

Neoliberalism and the Carceral State: Guard Labour in the US and Canada

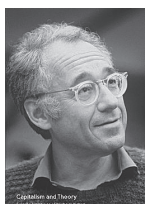
**Dillon Wamsley**

The Policing of Space in Neoliberal Toronto

**Kris Belben**

Chair: **Sara Salem**

→ **G51**



BOOK LAUNCH

Selected Writings of Michael Kidron (Haymarket Books)

**Richard Kuper**

**Ian Birchall**

**John Palmer**

Chair: **TBC**

## R: 17.00-19.00

→ **KLT**

Closing Plenary

### Strikes!

Striking Women: South Asian Workers' Struggles in the UK Labour Market from Grunwick to Gate Gourmet

**Sundari Anitha and Ruth Pearson**

From the Women's Strike to the Red Feminist Horizon

**Camille Barbagallo,**

Strategic Sector Strikes as Magic Bullet? A Critical Re-Examination

**Katy Fox-Hodess,**

The Strike Within and Beyond the Strike

**Amanda Armstrong,**

Chair: **Maia Pal**





# Historical Materialism

## Research in Critical Marxist Theory

IDENTITY POLITICS  
 GENDER THEORY  
 ANTI-STATE THEORY  
 ANTI-IMPERIALISM  
 ANTI-NEOLIBERALISM  
 ANTI-CAPITALISM  
 ANTI-ENVIRONMENTALISM  
 ANTI-TECHNOLOGY  
 ANTI-CONSUMERISM  
 ANTI-POSTMODERNISM  
 ANTI-POSTSTRUCTURALISM  
 ANTI-DECONSTRUCTION  
 ANTI-DETERMINISM  
 ANTI-REDUCTIONISM  
 ANTI-SCIENTISM  
 ANTI-EMPIRICISM  
 ANTI-QUANTIFICATION  
 ANTI-STATISTICS  
 ANTI-MATHEMATICS  
 ANTI-COMPUTER SCIENCE  
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 ANTI-CULTURE  
 ANTI-ENTERTAINMENT  
 ANTI-SPORTS  
 ANTI-LEISURE  
 ANTI-TOURISM  
 ANTI-TRAVEL  
 ANTI-INDUSTRY  
 ANTI-AGRICULTURE  
 ANTI-FOOD  
 ANTI-DRUGS  
 ANTI-ALCOHOL  
 ANTI-TABACCO  
 ANTI-CASINO  
 ANTI-GAMING  
 ANTI-LOTTERY  
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