

Historical

Materialism

CONFERENCE

**Abstract
Book**

**RETHINKING RATIONALITIES AND IRRATIONALITIES WITHIN THE TIMES OF CRISIS AND
RADICAL TRANSFORMATIONS**

April 5th-7th 2024

Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey

Abstract Book, Historical Materialism Istanbul 2024

Rethinking Rationalities and Irrationalities within the Times of Crises and Radical Transformations

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A Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory Conference

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Mülkiyeliler Birlięi

Conference Organizing Committee: Elçin Aktoprak, Berkay Ayhan, Ecehan Balta, Cořku Çelik, Havva Ezgi Doęru, Saygun Gökarısel, Ali Yalçın Göymen, Ali Rıza Güngen, Özgür Narin, Özgür Orhangazi, Cihan Özpınar, Deniz Parlak, Paul Reynolds, Aylin Topal, Galip Yalman, Onur Yıldız, Cemil Yıldızcan.

Local Organizing Committee: Gülener Kırnalı, Çaędař Yalçınkaya, Ayşe Göç, Mahir Güzelsoy

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Call for Papers

After four decades of neo-liberal global hegemony, the last few years have witnessed overlapping crises of neo-liberal capitalism, marked by environmental destruction, economic stagnation, and the breakdown of the liberal consensus at the centre of the political spectrum. Mike Davis in one of his final writings diagnosed a 'brain tumour' in the hegemony of the ruling class with morbid symptoms of inability "to achieve any coherent understanding of global change as a basis for defining common interests and formulating large-scale strategies.' Indeed, historical materialist tradition would argue that this diagnosis is a reflection of the bourgeois irrationality which is an intrinsic aspect of capitalism deeply embedded within its structures.

Globally, this trend is palpable manifested itself from the ways in which different capitalist states attempted to respond to the symptoms of crises ranging from economic, ecological and social reproduction of the system where classes of labour bear the brunt of these irrationalities. While these attempts seem to fail to address the crises in the core countries, the reactionary-right wave has expanding its strength in several countries within and beyond Europe. We witness the same pattern: the rise of right-wing governments, quite successful in arming themselves with "populist" irrational discourses but still unable to reproduce consent for their ideological hegemony. The erosion of bourgeois democracy and persistence of finance-led accumulation could be perceived as both causes and symptoms of the capitalist system's inability to deal with its irrationalities, yet deepening the crises of capitalism.

While the inherited system is struggling, the left-wing alternative capable of enacting political change is yet to be born. At this juncture, it's imperative to consider a range of alternatives, sparking discussions about the present nature of societal transitions, impeding shifts within late capitalism along with its various global forms, and the alternative 'rationalities' driving radical transformations. With the prominence of ecological and climate politics, and the challenges of managing transitions, questions regarding alternative rationalities in statecraft and economics have resurfaced.

This is why it is imperative to contemplate about the ways in which capitalism with its irrational survival endeavours might lead to social and ecological disasters detrimental for the fate of species. It is equally salient to begin envisioning potential paths of transforming capitalism. In that milieu, we invite you to Istanbul in April to discuss the irrationality of the right-wing

attempts to overcome the crises confronting contemporary capitalism but also to envisage the potential rationalities driving radical transitions within and beyond capitalism.

Whilst we encourage papers and panels that address these themes, as always, the Historical Materialism Istanbul Conference seeks to provide a space for critical Marxist theory and research across the globe and a range of disciplines and interests. Other papers and panels that enrich Marxist understandings – historical and contemporary – of theory and philosophy, culture, politics, political economy and societies under modern capitalism are also welcome.

In addition to our main theme, we are organising the following streams.

- Marxism and Islam
- Ecology, Food, and Agriculture
- Breaking the Spell: Marxism and Technology
- Gender and Sexuality
- Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism
- Critical Political Economy: Financialization, Debt, Planning

Conference Program

April 5, Friday

15:00-16:45 SESSION 1	
<p>B518 Ecology, Food and Agriculture: An Unjust Transition: Extractivism and Capitalist Development I</p> <p>Kennedy Manduna The Violent Interregnum, (Un)Just Energy Transition and Accumulation by Decarbonization: Decoupling/Dissecting South Africa's Just Energy Transition Implementation Plan, 2023–2027</p> <p>Mühdan Sağlam Problems Created by Fossil Fuel Rich Countries Hosting Cop Meetings.</p> <p>Barış A. Yentür The Relations of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia With China: The Northernization of the South and The Limits of Green Transition in a Capitalist Inter-State Structure</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	<p>B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: State Forms And Irrationality</p> <p>Sungur Savran Fascism as an Irrational Rationality</p> <p>Pınar Bedirhanoglu Rethinking Bourgeois 'Irrationality' via the Modern Republican Form of the Capitalist State</p> <p>Juho Korhonen Nation-State Irrationalities</p> <p>Wiktör Lekki Bounded Rationality and Marxism</p> <p>Chair: Galip Yalman</p>
<p>B522 On Western Marxism I</p> <p>Antonis Balasopoulos On the "Education of Desire": Abensour, Thompson, Williams, and the Stakes of British Marxist Cultural Criticism</p> <p>George Souvlis Perry Anderson and Antonio Gramsci: A British Reading of the Gramscian Hegemony</p> <p>Ege Çoban The Melancholy of Philosophy: Historical Materialism as A Mode of Mourning</p> <p>Chair: Paul Reynolds</p>	<p>B312 Refugees and Detention Centres</p> <p>Olga Lafazani Political Economies of Refugee Camps – Greece</p> <p>Ismi Nikoleta Mathioudaki Behind Closed Doors: Decrypting De Facto Detention Regimes and Crimmigration in Greece</p> <p>Kikuchiyo Hasegawa A Rigid but Fragile System? Refugees and Detention Centres</p> <p>Chair: Aslı Kayhan</p>

17:00-18:45 SESSION 2

<p>B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture - an Unjust Transition: Extractivism and Capitalist Development II</p> <p>Esra Akgemci Ecofeminism as a Historical Materialist Perspective on the Neoextractivist Development in Latin America</p> <p>Başak Koşanay Discussions for a Post-Capitalist Restructuring: Blurred Lines and Fault Lines Between Competing Green Imaginaries in Hegemonic Struggle</p> <p>Chair: Coşku Çelik</p>	<p>B409 Marketization and Westernization in the post-Soviet South Caucasus</p> <p>Sopo Japaridze Georgia's Healthcare Evolution: From Socialist Roots to Free Market Realities</p> <p>Mamed Azizov Post-Soviet Azerbaijan at the crossroads of Imperialism and Capital</p> <p>Sona Baldrian Critical Reflections on the Development Economy of Post-Soviet Armenia</p> <p>Chair: Bryan Gigantino</p>	<p>B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:</p> <p>Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Nicos Poulantzas</p> <p>Panagiotis Sotiris Poulantzas's Writings on Fascism and Their Relevance for Contemporary Struggles Against the Far-Right</p> <p>Salih Soysal Critics of Neoliberal Authoritarianism: Revisiting Poulantzas' Authoritarian Statism and Beyond</p> <p>Şebnem Oğuz Revisiting Current Marxist Debates on Contemporary Fascism: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis</p> <p>Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel</p>
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<p>19:30-21:30 PLENARY D-Building 2nd Floor Grand Hall</p>
<p>Neoliberalism: Crises, Imaginaries and Dissent</p> <p>Alfredo Saad Filho Crisis in Neoliberalism, Crisis of Neoliberalism, and the Threat of Neoliberal Fascism</p> <p>Demet Şahende Dinler Neoliberalism from Below and Conditions of a Subaltern Hegemony</p> <p>Efe Can Gürcan, Gerardo Otero Neoliberalism, Popular Dissent, and South-South Cooperation: A Conjunctural Analysis of "Post-Hegemonic Multipolarity"</p> <p>Chair: Galip Yalman</p>

April 6, Saturday

<p>B312 Political Economy of Development</p> <p>Kanishka Goonewardena Marxism Between Centre and Periphery: G. V. S. De Silva's Heretical Thoughts on Country, City and Communism</p> <p>Sinan Haskan Unravelling the EU's Core-Periphery Divide and Its Dynamics: A Critical Examination of Economic Disparities and Political Shifts</p> <p>Çağatay Edgücan Şahin Dynamics of Labor Market and Employment Practices on Substandard Vessels: An Ethnographic Inquiry</p> <p>Chair: Aylin Topal</p>	<p>B516 Marxism and Technology</p> <p>Baver Yeşilyurt, Volkan Ahıskalı, Ekin Bal Competition-Technical Change-Profit Rates Nexus: A Critical Realist-Marxian-Oriented Simulation</p> <p>Antonis Faras, Zamilé Kamp Criti-Hype: What is Left of the Criticism to Emerging, World-Changing Technologies, When They Don't Emerge or Change the World?</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Narin</p>	<p>B409 Polycrisis in Late State Socialism</p> <p>Siyaveş Azeri Critique of the AI and the Thinking-Machine</p> <p>Stefan Baghiu Cybernetics</p> <p>Christian Ferencz-Flatz Ecology</p> <p>Alexander Cistelecan and Adela Hincu Socialist Management as a Science of Leadership</p> <p>Chair: Coşku Çelik</p>
<p>B402 Progress and Development: Latin American Perspectives</p> <p>Katarzyna Bielińska Ideas of Progress and Development and Their Critiques in Their Diversity</p> <p>Karolina Kulpa Gender and Development: Latin American Perspectives</p> <p>Sonia Uribe Indigenous Ideas and Sustainable Development: Reflection on the Philosophy of Buen Vivir/ Vivir Bien, Inherent in the Ancestral Way of Life Advocated by Sumak Kawsay / Suma Qamaña</p> <p>Chair: Magdalena Gawin</p>	<p>B518 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Water Struggles and Ecology Movements</p> <p>Ömür Kurt Intersections of the Means of Production and Reproduction: The Water Struggle in Fındıklı/Turkey</p> <p>Luis Andueza Notes on Climate, Late Neoliberalism, and the Hydropolitics of Crisis in Chile</p> <p>Cemil Aksu Ecological Thought and Movement in Turkey</p> <p>Chair: Ecehan Balta</p>	<p>B522 Urban Struggles</p> <p>Nazlı Bülay Doğan Social Media Activism of Bereaved Families: Struggle Against the Urban Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism</p> <p>Ali Rıza Bayrak, Fitnat Cimşit Framing Urban Crime: Video Essay Approach to Visualizing Crime Against the City</p> <p>Sinem Yıldız The Effect of Local Governments on Public Space Through Spatial Interventions: The Case of Beyazıt Square</p> <p>Pınar Demircan Neoliberal Dilemma of Urban Defense Under Akp: The Case of Sinop Nuclear Project</p> <p>Chair: Aslı Kayhan</p>

B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:

Revisiting Historical Antifascism

João Arsénio Nunes The Missed Chances of Portuguese Anti-Fascism. Communists and Left Republicans in the First Post-War Crisis (1921-1926)”

Salvatore Tinè The Analysis of Fascism in the 3rd International in the 1930s: Togliatti and Dimitrov

Ali Yağız Yıldız Communists Against Social Democrats: Democracy Versus Dictatorship Debate, 1918-1920

Chair: Ahmet Gire

B401 Critical Political Economy IV: Financialisation and Modelling Political Economy

Oktay Özden Post-Covid Inflation Dynamics and Its Distributional Effects in the Uk: A Two-Household SFC Model

Selin Pelek Assessing Household Vulnerability to Poverty in Turkey: Evidence from Covid-19 Pandemic

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

B401 Animal Exploitation and Capitalism

Troy Vettese Three Cages: Animal Domestication, the Rise of Civilization, and the Next Capitalist Pandemic

Öykü Şafak Çubukçu Going Plant-Based and Anti-Capitalism

Chair: Ecehan Balta

B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Neoliberalism and Fascism in Eastern Europe

Gavin Rae Disguised Workers: The Transformation of Labour and the Myth of Entrepreneurship In 'Post-Socialist' Polish Capitalism

Magdalena Gawin On the Trail of Contemporary Fascism in Poland. Between the Right and Neoliberalism

Gábor Erlich The Struggle Against the 'Illiberal Professional-Managerial Class' via Reclaiming Gramsci et al. In the East-Central European Semi Peripheries

Chair: Saygun Gökanksel

B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:

Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: The Frankfurt School

Yasmin Afshar Class or Racket? On Adorno's Conception of Class Theory in The Late 1960s"

Renata Guerra Reflections On Dialectics in Adorno and Horkheimer's Discussion Protocols of the Late 1930s and Early 1940s

Chris Wortman Education at the Encounter Between Dewey and the Frankfurt School: The Crisis of Capitalist Schooling as Crisis of Instrumental Reason

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

<p>B516 Marxism and Islam: Political Economy, Culture, and the Crisis İn Islam</p> <p>Nikos Moudouros The "Not So New" Economic Model of Turkey: Islamist Perceptions on the Accumulation Regime in Times of Structural Crisis</p> <p>Görkem Altinörs The Political Economy of Islamic Neoliberalism</p> <p>Siyaves Azeri Political Islam, the Women's Revolution, and Class Struggle: The Islamic Republic as the Capitalist State in Crisis</p> <p>Chair: Yücel Demirer</p>	<p>B311 Financialisation and The Political Economy of the Conglomerates</p> <p>Canan Özlem Altuntaş, Mehmet Gürsan Şenalp A Social Network Analysis on the Board Interlocks: The Koc Holding Case</p> <p>Galip Yalman Financialisation and the Crisis of the Crisis Management: The Turkish Experience</p> <p>Derya Başarangil The Crisis Management Roles of the Central Banks in the Midst of Polycrisis</p> <p>Chair: Pınar Bedirhanoğlu</p>	<p>B402 Critical Political Economy Value Debate</p> <p>E. Ahmet Tonak, Alper Duman Clarification and Application of the Category Profit on Alienation</p> <p>Inka Maria Vilhelmiina Hiltunen An Exploration of the Value Form and the Relations of Exploitation in Financialized Capitalism</p> <p>Tom Ladendorf Two Concepts of Value in Marx's "Capital"</p> <p>Kenan Van De Mieroop-Al Bahrani Value in Time and Time as Value: Accounting for the History of Slavery</p> <p>Chair: Barış Alp Özden</p>
<p>B518 Rosa Luxemburg and Ancient Slavery in The Greco-Roman World</p> <p>Serena Unzueta Introduction to Rosa Luxemburg and The Study of Ancient Slavery</p> <p>Ian Tewksbury Rosa Luxemburg's Model of the Ancient Village Commune: The 'Mark' in Early Sparta</p> <p>Micheal Duchesne The Development of 'Propertied' Slavery in Sparta</p> <p>Serena Unzueta Social Reproduction and Gendered Slave Labor in Ancient Sparta</p> <p>Paula Gaither Ethnicity, Race, and Slavery in Early Sparta</p> <p>Chair: Ian Tewksbury</p>	<p>B409 Marxism and Technology: The Witch and the Hunters, Social Movements</p> <p>Peter Sekloča Dialectics of the Productive and Consumption Forces of Journalism</p> <p>Laura Valle Gontijo The Dissemination of Piecework and Hourly Pay in Contemporary Times</p> <p>Alexandros Minotakis "I Expect Nothing, And I Am Still Let Down" – A Marxist Critique of the EU AI Act</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Narin</p>	

B502 Meet the Editors: Historical Materialism Journal and Book Series

Panagiotis Sotiris

Demet Şahende Dinler

Kaan Kangal

Paul Reynolds

14:00-15:45 | SESSION 5

B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Marxian Critiques of Capitalist Agri-Food Systems

Naomi Hennig Britain's Soil Robbery in the 19th Century – Disputes on Nutrient Rifts and Chemical Fixes

Rojda Başak Gümüşel The Political Economy of Wheat in the 30s' Turkey: An Ecological Marxian Perspective on the Wheat Research

Çağrı İdiman The Venetian Food-Regime and the Origins of Capitalist Agriculture

Richie Nimmo The Machine in the Hive: 'Fixing' Pollination Through Digitisation in Capitalist Agribusiness

Chair: Cemil Yıldızcan

B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:

Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism II

Soichiro Sumida State Form and Authoritarian Liberalism: From the Perspective of the State Derivation Debate

Maria Chiara Pozzoni, Giuseppe Quattromini Taking Conspiracy Ideation Seriously: The Gramscian Theory of "Modern Folklore"

Timm Graßmann Marx Versus Moscow: Towards a Foreign Policy of the Working Class

Chair: Şebnem Oğuz

B518 Gender and Sexuality: Social Reproduction I

Sofia Adam Social Reproduction: Inside, Outside and Beyond Capitalism

Gökbörü Sarp Tanyıldız Desiring Social Reproduction

Ankica Cakardic Social Reproduction and the Abolition of the Nuclear Family

Chair: Paul Reynolds

<p>B516 Marxism and Technology: Critical Inquiries</p> <p>Henry Halpin Artificial Intelligence and Real Abstraction</p> <p>Sayan Bhattacharyya Transforming Epistemic Invisibility in Networked Cognitive Capitalism Through Probabilistic Metadata</p> <p>Malav Kanuga Technology, Communication, and Movement Infrastructure in an Era of Crisis and Convergence</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Narin</p>	<p>B522 Althusser on Historical Materialism and Politics</p> <p>Panagiotis Sotiris Lenin: Philosophy and/as Politics</p> <p>Ozren Pupovac Althusser's Politics of Structure</p> <p>Anna Beria The Concept of the "Common" in Spinoza in Relation to the Third Kind of Knowledge - Intellectual Love or Intuitive Knowledge Beyond, or as an Alternative to Rational Reason</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	<p>B409 Marxism, Fascism and Authoritarianism – The Greek Case I</p> <p>Jacobin Greece: An Anatomy of the Present Crisis</p> <p>George Souvlis Decoding the Greek Alt-Right: Gender, Conspiracies and Nationalist Movements</p> <p>Giorgos Velegrakis From Austerity to Privatizations and Vice-Versa: Some Thought on the Crisis-Driven Environmental Conflicts in Greece</p> <p>Alexandros Minotakis Monopolies and New Forms of Media-State Convergences in the Greek Media System</p> <p>Antonis Faras Navigating Through Stormy Seas: Economic Inequality, Political Narratives, and the Quest for Alternatives in Greece</p> <p>Chair: Aylin Topal</p>
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14:00-15:45 | SESSION 5

B311 The Crisis in Historical Materialism Sponsored by the Institute for the Radical Imagination

Peter Bratsis Disembedded Homelands: Speed, Struggle, and the Transnationalization of the Capitalist State

Bruno Gulli Synthesis and Immanence in Antonio Gramsci

Kristin Lawler Sabotage, Technology, and War

Chair: Cihan Özpınar

B401 Decolonial Politics in European Peripheries: Redefining Progressiveness, Coloniality and Transition Efforts

Sanja S. Petkovska The Future of Academic Mobility and Labour in Europe

Valentin Quintus Nicolescu "Slaves in Our Country": Dynamics of Nationalism in Romania and the Rise of the Populist Rig

Alkisti Prepi, Costas Gousis Neocolonial Migration Policies, EU Resilience, and the Role of Greece

Chair: Pınar Bedirhanoglu

16:15-18:00 | SESSION 6

B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture Critical Readings in/on the Anthropocene

Haziran Zeller Global Arson and Social Metabolism

Florian Geisler Nature and Determination in Contemporary Materialisms

Onur Yılmaz A Leninist Perspective on the Climate Crisis, Politics and Movement

Chair: Selma Değirmenci

B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:

Marxism, Fascism and Authoritarianism – The Greek Case II

Fotis Koutsopoulos Comparing the Greek Neorealists' IR Discourse: The Allure of Power Among the Russo-Ukrainian and Palestinian Issue

Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez Defend the Nation, Crush the People: Desertion and Draft Evasion in Greece, 1912-22

Costas Gousis, Angelos Kontogiannis, Mandros The Eurozone Crisis and Public Attitudes Towards the EU During The 2010s: Evidence From Greece

Chair: Demet Şahende Dinler

B312 Gender and Sexuality: Marxist Feminist Politics

Demet Bolat 'Commoning Value' as an Alternative Rationality to Capitalist-Patriarchal (De)Valorizations: Women's Practices of Self-Valorization in Common Spaces in Turkey

Şilan Tank A Marxist Feminist Intervention in the Study of Kurdish Women in Turkey

Damla Uyar The Affective Reproduction of Patriarchy and Emancipatory Potentials in Feminist Politics

Chair: Coşku Çelik

<p>B518 Marxism, AI and Digital Commons</p> <p>Özgür Narin “All That is Solid Melts into Air” and Then Condensed Into Data</p> <p>Paul Reynolds Technological Power and the Culture of Inertia in Late Capitalism</p> <p>Ahmet Gire Digital Commons, Means of Software Production, The Reproduction of Software Labor, and the Contemporary Relevance of Communist Production</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	<p>B516 Marxist Intellectual Practice in Turkey: Views and Experiences of Practitioners</p> <p>Yücel Demirel The Intellectual Legacy of Marxism in Turkey: Contemporary Challenges and Developments</p> <p>Hakkı Özdal Evrensel Newspaper: An Experience in Daily Marxist Publication for the Working Class</p> <p>Cemran Öder Left and Independent Publishing Field in Turkey in the Context of Intellectual Capital</p> <p>Sungur Savran How to Debate the Theory of Emancipation</p> <p>Chair: Bruno Gulli</p>	<p>B522 Household and Youth Indebtedness</p> <p>Alice Niffoi Financialization, Household Indebtedness and Imperialism According to the Marxist Theory of Dependency</p> <p>Berkay Ayhan, Ahmet Ulcay Politics of Household Indebtedness in Turkey</p> <p>Havva Ezgi Doğru Governing University Youth Population through Authoritarian Debtfarism</p> <p>Chair: Ecehan Balta</p>
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<p>16:15-18:00 SESSION 6</p>	
<p>B409 Nature of the Crisis in the Turkish Political Economy</p> <p>Cem Oyvat, Hasan Cömert Currency Shocks and Profit Inflation Under an Authoritarian Regime: Rising Inequality in Turkey</p> <p>Gizem Şimşek The Irrationality of “Returning to Rational Policies” in Türkiye: Crisis and Postponement Mechanisms</p> <p>Ekin Değirmenci, Ozan Mutlu Is There an Overaccumulation Crisis in Turkey? Analysis of Profit Rates and Real Mass of Profits</p> <p>Chair: Aylin Topal</p>	<p>B311 Critical Political Economy</p> <p>Crisis Dynamics</p> <p>Ken Kawashima Japanese Fascism and Uno Kozo's Theory of Crisis</p> <p>Aslıhan Aykaç Towards A Post-Capitalist Political Economy: An Epistemological Exercise</p> <p>Thais Hoshika Stageist Approach and Systematic Dialectics: A Dialogue Between History, Necessity and Political Authoritarianism</p>

18:30-20:30 | PLENARY | **D-Building 2nd Floor Grand Hall**

Middle East in the Wake of War on Gaza

Sara Sagaii

A New Rationality: Mapping the Rise in Western Pro-Palestine Sympathies since October 7

N. Sinan Odabaşı

The Vagueness of the “Rules Based International Order” and The Significance of the Genocide Case Against Israel

Madhumita Varma

Justified Military Targets: The Zionist Genocide of the Palestinian People Before October 7th 2023

Ghada Waked

Contemporary Art and Uprooting: A Critical Analysis of Art and Culture Responding to the War in Gaza After October 7th

Chair: Ecehan Balta and Saygun Gökarıksel

April 7, Sunday

10:00-11:45 | SESSION 7

B409 Futurology

Alan Díaz Alva From Blank Futurism To (Neo)Reactionary Modernism: The Conflicting Historical Temporalities of Contemporary Futurology

Richard Hames Towards a Critical Collapsology

Sezgin Boynik Ilya Zdanevich's Futurist Vision of Red İstanbul

Chair: Cihan Özpınar

B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Law, Emergency, And Policing I

Ezgi Duman As an Instrument of Right-Wing Authoritarian Populism “Enemy Criminal Law”

Taşkın Toprak İpek Reflections on Transnational Policing: The Case of 2022 World Cup

Bektaş Deneri Watchmen in the Context of the Authoritarian Politics of the Regime and Policing Strategies in Turkey

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case I

Özgür Üşenmez Comparison of Two Nationalist Fronts in Turkey: 1970s to 2020s

Deniz Durdu AKP's Political Strategies and the Risk of Fascism: An Analysis From a Gramscian Perspective

Mert Büyükkarabacak The Transformation of Political Islam: From Neoliberal Authoritarianism to Neofascism

Chair: Berkay Ayhan

<p>B516 Gender and Sexuality: Marxist Critiques - Gender and Queer</p> <p>Gabriela Salcedo Figueira, Gabriela Azevedo Unveiling Gender: On the Marxist Theoretical-Methodological Considerations About Social Unity</p> <p>Dicle Demir Challenging Gender-Critical Ideology: A Marxist Perspective on the Global Phenomenon With a Focus on Türkiye’s Political Landscape (2019-2024)</p> <p>Jana Kujundzic A Queer Marxist Critique of Carceral Capitalism</p> <p>Chair: Deniz Ay</p>	<p>B401 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Perspectives on Agriculture and Production in Contemporary Urban-Rural Settings</p> <p>Agnes Gagyi Urban Gardens Beyond Ideals: Structural Limits, Institutional Needs, and the Scale of Organization</p> <p>Kevin Pankewich Community Gardens and Non-Capitalist Production</p> <p>İrem Kopuz Tea Production in Turkey and Forms of Neoliberalism</p>	<p>B518 Climate Political Economy and Critique</p> <p>Sıla Demirörs Financialization of Climate Governance and Multilateral Development Banks</p> <p>Troy Vattese Discussant</p> <p>Chair: Cemil Yıldızcan</p>
<p>B402 Pamphlet Launch</p> <p>The Apostate Fascism of Alexander Dugin</p> <p>Conrad Bongard Hamilton</p> <p>Chair/Discussant: Harry Halpin</p>	<p>B311 Processes of Class Formation in Turkey I</p> <p>Canan Urhan Ideology And Alienation At Contemporary Era of Professional Work</p> <p>Yasemin Antik The Material and Psychic Aspects of Alienation: The Case of Textile Workshop Workers of “Yeni İstanbul çarşısı”</p> <p>Ekinsu Devrim Danış, Doğukan Dere Beyond Compliance and Resistance: Labor Process and Class Struggle of Research Assistants in Turkey’s Vakıf Universities</p> <p>Chair: Mustafa Görkem Doğan</p>	

FORUM | 12:00-12:45

B522 Forum: Academic Freedom Quo Vadis?

13:00-14:45 | SESSION 8

B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:

Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case II

Bora Erdağı, Bartu Şanlı Walter Benjamin, Signs of Everyday Life and the Massification of Society

Aslı Yılmaz Uçar A Critical Analysis of Bureaucratic Tutelage Discourse of Akp in Turkey: The Role of Bureaucracy as a Veto Player

Chair: Berkay Ayhan

B312 Critical Political Economy World Economy/Crisis

Agnes Gagyi What Comes After the Age of Populism: Organizing Within the Collapse

Adem Açar Pax-Americana to Pax-Sinica: (Ir)Rationalities of Hegemony Transformation

Sedef Arat-Koç The New Cold War, Whiteness and “Talent”: The (Geo)Political Economy of Ukrainian Refugees in Canada

Chair: Cihan Ozpinar

B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:

Law, Emergency, and Policing II

Mark Neocleous Why Not ‘Social War’?

Biriz Berksoy “Emergency Preparedness”, the Rise of the “Disaster/Emergency State” and the Case of Turkey since the 2010s

Erdem Güven From the Liberalization of Martial Law to a Well-Equipped War Machine: An Overview of Pacification Under Authoritarian Statism in Turkey

Chair: Saygun Gökarkınel

<p>B518 Socialist Visions</p> <p>Metehan Cömert Transcending Capitalism With Small Yet Radical Steps: Towards a Liberation in the Imaginary</p> <p>Jonas Grahn Concrete Universality and the Race/Class Problematic: Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, and the Dialectic of Power and Revolution</p> <p>Serhat Celal Birdal In Search of an Alternative Politics of Affect Against “Punitive Neoliberalism”</p> <p>Chair: Paul Reynolds</p>	<p>B311 Marxist State Theory</p> <p>Berkay Koçak Repoliticizing the Social Ontology of Capital: Restoring the Impersonal and Coercive Nature of Economic Power to Marxist Political Theory</p> <p>Dario Cositore Post-Marxist and Bourgeois 'Left' Characteristics: The Unravelling of Marxist State Theory</p> <p>Teddy Paikin Liberalism Against the Fiscal-Military State: The Nature of Capitalist Ideology in Open and Political Marxism</p> <p>Onur Doğan The Reconstruction of the State and the Population in the Age of Financialization</p> <p>Chair: Havva Ezgi Doğru</p>	<p>B409 On Young Marx</p> <p>Bernardo Bárzana The Shape of Estrangement: Towards the Ontological Ground of the Young Marx’s Critique of Capitalism</p> <p>Ksenia Arapko Notes on Karl Marx’s Legal Education (1835–1839)</p> <p>Kaan Kangal Young Marx and the Wood Theft Debates in Prussian Rhineland in the Early Nineteenth Century</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Narin</p>
<p>B516 Gender and Sexuality: Social Reproduction II</p> <p>Alice Kabriti A Comparative Analysis of the Regulation of Prenatality in France and Québec in Light of Social Reproduction Theory</p> <p>Deniz Ay Care-Full Municipalisms to Mitigate the Social Reproduction Crisis at the Urban Scale</p> <p>Melda Yaman Elderly Care: Understanding the “Family Strengthening Policies” from the Social Reproduction Perspective</p> <p>Chair: Coşku Çelik</p>	<p>B402 Processes of Class Formation in Turkey II</p> <p>Doğukan Dere Two Cases of Occupied Factories Across the Maritsa River: Workers’ Self-Management in Vio.Me and Kazova</p> <p>M. Şafak Sağlam Neoliberal Transformation and Class Struggles in the Akp Era</p> <p>Müge Neda Altınoklu, Cem Özatalay Petty Bourgeoisification as Social Reproduction: A Contribution of Class Debates in the 21st Century</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Öztürk</p>	

<p>B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism:</p> <p>Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case III</p> <p>Alp Kayserilioğlu With “Radical Love” Against Erdoğan’s Populism? Oppositional Strategies in Turkey and Their Prospects”</p> <p>Atakan Çiftçi Everyday Politics of Union-Busting: Unravelling the Micro-Dynamics of Akp's Neoliberal Authoritarianism</p> <p>Alpkan Birelma Labor Mobilization Under Neoliberal Populism: The Case of Turkey</p> <p>Chair: Gökhan Demir</p>	<p>B312 Marxism and Islam: Voices of Liberation From the House of Islam</p> <p>Batuhan Parmaksız From Modernization Criticism to Anti-Capitalism: Muslim-Left Beyond the Politics of Identity in Turkey</p> <p>Xavier Gaillard Liberation Theologies, Dependency Theories and Anti-Imperialism: Recipe for Revolution in the Peripheral 70s</p> <p>Yağmur Ali Coşkun The Doctor and the Teacher, or, the Case for a Marxian Theory of Abrahamic Religions</p> <p>Sezgin Boynik, Tevfik Rada Sosyalist Fecri: Muslim Voice of Yugoslav Communist Party</p> <p>Chair: Cihan Özpınar</p>	<p>B311 Lenin for the 21st Century: Revolutionary Marxism/ Devrimci Marksizm Journal Panel</p> <p>Özgür Öztürk Rethinking a Key Leninist Concept: Labour Aristocracy</p> <p>Levent Dölek Imperialism and the Class Nature of the Great Power Struggle</p> <p>Sungur Savran Lenin’s Legacy Denied</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Öztürk</p>
<p>B522 Marxist Theory of Revolution and Strategy I</p> <p>Guilhem Mevel The Mythology of Bourgeois Revolution: Marx’s Radical Break From the Jacobin Tradition</p> <p>Cem Eroğul Revolutionary Strategy for Today</p> <p>Phoebe Braithwaite Capitalist Rationalities, Contradictory Subjects and the Case of Barcelona’s Pah</p> <p>Chair: Gökbörü Sarp Tanyıldız</p>	<p>B409 Marxism, Culture, Imagination</p> <p>Blaž Gselman Unearthing the Radical Legacy of Louis Adamic</p> <p>Mengqi Sun The Fellow Subjugated: History Writings of Turkey in Chinese Textbooks (1949-1991)</p> <p>Chair: Özgür Narin</p>	<p>B516 György Lukács’ Theoretical Nachlass</p> <p>Daniel Badenhorst Lukács’ ‘Der Junge Hegel’: In Search of Its Context</p> <p>Giorgio Cesarale Production, Reproduction, Crisis: Reinterpreting History and Class Consciousness Today</p> <p>Oğuz Güreker Dialectics Beyond Method - Theoretical Sketches</p> <p>Chair: Ateş Uslu</p>

B518 Gender and Sexuality: Love and Other Fantasies

Lewis George Bloodworth Love as Capital: Reflections on Eva Illouz's Concept of Scopic Capitalism in the Realm of Dating Apps

Tilbe Akan Right to Be Unhappy? A Marxist-Feminist Approach to the Understanding of Capitalist Happiness

Chair/Discussant: Paul Reynolds Reflections – What Can Marxists Say About Love and Happiness?

17:30-19:30 | CLOSING PLENARY | **D-Building 2nd Floor Grand Hall**

Marxist Theory of Revolution and Strategy

Kevin B. Anderson

Marx's Late Writings: Theories of Revolutionary Change and of Alternatives to Capitalism

Ali Yalçın Göymen

From the Common to the Commune: Thinking the Political Form of the Communist Movement in the 21st Century

Ayça Çubukçu

After Negri: Rethinking the Politics of Assembly

Paul Reynolds

Between the Strategic Limitations to Reform Parties and the Strategic Problems of Transformative Parties: A Conceptual Exercising of Some Thoughts

Chair: Aylin Topal

Abstracts

April 5, Friday

B518 Ecology, Food and Agriculture: An Unjust Transition: Extractivism and Capitalist Development I

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

Kennedy Manduna The Violent Interregnum, (Un)just Energy Transition and Accumulation by Decarbonization: Decoupling/Dissecting South Africa's Just Energy Transition Implementation Plan, 2023–2027

As we face an existential climate crisis in which we are confronted with a moral crisis of having the least emitters of greenhouse gases being the hardest hit by the debilitating effects of climate change, calls and echoes for transitioning from fossil fuel-based energy systems to clean energy-based systems correspondingly ramp up. That said, South Africa's Just Energy Transition Implementation Plan (JET IP), 2023–2027, is just but a policy document to operationalize the country's calls for a just energy transition. However, while on the global arms race for the JET, South Africa is undergoing what I am theorising here as the violent interregnum- a poly-crisis situation in which multiple crises collide, intersect and escalate simultaneously. The interregnum, unfortunately, has direct and profound implications for adding new layers and stripes of complexities, entanglements and dynamics to the JET pathway. Apparent are promising results of an unjust energy transition characterised by energy colonialism/coloniality where, on the one pole, there is 'accumulation by decarbonization', and on the other pole, increased energy poverty, energy insecurity and general loss of livelihoods by many due to increased rates of poverty, unemployment and inequality. For instance, in Mpumalanga province, the heart of the country's pejoratively known as the Minerals-Energy Complex, where South Africa's 111 coal mines, more than 80% of its coal-fired power plants and Sasol's coal-to-liquid industrial complex, are situated, approximately 18% (i.e., 150,000-200,000 workers) of the province's labour force are at risk thanks to the JET. That said, South Africa, like many "low- and middle-income countries across the world, [is] facing the dilemma of needing to decarbonize and industrialise in the context of an electricity supply crisis" (Cassim et al., 2023, p. 2). Consequently, the knock-on effects of the JET IP on the following are phenomenal: energy democracy, security, access and poverty; the raging global geopolitical earthquakes; and (re)structuring the ownership, control and management of both the means and factors of energy production, financing, distribution, generation, transmission and consumption. Therefore, drawing upon Gramsci's notions of interregnum, hegemony and power, this paper aims to articulate notions of unjust energy transition and energy colonialism embedded within the JET IP in the context of the country's polycrisis across divides.

Mühdan Sağlam Problems Created by Fossil Fuel Rich Countries Hosting Cop Meetings.

Every year for the past 29 years, the signatories of UNFCCC gather for the Conference of the Parties to the Convention, COP, electing a different host and president each year. Basically, COP annual meetings aim to implement climate goals and prepared a convenient mechanism to monitor these attempts. According to the Paris Agreement framework, one of the most important goals of the COP meeting is that, help the fun transfer from developed world to developing world to finance the transition process, named under Lose and Damage Fund. However, such implementations have different impacts for each country, especially for poor countries. Therefore, it is necessary to negotiate with each aspect. However, there is extraordinary momentum since 2012, as COP meetings were hosted by fossil fuel rich countries, Qatar in 2012, Poland in 2018, Egypt in 2022, UAE in 2023. In addition to these experiences and criticisms, COP 29 will be held in Azerbaijan in 2024. All these countries are categorised as oil, natural gas or coal rich groups. In addition to serve as a contradiction to aim of COP, such decisions affect harmony, equality and justice in meetings and most importantly paved the way for injustice future especially for poor nations and earth. Under these circumstances, this paper focuses on the problems of fossil fuel rich countries hosting the COP meetings will be discussed under three headings. First, its impact on poor countries' presentation, from state delegation to non-governmental organizations. Second, the recent situation of loss and damage fund and the pressure to reshape it. Finally, the attitude of host countries, such as UAE signing many oil contracts during COP 28, as seen COP presidency as an opportunity to trade more fossil fuel and its impact on climate change and hope to achieve climate goals.

Barış A. Yentür The Relations of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia With China: The Northernization of the South and The Limits of Green Transition in a Capitalist Inter-State Structure.

In the current inter-state structure, not only the United Nations system has limits for the green transition, but current North-South relations exacerbate the climate change crisis and as a reminiscent of the colonial era, international power (im)balances continue to reproduce developmental and environmental inequalities. Therefore, the Global South considers China as an alternative to the North. However, contrary to the Chinese official rhetoric which claims “South-South/win-win relationship”, in reality, its nature corresponds to a traditional North-South structure. Moreover, China causes the northernisation of the South with a new accumulation strategy and “climate capitalism”, which refers to a continuation of fossil capitalism in a different form. In particular, the minerals imported from the Democratic Republic of Congo (cobalt) and Zambia (copper) play a crucial role in Chinese capitalist expansion. While less strict environmental regulations and cheap labour force in these countries attract Chinese investments. African governments benefit the political and economic support of China. The high level of corruption and private ownership of mines further exacerbates environmental damage. In conclusion, through the relations between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia with China, this study will examine the limits of green transition in an anthropocenic capitalist inter-state structure in which nature is financialized, humans are alienated from the Earth and production. It will be argued that the South-North relationship, whose exploitative role is criticised, is not simply a power struggle between states, but is itself a natural consequence of capitalist accumulation promoted by competition, and that the emerging relationship between countries in the South reproduces and deepens this capital domination. The green transition can therefore be realised not through the emergence of a country of the South to take over the role of the North, but through what Samir Amin calls a “delinking” from the fundamentally unequal global capitalist system.

B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: State Forms And Irrationality

Chair: Galip Yalman

Sungur Savran Fascism as an Irrational Rationality

The recent period has seen the rise of what is widely labelled “populism”, an awful misnomer with possible tragic consequences for the future and what my colleagues at the journal *Revolutionary Marxism* and I have called proto-fascism for quite some time now. The family of far-right movements in the countries of the European Union was the early initiator of this new wave of reactionary forces. Then came Trump on the scene, which the Anglo-Saxon left around the world was simply incapable of identifying in the capacity of a proto-fascist force until a very advanced moment, i.e. the 6th January 2021, when MAGA hordes stormed and momentarily invaded Capitol Hill. Since then, extremely reactionary forces have either risen to governmental power or won elections or (unsuccessfully) stormed government buildings in a growing number of countries. This series of political events is accompanied by a panoply of irrational ideological trends in many of these countries. The best-known and perhaps paradigmatic example is QAnon in the United States, a political conspiracy theory involving Satanic forces working against Trump that became extremely widespread through online communities and influencers. Another very common conspiracy theory is that of the Great Replacement of the white race in European and North American countries by the (“inferior”) races of other countries. There is a plethora of other very common irrational ideological waves as well as an epidemic of religious fundamentalism in even the countries with a very high level of education. The idea behind this paper is that this irrationality is a characteristic that is a logical consequence of the solutions capitalist civilisation has found for its decline in fascistic national salvation in an extremely interdependent world. We will try to show that this is in fact the very rationality of the solution proposed to the crisis of capitalism.

Pınar Bedirhanoglu Rethinking Bourgeois ‘Irrationality’ via the Modern Republican Form of the Capitalist State

Bourgeois rationality of production for exchange, or the drive towards the commodification of all aspect of life for profit, has always contradicted with the people’s livelihood concerns. There is nothing new about this rationality which is irrational essentially from the latter’s standpoint. The proof lies in the history of capitalism, which saw many novel class practices of destruction and annihilation of the well-being of communities, people and nature, all conducted to ensure capital’s self-expansion at the expense of labour. This means that current ‘irrational’ tendencies

associated with the rise of far-right, populism, anti-intellectualism and anti-truth cannot be fully grasped with only the violent bourgeois rationality itself or with its anti-ecological implications. In search for an alternative answer, this paper will propose that making sense of these 'irrationality crises' requires a critical problematization of the contemporary pressures operative on the capitalist state's class-neutral alienated form à la Simon Clarke, which will be defined here as a modern republican one. For, this world-historical form which was constituted in the late 18th century -and has been reproduced thereafter- by class struggles is no more effective in, if not detrimental to, the management of the current contradictions of global financialised capitalism. This is why present political irrationalities should be read as transformative distortions in this very form of the capitalist state, which is the source of the problem. In other words, they should be considered within the context of the weakened state of labour vis-à-vis capital after four decades long neoliberal transformation, a development which has fundamentally shaken the class basis of the modern republican world-historical form of the capitalist state, thus a development that has paved the way for the transformation of this very form towards one which fits better to the current realities of the conditions of reproduction of capital.

Juho Korhonen Nation-State Irrationalities

Drawing from several research projects, this paper investigates the various ways in which nation-state sovereignty and politics prevents left-wing, democratic and especially solidarity-based movements from transcending the irrationality of nationalism and nation-state based political limitations to transforming the capitalist world-system and its accompanying ideological irrationality. The aim of the project is to provide an extensive list of the mechanisms through which capitalist states and nationalist democracies maintain symbolic and definitional power over emerging alternatives for societal transformation. In brief, the various mechanisms – that either prevent alternative and transformative politics or represent them but are suppressed – that I will investigate and then collate include the 1) coloniality of sovereignty that hides imperial relations behind a façade of national sovereignty in global politics, 2) democratisation against and across the grain of (sovereign, state) power, 3) non-sovereign autonomous statehood and democratic politics, 4) nation-based supra-national solidarity, 5) undemocratic history politics and 6) socialist organisation against imperial rule (instead anticolonial nationalism and Leninism). I have published research on all of these topics separately, but hope to use this opportunity to develop a synthesis especially geared towards revealing irrationalities in framing and undermining alternative politics and transformative pathways related to these mechanisms and phenomena.

Wiktor Lekki Bounded Rationality and Marxism

Marxist thought contests traditional liberal distinction between politics and economics. This attitude is connected with the notion of 'political economy' which stresses the connection between those two parts of one social field. However economics of the second half of the 20th century also brought up the question of impact of the non-economic factors on economic processes. It can be easily seen in a relatively new economic paradigm – behavioural economics. Achievements of behavioural economics are important for the economics as a whole. Hence marxist critique of political economy should not ignore new ideas presented within this paradigm, especially the concept of bounded rationality coined by Herbert A. Simon. The aim of this paper is to present the concept of bounded rationality as an important part of marxist view on politics. Field of politics could be better understood in the frame of bounded rationality which tries to afresh connect economic and non-economic factors within economic analysis. Normative aspect of traditional economic rationality derived from orthodox economics can be seen as obstacle on the way to dialectical sublation of the opposition between economics and politics because it causes the tendency to underestimate the importance of political process itself and non-economic factors in the context of class conflict. Behavioural critique of rationality and Homo economicus can be used as a starting point for rejection of economic rationality as important reference point in marxist tradition and be the beginning of new way of thinking about class conflict and politics.

B522 On Western Marxism I

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Antonis Balasopoulos On the “Education of Desire”: Abensour, Thompson, Williams, and the Stakes of British Marxist Cultural Criticism

The “education of desire” is an important concept of Marxist cultural criticism, which originates in Miguel Abensour’s innovative reading of William Morris’s utopianism and its significance. Its significance lies in at least two basic facts: First, it marked a break from the “orthodox” Marxist tradition of either disparaging utopias and utopianism altogether or measuring them exclusively by assessing how close they came to the ideas of the “scientific socialism” thought to represent the essence of Marx and Engels’s tradition. Second, it raised the question of the relative autonomy of literary forms and the significance of this autonomy vis-à-vis Marxist ideology, conceived as a set of doctrinaire assumptions. This essay will dwell on the main parameters of Abensour’s reading of Morris and will subsequently dwell on its significance for British Marxist cultural criticism, with reference to the reception of this concept by E.P. Thompson and Raymond Williams and to the historical and theoretical underpinnings of this reception, particularly as regards’ these critics relationship to utopianism, orthodox Marxism, and the crisis of the British Communist Left.

George Souvlis Perry Anderson and Antonio Gramsci: A British Reading of the Gramscian Hegemony

This paper aims to address the complex relationship between Perry Anderson and Antonio Gramsci. The latter figure despite the fact that he has been the key intellectual influence of the British Marxist historian from his early 1960’s work on the British state until his current study on the Heirs of Gramsci has not received any special focus with the exception of a few articles. The argument that I make with regards to this issue is twofold: that Gramsci’s Marxism that informs his work is a conjunctural one, meaning that the understanding that Perry Anderson promotes in his studies is selected according to the political conjuncture rather than from a strictly academic reading of his writings. This approach, in turn, ends up in a contradictory political and theoretical evaluation of the work of the Italian Communist leader, something that is not explicitly acknowledged by Perry Anderson and which has certain implications both for his political outlook and the ways that Antonio Gramsci is perceived. In order to exemplify my argument I periodize this relationship in three distinct historical phases. The first period covers briefly the early research of the British historian on the origins of the British state in which Gramsci is his key theoretical influence. The second one focuses on the emblematic text of Anderson on Gramsci’s thought, “The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci” that was published in 1976 and has defined to a great extent the way the English speaking audience has received the work of the Sardinian communist leader. The last one will examine Anderson’s late research output on the new edition of *The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci* published in a book form in 2016 along with his study *The H-Word*. This historicization aims in that way to demonstrate both the lasting influence of Gramsci’s work on the historical writings of Perry Anderson and the inherent contradictions of it.

Ege Çoban The Melancholy of Philosophy: Historical Materialism as A Mode of Mourning

Our paper will try to provide an analysis of the changing meaning of philosophy in the contemporary period. More precisely, taking the Marxian problematic of the “realization of philosophy” as its central point, it will be a study that analyzes how the practical failure of this “realization” has affected the historical ontology of philosophy as a domain. Taking Engels’ 1886 proposal seriously, i.e. taking the workers’ movement as the “extimate” subject-object of philosophy after Marx, our project will attempt to use the history of the defeat of the workers’ movement to analyze contemporary philosophy. Through a historical materialist analysis of the defeat of the workers’ movement, and using the resources of psychoanalysis, we will examine the desire-of and for-philosophy - a concept we intend to articulate through this work. - in contemporary trends such as post-humanism, new materialism, new realism etc. Psychoanalysis will help us mediate our understanding of the workers’ movement as a lost subject-object and contemporary philosophy, which only becomes possible through the denial of the melancholy caused by this loss. In this way, we will try to show that the subjectivity of the contemporary philosopher as a subjectivity in denial. Philosophy’s denied melancholy can only be traversed by the recognition of its speculative identity (Rose, 1981) with the “melancholy of the left” (Traverso, 2016). Drawing inspiration from Gillian Rose in “Mourning Becomes the Law”, but also critiquing her political-theological approach, we will attempt to construct a work of mourning adequate to this speculative identity. Contrary to Rose, we will argue that mourning is not achieved through recognition of the “comedy of the absolute spirit” or “the comedy of misrecognition” (Rose, 1996), but can only be achieved through a historical materialist analysis of failure. In this sense, our project will attempt to invert Rose’s dialectic on its head.

B312 Refugees and Detention Centres

Chair: Aslı Kayhan

Olga Lafazani Political Economies of Refugee Camps – Greece

During the so called “refugee crisis” in Greece and following the EU-Turkey Joint Statement in March 2016, there was an immediate need to provide accommodation to 60,000 approx. refugees. The main accommodation model implemented was the camp. More than 50 camps were established in almost a year in various locations. Most of the relevant literature on camps focuses on questions of social and spatial exclusion, of governance, of biopolitics, of bare lives and spaces of exception. In this paper, adopting a “follow the money” approach an attempt is made to a rather complicated exercise: to sketch the actors, map their funding sources and the allocation of money aiming to unveil the funding priorities. Following the money in relation to refugee camps brings to the fore different sets of questions. Although the camps seem like a “cheap” solution -tents and containers usually in the middle of nowhere- the cost of initial construction, function and maintenance is quite large. Although the camps are presented as the common sense answer to the problem of refugee accommodation globally, an attempt is made to question this model in terms of cost efficiency. More than 3.6 billion were allocated by the EU alone to Greece in order to face the “refugee crisis”. The fact that ephemeral infrastructures, services and staff were the most dominant expense categories illustrates the “temporariness” of the policies’ funding, since money do not lead to investments neither to infrastructures nor to people but rather to interventions that have only a short-term horizon and lead to the dependency and vulnerabilization of the refugee population.

Ismeni Nikoleta Mathioudaki Behind Closed Doors: Decrypting De Facto Detention Regimes and Crimmigration in Greece

This paper delves into the intricate fusion of administrative confinement and crimmigration practices within Greece’s migration governance, spotlighting Reception and Identification Centers (RICs) on the mainland and closed control access centers (CCACs) on the islands. Employing a bottom-up methodology, our research amalgamates empirical data from interviews with People on the Move (POMs), hands-on observational research, and interviews with facility personnel and NGO workers. Capturing the nuanced viewpoints of POMs, the study unravels the complex dynamics between state-driven administrative decisions and the unintended perpetuation of crimmigration practices. Additionally, the paper incorporates case-law research, examining Greek legal precedents related to violations associated with de facto detention, including rights such as freedom and dignity. Acknowledging the challenges individuals face in approaching the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) and the lack of effective legal remedies, the study takes a national-level approach for a more inclusive representation of those subjected to confinement. From an interdisciplinary standpoint, the research integrates legal, sociological, and political perspectives to illuminate the transformation of administrative measures into crimmigration practices. The emphasis on a bottom-up approach amplifies the voices of those directly impacted by detention, providing a nuanced understanding of lived experiences within these

Facilities. In essence, this paper enriches the scholarly discourse on migration governance through a concise yet comprehensive exploration of de facto detention in Greece from a socio-legal perspective. The bottom-up methodology, incorporating observational and ethnographic research, sheds light on the nuanced interplay between administrative confinement and crimmigration practices, offering valuable insights into the intricacies of migration control from the perspective of those directly affected.

Kikuchiyo Hasegawa A Rigid but Fragile System? Refugees and Detention Centres

This paper will explore how spontaneous resistance by migrants in and outside of detention centers in Japan is exposing the fragility of Japanese border politics while at the same time reshaping them. Post war Japanese border politics was formed through the attempt to exclude and deport the surplus former colonial subject Korean population living in Japan in the cold war context. Here, Japanese migration officials were able to construct a very rigid migration regime, where almost no new migration was permitted, and citizenship was strongly tied to race with huge deportation powers provided to migration officials to exclude those that were deemed non-Japanese. All with little to no opposition from the Japanese left. Since the late 1980s, a new wave of ‘newcomer’ migrants has started to face these same post war border politics, creating a peculiar context where second and third generation migrants continue to be de facto excluded from formal citizenship, being in the same boat as first-generation migrants who are fighting against detention and deportation. This has created the potential for new networks of col labouration and resistance against

Japanese border controls and has exposed their fragility. In this context, this paper will examine the many types of resistance carried out amongst second and third generation immigrants in and around migrant detention centers in Japan and explore the new subjectivities and networks emerging through this resistance to border controls. This analysis will be based upon the authors experience of visiting migrant detention centers and organizing in this field and takes direct inspiration from works such as Mezzadra (2006) and Walia (2021).

17:00-18:45 | SESSION 2

Chair: Coşku Çelik

B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture - an Unjust Transition: Extractivism and Capitalist Development II

Esra Akgemci Ecofeminism as a Historical Materialist Perspective on the Neoextractivist Development in Latin America

A growing body of literature addresses the limits of the neo-developmental/neoextractivist strategies implemented by the so-called “pink tide” governments in Latin America over the past two decades. Leftist governments' support for extractive industries, particularly mining and agribusiness, and their denial of the social and environmental impacts of neoextractivist strategies are considered significant weaknesses of the Latin American left. The materialist (socialist) ecofeminist critique of neo-developmentalism constructs an alternative, post-extractivist, ecologically just, women-centered development perspective, which allows peasant and working-class women to resist “extractivist imperialism.” This paper presents a materialist ecofeminist critique of neoextractivism by highlighting its historical origins and labouring its economic policy implications in Latin America. Three questions addressed are as follows: How can materialist ecofeminism contribute to understanding the current dynamics of capitalist development in Latin America, why (neo)extractivism hits women hardest, and to what extent and how ecofeminist movements can shape a post-extractivist transition to a just and sustainable future. In this framework, this paper is intended to contribute to the growing literature and debate on the development and resistance dynamics of neoextractivism in Latin America, where long-standing racial and gender inequalities intersect with class inequalities. The paper’s main argument is that exploitation and oppression in Latin America can be understood in terms of gender, race, and class and, therefore, require an intersectional analysis framework. Within this framework, post-extractivist alternatives in this region must incorporate an ecofeminist analysis to understand better how social expression systems (including sexism, white supremacy, and ecological crises) intersect and reinforce each other. The significance of this paper lies in its contribution to the understanding of the contemporary dynamics of class struggle in Latin America, which are shaped by struggles over social reproduction and resistance against neoextractivism.

Başak Koşanay Discussions for a Post-Capitalist Restructuring: Blurred Lines and Fault Lines Between Competing Green Imaginaries in Hegemonic Struggle

The liberal productivity model that has been moulded into many different regulatory forms since the late 1970s under the hegemony of neoliberal socio economic paradigm is on the verge of a paradigmatic transition facing a Triple Crisis, namely the accumulation crisis, legitimacy crisis and ecological crisis. In this interregnum, alternative accumulation strategies with a ‘greener’ outlook were developed to address the Triple Crisis simultaneously, with an aim to become the hegemonic imaginary. Meanwhile, growth critical perspectives such as degrowth has put the economic, environmental, and social legitimacy of the liberal productivity model into question increasingly in the aftermath of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, which incarnated the Triple Crisis on various grounds. Gaining attraction under the wider term post- growth, growth critical perspectives has been prevalent in academic and activist circles since the 1970s, challenging the hegemony of liberal productivity model. In this regard, this paper will discuss degrowth in comparison with capitalist green imaginaries such as the green capitalist vs social-liberal Green New Deal(s) of the hegemonic actors of the Global North. The aim here will be to unravel these strategies in their potential to overcome the Triple Crisis and how they challenge or reproduce the existing structures via their prospective political economic designs in a struggle to become the hegemonic imaginary. To do so, this paper will mainly employ the Cultural Political Economy (CPE) literature’s “morphogenetic vs. morphostatic approach” and the master periodisation and concepts of

the Regulation Approach (RA), such as the techno-economic paradigm, mode of regulation and societalisation. This research is significant in terms of the instrumentalization of RA and CPE concepts to unfold the dynamics a possible new 'green order' and to assess their hegemonic potentials.

B409 Marketization and Westernization in the post-Soviet South Caucasus

Chair: Bryan Gigantino

Sopo Japaridze Georgia's Healthcare Evolution: From Socialist Roots to Free Market Realities

The South Caucasus has undergone comprehensive transformations since the Soviet Union's demise. Changes in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia for the past thirty two years (as well as in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh) each have particularities, yet are subject to broader economic and political forces. The spread of neoliberal orthodoxy after 1992, underwritten by ascendent US economic and military hegemony, was crucial in how dismemberment of the Soviet system, once an integrated socialist economy within a developmentalist form of national federalism, took place in the South Caucasus. Advances gained by Soviet industrialization were swept away by deindustrialization and the flow of foreign oil capital to the mining and service sectors. Consequently, new forms of nationalism emerged in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Wars and conflict embedded enduring lateral tensions, teetering between "frozen" political hostility and "hot" wars. Often the South Caucasus are analyzed in decidedly non-Marxist terms, framing the region as a patchwork of ancient ethno-national hatreds. Less often are socio-economic and geo-economic dimensions of neoliberal globalization and marketization examined. In each South Caucasus state, these structural processes interacted with, were instrumentalized by and even shaped local elites and post-Soviet nation building. These material dynamics, intimately tied to US and EU interests in establishing a geo-economic advantage in the post-Cold War "liberal international" order, were central. Emergent multipolarity and waning US unipolarity has added another layer to this story. Our panel will examine how Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan have been shaped by US unipolarity, neoliberal globalization and marketization since 1992, and current shifts to geo-economic multipolarity. Although each state has unique circumstances, viewing how global processes transformed a once economically and politically integrated region into distinct, crisis-ridden nation states illuminates how capitalism and nationalism interact with geopolitics and state building in the post-Soviet South Caucasus.

Mamed Azizov Post-Soviet Azerbaijan at the crossroads of Imperialism and Capital

The South Caucasus has undergone comprehensive transformations since the Soviet Union's demise. Changes in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia for the past thirty two years (as well as in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh) each have particularities, yet are subject to broader economic and political forces. The spread of neoliberal orthodoxy after 1992, underwritten by ascendent US economic and military hegemony, was crucial in how dismemberment of the Soviet system, once an integrated socialist economy within a developmentalist form of national federalism, took place in the South Caucasus. Advances gained by Soviet industrialization were swept away by deindustrialization and the flow of foreign oil capital to the mining and service sectors. Consequently, new forms of nationalism emerged in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Wars and conflict embedded enduring lateral tensions, teetering between "frozen" political hostility and "hot" wars. Often the South Caucasus are analyzed in decidedly non-Marxist terms, framing the region as a patchwork of ancient ethno-national hatreds. Less often are socio-economic and geo-economic dimensions of neoliberal globalization and marketization examined. In each South Caucasus state, these structural processes interacted with, were instrumentalized by and even shaped local elites and post-Soviet nation building. These material dynamics, intimately tied to US and EU interests in establishing a geo-economic advantage in the post-Cold War "liberal international" order, were central. Emergent multipolarity and waning US unipolarity has added another layer to this story. Our panel will examine how Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan have been shaped by US unipolarity, neoliberal globalization and marketization since 1992, and current shifts to geo-economic multipolarity. Although each state has unique circumstances, viewing how global processes transformed a once economically and politically integrated region into distinct, crisis-ridden nation states illuminates how capitalism and nationalism interact with geopolitics and state building in the post-Soviet South Caucasus.

Sona Baldrian Critical Reflections on the Development Economy of Post-Soviet Armenia

The South Caucasus has undergone comprehensive transformations since the Soviet Union's demise. Changes in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia for the past thirty two years (as well as in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh) each have particularities, yet are subject to broader economic and political forces. The spread of neoliberal orthodoxy after 1992, underwritten by ascendent US economic and military hegemony, was crucial in how dismemberment of the Soviet system, once an integrated socialist economy within a developmentalist form of national federalism, took place in the South Caucasus. Advances gained by Soviet industrialization were swept away by deindustrialization and the flow of foreign oil capital to the mining and service sectors. Consequently, new forms of nationalism emerged in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Wars and conflict embedded enduring lateral tensions, teetering between "frozen" political hostility and "hot" wars. Often the South Caucasus are analyzed in decidedly non-Marxist terms, framing the region as a patchwork of ancient ethno-national hatreds. Less often are socio-economic and geo-economic dimensions of neoliberal globalization and marketization examined. In each South Caucasus state, these structural processes interacted with, were instrumentalized by and even shaped local elites and post-Soviet nation building. These material dynamics, intimately tied to US and EU interests in establishing a geo-economic advantage in the post-Cold War "liberal international" order, were central. Emergent multipolarity and waning US unipolarity has added another layer to this story. Our panel will examine how Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan have been shaped by US unipolarity, neoliberal globalization and marketization since 1992, and current shifts to geo-economic multipolarity. Although each state has unique circumstances, viewing how global processes transformed a once economically and politically integrated region into distinct, crisis-ridden nation states illuminates how capitalism and nationalism interact with geopolitics and state building in the post-Soviet South Caucasus.

B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Nicos Poulantzas

Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel

Panagiotis Sotiris Poulantzas's Writings on Fascism and Their Relevance for Contemporary Struggles Against the Far-Right

The aim of this presentation is to revisit Nicos Poulantzas writings on Fascism and dictatorships in order to stress their relevance for contemporary discussions on how to counter the far-right today. I will start by revisiting his earlier texts on the Greek dictatorship of the Colonels, before moving to his main book on fascism the 1970 *Fascism and Dictatorship*, and his attempt to present there a theory of fascism as an 'exceptional' state form which moves beyond the economic determinism of the Third International's positions on fascism and enables us to see how fascism could become an 'organic' aspect of certain historical period. I will also look into Poulantzas's subsequent writings on the crisis of the dictatorships in the European South, but also into his writings on the crisis of the State and 'authoritarian statism' as expression of the authoritarian-disciplinary aspects of neoliberal states, in order to show how the contemporary rise of the far-right in certain aspects follows the authoritarian, 'post-democratic' transformation of capitalist states.

Salih Soysal Critics of Neoliberal Authoritarianism: Revisiting Poulantzas' Authoritarian Statism and Beyond

During the last forty years, the implementation of neoliberal policies has significantly altered the public sphere by giving priority to maximizing profits in the private sector. It has frequently involved political interventions, such as coup attempts, to extend the influence of neoliberalism. Following the 2008 economic crisis, we witnessed the rise of authoritarian neoliberalism, characterized by states using authoritarian measures to address economic crises. It has sparked discussions regarding the nature and periodization of this shift within the neoliberal framework. The study argues that the primary basis of the literature on neoliberal authoritarianism is entirely derived from Poulantzas's notion of authoritarian statism, and it does not introduce any novel ideas beyond Poulantzas' concept. While recognizing a shift in the functioning of neoliberalism after 2008, this study contends that this change does not align with the concept of authoritarian neoliberalism. Hence, this study also provides new perspective to authoritarian neoliberalism and argues that after 2008 economic crises, the state relinquished control over public domains by allocating them to individuals or companies aligned with its ideological agenda and within the power blocs and its fractions with the aim of promoting their prosperity. When a regime crisis arises, state-sanctioned fractions willingly

forgo short-term financial profits in order to secure their long-term profits from the same regime that facilitated their own creation.

Şebnem Oğuz Revisiting Current Marxist Debates on Contemporary Fascism: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis

In this paper I discuss the transformation of the political regime in Turkey since 2015 with reference to the theoretical framework of Nicos Poulantzas. The paper consists of three parts. In the first part I argue that the most appropriate concept to understand the current political regime is 'new fascism'. This part looks at the differences of new fascism from classical fascism and the unique form it took in Turkey. In the second part, I analyze the rise of new fascism in Turkey around three basic themes: The increase in the relative autonomy of the state from the existing power bloc and the use of this autonomy for the establishment of a new power bloc; transformation of the relations between the coercive and ideological apparatuses of the state; and the emergence of new conflicts within the state in this process. I argue that these conflicts do not weaken the regime, but on the contrary, enhance the consolidation of fascistation as a contradictory process. In the last part, I discuss the question of strategy against new fascism. I argue that the strategy of "democratic socialism" which Poulantzas proposed against "authoritarian statism" is no longer an option in the face of "new fascism". Democratic socialist strategy emphasizes the need for social movements that accumulate power through direct democracy to also try to transform intra-state relations through representative democracy by means of political parties. This formula guided parties like Syriza to come to power and was also a meaningful option in Turkey before the June 2015 elections. However, the political regime we have encountered since then has different characteristics: Elections are not suspended, but the transformation within the state apparatus evolves into a form specific to new fascism. This form requires a strategy based on a new "war of manoeuvre" in Gramscian terms.

19:30-21:30 | PLENARY | D-Building 2nd Floor Grand Hall

Chair: Galip Yalman

Neoliberalism: Crises, Imaginaries and Dissent

Alfredo Saad Filho Crises in Neoliberalism, Crisis of Neoliberalism, and the Threat of Neoliberal Fascism

This session examines the shift of the political spectrum towards the right in many countries in recent years, and the rise of specifically neoliberal forms of political authoritarianism and fascism since the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). The session will address three specific questions: (a) What are the drivers of the political tendency towards the right, and how do they relate to the GFC?; (b) Is this capitalism as usual, free from the fetters of mass opposition and the post-World War II Keynesian-social democratic-developmental consensus, or is this a new phase of neoliberalism?, and (c) How do the current forms of political authoritarianism compare with 'classic' fascism? Answering these questions requires examination of the changing drivers and structure of accumulation, the social composition of neoliberal societies, and the recent changes in forms of political representation. The session concludes with an outline of potential approaches to resist against neoliberal fascism.

Demet Şahende Dinler Neoliberalism from Below and Conditions of a Subaltern Hegemony Several analyses on neoliberalism have focussed how it is politically crafted through mechanisms of consent alleviating the contradictions and tensions inherent to the economy (Tugal, 2023). They paid less attention to how neoliberalism is produced by the desires, energies and aspirations immanent to society in the first place. The concept of neoliberalism from below by Veronica Gago (2017) is a useful corrective to such analyses since it appreciates what she calls "vitalist pragmatics" traced in the everyday agency of informal economies who appropriate, resist, reproduce neoliberalism. However, this conceptual innovation still assumes a pre-given neoliberal project to which agency respond to. It does not show how this cycle of resistance and reproduction can be broken. If what is appropriated by local agency is co-opted by neoliberal forms, how shall we break the cycle? In this paper I propose to look at the desires, energies and ideals making up neoliberalism to explore how this vitalist pragmatics can be re-appropriated for a political alternative. I aim to historicise and decontextualise its components from the social relations in which it is currently suspended to appreciate its possibilities for a post-neoliberal alternative project. By using the concept of social organisations and

negative feedback developed by the anthropologist Mary Douglas, I analyse the internal capacities of neoliberal society in yielding resilience over time. Through the ethnographic stories of workers and an organising project in the case of Turkey, I show that neoliberalism is perpetuated by everyday agency, which gained a wide repertoire of capabilities to navigate the uncertainties and intricacies of an established market economy over four decades. Yet, the desires, ambitions and frustrations pertaining to this agency are open to be articulated to novel ideals beyond neoliberalism. This requires the political work of harnessing existing and cultivating new desires towards a worldview (Brown, 2023) as well as strategic mediations through organising, mobilising and articulating various interests into a collective will (Garo, 2023). The paper makes an analysis of how the strategic mediations in this organising project can offer insights for broader political projects.

Efe Can Gürcan, Gerardo Otero Neoliberalism, Popular Dissent, and South-South Cooperation: A Conjunctural Analysis of “Post-Hegemonic Multipolarity”

Amidst the crisis of neoliberal globalism, the rise of multipolarity presents a critical area of study, offering insights into the dramatic reconfiguration of world politics since the 2000s. Using the Gramscian method of conjunctural analysis, this research aims to explore the origins and main catalysts of multipolarity. Conjunctural analysis, with its holistic and context-sensitive approach to the intricate interplay of various social, political, and economic factors, provides a critical tool for understanding power dynamics in a multipolar world. What are the key factors driving the emergence of multipolarity as a dominant trend in the international system, and how do the complications arising from these factors influence multipolarity in return? In answer to these questions, our conjunctural analysis traces the emergence of multipolarity to the hegemonic crisis of neoliberalism in the 1990s, a period defined by the convergence of US unilateralism and economic instabilities. Perhaps the most pronounced ramifications of this hegemonic crisis are observable at two distinct yet interconnected levels. (1) At the grassroots/bottom-up level, the failures of neoliberalism have been met with the ascent of the Latin American left and alter-globalism as a crucial element since the 1990s, alongside the rise of the far-right worldwide throughout the 2020s. (2) The implications at the inter-state level speak to the breakdown of the global governance system and the rise of South-South cooperation following the Great Recession. All these factors contribute to a “post-hegemonic” moment, a process characterized by profound contradictions and uncertainties, both globally and on the national scale. We conclude by outlining alternative theoretically possible futures. Overall, our research makes a substantial contribution to both conceptual and empirical literature by providing a dual-layered interpretation of what we call “post-hegemonic multipolarity.”

April 6, Saturday

09:30-11:15 | SESSION 3

B312 Political Economy of Development

Chair: Aylin Topal

Kanishka Goonewardena Marxism Between Centre and Periphery: G. V. S. De Silva’s Heretical Thoughts on Country, City and Communism

This paper distills the key radical political thoughts of Sri Lankan Marxist G. V. S. de Silva (1928-1980), now all but forgotten in his own country and virtually unknown elsewhere. A brilliant student of economics in Colombo and London, de Silva aborted a promising academic career to plunge more directly into politics, first as a member of the Communist Party of Ceylon in the early 1950s, and then mostly as a leading civil servant or an official of international organizations devoted to Third World development. As an activist in several arenas, he wrote a lot less than most people who write, but what he did write from the 1950s until his premature death in 1980 remains remarkably prescient on fundamental political as much as economic issues confronting countries such as Sri Lanka even today. The focus of the paper, therefore, will be on two of de Silva’s iconic essays from the 1970s, ‘Social Change’ and ‘Some Heretical

Thoughts on Economic Development'. These examine, respectively, the possible trajectories of transition from one mode of production to another in various historical conjunctures and the appropriate revolutionary political responses to the spatial dimensions of combined and uneven capitalist development, with special attention to country-city and centre-periphery relations from the standpoint of peasants. It will be argued that 'Social Change' and 'Heretical Thoughts', products of impressive scholarly erudition as much as activist experience, contain the contours of a Marxism grounded above all in anti-imperialist class struggle and creative in its search for forms of radical political organization.

Sinan Haskan Unraveling the EU's Core-Periphery Divide and Its Dynamics: A Critical Examination of Economic Disparities and Political Shifts

The European Union (EU), a distinctive multinational entity, is currently grappling with an escalating core-periphery dilemma that starkly contrasts with its professed narrative of solid unity and common values. Despite rhetorically championing welfare state ideals and liberal democracy as foundational elements, the EU faces mounting challenges: the indebtedness problems, like during the Eurozone Crisis, underscore economic strains, while a surge in right-wing populism marks a slippery political ground. Central to these economic issues are the EU's restrictive fiscal policies, including budgetary constraints, and the common monetary system and single currency. These measures, along with the neoliberal globalisation wave of financialization post-Cold War, have accentuated North-South economic disparities, deepening the Union's debt issues. Additionally, the rise of authoritarianism in Eastern and newer member states, notably Hungary and Poland, parallel to the rise of right-wing populist discourses and policies in the continent, generally clashes with the EU's liberal democratic ethos and human rights standards. This divergence has led to another core-periphery split along the East-West axis within the EU, fueling democracy-autocracy polarisation. Such developments underscore the complexity of the EU's internal dynamics, calling into question the balance of power between member states and the expansionist ambitions of the capital class in core countries like Germany and France. In other words, the impacts of these countries' pursuit of new markets and spheres of influence on socio-economic conditions and political environments in the Union bring more prominence. Utilising a historical and critical analytical framework, this study employs comparative political economy, qualitative content, and discourse analysis of the EU. It aims to scrutinize whether the recently increasing contradiction to the EU's foundational discourse of parliamentary democracy and shared prosperity results from an intra-Union hegemonic struggle. Therefore, the interplay between policies pursued by core nations and their capital interests on the EU's periphery will be explored.

Çağatay Edgücan Şahin Dynamics of Labor Market and Employment Practices on Substandard Vessels: An Ethnographic Inquiry

Approximately 90% of the world's trade is carried by international maritime transportation due to its cost effectiveness compared to other modes of transportation. The main elements of maritime transport are warehouses, ports, commercial cargo ships and the seafarers who work on these ships. Merchant ships as living and working spaces are isolated, mobile, risky, noisy, male-dominated, and hierarchical. Seafarers working on merchant ships form transnational communities whose living and working standards are regulated according to international standards and who work on fixed-term contracts of several months. On the other hand, the living and working conditions of seafarers depend on the type of ship they work on, the age of the ship, whether the ship operates as a liner or tramp vessel, whether the maintenance processes are carried out in a timely and effective manner, the quality of the provisions, the company's personnel policy, whether there are enough and experienced seafarers on board, whether seafarers have the opportunity to leave the ship in port cities, and the condition of the accommodation. This study focuses on the labour market conditions and employment practices of seafarers, with a particular focus on cost minimization and profit maximization at the expense of seafarers, and systematic exploitation. The study uses qualitative data based on 4.5 months of participant observation on board a substandard ship in 2021 and 2023, and a series of semi-structured face-to-face interviews conducted both on board and ashore.

B516 Marxism and Technology

Chair: Özgür Narin

Baver Yeşilyurt, Volkan Ahıskalı, Ekin Bal Competition-Technical Change-Profit Rates Nexus: A Critical Realist-Marxian-Oriented Simulation

This study proposes an Agent-Based Model (ABM) within the framework of Critical Realist ontology to navigate the core elements of capitalism –competition, technical change, and profit rates. This research aims to reconcile the co-existence of autonomous agency and universal mechanisms. Critiquing Monopoly Capital Theory, which ignores the existence of universal mechanisms, we advocate for integrating universal laws of motion with autonomous agency in a comprehensive model. Similarly, our proposal challenges Regulation Theory for implying the absence of universal mechanisms and seeks to bridge the gap between universal laws and agent-driven autonomy. Real Competition Theory, while acknowledging universal mechanisms, is critiqued for excluding autonomous strategies of agents. Our proposal aims to rectify this omission by integrating universal laws with a thorough examination of agents' strategies. The paramount goal is to pioneer an ABM that considers both universally valid mechanisms and relatively autonomous strategies, revealing how these coexist in the dynamics of capitalism. In that sense, the ABM in this study acknowledges the fact that universal mechanisms of laws of motion of capital forces firms within a given sector to cut their unit cost; with the result that capturing larger markets necessitates price cutting behaviour. In addition, the differential rate of profit between sectors forces capital to flow among sectors. However, particular strategies discovered by agents (i.e. firms) are not fully determined by these laws of motion of capital. These strategies are to be discovered by autonomous agents. Integrated into the Transformational Model of Social Activity (TMSA), this ABM stands as a potent analytical tool. TMSA uniquely admits the autonomous co-existence of universal mechanisms and agents' autonomous strategies. This research, positioned at the crossroads of Marxist and Critical Realist thought, offers a methodological breakthrough for understanding the intricate dynamics of laws of motion of capital.

Antonis Faras, Zamil Kamp Criti-Hype: What is Left of the Criticism to Emerging, World-Changing Technologies, When They Don't Emerge or Change the World?

This paper explores the concept of 'Critic-hype,' as introduced by Vinsel (2021), which defines the amplification of perceived risks in emerging technologies. Criti-hype signifies both academic and non-academic discourse that accentuates the hypothetical dangers of new technology, reflecting and often intensifying the original hype propagated by the technology's proponents. This study contends that critic-hypers often amplify speculative concerns, sometimes motivated by self-interest, including financial gains. Our research focuses on blockchain and virtual communities, technologies that were once heralded as agents of significant change across various sectors, from finance to social interaction. These technologies are yet to realize their world-altering potential. We critically evaluate how the initial euphoria surrounding these innovations led to impractical expectations, which were subsequently capitalized upon for monetary benefit. Additionally, the paper investigates how Criti-hype emerges as an opposing narrative that paradoxically both challenges and endorses the original exaggerated claims, thus, on one side posing as adversaries while on the other side facilitating public acceptance of the overhyped promises. Our analysis delves into the social, technological, and economic factors that fuel the cycle of hype and Criti-hype. We propose that this cycle transcends the mere appraisal of technological strengths or weaknesses. Instead, it is intricately linked to the societal and cultural milieu in which these technologies are conceived and promoted. The study introduces a framework to comprehend the interplay between hype, criti-hype being the two sides of the same coin within the realm of techno-solutionism, and the commodification of so-called "emerging world-changing technology." Through this examination, we aim to cultivate a more nuanced and educated approach to the evaluation and adoption of novel technologies. Our insights into the dynamics of hype and criti-hype strive to encourage a balanced perspective, fostering critical thinking and realistic expectations in the face of both unbridled enthusiasm and excessive skepticism.

B409 Polycrisis in Late State Socialism

Chair: Coşku Çelik

Siyaveş Azeri Critique of the AI and the Thinking-Machine

It will be discussed that the ideas both the proponents of cognitive capitalism thesis (e.g., Vercellone 2007) and some of their critiques (e.g., Steinhoff 2021) on the emergence of a new type of agency, be it attributed to the cognitive labourer or the machine-capital, can be criticized on the basis of Evald Ilyenkov's critique of cybernetic theories and

the idea of the thinking-machine, which he develops, among other places, in his book *The Idols and the Ideals* (1968). The most important aspect of human-thinking, according to Ilyenkov, which is also related to human agency and the formation of human personality, is its social constitution: thinking emerges only through bodily activity where body does not signify a mere individual body but the social body—the totality of social relations between humans.

Stefan Baghiu Cybernetics

Since the early 1960s, cybernetics has become a buzzword in Soviet space, progressively gaining traction as the defining keyword for future developments in the planned economy. Recent studies reveal that cybernetics played a pivotal role in shaping a new kind of cyberspeak in Soviet Russia and its satellite countries during the post-Stalinist period. Simultaneously, the Soviet and East European cultures of this era saw a rediscovery phase, characterized by renewed discussions on modernism and neo-avant-gardes after the gradual decline of socialist realism. During this period, many mathematicians and information theorists entered the discourse on aesthetics with the aim of transforming discussions on artistic creativity and art reception into a proper scientific field. This paper outlines the key theoretical positions of Romanian estheticians who engaged with information theory from the 1960s until the 1980s, such as Victor Ernest Maşek and Radu Bagdasar.

Christian Ferencz-Flatz Ecology

The discussion surveys the theoretical engagement with ecological issues in philosophy and other social sciences in Socialist Romania in the aftermath of the publication of the Club of Rome report *The Limits to Growth* in 1972. First, the broader field of research on the “scientific and technological revolution,” a Marxist take on the role of scientific change in economic and social development which responded to theories of the “post-industrial society” articulated under capitalism, will be discussed. Specifically, the question of what was the place of ecological concerns in philosophical and social science perspectives on the future, especially in terms of industrial pollution, the depletion of resources, and the impact of economic growth on humans and nature will be addressed. Second, the discussion zooms in on the commentary elicited by *The Limits to Growth* in Socialist Romania in the 1970s, mapping responses in the main philosophical, sociological, and economical journals, as well as in the press. Third, the ways in which engaging with the articulation of ecological crisis as a global issue inspired Marxist theoretical innovation as well as opened up new ways to comment on local policy and to imagine alternative paths for future development will be analyzed.

Alexander Cistelean and Adela Hincu Socialist Management as a Science of Leadership

The presentation will follow the evolution of theories and practice of management, from ex-Trotskyist and anti-communist Burnham “managerial revolution” up to its adoption and implementation in the socialist bloc as supreme “science of leadership”.

B402 Progress and Development: Latin American Perspectives

Chair: Magdalena Gawin

Katarzyna Bielińska Ideas of Progress and Development and Their Critiques in Their Diversity

The European ideas of progress and development have long been criticized as manifestations of Western imperialism, by philosophers and theoreticians from global peripheries. Today, an example of this criticism is post-developmentalism which gained popularity in global academia. However, global knowledge circulation is still dominated by the North-American and European core, and the diffusion of ideas from peripheries to the core is limited and selective, with substantial amounts of relevant knowledge produced not gaining due visibility. Therefore, the complexity and diversity of debates and critiques conducted in the global peripheries, in the context of „diversity of development” (Gudynas 2016), is overlooked in favor of sometimes romanticized vision of Latin American thought, resonating well with the Western abstract utopian and anti-modernist sentiments. In the presentation the preliminary map of contemporary diverse conceptualisations of ideas of progress and development and their critiques, based on the material gathered in the course of multilingual (Spanish, Portuguese, French, English) integrative review

conducted in Latin America databases, will be presented. The issues addressed will include approaches to economic growth, sustainable development, and ideas of alternatives, with a special focus on conceptual and theoretical transformations in the context of the climate crisis. The presentation is prepared within the scope of the project titled "Ideas of progress and development in the context of climate crisis in peripheral philosophies in the XXI century," funded by the National Science Centre Poland under grant number 2021/43/B/HS1/03354. Gudynas E. (2016). Beyond varieties of development: disputes and alternatives. *Third World Quarterly*, 37:4, 721-732. DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1126504

Karolina Kulpa Gender and Development: Latin American Perspectives

At times, theoretical inclinations overpower ecofeminist thinking, resulting in the dilution and alteration of its fundamental grassroots beginnings (Salleh 2005). By integrating gender perspectives into the broader discourse on development, this talk aims to discuss intersectional understanding of development challenges and strategies, reflecting the diverse experiences and realities in Latin America. It begins by exploring how gender roles and identities are constructed and influenced within theoretical conceptualizations. The presentation focuses on the integration of gender in development theory, ecofeminist thought, feminist political ecology and gender-oriented approaches. The discourse also addresses the challenges and opportunities presented by gender-focused development theories, especially emphasizing collective and community-oriented approaches. Results are based on integrative review research. The presentation is prepared within the scope of the project titled "Ideas of progress and development in the context of climate crisis in peripheral philosophies in the XXI century," funded by the National Science Centre Poland under grant number 2021/43/B/HS1/03354. Salleh, A. (2005) Moving to an embodied materialism, *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 16:2, 9-14, DOI: 10.1080/10455750500108195

Sonia Uribe Indigenous Ideas and Sustainable Development: Reflection on the Philosophy of Buen Vivir/ Vivir Bien, Inherent in the Ancestral Way of Life Advocated by Sumak Kawsay / Suma Qamaña

This presentation explores the crucial role of Indigenous ideas and knowledge in steering sustainable development. The preliminary outcome derived from an integrative review of the topic in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is presented in this presentation. Buen Vivir emerges from the indigenous world as an alternative to the development model that devastates nature, erodes cultures, and adversely impacts people's and communities' quality of life. Indigenous peoples have historically fought to defend their way of life, in harmony with nature (pachamama/madre tierra) and in balance with the community, encompassing relationships among individuals, family, and nature. The presentation examines the diverse and abundant discussions surrounding Buen Vivir, serving as a political framework for various perspectives on alternatives to development in LAC (Gudynas, 2011). The enduring guardianship of nature by Indigenous communities, grounded in practices passed down through generations, serves as the philosophical foundation of their ecological stewardship. Their age-old practices, embodying a historical form of "Sustainable Development," serve as exemplary strategies for the preservation of nature. Highlighting the urgency, the talk stresses the pivotal need for integrating Indigenous perspectives to effectively address the challenges posed by the "development". The presentation concludes by advocating for the recognition and seamless integration of Indigenous wisdom as a cornerstone in mitigating the impacts of "development" and fostering sustainable development practices. The presentation is prepared within the scope of the project titled "Ideas of progress and development in the context of climate crisis in peripheral philosophies in the XXI century," funded by the National Science Centre Poland under grant number 2021/43/B/HS1/03354. Gudynas, E. (2011) Buen Vivir: Today's tomorrow. *Society for International Development* 1011-6370/11. *Development*, 2011, 54(4), (441-447). DOI:10.1057/dev.2011.86.

B518 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Water Struggles and Ecology Movements

Chair: Ecehan Balta

Ömür Kurt Intersections of the Means of Production and Reproduction: The Water Struggle in Fındıklı/Turkey

This paper argues that Marxist theory should draw attention to the intermingled relation between the means of production and reproduction as long as it faces emancipatory politics. Such a point bears particular significance in the current multi-folded crisis of capitalism targeting both the means of production and reproduction of labour. Water

crisis is one of the most apparent facets of the current capitalist crisis. Water is an invaluable natural asset for life. Hence, water bears a dual character being both a means of production and reproduction. Such duality is also palpable in the unlimited surge of capital for accumulation bringing about the unlimited appropriation of water assets. Such assault of capital on the water assets has led both to the separation of labour from her means of production and reproduction with specific reference to water. However, the hegemonic discourse on water crisis only focuses on the crisis of the means of reproduction as in the narrative of the 'access to clean and safe drinking water.' Nonetheless, the separation of labour from not only her means of reproduction but also from her means of production constitutes the essential dimension of the water crisis. Such intersectionality is exemplified by the water crisis and the accompanying water struggle in Fındıklı/Turkey where hydroelectric power plant constructions by the capital on the brooks has denied the labour from her access to water which is inalienable for tea cultivation being also a source for reproduction facilities such as bathing. Such a dual character of water also constitutes one of the main reasons for the successful struggle of Fındıklı against the capital. That is why the Fındıklı case presents a rich example for discussing intermingled facets of the crisis of capitalism and the responses of labour to it being a space for a fruitful debate.

Luis Andueza Notes on Climate, Late Neoliberalism, and the Hydropolitics of Crisis in Chile

The unfolding climate crisis introduces an element of disruption of such all-encompassing scale that it can only unfold through the highly mediated forms of a generalized crisis of the conditions of reproduction of capitalist social relations; that is, it takes on the form of, and articulates with, what Antonio Gramsci called an organic crisis. This paper examines the case of Chile, and how the dual crises of climate and neoliberalism converge through in the production of a conflict-ridden hydropolitical field in which contemporary crises of hegemony unfold. Since the outbreak of nation-wide riots in 2019, the country, once celebrated as an exemplary case of neoliberal development, has been mired in its deepest socio-political crisis in half a century. To many observers this marks an end point for the neoliberal settlement established during the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship and consolidated under the transition governments that followed. At the same time, over the past decade most of the country's landmass has gone through an extreme drought, unprecedented in both its geographical and temporal extent. The paper explores the specific ways in which neoliberalism as a political-economic project took root in the country's hydrosocial cycle, in order to account for climate disruption as mediated through deep crises in metabolic and hydrosocial conditions of neoliberal hegemony. For this I consider the question of water in its historical constitution as a political problem, which is, I argue, inherent to the political ecology of neoliberalism in Chile and the development of its particular social and ecological contradictions.

Cemil Aksu Ecological Thought and Movement in Turkey

This article discusses the ecological dimension of the transformation accompanying the development of capitalist production relations in Turkey. The article relates the ecological problem to the nature of capitalist production relations, thus refraining from including local ecological disasters prior to capitalism as the ecological problem. The production conducted by capital in the pursuit of growth, under conditions of complex global competition, based on the thesis that human needs are limitless, not only fails to meet the needs of people but also leads to "overproduction" as a recurring issue. Constantly developing new technologies and labour regimes to extract more yield from the land and labour leads to the destruction of both labour and nature. The history of ecological devastation in Turkey should be traced back to the development and dominance of capitalist commodity production. Unlike the general approach in the environmental history studies, this article considers the resistances that developed against capitalist primitive accumulation as the first examples of the environmental movement. The ecological problem is not only addressed in terms of forest, biodiversity loss, and air-water-soil pollution but also includes the destruction caused by the techniques, chemicals, and gasses used in production on the body of the worker. On the other hand, regarding the post-2005 period when the ecological movement gained momentum in Turkey, the main agenda has been the struggle against the construction of hydroelectric power plants, which are technically considered renewable energy sources, the energy question is addressed through problematizing the energy production detached from social needs. Through these problematizations, the article primarily examines environmental, green, and anti-capitalist ecology organizations in Turkey that differ in terms of the method of addressing ecological problems, solution proposal programs, and organizational style and understanding, and touches upon the views of some thinkers and activists representing these movements.

B522 Urban Struggles

Chair: Havva Ezgi Dođru

Nazlı Bülal Dođan Social Media Activism of Bereaved Families: Struggle Against the Urban Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism

The research paper focuses on the social media activism of bereaved families who lost their relatives during the 2023 Turkey-Syria earthquake of 6 February. After the catastrophe, people used social media intensely to seek help for themselves or for their loved ones. Critical information, like the exact location of survivors or where first aid materials were distributed, became the main content of social media platforms in Turkey. In this digital chaos, many Turkish-speaking X (than Twitter) users followed the accounts of families searching for their missing relatives, not just to have information about the earthquake but also to share their grief. Online content shared by these bereaved families became crucial to set the earthquake agenda during this period.

For this research, data selected from specific Twitter accounts are collected and systematically classified to analyze how the earthquake is framed as crime and which actors are framed as criminal, with the help of framing analysis and critical discourse analysis.

The struggle of bereaved families illustrates how the actors responsible of the urban infrastructure become apparent in crime frames: From the government who neglected city planning for years to municipalities who gave faulty construction permits, from civil engineers and architects to contractors who built defective buildings. Yet, these are just the minor actors within the larger picture. Burrowing the literature of corporate crimes and the crimes of the state from critical criminology and referring to the theories of disaster from science and technology studies, this research sheds light on how neoliberal crises can trigger crime frames targeting the state and the corporations actually takes the place of the so-called “accident” or “disaster” of “fate” framing used by right-wing governments to normalize disasters caused by the crises of neoliberal capitalism.

Ali Rıza Bayrak, Fitnat Cımşit Framing Urban Crime: Video Essay Approach to Visualizing Crime Against the City

This study delves into the limitations of the right to the city concept, focusing on urban crime as a key dimension. The absence of a precise definition for crimes against the city has created an ambiguity that obstructs the identification of perpetrators, leading to a state of impunity. To address this, the "From Urban Images to Video Representations" workshop engaged students from diverse disciplines in documenting urban crimes through field journals and video essays. One of the main reasons for this crisis experienced by urban space is the vagueness of the concept of urban crime. What is intended to be done with the images is not only to provide evidence of the crime, but also to examine the image's relationship with the life there due to its multidimensional structure. Documenting the traces of daily life, these video essays examine the relationship of life itself with urban crime. The actors of the city, that is, the people living in the city and the students, discussed it from the perspective of being both producers and urbanites. As an alternative media tool, video essays have brought a critical perspective on the city. One of the main causes of crises in urban space is urban crime. Exposing urban crimes through documentation can raise public awareness and enable urban crime and its perpetrators to be pointed out more clearly. Based on Ulus Baker's view of video images as democratization, this study aims to explain the crime fragments of the city, that is, the city to the citizens. Additionally, the study aims to contribute to the literature from the perspective of alternative media tools on urban crime.

Sinem Yildiz The Effect of Local Governments on Public Space Through Spatial Interventions: The Case of Beyazıt Square

This research synthesizes the findings on the transformation of Beyazıt Square in Istanbul, focusing on the period from 1984 to 2019. This study examines the complex interplay between local government interventions, political ideologies, and the evolving nature of urban public spaces. Beyazıt Square, a historical and significant public space in Istanbul, has experienced continual transformations influenced by the political, economic, and social conditions dictated by successive local governments. The research highlights the square's journey through various urban

redevelopment projects like renovation, restoration, pedestrianization, and re-pedestrianization. These interventions, driven by local government policies, have paradoxically led to the dissolution of the square's identity as a public space, reflecting a broader shift in urban policy and public life in Istanbul. The research employs a multidisciplinary approach, analyzing media reports, municipal annual activity reports, urban design competition projects, and high-scale planning documents. This comprehensive method provides insights into the local governments' role in modifying urban spaces and how their ideological and political affiliations have influenced these transformations. A key argument of the paper is the transformation of Beyazit Square not merely as a physical change but also as an indicator of the changing nature of publicness and the relationship between the state and its citizens. It sheds light on the complex dynamics of power, publicness, and space in urban settings. A notable finding of this research is the delineation of the square's gradual loss of public space quality due to continuous and often incomplete urban interventions. Furthermore, the study explores the impact of local governance on the conceptualization and management of public space. It reveals the dynamic relationship between political power and urban planning, showcasing how local policies and political ideologies can shape, and sometimes undermine, the essence and functionality of public spaces. The paper contributes to the discourse on urban public spaces by offering a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of local governance, urban planning, and socio-political forces in shaping public spaces. It provides valuable insights for urban planners, policymakers, and scholars interested in the intersection of local governance, public spaces, and urban transformation.

Pınar Demircan Neoliberal Dilemma of Urban Defense Under Akp: The Case of Sinop Nuclear Project

Neoliberal Dilemma of Urban Defense Under AKP: The Case of Sinop Nuclear Project - Similar to Latin American countries, neoliberal policies in Turkey were implemented with authoritarian methods starting with the three-year martial law period that began in the 1980 military coup and leading to a multiple transformation extending from the production relations to democracy. Opponents of the nuclear power project, which is an intersection of the accumulation regime of global corporations and the hegemonic goals of the governments in Turkey, have also experienced this transformation in their cities since the 1990s. However, the nuclear power plant project became official with an international agreement signed between the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the Japanese government following the Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster in 2013. The article considers the institutionalization of the Sinop Anti-Nuclear Platform as an important change for social movements interacting with the authoritarian and populist practices of the AKP rule. It emphasizes the tendency between institutionalization and radicalization under pressure defined by Tarrow (2011:129). In the study, the city is considered a dynamic system (Harvey, 2010) in which social processes are determined by capital and in which residents interact, and it is treated as a growth machine (Molotch, 1976). The study, which draws on the contentious policies approach (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015) and interdisciplinary analyses, based on the intersectionality of political power, regime, and social movements, first examines how the authoritarian and populist methods of the AKP regime are effective. Secondly, the study examines the anti-nuclear movement in Sinop, composed of institutional structures and individuals, concerning the concept of social movement. Using qualitative research methods, the study is based on in-person, in-depth interviews with 29 local actors in Sinop in 2019, and is part of the Sinop pillar of the PhD thesis completed by the writer in January 2023. Keywords: Neoliberal policies, AKP regime, contentious policies, anti-nuclear movement, References: Harvey, D. (2010). *Social justice and the city* (Vol. 1). University of Georgia press. Molotch, H. (1976). *The city as a growth machine: Toward a political economy of place*. *American journal of sociology*, 82(2), 309-332 Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*, Cambridge University Press

B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Revisiting Historical Antifascism

Chair: Ahmet Gire

João Arsénio Nunes The Missed Chances of Portuguese Anti-Fascism. Communists and Left Republicans in the First Post-War Crisis (1921-1926)”

The missed chances of Portuguese Anti-fascism. Communists and left Republicans in the first post-war crisis (1921-1926). The years after the First World War in Portugal are an interesting case in the general context of the struggles between revolution and reaction that characterized most European countries. Portugal was one of the first states in Europe to make the experience of a dictatorship, run by major Sidónio Pais. Sidónio was murdered one year after his

ascent to power in December 1917, but his short-lived regime left a profound impact on Portuguese society and on subsequent attempts by right-wing forces in order to overcome the traditional conflict between monarchists and republicans, and replace it with a new bloc of the propertied classes. After the war this project had to face not only the rise of the labour movement, organized in the new CGT, and the influence of Communism, but also the persistence of the Republican urban middle-class and their egalitarian ideas. This led, in the course of violent economic and political clashes, to the birth of new cultural and political tendencies among the intelligentsia and the low middle-class known as “radical republicanism”, and even of a new political party (“Esquerda Democrática”, PRED) with social-democratic components. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), born in 1921 under the call for a “united front” against the bourgeois offensive, was not able to win the majority of the working-class and of the trade-union organization. Nevertheless, its Comintern inspired reunification in 1923 allowed for the definition of a program of social and political alliances. The paper compares the anti-fascist analyses and proposals of the PCP, the PRED and the journal “Seara Nova” and looks for the reasons of the failure of their anti-fascist endeavors.

Salvatore Tinè The Analysis of Fascism in the 3rd International in the 1930s: Togliatti and Dimitrov

With the 13th Plenum of the Communist International in November-December 1933, after the victory of Nazism in Germany, a more analytical and in-depth reflection began in the international communist movement on the nature of fascism as an international phenomenon, linked to the structural transformations of the bourgeois state in the era of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism. In particular, in the analyses of Dimitrov and Togliatti, the two most important leaders of the Komintern in the mid-1930s, fascism appears as a specific political form of capitalist domination, clearly distinct from bourgeois parliamentary democracy, characterised both by the open terrorist dictatorship of the most chauvinist and reactionary elements of finance capital, and by the latter's ability to unify around its hegemony, both social and political, the whole of the fractions of the ruling classes. This analysis takes up, and updates, some of the most important acquisitions of Lenin's reflections on state monopoly capitalism and Bucharin's on state capitalism, showing the new forms in which the interweaving and increasingly close fusion in a 'single mechanism' between the economic domination of financial monopoly capital and the repressive and hegemonic apparatuses of the late capitalist state developed under fascism: in particular, Bucharin in the late 1920s, but taking up a reflection that had already begun in the years of the First World War, had identified fascism as a form of the 'new Leviathan' into which the 'imperialist bourgeois state' was being transformed. Hence the focus of Togliatti's analysis in his "Lectures on Fascism" delivered in Moscow in 1935 on the mass consensus of fascism in the middle class or urban and rural petty bourgeoisie strata as one of the elements of strength and relative political stabilisation of the fascist totalitarian state in the 1930s. In the field of the determined analysis of fascism, Togliatti and Dimitrov thus reinterpret in a not purely collapseist or catastrophist key a pivotal notion of the Marxism of the Third International, that of the 'general crisis of capitalism'.

Ali Yağız Yıldız Communists Against Social Democrats: Democracy Versus Dictatorship Debate, 1918-1920

This presentation aims to present the results of an ongoing research on a major debate among the Marxists (both social democratic and communist) that began immediately after the dissolution of the Constitutive Assembly in Russia following the October Revolution in 1917. The debate coincided with the expansion of voting rights in several western European countries, the formation of parliamentary democratic systems in central and eastern Europe, and the attempted formation of Soviet (or Council) governments in several countries. The left-wing Marxists, who soon began to call themselves communists (including the Bolsheviks but also western Marxists like Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter and Amadeo Bordiga) began to argue that in the new post-War period proletarian dictatorship emerged as a concrete historical form that sublated the assumptions around the Manichean abstract duality established between democracy and dictatorship concepts. In opposition to this, social democrats like Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Morris Hillquit, Emile Vandervelde, Ramsey Macdonald postulated that expansion of the horizons for parliamentary activity in Germany and other countries epitomized the realization of the minimum Erfurtian socialist program in western Europe. What was at stake in the debate was the future political strategy of the workers movement in a historical context that was radically altered by a global war and revolution. Within the span of three years (from 1918 to 1920), socialists and communists engaged in polemical discussions about aspects of the Soviet and democratic parliamentary systems. This often-confusing debate has not been explored in the historiography. The debate itself gradually waned after the Second Congress of the Communist International as Communists themselves fall into an inner conflict about

the subject. In my presentation I aim to present the initial results of my research concerning the context, content, and the antagonists of this debate based on my dissertation research.

B401 Critical Political Economy IV: Financialisation and Modelling Political Economy

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

Oktay Özden Post-Covid Inflation Dynamics and Its Distributional Effects in the Uk: A Two-Household SFC Model

This study suggest a two household Stock-Flow Consistent (SFC) model, incorporating both rentiers and workers, to analyze the post-COVID inflation dynamics and its impact on distribution. In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, the UK has experienced significant inflation primarily due to two crucial factors: (I) the increasing markup charged by non-financial corporations, and (II) supply chain bottlenecks. The model outlined in this article simulates these factors and demonstrates their distributional consequences. Owing to the more diversified income streams of rentiers compared to workers, coupled with the unequal distribution of wealth across two households, workers experience a loss in income, while rentiers shield themselves from the income and wealth effects of the post-COVID inflation.

Selin Pelek Assessing Household Vulnerability to Poverty in Turkey: Evidence from Covid-19 Pandemic

Examining the determinants of the vulnerability as an ex-ante measure of poverty is essential to design effective social assistance programs specially in the times of crisis such as Covid-19 pandemic. This study aims to reveal the fragility analyzes of households, and to create a comprehensive inventory of household vulnerability in Turkey with a focus on the pandemic period for contributing to the problem of effectiveness in social assistance benefits. We implemented the vulnerability as expected poverty methodology at the household level and estimated the probability of falling within fragility and poverty lines by the generalized least squares techniques using cross section micro data sets of the Income and Living Conditions Surveys (SILC) for the 2018-2022 period. The preliminary results indicate that vulnerability to poverty has significantly increased during Covid-19 pandemic while observed poverty has mitigated.

11:30-13:15 | SESSION 4

B401 Animal Exploitation and Capitalism

Chair: Ecehan Balta

Troy Vettese Three Cages: Animal Domestication, the Rise of Civilization, and the Next Capitalist Pandemic

This talk attempts to not only predict the next few decades, but to also leap through the last ten thousand years of civilization. It begins in the Sahara in 8000 BC, when much of northern Africa was lush with expansive grasslands, forests, and lakes. It is at this point that the latest phase of the Milankovitch cycle began, whereby the wobble in the Earth's axis exposed the Sahara region to significantly more solar radiation. The desiccation of the region, however, was much faster and more drastic than previous cycles because hunter-gathers shifted to pastoralism to maintain a more stable supply of food. Over-grazing, however, lowered the albedo of the remaining vegetation, thus heating up the ecosystem more quickly, which people responded by herding more animals. The desertification of the Sahara created what Michael Mann calls the civilizational 'cage' along the Nile, where peasants found it more difficult to flee the despotic rule of the pharaohs compared to farmers living in contemporary early civilizations. The persistence of Egyptian civilization facilitated the spread of hierarchical agricultural societies despite their environmental and epidemiological fragility. Eventually, people living in the Old World faced their greatest crisis in the fourteenth century as the Black Death spread westwards from China. Political Marxists argue that capitalism emerged haphazardly in England as class relations were affected by the pandemic. Slowly, over the next seven hundred years, a new capitalist form of animal husbandry emerged, intensified, and displaced traditional practices around the world. Over the last century, capitalist agriculture has produced ever more zoonoses, with avian flu being one of the greatest

threats to civilization. With a case mortality rate of 50%, it is much more lethal than SARS-CoV-2 and will likely kill hundreds of millions of people should a virulent strain emerge – which has become more likely in the past year as mammal-to-mammal transmission becomes more common. Viruses like avian flu might complete the ten thousand year cycle of civilization's emergence and collapse, or vegan communism could give humanity the opportunity to consciously control its interchange with nature to protect itself, as well as countless other creatures.

Öykü Şafak Çubukçu Going Plant-Based and Anti-Capitalism

Neoliberal transformation of Turkish agriculture involves rapid urbanization, ongoing processes of primitive accumulation, and further environmental degradation, as the capital relation penetrates deeply into the rural contexts. Increasing scale of production of agricultural crops and livestock contributes to the metabolic rift under capitalism. Masses are separated from their means of subsistence, as land and labour-power have increasingly been commodified. This experience of rural masses is mirrored by a separation from the nature/natural for the urban masses, as consumption patterns develop in line with the profit-based requirements of global food systems. On the other hand, there is an increasing awareness about the ecological crisis and the damages of large-scale food production, especially in the meat industry; reflected in recent tendencies of shifting to plant-based diets. Sustainability of existing food systems has been questioned; even though capital accumulation is not directly referenced in the discourses of the individuals pursuing a plant-based diet, as much as its consequence, that is, animal exploitation. Based on the argument that a reference to capitalist production relations is indispensable in grasping the current ecological crisis, this paper revolves around the question of whether and to what extent the vegetarian/vegan diet could be considered as an anti-capitalist stance. Semi-structured interviews with 20 vegetarian/vegan people living in Turkey constitute the method. All the participants are labourers, familiar with the exploitative nature of capitalism. Limiting the participants to the Turkish context also facilitates revealing the level of awareness about the neoliberal transformation process, which had affected food production severely, in the country. While individual lifestyles are emphasized and political activism is individualized under neoliberal capitalism, its crises create its own challenges, as evidenced by the protest against the meat industry, building an emergent collectivism and holding seeds for the search for an alternative.

B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Neoliberalism and Fascism in Eastern Europe

Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel

Gavin Rae Disguised Workers: The Transformation of Labour and the Myth of Entrepreneurship In 'Post-Socialist' Polish Capitalism

In this article, we analyze the role that entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship have played in the construction and consolidation of capitalism in Poland. We question the line conventionally drawn between entrepreneurs and the working class, arguing that the vast majority of so-called entrepreneurs in Poland are disguised workers who were rejected from the labour market during the transition to capitalism or forced into self-employment as Poland's precariat labour market crystallized. We outline a critical historical analysis of the origin of these disguised workers to provide space for a discussion of the specific 'labour problem' that Poland has faced during its transition to capitalism. A central argument of our study is that the top-down creation of entrepreneurship is a partial and often contradictory response to this 'labour problem'. We then illustrate these contradictions, showing how those commonly defined as entrepreneurs have performed relatively poorly in their designated roles of creating employment and innovation, while their living standards and wellbeing have deteriorated. We historically frame how this group of disguised workers in Poland embody the tension between the normative and actual aspects of capitalist development in Poland since 1989.

Magdalena Gawin On the Trail of Contemporary Fascism in Poland. Between the Right and Neoliberalism

The aim of my speech is to co conduct a comparative analysis of the neoliberal framework of far-right (2015-2023) and liberal (2023 onwards) governments in Poland, which reveals they have been embedded in the same neoliberal political paradigm, which is currently experiencing a crisis of its own legitimacy. The current situation in Poland serves as an

example of the crisis of neoliberalism, which include, among others, the crisis of the rule of law, political representation and strong polarization, posing a risk of falling into fascism. On the one hand, an extreme right-wing coalition with clear fascist tendencies was in power for eight years. On the other hand, the coalition that has just come to power, although it declares the implementation of a social democratic project, has strong neoliberal inclinations. This reflection will be used to formulate broader conclusions regarding the crisis of the current state paradigm. My considerations will be based on the basic assumptions of contemporary historical materialism as their methodological basis. I will conduct my reasoning in three steps. First of all, in the analysis of the governments of the extreme right, I will use the considerations of the Polish jurist Stanisław Ehrlich. This author, writing in real-socialist Poland, was a forerunner of legal pluralism, and at the same time a supporter of democracy based on the pluralism of social entities. His research perspective was intended to protect democracy against the rule of capital. Secondly, in order to make a critical reference to the governments of that time, I will comparatively refer to Ernesto Laclau's analyzes of populism. However, I will present his analyzes as part of new research on fascism. Thirdly, I will apply the developed theoretical framework to the coalition currently ruling in Poland, which aims to restore the previous status quo, but of a more social democratic nature.

Gábor Erlich The Struggle Against the 'Illiberal Professional- Managerial Class' via Reclaiming Gramsci et al. In the East-Central European Semi Peripheries

In this paper, I analyse the cultural foundations of Hungary's 'illiberal' Orbán-regime (2010-), to reveal the ways in which this 'semiperipheral regime of capital accumulation' (Éber, et al. 2021) relies on a very distinct culturalist agenda. At the end of the paper, I argue that the Left is ought to reclaim culture at large, and will advocate for the reinvigorating potentials of 'postartistic practices' (Cichocki and Szreder 2016). The main incentives behind establishing the illiberal cultural canon in Hungary are (1) to camouflage the neoliberal economic foundations of the regime, which strives to maximise profits via 'racing to the bottom' and to channel those enormous capital gains towards the system itself; and (2) to end the hitherto dominant liberal ordinance, established by the coalition of the 'dissident intelligentsia' and the 'technocratic/neoliberal' economic elites during the years of transition in East-Central Europe, resulting in liberalism as 'the obligatory syntax' (Trencsényi et al. 2018); as well as (3) to convene an ultimate 'post-truth' environment that bolsters the wide spread of 'post-fascist' (Tamás 2000) ethno-nationalism. Reclaiming the revolutionary roots of Orbán's 'cultural counter-revolution' via postartistic practices means a struggle against the 'illiberal PMC' (Erlich 2023) and its 'perverse decolonization' (Degot, Riff, Sowa 2021) on the one hand, and the critique of the liberal dominance and its faux meritocracy, class-blind elitism, and 'self-colonising' (Kiossev 1995) tendencies, on the other. Although my paper focuses on the ECE region (which has been one of the laboratories of neoliberal capitalism and illiberal governance), given the rampant global triumph of these notions, the findings of this study are significant beyond the ECE semiperipheries.

B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: The Frankfurt School

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

Yasmin Afshar Class or Racket? On Adorno's Conception of Class Theory in The Late 1960s"

When Adorno finished writing Reflections on the Theory of Classes in September 1942, he announced in a letter to Horkheimer that it was an elaboration "partly taking into account Rackettheorie, partly something completely new". The text, which remained unpublished throughout Adorno's life, thus constitutes an analysis of class relations in the era following "naive liberalism", called by Adorno as monopoly capitalism. Updating the analysis of the class struggle as a struggle of rackets had the consequence of pointing to the fact that classes are not monolithic; that, on the contrary, they are made up of disputes between sectors which, in a crisis situation, can immediately exercise their power by resorting to violence. With the rackets, capitalism shows its mafia dimension, which, according to Horkheimer, has always been present. Furthermore, in the current stage, since "the ruling class is not only dominated by the system, it dominates through the system and finally dominates the system itself", the opposition of the proletariat and, consequently, the formation of its class consciousness, is weakened. Fifteen years after writing Reflections, Adorno returned to the subject of class struggle theory from another angle: together with Ursula Jaerisch, a young researcher at the Institute for Social Research, he analyzed the protocols made by his students in which they

described, in the greatest detail, everyday situations of laughter and social conflict. Based on these protocols, Adorno and Jaerisch analyzed the shifts of social antagonism in an apparently pacified society. In *Remarks on Social Conflict Today*, published in 1968, class theory is once again reanalyzed, no longer in a context of Nazi domination, but of the supposedly triumphant mass capitalism of West Germany. In this presentation, I would like to show the continuities and ruptures between *Reflections* and *Remarks*. In particular, I would like to investigate whether racket theory remains the basis for Adorno's analysis of class conflict at the end of the 1960s.

Renata Guerra *Reflections On Dialectics in Adorno and Horkheimer's Discussion Protocols of the Late 1930s and Early 1940s*

This paper examines the reflections on dialectics in Adorno and Horkheimer's discussion protocols of the late 1930s and early 1940s. First, it briefly outlines Adorno and Horkheimer's project of a new dialectic—"the unfinished one"—according to debates in the 1930s focused on the investigation of bourgeois rationality. It then traces Adorno's divergence and questioning of this new dialectical concept, insofar as he refuses totality as a criterion of truth for critique as conflicting. On this occasion, Adorno's states a position contra Horkheimer that will be central to his later work: the whole must be conceived as untruth. Thus, in the course of these discussions, it is possible to discern the construction of a new concept of dialectics that Adorno will later elaborate first as an "open dialectic" (1950s) and then as a negative one (1960s), in which determinate negation assumes a predominant role. In light of this, the paper argues that the protocols reveal the moment when Adorno comes to the conclusion that a "theory of dialectics" is necessary—this being the only way to present a modified concept of dialectics.

Chris Wortman *Education at the Encounter Between Dewey and the Frankfurt School: The Crisis of Capitalist Schooling as Crisis of Instrumental Reason*

In *The Destruction of Reason*, Lukacs indicates American pragmatism as a successor to the irrationalism he analyses within German philosophy. Earlier, in *The Eclipse of Reason*, Horkheimer likewise articulates pragmatism as the philosophical lodestar of capitalist irrationality and its subsequent instrumentalization of reason, honing in on Deweyan pragmatism as the standard-bearer of reason's subjugation to capitalist production. Despite Lukacs and Horkheimer's critiques, numerous disciplines and institutions remain under the spell of pragmatism and its underlying irrationalities. Nowhere is this spell stronger than within both the theory and practice of education, not least because so much of Dewey's philosophy takes education as the testing-ground for his pragmatic epistemology. Throughout the 20th century, Dewey's theories of education have cemented capitalist schooling as a mechanism of ideological reproduction and have been deployed as new forms of imperial domination. This paper extends the Marxist critique of pragmatism to Dewey's philosophy of education and investigates the legacy of that philosophy in order to consider how capitalist education both reflects and reinforces the instrumentalization of reason and the irrationalities that arise from it. I begin the paper by comparing Dewey's epistemology broadly against that of the Frankfurt School. Next, I reconsider Horkheimer's critique of Deweyan pragmatism and compare Dewey's pragmatic rationality with instrumental rationality. In the third, most substantial section, I apply this critique to Dewey's philosophy of education, focusing on the concrete institutions and practices informed by it and in particular its influence on USAID's international educational initiatives during the Cold War. As educational systems around the globe remain mired in the crises they have faced for decades and are compounded by new measures like educational privatization, by examining these crises through the Marxist critique of pragmatism, we can better understand the development of capitalist schooling and the function of education in perpetuating capitalist irrationalities.

B516 Marxism and Islam: Political Economy, Culture, and the Crisis In Islam

Chair: Yücel Demirer

Nikos Moudouros *The "Not So New" Economic Model of Turkey: Islamist Perceptions on the Accumulation Regime in Times of Structural Crisis*

Contrary to the widespread expectation that when faced with deep economic and political instability, authoritarian regimes are less likely to maintain their strength, Erdoğan's government in Turkey rejuvenated itself in times of distress and social discontent. How can we explain the longevity of the AKP government in terms of political economy?

What are the main dynamics behind the reproduction of an authoritarian regime amid multiple crises and instability? The presentation aims to give some answers to these questions based on the analysis of continuities and ruptures in the accumulation regime in Turkey during the 21st century, but also of the social dynamics of legitimization regarding the strategies for the accumulation regime. More specifically this paper aims to analyze the efforts of Erdoğan's government to implement a new growth model, called "Economic Model of Turkey", based on the reconfiguration of power bloc especially after the coup attempt in July 2016 and during the Covid-19 pandemic. At the epicenter of this analysis are the strategies and the ideological discourse expressed by one of the main actors of this new power bloc, namely MÜSİAD, known also as the Islamist capital's main representative. The presentation will employ a multiple research agenda consisting of critical political economy approaches and the critical state debates in the late 20th century, benefiting from the power bloc concept of Nikos Poulantzas. This framework is helpful to understand more comprehensively why some growth models are supported by certain social classes and groups within the power bloc and how these new strategies are gaining social – popular legitimization in time of crises.

Görkem Altinörs The Political Economy of Islamic Neoliberalism

This research endeavours to scrutinise the complex convergence of Islamism and neoliberalism within the context of Turkey. The examination of political Islam and its nuanced interplay with the neoliberal political economy has gained significance, particularly in light of the 'Turkish Model's challenge to the principles of modernisation theory. Existing analyses often rely on Weberian dichotomies such as centre-periphery, strong state-weak society, and Islamism-secularism to explicate this phenomenon, even extending these dualistic features to study the authoritarian surge during the AKP rule. This study posits that these explanations exhibit shortcomings characterised by ontological exteriority and methodological nationalism. To overcome these challenges, a critical approach, countering ontological exteriority, and a global perspective, challenging methodological nationalism, are developed. This theoretical framework of Critical Global Political Economy draws inspiration from Gramscian notions of the 'integral state', aiming to reconcile the state, market, and civil society, and Ollmanian principles of the 'philosophy of internal relations', which elucidates the interconnectedness between the domestic, geopolitical, and global dimensions. In operationalising this framework, an analysis of the emergence of Islamic neoliberalism and its associated crises is undertaken through the lenses of urbanisation, education, and mass media in Turkey. Remarkably, developments in these domains exhibit a discernible interconnectedness both within national boundaries and across international and global spheres. The argument posits that the case of Islamic neoliberalism in Turkey serves as an exemplar, even a prototype, illustrating the intertwinement of domestic, geopolitical, and global dynamics. In contrast to perspectives grounded in ontological exteriority and methodological nationalism, this case underscores a dialectical unity across domains (e.g., urbanisation, education, mass media), spheres (e.g., the state, civil society, market), and levels (the domestic, the geopolitical, the global).

Siyaves Azeri Political Islam, the Women's Revolution, and Class Struggle: The Islamic Republic as the Capitalist State in Crisis

The ongoing revolution in Iran that was sparked by the killing of Mahsa Jina Amini by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corpse and which is led by women and youth, besides being the first "women's revolution" in modern history, has revealed the misogynist, discriminative, and authoritarian essence of the Islamic regime and the political Islamic movement and has problematized certain assumptions of "anti-imperialist" and traditional "radical left" that have been supporting the Islamic regime and its allies, the so-called "axis of resistance", tacitly or overtly, while providing new insight into the nature of (political) religion, the capitalist state and class struggle. E labourating on the central slogan of the women's revolution, "Woman, Life, Freedom", which by itself emerges as a condensed manifesto of the revolution, I argue three interrelated and intertwined aspects that come to the fore by the revolution: 1) Political Islam as a movement and Islam as a religion—with religion, following Marx, being understood as the expression of human misery under capitalism—are not only irreconcilable with the ideals of freedom, equality, and human dignity, but also are obstacles on the way of actualizing these ideals and building a just society. 2) Political Islam is a bourgeois political movement and the Islamic regime is a capitalist state in/ in the time of crisis. Political Islam is a contemporary political movement rooted in the contradictory and crisis-ridden texture of capitalist society and is a bourgeois response, albeit perverse one, to capitalist crises, particularly in the MENA region. 3) The women's revolution as the expression of will of the masses that has put the toppling of the Islamic regime as the first necessary step for building a just society and constituting "social humanity" on its agenda is the form of appearance and actualization of class struggle.

B311 Financialisation and The Political Economy of the Conglomerates

Chair: Pınar Bedirhanoğlu

Canan Özlem Altuntaş, Mehmet Gürsan Şenalp A Social Network Analysis on the Board Interlocks: The Koc Holding Case

The ever-evolving global economy reveals a business environment characterized by a complex network of relationships, continually striving to adapt to ongoing changes. This dynamic process also encompasses the flow of capital across local borders to diverse regions through international investments and financial interactions. Within this framework, the phenomenon of interlocking directorates, where a board member of one company concurrently serves on the board of another, plays a pivotal role in establishing strategic alliances and driving capital flows to operate in international markets. In late-industrializing countries such as Turkey, large capital groups are often conglomerates run by families. Although the involvement of personal and familial relationships in managing business groups is evident, the progression of integrating into foreign markets, initiated in the 1940s and gaining momentum in the 1980s, has brought about changes in the dynamics of Turkish capital groups' boards of directors aspiring to be effective globally. Consequently, the presence of foreign board members within the overall board composition has steadily grown over time. The objective of this study is to investigate the board interlock structure of Turkish business groups at the micro level. Specifically, the analysis centers on the case of Koç Holding, one of the prominent transnational business groups in Turkey. Given that the company's annual reports have been accessible since the year 2000, the board of directors' details pertaining to Koç Holding and its subsidiaries and affiliates, derived from annual reports spanning from 2000 to 2022, were subject to analysis using social network analysis. This analysis not only serves as a tool for understanding the impacts of transnationalization processes on the governance structure of Turkish capital groups, but also contributes to the relatively limited political economy critique in the Turkish context by identifying transnational linkages, allowing for a more comprehensive assessment of the social consequences.

Galip Yalman Financialisation and the Crisis of the Crisis Management: The Turkish Experience

This paper aims to highlight the predicaments the countries of the Global South are faced with by focusing on the distinctive characteristics of financial transformation in Turkey. It also aims to provide a critique of the structural power of capital perspective which entails a relationship of exteriority between capital and the state as well as between finance and non-financial capital. Thus, it becomes imperative to focus on the predominant form of corporate structure prevailing in the country over the last half century, that is, 'holding companies' where productive and financial valorisation are intertwined. As their corporate structure reflects a blurring of frontiers between financial and non-financial activities, they entailed the characteristics of both finance capital and financial capital so that the specific ways in which contradictions endemic to the components of finance capital (industrial versus financial capitalist fractions) are internalized within them. Yet, it is difficult to contend that there has been an increasing influence of the capital markets over the behaviour of the firms comprising the Turkish corporate sector. Moreover, they have been unable to undertake the necessary productive investments that are deemed necessary so as to produce high value-added goods, which are, in turn, deemed indispensable to reduce chronic current account deficits. Thus, the root cause of this inability has been identified as the exorbitantly high costs of borrowing in the Turkish financial system. As this has been a characteristic feature since its transition to neoliberalism, it seems to signify a crisis of crisis-management, as the Turkish economy straddles from one crisis to another over the last decade in particular, while the current authoritarian regime wreaks havoc with market fundamentalism.

Derya Başarangil The Crisis Management Roles of the Central Banks in the Midst of Polycrisis

In addition to the changing global political-economic framework in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, the neoliberal paradigm that has dominated the field of central banking since the 1980s has been shaken by the 2008 crisis. Central banks, by assuming new roles and tools rather than merely focusing on inflation-fighting with the 2008 crisis, have become the focus of increasing interest in their crisis management roles in the face of social and economic crises faced by global capitalism as they have played an active role in affiliating the crisis that emerged as a result of the

Covid-19 pandemic. As to the extent that new roles are attributed to the states in the face of the "polycrisis" environment that has recently emerged in the aftermath of the pandemic, such as global warming and social inequalities, central banks would continue to be transformed in line with the changing forms of state intervention. Given they have an organic link with the financial markets by forming "the state-finance nexus" from the first day of their establishment, the central banks have also been key public institutions in the financialization process where the financial sector has become increasingly expanded and more complex within itself with a series of transformations since the early 1970s. Within the financialization process, central banks, whose regulatory and supervisory roles have been diminished in line with their narrowed focus on the goal of price stability, have remained operating as a hegemonic apparatus of global financial capital as their interventions in the crisis times reinforced the main characteristic of this process. By scrutinizing the crisis management roles of the central banks from a critical political economy perspective, the main focus of this paper will be the changing roles and perceptions of central banks in the post-2008 era in line with the changing forms of state interventions.

B402 Critical Political Economy: Value Debate

Chair: Barış Alp Özden

E. Ahmet Tonak, Alper Duman Clarification and Application of the Category Profit on Alienation

This essay presents profit on alienation (POA) as one of the sources of profit in capitalist economies. In addition to identifying and situating POA among other profit flows, we have attempted to operationalize it in the real estate and finance sectors. In the empirical part of the paper, we estimate POA in those sectors in Turkey for the period 2010–2019. The extent of estimated profits based on POA in those sectors is not insignificant. These findings confirm our position that utilizing POA in exploring capitalist dynamics would be a fruitful endeavor.

Inka Maria Vilhelmiina Hiltunen An Exploration of the Value Form and the Relations of Exploitation in Financialized Capitalism

This paper starts from Saad-Filho's remark that capitalism involves a tendency towards a growing complexity of value forms (2024). It argues that this complexification involves complementing tendencies: an expansion of the reach of the value form to broader spectrum of life; and the acceleration of the valorisation process, which both mean intensified exploitation of labour and social reproduction. These tendencies are best exemplified by the increasing circulation of varied forms of fictitious capital. Fictitious capital is a form of capital which does not create value, as the creation of value takes place only within the production process that involves labour, but transfers value. This transfer of value can either enable or trump the creation of value that leads to the biased concentration of wealth and production of economic inequality. This exposes the limits of capitalism, apparent in the contradiction between capital accumulation and its reproduction that rely on labour, which, in turn, rests on social reproduction. Following, this paper builds on three concepts to examine the transformations of the relations of exploitation between capital, labour and social reproduction under financialized capitalism: (1) 'financial expropriation,' namely, the extraction of financial profit directly from personal income (Lapavitsas 2009); (2) 'accumulation by dispossession' that refers to the inability of capital accumulation to continue through productive expansion which leads capitalists to seek profit from appropriation of existing wealth through various means that often involve rent or forms of fictitious capital (Harvey 2004); (3) 'The crisis of care' refers to capitalism's tendency to undermine its conditions of possibility, i.e. social reproduction, exacerbated under the financialization (Fraser 2016). By examining the changing relations of exploitation from this perspective, this paper sheds light on the limitations, contradictions, and crisis tendencies of financialized capitalism produced by the progressive complexification of the value form, escalating in an intensified exploitation.

Tom Ladendorf Two Concepts of Value in Marx's "Capital"

That Marx famously defines value as "socially necessary labour-time" leads many to understand Marx as a labour-theorist of value on the model of Smith and Ricardo. Others have emphasized aspects of Marx's value theory which point not to an (economic) theory of price, but to a (sociological) theory of the structural determinants of capitalist social relations. I argue that both theories run through "Capital", but are conceptually separable, and occasionally in

tension. Marx does not just, then, offer a political theory of value (as Roberts 2017 would have it). But neither is it correct to see Marx's sociological theory of capitalist social relations as superseding his economic theory of value-price relations (as Michael Heinrich would have it). Marx's sociological theory of value is compatible with many different theories of price because of its having a different explanandum. Where an economic theory of price attempts to find the quantitative determinants of price such that we can make predictions about price levels, a sociological theory of value attempts to explain the social nature of labour and its products under conditions of generalized commodity production. In conditions of generalized exchange of the products of labour, producers attempt to equate their private ("atomized") acts of labour via exchange. Hence their labours are "indirectly social," and the reduction of more "complex" forms of labour to "simpler" forms takes place "behind the backs of the producers." This analysis of the social characteristics of labour and its products alerts us, moreover, to two novel forms of unfreedom under capitalism: the autonomy of the productive sphere vis-a-vis the producers, and the domination of the producers by capital. Marx's analysis thus forms the beginnings of a novel social theory of commodity production that implies a political theory and critique of its faults.

Kenan Van De Mieroop-Al Bahrani Value in Time and Time as Value: Accounting for the History of Slavery

Recent debates about reparations for slavery have provoked renewed interest in the history of capitalism and the relationship between past exploitation and current-day relations of power and wealth. Within these discussions, the critics of reparations for slavery have often admonished their opponents for attempting to ascribe monetary value to ineffable suffering; this is both vulgar and impossible they declare. But the proper target of this variety of criticism is not reparations claims per se, it is the conception of money and value that such claims would appear to require. That conception is what anthropologists call general purpose money; the dominant understanding of money and value in capitalist societies. In this paper, I examine several attempts that have been made to calculate the cost of reparations and argue that they all rely upon a fetishistic understanding of money. I then ask what a radical accounting of capitalism might look like if it were to start from the point of view of the source of value in labour instead. What, in other words, would a Value-based accounting—in the Marxian sense—involve? Although I admit that such an accounting could never be carried out practically, I maintain that considering what it should involve theoretically is an important intellectual exercise that can point to new ways to understand the impact of past exploitation on contemporary capitalism. Moreover, the exercise is intended to reveal how dominant conceptions of money facilitate fetishistic views of linear historical development. Because this paper reflects on the way that the idiom of bourgeois finance informs scholarly and popular views of the history of capitalism, I think that it relates directly to the questions raised by the Critical Political Economy: Financialization, Debt, Planning conference stream.

B518 Rosa Luxemburg and Ancient Slavery in The Greco-Roman World

Chair: Ian Tewksbury

While Greco-Roman antiquity is infrequently considered an essential component of understanding the rise of global capitalism and the contemporary crises it engenders today, it was once a central issue in Marxist and Socialist thought. The question, for instance, was central for the early 20th century political economist and revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg. Most-cited today for *The Accumulation of Capital*, Luxemburg's work on the political economy of Greco-Roman societies is rarely cited and largely (if not completely) ignored within the field of 'Classics.' While the scholars she debated, critiqued, and fought (i. E. Max Weber) have been canonized within the study of ancient economic history, Luxemburg's revolutionary interpretation of the Greco-Roman world has been effectively silenced since her political assassination in 1919. In the standard reference work on the subject, *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, she has effectively been written out of the intellectual history of the 20th century [Scheidel, Morris, and Saller 2008]. It is telling that her opponent, Max Weber, the man who once proclaimed Luxemburg "belong[ed]" "in a zoo" still holds a privileged place in the interpretation of ancient history [Thomas 1006: 154]. This panel proposes a reanalysis of Luxemburg's contribution to ancient Greco-Roman history and what it promises for our understanding of ancient history. With Verso's 2013 publication of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg, Volume I: Economic Writings*, three essential works are now readily available in English which offer a challenge to this dominant interpretive model of the ancient world: (1) *Introduction to Political Economy*, (2) *Slavery*, (3) and *Notes About the Economic Form of Antiquity/Slavery* [Hudis 2013]. In four papers, this panel explores early Sparta and the 'mark', revisits the emergence of slavery and private property under Luxemburg's methodology, investigates gendered

social relations with new insights from social reproduction theory, and develops how these insights relate to the study of ethnicity and race in ancient Greece.

Serena Unzueta Introduction to Rosa Luxemburg and The Study of Ancient Slavery

Ian Tewksbury Rosa Luxemburg's Model of the Ancient Village Commune: The 'Mark' in Early Sparta

Micheal Duchesne The Development of 'Propertied' Slavery in Sparta

Serena Unzueta Social Reproduction and Gendered Slave Labor in Ancient Sparta

Paula Gaither Ethnicity, Race, and Slavery in Early Sparta

B409 Marxism and Technology: The Witch and the Hunters, Social Movements

Chair: Özgür Narin

Peter Sekloča Dialectics of the Productive and Consumption Forces of Journalism

Informative media have played a significant role in addressing the long-term structural problems of capitalism (overaccumulation), which have manifested since the 1970s in a declining global GDP rate – from 6-7% in the 1970s to 2-3% in contemporary times. Currently, studies focus on the decreasing circulation of newspapers, the reduction of the number of journalists, and their deprofessionalization and proletarianization. The results are the breakdown of public journalistic discourse and the populist refeudalization of the public sphere. However, analyses often fail to consider changes from the perspective of the overall capital circulation process, which can be explained by laws governing the development of productive forces, particularly in the fields algorithmic, robot journalism and artificial intelligence, along with concurrent modifications in journalistic practices and, on the citizens' side, news consumption. Development is contradictory at the level of productive forces, as it transforms technology, products, and even consumption itself – altering the forces of consumption. The analysis will specifically focus on newspapers and compare their economic (un)success with the media sector (competitive environment of newspapers) and the advertising sector (business partners of newspapers). The research relies on data on the business activities and status of Slovenian media, advertisers, and newspapers from the Standard Classification of Activities, Slovenia, 2005-2020, managed by the Slovenian Statistical Office. All national statistical offices in the EU report collected data to EUROSTAT, enabling a similar analysis for other countries and the entire EU. While the results of the analysis highlight how capital can be mere circulating capital, extending its contradictions in the realm of the society as a whole, the newspaper crisis reveals how capital circumvents obstacles to circulation. The intermediary role of newspapers with traditional journalistic forces between Departments 1 and 2, as Marx would say, is becoming insignificant, at least in the form we know today.

Laura Valle Gontijo The Dissemination of Piecework and Hourly Pay in Contemporary Times

In the past forty years, it was accepted that we experienced different regimes of production systems. We passed from “Fordism” to “Toyotism”. Currently, platform work researchers point out that we are experiencing a new type of economy: the platform economy. Platform work emerged in the 2010s, as did new forms of contract, such as the zero-hour contract. How can we interpret the new types of work and employment contracts from a general point of view? Objectives: This article aims to offer a new interpretation of the profound transformations experienced by workers today. The hypothesis adopted by this research is that these transformations are due to the dissemination of a form of remuneration by the piece and by the hour, in contemporary times. Capitalists adopted this kind of salary to reduce wages, increase the exploitation of the working class, and use labourers only in times that are more convenient. Methods: The dialectical materialist method was used to understand the changes experienced by workers today. It was observed that there have been quantitative changes in the way workers are paid over the past forty years, culminating in a qualitative change. This qualitative change is the dissemination of piece wage and hourly pay in contemporary

forms of work. We constructed categories from the characteristics of piecework and hourly wages described by Marx in Volume I of "Capital". Then, we compared these categories with categories constructed from the Toyotist production system, platform work, and zero-hour contracts. Conclusions: We confirmed the hypothesis that there has been a qualitative change in the way workers are paid over the past forty years. Future research agendas include if this change could be behind several contemporary aspects of the class struggle: the difficulties workers have in organizing themselves, and the spread of certain ideologies among workers, such as entrepreneurship.

Alexandros Minotakis "I Expect Nothing, And I Am Still Let Down" — A Marxist Critique of the EU AI Act

The EU AI's ACT has been widely celebrated as the global first comprehensive regulatory framework that engages with AI technology and the EU Commission proudly announced it as "the world's first rules on AI". This narrative builds upon the supposed "success" of the GDPR regulation and argues that, through the AI Act's risk-based categorization system, the AI Act will address the negative effects of AI applications, while limiting the unchecked power of Big Tech companies. Moreover, by imposing a ban on AI applications specifically used in social scoring and facial recognition, the EU claims to acknowledge the challenges facing socially vulnerable groups. In that sense, the narrative concludes that the EU—in contrast to its competitors in China and USA— is the fore runner in "human friendly" AI.

This paper aims to critically engage with the claims surrounding the AI Act by examining the finalized version of the AI Act, noting, in the first instance, blind spots as well as last-minute concessions made towards tech companies and law enforcement agencies in the name of "national security". However, the main focus of this paper will be on the neoliberal assumptions underpinning the regulatory mechanism of risk categorization that is the foundation of the EU AI Act. The risk-based system approaches citizens as consumers of AI products, placing excessive emphasis on privacy and data protection, while neglecting the implications of AI integration in the labour process. Drawing from literature and field research in Greece on AI-enabled production in platforms, this paper argues that the AI Act ignores the most significant consequences of AI applications.

14:00-15:45 | SESSION 5

B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Marxian Critiques of Capitalist Agri-Food Systems

Chair: Cemil Yıldızcan

Naomi Hennig Britain's Soil Robbery in the 19th Century – Disputes on Nutrient Rifts and Chemical Fixes

The figure of organic chemist Justus von Liebig has received renewed attention in the context of eco-socialist debates reinvigorating Marx as an important contributor to ecological leftist thought. Based on Marx's notebooks from the 1860s, which contain extensive transcripts from Liebig's key works on organic chemistry and plant nutrients, it has been shown that the late Marx had a profound interest in agriculture and the natural conditions of soils and climate as the basis of agricultural yields and ground rent. Marx's view of capitalist agriculture, initially influenced by Liebig's criticism of soil exhaustion and the rift of the natural metabolic nutrient cycle through modern agriculture and trade, became more differentiated after Liebig had published his polemical views on "robbery agriculture," engaging in endless disputes around specific aspects of his theory. In my presentation, I will highlight some further readings that complicate and add context to Liebig's angry attacks on "British agriculturalists" and his rival agricultural researcher and estate owner John Bennett Lawes. Introducing their respective contributions towards the emerging fertilizer and food industry in the second half of the 19th century, it becomes clear that agricultural intensification and the rise of the chemical industry are deeply intertwined and that Liebig and Lawes were anything but promoters of organic agriculture. History shows that many other factors including mechanization, access to natural resources and cheap overseas food commodities influence profit rates and the pressure to expand or intensify domestic agricultural production in unsustainable ways. Beyond the criticism voiced by Liebig, Marx and their 19th century contemporaries, eco-critical thought must thus shine a light on these material and political aspects of agrarian transformation in its co-development with industrialization, the expanding nutrient cycles of colonial trade and imperialism, and the uneven globalization of the food system in its different historical stages.

Rojda Başak Gümüşel The Political Economy of Wheat in the 30s' Turkey: An Ecological Marxian Perspective on the Wheat Research

This paper explores the intersection of Marxist ecological thought, scientific inquiry, and wheat cultivation and research during the 1930s. Within a transcontinental col labouration, scientists like Mirza Gökgöl integrated Marxist principles, notably adopting a Vavilovian perspective, into agricultural disciplines. In the early Republican Turkey, Gökgöl's emphasis on climate adaptability over output marked a significant theoretical shift. The impact of the 1929 economic depression on wheat, particularly in Turkey, resonated with Marxist critiques. Wheat policies in the 1930s, entwined with developmental economics, sparked theoretical debates on agrobiodiversity's role in mitigating market vulnerabilities. Gökgöl's Vavilovian approach, stressing ecological factors and regional adaptation, challenged prevailing productivity-focused policies. This paper argues that the recognition of agrobiodiversity represented a theoretical departure from traditional capitalist agricultural paradigms, echoing Marx's critique. Gökgöl's emphasis on understanding wheat in its ecological and socio-cultural context valuing the traditional knowledge of wheat farming highlights very well the enduring relevance of Marxist ecological thought and leads us to question the notion of agricultural productivity. The paper concludes by underscoring the need for a divergent theoretical approach that considers broader ecological and socio-economic dimensions in wheat cultivation, aligning with Marx's critique of modern agricultural limitations.

Çağrı İdiman The Venetian Food-Regime and the Origins of Capitalist Agriculture

The food regime analysis has emerged as a way to comprehend the geohistorical relations, dynamics, and contradictions of the global food systems. Combining Wallerstein's 'world-systems' and Aglietta's 'regulation' perspectives, it situated the rise and fall of national agricultures within the geopolitical history of world-capitalism. However, food regimes analysts have mainly focused on the last two centuries i.e., on the British and US Hegemonies. This "narrow focus" does not allow us to fully comprehend the origins, cyclical patterns, conjectural novelties and secular trends of world-capitalism's food systems. In contrast, I argue that the emergence of the Venetian food regime during the Renaissance marked the origins of capitalist agriculture. In response to the Black Death and the ensuing Feudal crisis, Venetian ruling classes reorganized their bulk goods trade with their colonies and European countries, as well as their luxuries trade with the Eastern Mediterranean. The Venetian colonial empire, Stato da Mar, reminiscent of later European empires, embodied a dynamic colonial economy. The Venetian ruling classes transformed these colonies such as Crete and Cyprus into productive centers, providing cheap labour, food, energy and raw materials for Venice's various industries. In turn, the colonies became vital markets for Venetian manufactured goods. Similarly, Venice's colonial empire was a microcosmos of the emerging European capitalist world-ecology: cheap food, money, energy and raw materials flowed towards the city, while the Venetian manufactured goods flowed in return. In short, I assert that the Venetian food-regime provides a lens through which we can examine the emergence of the early modern European World. This perspective allows us to situate, first, the origin of food regimes, and, second, the geohistorical development of food regimes within the successive cycles of capitalist world-hegemony i.e., Venetian, Dutch, British and US world-hegemonies.

Richie Nimmo The Machine in the Hive: 'Fixing' Pollination Through Digitisation in Capitalist Agribusiness

This paper analyses an emerging technology, namely 'smart' beehives, which use sensors fitted to hives to monitor and record multiple aspects of bees' behaviour and health along with proxy measures of the state of the colony such as hive temperature, weight and ambient sound, which are translated into digital data. This data feeds algorithms which produce analytics concerning colony health, the presence or absence of parasites, changing patterns of pollen-gathering and pollination, rates of honey production and storage, the progress of reproductive cycles, and how these variables interact with aspects of the environment such as the weather and seasons and the proximity, position and type of local flora. These analytics can then inform and guide multiple aspects of hive management as well as related agricultural practices and decision-making, purportedly underpinning improved efficiency, productivity, and ecological sustainability in apiculture and pollination-reliant farming. Thus the promise of smart hive technology is to contribute to addressing the global challenges of ensuring food security whilst arresting biodiversity decline in the context of climate change and increased pressures on bees and other pollinators. This 'win win' scenario is to be achieved by means of a data-rich 'precision' approach to pollination in which ecological impacts are reduced whilst yield productivity is increased, in an instance of the 'sustainable intensification' vision of agro-food production hailed

as a preferred solution to sustainability and food security challenges by multiple governments, multinational governmental bodies, think tanks, and research and investment networks and partnerships, as well as organisations representing major agribusiness companies. In this paper I draw upon ‘capitalist natures’ scholarship and Marxian political ecology in order to problematise this promissory discourse and critically trace how the technology is materialising a future-making trajectory shaped by historically entrenched relations and processes of capitalist value-making, coloniality, property and power.

B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism II

Chair: Şebnem Oğuz

Soichiro Sumida State Form and Authoritarian Liberalism: From the Perspective of the State Derivation Debate

Carl Schmitt's 1932 lecture, "Strong State and Sound Economy," shortly before the establishment of the Nazi regime, can be characterized as 'Authoritarian Liberalism' (H. Heller). His argument is known to have resonated deeply with the Ordo-liberals in Germany at the time. For the Ordo-liberals, the economy was not an independent sphere in the first place, but rather the market was fundamentally organized by the political practice of a powerful government. This basic idea of Authoritarian Liberalism was also carried over to F. Hayek, who defended authoritarianism over totalitarianism in terms of defending economic freedom. This notion remains useful today in understanding the authoritarian character of actually existing neoliberalism. My paper would like to reexamine the genealogy of Authoritarian Liberalism focused on in recent years by W. Streeck and G. Chamayou from the approach of the state derivation debate that once developed in West Germany. Schmitt's and Hayek's authoritative liberalism does not mean only totalitarianism, but constituted an institutional order that organized market freedom, in that it emphasized economic self-rule. In other words, the authority and interventionist power of the state has its *raison d'être* in the dynamics of capital, as Marx thought so. However, this problem could not be captured by traditional Marxism. This is because in traditional Marxism, as in political economy, the separation of politics and economy is a given assumption (See, W. Bonefeld, *The Strong State and the Free Economy*, Rowman & Littlefield International, 2017). In fact, Schmitt and Ordo-liberalism are much more 'objective forms of thought' (Marx) than political economy and traditional Marxism in their grasp of the state form in modern capitalism. My paper will seek to reconstruct Authoritarian Liberalism, or market liberal statism, as an essential definition for 'the state of capital' (J. Agnoli).

Maria Chiara Pozzoni, Giuseppe Quattromini Taking Conspiracy Ideation Seriously: The Gramscian Theory of "Modern Folklore"

Recently, there has been a heightened attention on conspiracy worldviews, perceived as a potential threat to the resilience of liberal democracies. However, most conspiracy studies tend to concentrate on the documentary side of these phenomena, often highlighting their most morbid aspects. This observation recalls Gramsci's complaint against the fetish erudition of folklore studies in *Prison Notebook 27*, and his statement that «to a social elite, the components of subaltern groups always have something barbaric or pathological about them» (PN25§1). Conversely, the Italian Marxist was firmly persuaded that folklore must be taken seriously as it contains the subalterns' common sense (PN27§1). Namely, such a research address is necessary to overcome the divide between the official conceptions and the "popular" ones, i.e., the worldviews expressed by those who do not consent (PN12§1). Therefore, we argue that conspiratorial attitudes should be investigated as an expression of modern folklore. The latter is marked by widespread distrust towards official worldviews and the persistent falling into popular domain of the latest scientific breakthroughs and principles, that end up being assimilated in strange ways (PN27§1). Namely, unofficial worldviews blend anachronistic elements like magic and superstitious beliefs with contemporary ones, resulting in a religious and bizarre relationship with science. This highlights the cultural state of the instrumental and subaltern classes of society (PN27§1), marked by a lack of true democracy in cultural, political, and material spheres. Consequently, with the waning of social liberation movements, dissent and marginalization manifest through folkloric notions, often taking a conservative or reactionary stance. Reminiscent of Gramsci's experience, these expressions become susceptible to manipulation by hegemonic forces, paving the way for ideologies such as fascism, grounded in folkloric language and tradition coupled with conspiratorial attitudes towards entities like the alleged "Masonic-Judaic pluto-democracies"

Timm Graßmann Marx Versus Moscow: Towards a Foreign Policy of the Working Class

One does not have to look for a Marxist theory of authoritarianism only in the 20th century. Marx himself not only described Bonapartism as a modern form of the authoritarian state, but also paid great attention to the Russian autocracy throughout almost his entire theoretical and political oeuvre. In the "Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century", he deals even exclusively with the origin, development and nature of the Russian autocracy, to which he attributed a "traditional foreign policy" aimed at the conquest of foreign territories and the destruction of democratic projects abroad. Although Russian autocracy was older than capitalism, a central point of Marx's analysis concerns its relationship to the Western powers. Contrary to the opinion of liberal historians, the West did not innocently sleepwalk into the "Russian problem", nor has it ever pursued a clever containment policy. However, in Marx's eyes, Russia's actions were not at all a reaction to Western imperialism, as so many leftists today would like to have it, either. Rather, Marx attacks Western diplomacy for its Russophile spirit. He claims that, while the West, against its economic and political interest, allows Russia's rise, modern Russia, through manipulation, intrigue and infiltration, uses the power of the West as a tool for its own project of world domination. Because Marx had observed in the Crimean War that the Western bourgeoisie would never strive to contain Russia, this aim played an even greater role in his own political struggle. He was a passionate supporter of independent and democratic nation-states in Eastern Europe as a means to counter Russian expansionism. Fending off the encroachments of reactionary and autocratic great powers, of which Russia ranked first, was the centerpiece of what he envisioned a "foreign policy of the working class" to be.

B518 Gender and Sexuality: Social Reproduction I

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Sofia Adam Social Reproduction: Inside, Outside and Beyond Capitalism

The proliferation of contributions referring to social reproduction has resulted in the formation of a theoretical corpus as Social Reproduction Theory (SRT). The initial contributions focused on reproductive work, on the work necessary to produce and reproduce labour power and/or workers themselves. The main concern was to bring to the light the unrecognised and value-producing activities taking place mainly in the domestic sphere and by women. Since these early debates, the concept of social reproduction has enlarged to include: "the activities and attitudes, behaviors and emotions, and responsibilities and relationships directly involved in maintaining life, on a daily basis and intergenerationally." (Brenner and Laslett, 1991, p. 314). In this way, social reproduction is distinguished from societal reproduction which "indicates the reproduction of an entire system of social relations" and focuses on "the more specific domain of the renewal and maintenance of life and of the institutions and work necessary therein" (Arruzza, 2016). Social reproduction is a broader concept than care because it also includes activities beyond the intimate dimensions of life. More importantly, the concept of social reproduction unveils the hierarchical and exploitative aspects of these activities whereas the concept of care conveys a more consensual approach in the undertaking and implementation of these activities. The concept of social reproduction enables a richer understanding of the enduring capitalist crisis. Framing it as a social reproduction crisis, we are in a better position to understand the structural tendency of capitalism to erode its very preconditions of existence. This paper revisits SRT within the marxist feminist tradition in order to detect differential usages of the concept (descriptive, analytical and/or deontological) and explore its relation to wider societal reproduction. In this latter sense, we intend to explore social reproduction within capitalism and possibly beyond.

Gökbörü Sarp Tanyıldız Desiring Social Reproduction

his paper argues that examining the relationship between desire and social reproduction generates a set of important problems about classical and contemporary marxist social theory. After a brief exposition of these related problems and their political implications for revolutionary social transformations, I dwell on the specific relationship between the concepts of labour-power, labour, and value. I reconsider the relationship between these core concepts through an exploration of phenomenological and post-phenomenological conceptualizations of desire. In particular, I concentrate on three distinct approaches: desire as the orientative vector of motility; the trinity of desire proper, unconscious desire, and sexual desire; and (sexuate) desire as the excessive effectuation of the movement towards the

Absolute. I demonstrate that each of these approaches reconfigures the relationship between labour-power, labour, and value differently. I argue that in order for these different reconfigurations to be politically operable, a clear conceptual distinction between social construction of desire, social regulation of desire, social organization of desire, social production of desire, and social reproduction of desire must be discerned. I conclude the paper by forwarding that such work necessitates that the relationship between desire and social reproduction be thought through the concept of social relations.

Ankica Cakardic Social Reproduction and the Abolition of the Nuclear Family

In the capitalist mode of production, social relations are necessarily based on exploitation and are riddled with conflict. In order for the class relations thus established to survive in a bourgeois society, they must, as well as the productive capacities they utilise, be reproduced. One of the key units that ensures the reproduction of social relations and productive forces within capitalism – beside a series of public services that are being systematically suffocated in neoliberalism – is family. This somewhat unromantic fact about the family, which was already alluded to by Friedrich Engels, as well as multiple subsequent traditions of social reproduction theory and the wide struggles for the abolition of the family, reveals the specific role allocated to the family, namely that of a focal point for social reproduction. Despite the fact that family represents an ideological mystification and a political project, that not all families are the same, that the idea of men as “providers” is undergoing a serious crisis, and that not all families are even heterosexual, the legal and political project of “familialisation” has never been stronger. This is not to be ascribed simply to religion or traditionalist conservatism, but to the morals of the market. That concept presumes a radical rerolling back of the social and the neoliberal practice of outsourcing the burden of social responsibility to families. It is precisely in that context that the abolition of social responsibility of the nuclear family should be examined.

B516 Marxism and Technology: Critical Inquiries

Chair: Özgür Narin

Henry Halpin Artificial Intelligence and Real Abstraction

The increasing externalization of knowledge via “big data ” and algorithms has led to the phenomena of artificial intelligence, where the intellectual labour previously characteristic of the bourgeoisie has become itself increasingly automated. In order to grasp the essence of this shift, Sohn-Rethel provides a framework for understanding cognition, automation, and the possible unity of “head and hand” in the future. Given the varied scientific developments in cognitive archaeology to artificial intelligence, it is increasingly vital to re-assess Sohn-Rethel’s attempt to understand the division between intellectual and manual labour. We will extend his historical analysis of social synthesis to the new forms of cognitive synthesis enabled by the historical development of personal computing and the Internet. While the Web provides yet another field of rapid expansion of this externalized knowledge, the rise of artificial intelligence has led to the enclosure of these digital commons: The entire Web is a form of raw input into a new kind of opaque automated machinery governed by the capitalist class. Yet the question of the production of value by machines returns, as do other questions of the role of knowledge in capitalist – and potentially non-capitalist – production. We hypothesize that – following the desire for a unified science as explored by the abandoned work of Soviet theorist Bogdanov – a new kind of cognitive science is possible via the applications of historical materialism. This framework would go beyond the mere automation of intellectual labour to set the stage for the real movement towards a unity of intellectual and manual labour, which in turn entails the abolition of artificial intelligence as a reification of the collective knowledge of humanity.

Sayan Bhattacharyya Transforming Epistemic Invisibility in Networked Cognitive Capitalism Through Probabilistic Metadata

One possible way to understand Marx’s description of how “the new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange, weird spell, are turned into sources of want” (1978) is to read him as daring us to re-magine lacks into affordances, through a rearrangement of the possibilities inherent in how things are, into how they could be. Defamiliarizing of normative habits of how we name things is an important component of such rearrangements. In this paper, I describe how a lack of this kind can be turned into an capability. The “lack” in question that I address is that caused by the network effect

of cognitive capitalism (Moulier-Boutang 2011), which wreaks epistemic violence by tending to invisibilize, within economies of knowledge in which “wealth” is recognitional or citational, those agents that are less networked (Bhattacharyya 2022). In this paper, I will show how the same kind of network effect, however, can also redress epistemic invisibilities through the non-rivalry of presence that network effects, imagined as probability distributions, facilitate. My paper builds its argument by grounding itself in a case study drawn from the area of metadata. Many non-Western societies have navigated historical paths different from the West’s (Chakrabarty 2000, Chibber 2013), which makes canonical metadata concepts inadequate to their complex realities (Bhattacharyya 2017). Aaron Mendon-Plasek has argued for a revisionist history of computing and AI, drawing a distinction between the brittle, rule-based “formal” approach of symbolic computing and the inductive, discovery-based, emergent approach of the connectionist machine-learning paradigm (2023). My paper will trace the congruence between the latter paradigm and networked cognitive capitalism through the frame of probabilistic representation. Drawing upon the recent history of South Asia, I demonstrate how such a representational scheme can effectively express, and thereby visibilize, a plurality of historical subjectivities in metadata. References: Bhattacharyya, Sayan. (2017) “Words in a World of Scaling-up: Epistemic Normativity and Text as Data”, *Sanglap: Journal of Literary and Cultural Inquiry*, Vol 4, No 1. Bhattacharyya, Sayan. (2022) “Epistemically Produced Invisibility.” In *Global Debates in the Digital Humanities*, Domenico Fiormonte, Sukanta Chaudhuri, and Paola Ricaurte (Eds.). University of Minnesota Press. Chakrabarty, Dipesh. (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chibber, Vivek. (2013) *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. Verso. Marx, Karl. (1978). Speech on the anniversary of the People’s Paper. In D. McLellan (Ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected writings* (pp. 338-339). Oxford University Press. Mendon-Plasek, Aaron. (2023) “Irreducible Worlds of Inexhaustible Meaning: Early 1950s Machine Learning as Subjective Decision-Making, Creative Imagining, and Remedy for the Unforeseen.” *British Journal of the History of Science [BJHS] Themes* (Volume 8: Histories of Artificial Intelligence: A Genealogy of Power), December 2023. Moulier-Boutang, Yann. (2011) *Cognitive Capitalism*. Polity Press.

Malav Kanuga Technology, Communication, and Movement Infrastructure in an Era of Crisis and Convergence

Recognizing the current conjuncture, this paper explores the changing role of media and communications in the cohering of social struggles by anti-systemic social movements. Transforming structural relations of media and technology, and their tactical uses, we argue, are key components to shifting the terrain upon which such movements build, both by tech and media workers as well as by everyday participants of digital media technologies in social movements. In response to a deepening organic crisis, we argue for the importance of organizing against and beyond the existing political economy of platform media by building key sites of movement media infrastructure as communicative nodes of power that can serve as one of several determining factors for the direction of popular movements and the generalization of new notions and political programs around which a counter-hegemonic consensus may emerge for society. Indeed, as we argue, transformative resistance and collective power will depend on the ability to simultaneously develop movement-based media infrastructures, decentralize technological governance, and to intensify workers organizing in the media and communications sector—to deepen international communication processes and relationships to an ongoing global mass movement against the rise of antidemocratic politics, popular authoritarianism, and other morbid symptoms of a declining order. In order to trace how media-based movements might intervene in this horizon of possibilities which comprise our collective future, the paper analyzes the landscape from which they emerged in the neoliberal era of technocapitalism and the ensuing epoch of anti-systemic contention from the Zapatistas to the beginnings of a new wave of workers’ struggle that first gained traction at the onset of the “twilight of neoliberalism” (roughly 2008 to 2012) and has since erupted on the heels of the pandemic (2020 to present).

B522 Althusser on Historical Materialism and Politics

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

Panagiotis Sotiris Lenin: Philosophy and/as Politics

The aim of this presentation is to revisit Lenin’s relation to philosophy and the way this was linked to his particular conception of revolutionary politics. Taking as starting point Louis Althusser’s reading of Lenin on philosophy I will try to show how Lenin had an acute understanding of the political stakes of philosophical debates, but also of the ways

that materialist philosophy, as particular theoretical practice, represented the particular form of militant intellectuality that is indispensable for any antagonistic political practice. Moreover, by reading the Philosophical Notebooks along with his reading of particular conjunctures and the many instances of a 'practical dialectics' in action in his texts, I will try to show how Lenin's encounter with figures such as Hegel was very far from any conception of a "dialectical materialist" philosophical system, such as the one that would be the object of the official political ideology in the USSR. In this sense, the "philosopher" Lenin is not to be found only in his explicitly philosophical texts, but in his very confrontation with strategic question and the uneven relation between philosophy, analysis of the conjuncture and mass political intellectuality. This particular practice of philosophy by Lenin remains an indispensable point of reference for any discussion on the possibility of new militant philosophical practice.

Ozren Pupovac Althusser's Politics of Structure

There remains something strange in Althusser's recourse to the concept of structure: a genuine horizon of necessity, the seat of the concept, the moment of the constitution of objectivity, the very form of the emergence and reproduction of scientificity (in its apodicticity, and its clinical and critical separation from ideology), "structure" paradoxically also seems to designate the slippage of the "theoretical" into the "practical", the (con)fusion of "science" and "politics". For in and through his attempts to dialecticise "structure" (through concepts of "overdetermination", "a complex whole structured in dominance", etc.) is Althusser not directly placing "knowledge" under the injunction of political action, and thus also the rationality of science under the condition of politics? Does "science" also not designate precisely the need for a retroactive rationalization -- if not also an anticipation -- of ruptural political decisions which arise from historical contingency? If so, how is it then possible to maintain the distinction scientific/ideological? And what critical role is then left for philosophy, if its conceptual policing against homonymy makes room for a lying in the wait for political novelties?

Anna Beria The Concept of the "Common" in Spinoza in Relation to the Third Kind of Knowledge - Intellectual Love or Intuitive Knowledge Beyond, or as an Alternative to Rational Reason

For some time now, Spinoza has been one of the central figures for the critical Marxist theory. What has especially been important in some streams of scholarship about Spinoza-Marx relationship is his concept of the Common Notions and the transindividual social rationality (of the City) that stems from it (see Deleuze as well as Balibar), going against traditional dichotomies between ontology and politics or epistemology and ethics, and subverting the dualist categories of individual/community, subject/object, theory/practice. On the other hand, what has remained enigmatic in Spinoza and, consequently, in Spinoza-Marx encounter for the Spinozist-Marxist tradition is the Third Kind of Knowledge, or the Intuitive Knowledge/Intellectual Love, beyond or as an alternative to the Rationalism of 2nd kind of knowledge and its correspondent sociality (City/State), while still being based on the concept of the Common, since the transition to it happens precisely through reaching the most general Common Notion – the Idea of God/Nature. But since epistemology is always at the same time epistemontology (Kordela) in Spinoza, this transition is not only one of knowledge, but also of social ontology. What is then the correspondent sociality of the 3rd kind of knowledge, and what is the importance of the concept of the Common (or common notion) for it? This concept of Common (notion) in relation to its ultimate radical potential of envisaging an alternative (to) rationality through the Third Kind of (Intuitive) Knowledge/Intellectual Love beyond utilitarian rationality, with its socio-political connotations, are seldomly examined together in Spinozist Marxist tradition. This paper will look precisely at that relation. In doing so, this paper will prepare the ground for the comparison between this transition in Spinoza – where the logic of the external rational causality is transformed into (or is discovered as) the internal self-expression and, therefore into freedom (Deleuze), and the transition from the Capitalist society to Communist Society, or the passage from 'the realm of necessity' and reason to the 'realm of freedom' or revolutionary practice in Capital vol. III in Marx, with its relevant use of the concept of the Common and Communism there.

B409 Marxism, Fascism and Authoritarianism – The Greek Case : Jacobin Greece: An Anatomy of the Present Crisis

Chair: Aylin Topal

George Souvlis Decoding the Greek Alt-Right: Gender, Conspiracies and Nationalist Movements

The paper project aims to map the emerging Alt Right in Greece at a politically crucial moment, both because of the global rise of far-right politics and because of the developments in the Greek political scene, which culminated in the election of three far-right parties at the Greek Parliament in June 2023. Building on a previous research project – published under the title “Mainstreaming the Far Right in Greece: Gender, Media, Armed Forces and the Church” and hailed as a book of reference - which looked at the mechanisms, processes and ideologies that have contributed to the normalization of far-right political formations in recent years, this paper aims to trace the transformations of the Far Right in Greece in the perspective of global developments which indicate a growing acceptance of authoritarian politics. The popular appeal of the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn in Greece was articulated around a series of rather “typical” features of far-right ideology, such as racism, an anti-immigrant sentiment, an openly inimical stance towards LGBTQI issues, and the expression of aggressive nationalism. The emerging Alt Right is certainly edified upon the same ideological features, nonetheless, in its attempt to expand its reach, it has a “softer” yet more insidious profile, propagated not only in strictly political terms but also in cultural ones, with the presence of mediatic personalities who normalize the far-right rhetoric and popularize sentiments of anger and fear. The autonomization of identity politics, the co-optation of feminist and LGBTQI demands by the Far Right, the adversarial language employed, and the more “acceptable” and “mainstream” profiles of its proponents, the appropriation of a vocabulary of “rights”, and “resistance to the establishment” purposely blur the lines between the Far Right and the Far Left. In this context, precise knowledge of the field and analytical work would contribute to the dispelling of such confusions, thus making this research significant for emancipatory politics and the movements that aim to challenge the existing status quo of the country

Giorgos Velegrakis From Austerity to Privatizations and Vice-Versa: Some Thought on the Crisis-Driven Environmental Conflicts in Greece

his presentation examines austerity as a policy and practice that is dangerous not only for human societies and economies, but also for more-than-human ecologies and lives. Often presented as an economic tool that can 'fix' an economic crisis, austerity nevertheless carries serious environmental consequences which are not systematically documented or theorized. Greece is a pivotal case for understanding this complex between austerity, recovery and privatization programs and the environmental conflicts. Between 2010 and 2018, the country received financial assistance by the European Union, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund (collectively known as the Troika) that led to: a) the intensification of environmental destruction in the name of economic recovery, b) the exacerbation of extractive projects and c) the increase of socio-spatial and environmental inequalities within the North/South binaries. The presentation tries to provide evidence for this analysis by researching the crisis and post-crisis environmental movement in Greece mainly against extractive projects (gold mining and hydrocarbon explorations). Yet, Greece is not a stand-alone or exceptional case-study but a typical example of how austerity and the so-called recovery programs work as a class politics that increases inequalities. Therefore, the presentation offers a renewed analysis on the multidimensional and multiscale characteristics of environmental debts, recoveries, and reparations.

Alexandros Minotakis Monopolies and New Forms of Media-State Convergences in the Greek Media System

The present paper examines a) the relationship between media organizations and neoliberalism in general and b) the relationship between the Greek Media System and neoliberalism in the past 3 decades. Neoliberalism is conceptualized in a dual manner: as a process of change within the ruling ideology and as an actual policies that transform the socio-political alliances of contemporary capitalism. Emphasis is placed upon the convergence between commercial media organizations and the neoliberal narratives surrounding the Memorandum and austerity policies. This convergence undermines the "relative independence" of media organizations vis-a-vis economic and political power. Therefore, present thesis concludes by studying the ramification of crisis and neoliberalism for the Greek Media System and the legitimacy crisis that ensued.

Antonis Faras Navigating Through Stormy Seas: Economic Inequality, Political Narratives, and the Quest for Alternatives in Greece

The intertwining of Greece's economic indicators with the socio-political landscape, particularly during times of European and international crises, reveals a complex narrative of governance, societal response, and the quest for stability amidst turmoil. Analysis of Greece's GDP per capita alongside income inequality ratios from 2004 to 2021 indicates not just economic fluctuations but a deeper, structural challenge to equitable growth and social cohesion. As the Mitsotakis government navigates these "stormy seas," the prevailing sentiment among various societal

segments—petty bourgeois, peasants, and the poor—leans towards maintaining a semblance of stability, even if it is deemed miserable by some. This cautious approach, rooted in fear of exacerbating existing vulnerabilities, underscores a reluctance to challenge the status quo, thereby stifling the formation of a significant opposition movement. The allegory of navigating through stormy seas with a fragile ship serves as a metaphor for the broader challenge the left in Greece faces: to articulate a compelling alternative that addresses both internal and external pressures, ensuring a more equitable and resilient future. This talk posits that the current political task transcends the reproduction of previous rhetorical paradigms and to cultivate new narratives and demands that resonate with the contemporary consciousness of the Greek people.

B311 The Crisis in Historical Materialism Sponsored by the Institute for the Radical Imagination

Chair: Cihan Özpınar

The Marxist intellectual tradition has been under steady attack and erosion since, at least, the 1970s. It has come to be accepted by many within capitalist societies that Marxism is a tradition that belongs to the past. Perhaps still valid as an object of historical nostalgia and curiosity, historical materialism, it is declared, can only be of contemporary relevance when it is subsumed, revised, and rearticulated through other intellectual traditions (rational choice theory, systems theory, phenomenology, discourse theory, etc.). Thus, we have witnessed a steady flow of attempts to salvage historical materialism by placing it within some non-Marxist intellectual framework. Such have been the attempts of Jurgen Habermas, Jon Elster, Adam Przeworski, Jean Baudrillard, Francois Lyotard, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, and many more in the last 40 plus years. The overarching theme of this proposed panel is to show that historical materialism as it was deployed and reimagined by Antonio Gramsci and those who have followed in his footsteps (especially Nicos Poulantzas and Antonio Negri) continues to be vital for understanding the current political and cultural conjuncture in capitalist societies. In fact, the papers will argue that the class analysis and focus on social struggles and agency that is at the heart of historical materialism have never been more relevant for understanding the current transformation of the national state, ideology, war making, and technoscientific domination.

Peter Bratsis Disembedded Homelands: Speed, Struggle, and the Transnationalization of the Capitalist State

Bruno Gulli Synthesis and Immanence in Antonio Gramsci

Kristin Lawler Sabotage, Technology, and War

B401 Decolonial Politics in European Peripheries: Redefining Progressiveness, Coloniality and Transition Efforts

Chair: Pinar Bedirhanoğlu

Sanja S. Petkovska The Future of Academic Mobility and Labour in Europe

The introduction of EHEA (European Higher Education Area) and ERA (European Research Area), represented more an international initiative rather than a designed policy reform. Still, it aimed to facilitate academic mobility by equalising academic titles and degrees in the continent. Within the enormous investments and legislative efforts of the EU and neighbouring countries, the entire legislative composition of higher education structures has been modified to comply with the principles. Two decades later, it is time to reexamine the entire process and question the given state and its broader meaning taking into account the centre-periphery relations in the knowledge production system. Therefore, the task of this reexamination is twofold. Firstly, the Bologna treaty's main goal has been to facilitate mobility and knowledge production. Except noticing that this goal follows the general principle of free market implied in the EU policy, we can also notice that changing the legislation cannot bring any dynamic itself, especially when none of the surrounding mechanisms supports it. Therefore, in the final instance, the international legislative initiative could be understood as an irrational and free-floating mechanism whose meaning and real consequences are yet to be understood. Secondly, based on the essay to be published soon in the Journal of Praxis in

Higher Education, I aim to examine whether the concept of academic citizenship as a recognised status could be useful in solving some of the contradictions academics who move across the continent for academic training or labour are facing because of this incomplete reform of higher education and research. Despite being a problematic concept with challenging implications and histories, citizenship here is understood as a geopolitically situated status of academics necessary for mutual recognition, formation of the professional community and self-consciousness needed for a meaningful agency and engagement in initiating more rational solutions within the political economy of higher education and research

Valentin Quintus Nicolescu “Slaves in Our Country”: Dynamics of Nationalism in Romania and the Rise of the Populist Rig

My presentation is an attempt to investigate how postcolonial historical experiences, neo-colonialist global policies, and chronic underdevelopment are shaping the national(ist) discourse in the European periphery, in the case of Romania. To do that, I am discussing Romania’s economic and symbolic peripherality and its structural impact on the formation and dynamics of Romanian national ethos. Subsequently, I also try to contextualize Eastern European postcolonial history within the broader postcolonial theoretical field and to try to refine a framework that would prove helpful to future researchers of the Eastern European periphery. In writing my presentation, I am fully aware and cautious of the methodological nationalism’s trap, and therefore I try to structure my investigation accordingly, by following two main dimensions when examining the dynamics of the contemporary Romanian nation(alism) – a transnational one and a societal one, both understood as intertwined in the process of (re)producing the national(ist) discourse and identity. Nevertheless, this presentation is more of an exploratory endeavor, requiring a deeper immersion in the issue of so-called minor nation formation and dynamics in the European periphery.

Alkisti Prepi, Costas Gousis Neocolonial Migration Policies, EU Resilience, and the Role of Greece

In our presentation, we argue that in order to approach the question of decolonial politics in European peripheries, we first need to understand and analyse the position that the periphery holds within that very system. Focusing on the case of Greece, we emphasise the link between the two major crises Greece dealt with during the last decade, namely the debt crisis (2010) and the so-called “refugee crisis” (2015). On the one hand, the treatment of Greece through the imposed structural adjustment programmes highlights the specificities of neo-colonialism in European peripheries and the EU’s North–South divide. On the other hand, the European anti-immigrant policies as implemented by the Greek state shed light on what Balibar calls the emergence of a real ‘European apartheid’. Both are indicative of the double role that the European peripheries can assume, namely that of both the colonised and the coloniser. Along these lines, the so-called “refugee crisis” and the subsequent 2016 “EU-Turkey refugee deal” are rethought in parallel with “resilience”, presented as the prevailing crisis management tool. Emphasising the structural link between resilience, neoliberalism, and the neo-colonial migration policies, we elaborate on how resilience works as a new means of subjectification and how it hinders social change efforts.

16:15-18:00 | SESSION 6

B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture Critical Readings in/on the Anthropocene

Chair: Selma Değirmenci

Haziran Zeller Global Arson and Social Metabolism

In his 2023 essay “Prometheus’s Remorse”, the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk develops an analysis of modern society and its negative effects. Sloterdijk especially tries to understand how capitalism disregards its environment and finally endangers mankind’s survival respectively its comfortable, well-tempered reproduction on Earth. In my paper, I would like to first reconstruct Sloterdijk’s argument and then show why his approach can be criticized as technicist: It is focused on the concrete means which mankind uses in its metabolism with nature. In this sense, Sloterdijk takes the myth of Prometheus rather literally. The problem to him seems to be that it was fire which

Prometheus stole from the gods. This explains the subtitle of the essay: “From the Gift of Fire to Global Arson”. In Sloterdijk’s analysis, to put it very simply, contemporary society appears as a gigantic industrial complex burning fossil fuels. He lacks an understanding of the social form. As I think that Sloterdijk’s view is exemplary for the popular ideological tendencies mentioned in the CFP of the subsection on ecology, a Marxist perspective cannot neglect him. This is especially the case, since Sloterdijk explicitly uses Marxian language in his argument, starting with the concept of exploitation and ending with a variation of the last sentence from “Communist Manifesto”: Working Men of All Countries, Unite! Sloterdijk appears to be a very sophisticated representant of an ideology that does not neglect social (class) relations – but distort them. To put it positively, my paper will elaborate what exactly Marx meant with the twofold metabolism mentioned in “Capital”: Why are there always two different and contradicting rationalities at work in capitalism (instrumental Reason and its social usage)? How do they relate to each other? And where are the social relations in this picture?

Florian Geisler Nature and Determination in Contemporary Materialisms

Historical Materialism is an essential tool for evaluating the progressive character of social change. In a world of capitalism, where social relations are changing and transforming seemingly by them-selves as an ‘automatic subject’ (Marx 2017, 169) – e.g. in the sense of social implications of a rising organic composition of capital (Shaik 1990, 307) – materialism helps by trying to understand underlying changes in social reproduction. Only with some level of distinction between changes at the base and their determining effects on the superstructure is it possible to evaluate the ‘true’ progressive impact of political change (Jaeggi 2023). Successful materialist theories are those that offer some level of ontological distinction between ‘true’ progress and ‘mere’ efforts of restabilizing flailing hegemonies, like e.g. the theory of progressive neoliberalism does (Fraser 2019). Regarding contemporary ecological questions however, traditional forms of materialism have not yet formulated a convincing theory to derive the limits of political progress within capitalism more precisely. It is difficult to substantiate the claim that the ecological crisis dynamic is irresolvable within capitalism. Left politics hardly benefit from the decline of centrist parties even when electorates are actively looking for credible alternatives, e.g. to austerity (Hübscher et al. 2023), because their alternative narratives lack theoretical coherency and hence credibility. Political majorities especially in the West opt for incremental ecological reforms, promethean resolutions of the climate question and continued outsourcing of unintended ecological side effects into peripheries partly because Materialism has difficulties in modeling determining effects between the economic base in an age of extractivism and its social superstructures (Charbonnier 2021). A Marxist perspective on ecology, therefore, has an epistemological dimension. In what way can “nature” be meaningfully discussed in Marxist framework of social theory? Contemporary materialisms have different ways of answering this question. Approaches interested in social metabolism have claimed to solve the monism problem (Saito 2022, 79) that has haunted the grounding of materialist critique from the beginning (Ruben 1979). Post-Marxist approaches on the one hand try circumventing the problem of a ‘material’ grounding of ecology together (Mouffe 2022). Similarly, new materialisms seem to reject any form of hierarchical ontologies in form of ‘capital-centrism’ and argues in favor of a continuous co-production of nature-capital relations (Barla et al. 2022). On the other hand, there have been efforts to defend an updated form of Cartesian property dualism as a basis for interventions against fossil-capital (Malm 2018). Efforts to re-open the state derivation debate have made further headway in categorizing the different epistemological positions on the question of the relative (non-) autonomy of the state regarding the field of ecology (Battistoni 2024). Contemporary materialisms, in sum, do not only disagree on what materialism knows about nature. They disagree about how materialism can know anything about the relation of capitalism and the environment in the first place. The paper discusses advantages and drawbacks of some of these avenues and suggests a solution to the question of how nature determines social changes in terms of a Heinrichian version of the transformation problem (Heinrich 1988), that draws parallels between the productive labour in care work and the productive labour of ‘nature’.

Onur Yilmaz A Leninist Perspective on the Climate Crisis, Politics and Movement

In this article, the reflections of the runaway climate change, one of the main dimensions of the global ecological collapse, on climate policies and movements are analyzed. The possibility that the 1.5 degree warming threshold will be exceeded before the 2030s, is increasing with new data. The developing climate movement, which has manifested itself as a separate line within the ecological struggle especially since the 90s, focuses on two main issues: limiting and controlling global greenhouse gas emissions on time before exceeding the temperature thresholds; and taking

transformation, adaptation and compensation steps in the face of more severe, widespread and frequent climate disasters, taking into account the multiple social injustices of the imperialist capitalist order. The inadequacy of the tactic of mass disruption of daily life adopted by the climate movement in general, which started and spread across Europe in the form of weekly school boycotts in 2019 have been seen in practice, and the process continues to develop not as expected by the vanguard organizations of the movement. When combined with a petty bourgeois consciousness, the emphasis on urgency leads to a tendency among the masses towards the lesser good, towards "radical" reforms like GND or degrowth. Moreover, this emphasis emanating from Europe has so far failed to intertwine with other "urgencies" in the world. However, it is also possible to push this objective climate reality to the revolutionary line with another discourse of urgency. In this respect, eco-leninism discussions can yield theoretically and politically fruitful results. Including climate and ecological disasters in the strategies of revolution in each country, using ecological destruction as a common ground that will turn revolts into global waves of rebellion, and turning the climate crisis into civil war will be topics that the leninist discourse is not alien to.

B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Marxism, Fascism and Authoritarianism – The Greek Case II

Chair: Demet Şahende Dinler

Fotis Koutsopoulos Comparing the Greek Neorealists' IR Discourse: The Allure of Power Among the Russo-Ukrainian and Palestinian Issue

The proposed article aims to present the discourse of the Greek Neorealist School in the broad field of International Relations and to compare its stance on the Russo-Ukrainian conflict and the Palestinian Issue. The main representatives of International Relations in Greece, who are dominated by the neorealist paradigm, swear allegiance to NATO at every public appearance. However, the Russo-Ukrainian conflict marked a delicate moment when what appeared to be a cohesive unity began to crumble as many voices from that school of thought, took a supportive stance towards the Russian side. However, in the case of Palestine, where the genocide of the Palestinian People is still ongoing, the Greek Neorealists did their best to support the IDF and its false claim of "self-defence". This article is primarily concerned with reassessing the public behaviour and unity of the Greek Neorealist School. In doing so, it aims to examine the bonding agent of Greek Neorealists beyond their NATO allegiance, focusing on how they perceive the concept of power and how it is utilised, albeit mediated, for domestic political issues.

Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez Defend the Nation, Crush the People: Desertion and Draft Evasion in Greece, 1912-22

The formation of nation-states in the lands of the former Ottoman Empire in the twentieth century was accompanied by frequent bouts of ethnic violence. There is an established critical historiography that has challenged mainstream nationalist accounts, shedding light on the brutality of ethnic conflict in the region. However, the rise of the modern bourgeois state also witnessed intense violence against the "dominant" ethnic groups, as its centralizing practices and institutions came against local forms of autonomy previously tolerated by the old imperial polity. This paper analyses state violence within the post-Ottoman nation through the case study of conscription in Greece during the First World War, although it will draw some analogies with neighbouring countries. Compulsory military service during the wars of 1912-22 elicited intense resistance that at times mutated into mass rebellions, such as those of Chalkidiki and Samos (1916) and Crete (1921). While desertion at times displayed apolitical features, and early collective revolts against conscription adopted a conservative and monarchist outlook, there was a tendency for opposition to acquire more modern and revolutionary undertones, with a significant sector of the reservists transitioning to communism in the 1920s. This paper traces the political evolution of this movement, the repressive response of the authorities, and draws broader conclusions about the violent origins of the modern bourgeois state.

Costas Gousis, Angelos Kontogiannis Mandros The Eurozone Crisis and Public Attitudes Towards the EU During The 2010s: Evidence From Greece

The advent of the Eurozone crisis in 2009 and the policy responses put forward by the E.U. institutions unsettled established citizens' perceptions with regards to the accountability of their national governments and the responsiveness of E.U.-level actors to their needs and demands. In crisis-hit countries, like Greece, the Troika

(European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund) dictated far-ranging reforms in the labour market, the public administration, the banking and the social security system. According to the mainstream narrative of “Greek exceptionalism”, the Greeks were depicted as lazy people who deserved to be punished by the Troika. Successive Greek governments implemented harsh austerity policies, an economic “shock treatment” with far-reaching political consequences. This is particularly illustrated by the cycles of contention and a significant rise of popular anti-EU sentiment during the Greek crisis. Considering the above, we present findings from our research into public attitudes towards the EU in Greece and how they changed during the last decade. First, our presentation sheds light on the significant drop in the support for Europeanism during the first half of the 2010s and highlights the salience of the E.U. dimension in Greece’s domestic political debate. Secondly, it examines the July 2015 referendum, a pivotal event that brought the Greek public opinion in open and direct confrontation with the E.U. institutions, marking the zenith of Euroscepticism in Greece. Finally, it discusses the growing levels of political cynicism in the post-referendum period, exploring the impact of the TINA (There Is No Alternative) doctrine on pro-EU and anti-EU stances.

B312 Gender and Sexuality: Marxist Feminist Politics

Chair: Coşku Çelik

Demet Bolat 'Commoning Value' as an Alternative Rationality to Capitalist-Patriarchal (De)Valorizations: Women's Practices of Self-Valorization in Common Spaces in Turkey

In this paper, I aim to explore how and why “commoning value” emerges as an alternative form of value in response to capitalist-patriarchal (de)valorizations. I have proposed the concept of ‘commoning value’ based on qualitative research conducted in common spaces established to meet diverse needs, desires, and motivations in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Batman, and Muğla/Fethiye. I envision commoning value as a value that arises from the practices of commoning, which reflect versatile and inclusive labour approaches. In this presentation, I will propose commoning value as an alternative form of valuation challenging capitalist-patriarchal (de)valorizations, emphasizing its distinctive qualities. For this, I will first discuss how commoning value emerges throughout a politics of form-of-life (regarding Agamben) by revealing the established connections between labour and politics in common spaces. Afterward, I will examine how such a labour-value process provides a basis for women’s practices of self-valorization. Throughout this examination, I will investigate under what conditions the commoning value created in common spaces succumbs to the patriarchal machinery. Finally, I will illustrate why I imagine commoning value not as a monopolized value but as a value that spreads and leaps.

Şilan Tank A Marxist Feminist Intervention in the Study of Kurdish Women in Turkey

This paper examines how Kurdish women are addressed in the literature of gender and women's studies within the context of Turkey and aims to demonstrate why a Marxist feminist approach, taking into account the critiques of decolonial theory, is important in researching Kurdish women. Through an extensive literature review, certain gaps in existing scholarship are identified. Mainstream feminist scholarship in Turkey, despite objections from Armenian and Kurdish feminists, tends to overlook the role of colonial policies and ethnic homogenization in shaping modern Turkey’s history. This denialist feminist historiography remains resilient. In the 2000s, for the first time, scholars studied Kurdish women as political actors with regard to their militancy in the Kurdish nationalist movement. However, they often failed to contextualize the experiences of Kurdish women, confusing the nationalism of the colonizer with that of the colonized. This leaves us with two successive nationalisms—Turkish and Kurdish—both oppressive to women within their respective national frameworks. Notably, scholars have dismissed the concept of racism, despite Kurdish women framing their experiences as racism since the 1990s. In the presence of the silencing of Kurds in academia, new literature emerges, primarily developed by Kurdish researchers influenced by decolonial theory and Jineoloji. This scholarship predominantly focuses on Kurdish women's militancy, and it tends to understudy the mundane life and fails to see the world “in a grain of sand.” The scholars’ overemphasis on militancy echoes the consistent demand for recognition in Kurdish grassroots movements. Acknowledging the significance of this demand, the paper argues for a Marxist feminist intervention that goes beyond the limitations of the politics of recognition. Drawing on existing ethnographic and historical data on Kurdish women living in Turkey, I aim to

demonstrate how institutional racism and the conjunction of modern and traditional patriarchies have culminated in their subordination and exploitation.

Damla Uyar The Affective Reproduction of Patriarchy and Emancipatory Potentials in Feminist Politics

With the emergence of feminist politics and theory, it has become evident that we live under not only capitalist inequality but also gender inequality. However, understanding both the subjective and the collective reproduction of inequalities require an analysis of the reproduction at an affective level. For these purposes, my presentation aims at dissecting the intersection of affect theory and gender inequality, with a keen focus on the affective reproduction and sustenance of patriarchal structures. Drawing inspiration from Jason Read's (2023) insightful analysis of capitalism's affective reproduction, my study ventures into uncharted territories of how the gender system cultivates emotional responses that fortify gender disparities and patriarchy in the oppressed groups. It ambitiously seeks to unravel the transformative potential of feminist movements, as they navigate and possibly remodel the affective landscape of gender relations.

Central to this argument is an exploration grounded in affect theory and political theory, with a spotlight on Spinoza's dissections of human emotions and desires, alongside Jason Read's examinations of desire and its affective reproduction within capitalist frameworks. This inquiry extends these theoretical paradigms to the realm of gender, scrutinizing the specific affects patriarchal systems evoke among marginalized groups, including women and queer communities. In this, I endeavor to utilize Sara Ahmed's (2004) proposal of understanding emotions as belonging to a certain economy of circulation. In accepting "emotions as a form of capital" (Ahmed, 45), in which effects are produced as the effects of the circulation of signifiers, we can conceive the affective dimensions of (non-man) subjectivity from a social perspective where the structural inequalities such as patriarchy take a determining place. Leveraging Megan Boler's (1999) assertion that emotions, as primary sites of control, simultaneously harbor the seeds of political resistance, my argument further delves into feminist movements' strategic deployment of negative emotions as tools for emancipatory action. In this, I aim to benefit from Clare Hemmings' (2012) conceptual journey from "affective dissonance" to "affective solidarity" in feminist politics, together with Cvetkovich's (1992) conception of the expression of emotions as a channel of political action, contra an individual therapeutic containment. References: Ahmed S (2004) *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Boler M (1999) *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education*. London: Routledge. Cvetkovich A (1992) *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Hemmings C (2012) 'Affective Solidarity: Feminist Reflexivity and Political Transformation'. *Feminist Theory* 13(2): 147–161. mRead J (2023) 'The Affective Reproduction of Capital: Two Returns to Spinoza'. In: Seigworth G and Pedwell C (eds) *The Affect Theory Reader 2: Worldings, Tensions, Futures*. Duke University Press. pp. 367–383.

B518 Marxism, AI and Digital Commons

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

Özgür Narin "All That is Solid Melts into Air" and Then Condensed Into Data

The evolution of AI, from Cybernetics to Deep Learning and Large Language Models, has important historical turning points. The term "Cybernetics" appeared after World War II and had significant and interesting influence on both sides, capitalist bloc and Soviet side. But after the 1950s, the term "Artificial Intelligence" became widespread in the US and capitalist world. In this presentation, three points of this evolution will be discussed. What happened to the concept of Cybernetics? The class structure of the development in information technologies to "data extractivism" of late capitalism. How information technologies evolve into machines capturing consumer behaviours and predicting consumption patterns? And finally, how did the "rational" logic end up in the current irrationality of late capitalism, (AI optimism vs. doomerism, digital commons vs. surveillance)? The social meaning of the change from the post-World War II prediction algorithms of Statistical science, to the Bayesian Statistics and deep learning of modern AI methods will be discussed. In order to break the spell and the hype of AI and data, the presentation will address those issues.

Paul Reynolds Technological Power and the Culture of Inertia in Late Capitalism

Three things might be regarded as truisms within Marxist accounts of technological development. First, the contours of technologies development, form and functions are invariably products of capitalist development, and there is a direct relationship between technological development and capitalist accumulation and dispossession. Planned obsolescence is just one obvious example. Secondly, both the structures of civil societies and the larger shifts in geopolitics reflect the values and protection of technological resources and underline the complex but clear relations between corporate power and political power in advanced capitalist societies. Thirdly, capitalist technological development moulds behaviour and connectivity at the phenomenological level, where the relationship between bodies and senses are moulded around the physical/technical environs of capitalist societies. In this paper I want to explore these truisms particularly through the third of these truisms and the phenomenological function and impact of technology on bodies, minds and the production of alienated subjects. Tracing the way technology fuses critical political economy with phenomenological effects is important in connecting what many have seen as opposing rather than dialectics and contradictory relations between the concerns of Marxists who focus on Capital and those who engage with earlier works. In making this analysis, I am particularly concerned with how technologies should be seen in more than a sense of use and exploitation but also the culture and forms of interaction and distortions of alternate forms of culture. The assertion here is that current technologies depend on developing cultures of inertia and compliance/deference in their use of technology, reflected in wider issues of knowledge, engagement and lived experience.

Ahmet Gire Digital Commons, Means of Software Production, The Reproduction of Software Labor, and the Contemporary Relevance of Communist Production

A significant portion of tools used in software production falls under the category of shared resources, known as commons. These digital commons not only simplify the training process for new software developers but also ensure that the expenses in the online realm are covered by voluntary contributions. The majority of websites are hosted on Linux servers. The means of software production are different from other means of production. Firstly, it's important to highlight that the means of software production largely consist of digital commons. No monetary exchange takes place for the acquisition of these resources, regardless of whether they are created through paid labour or not. Consequently, software production doesn't necessitate massive capital accumulation. The historical progression of programming languages illustrates the escalating productivity of human labour in the software field, underscoring the correlation between this heightened productivity and the accumulation of digital commons. Having established the shared nature of means of software production, the paper contends that these resources, when organized as commons within the capitalist mode of production, also serve as fixed capital for capitalists. Nonetheless, as the paper attempts to illustrate, the communal resources employed in capital production also unveil the potential for disrupting the established framework of capitalist production relations. The shared nature of software production means can offer insights into the concept of communist production.

B516 Marxist Intellectual Practice in Turkey: Views and Experiences of Practitioners

Chair: Bruno Gulli

Yücel Demirer The Intellectual Legacy of Marxism in Turkey: Contemporary Challenges and Developments

This paper aims to introduce the historical background of the Marxist intellectual tradition in Turkey to the audience and set the stage for the following presentations. Focusing on the main ideas disseminated and discussed amongst activists and labour leaders throughout the history of the Marxist struggle in Turkey, the paper will seek to connect the contemporary challenges with their historical roots.

Hakki Özdal Evrensel Newspaper: An Experience in Daily Marxist Publication for the Working Class

This paper aims to discuss a contemporary view of the working-class press and the Marxist school of journalism in Turkey through the experience of the newspaper Evrensel. After nearly 29 years of daily publication, Evrensel's relationship with the concrete facts of the working-class struggle and the challenges it faces will be analysed through a class conflict-oriented analysis of Turkey's recent history.

Cemran Öder Left and Independent Publishing Field in Turkey in the Context of Intellectual Capital

This paper aims to draw a framework for how leftist and independent publishing invested in and accumulated the intellectual capital that feeds Turkey's cultural memory. It will try to look at the possibilities, diversity, limitations and transformation of publishing fed from Marxist heritage.

Sungur Savran How to Debate the Theory of Emancipation

Historical materialism is a theory of and for practice. Going even beyond the famous Thesis Eleven on Feuerbach, Thesis Two declares practice to be the ultimate criterion of truth, thus establishing an indissociable connection between theory and practice. Thus, Marxist theory is as indispensable for the fight for total emancipation as organizing, which is obviously not saying they are of equal importance for the struggle. In fact, it was none other than that master of organizing the working class, V. I. Lenin, who famously wrote in precisely the most organizational of his texts, What is To be Done?, that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement". But Marxist theory is not amenable to rote-learning or exegesis. In an ever-changing world in the context of the dialectics of nature and society through the prism of class struggle, all aspects of Marxist theory are naturally open to change and variation. This implies debate and even controversy of considerable depth. Marxist journals of theory are thus indispensable to the practical movement. In this presentation, I will dwell fundamentally on the history and trajectory of the quarterly Marxist journal Devrimci Marksizm, published since 2006 and with already 56 issues on its record, and its English-language annual edition Revolutionary Marxism, which is now in its ninth year. However, I intend, as far as time permits, some forays in both time and space with a comparative perspective. Thus, I will talk about the 1960s and the 1970s in Turkey, the heyday of class struggle in this country, then in particular the 1980s to examine the immensely important experience of 11. Tez (Thesis 11), and finally venture towards a comparison of the Turkish scene with that of Britain and France. Credentials: Sungur Savran received his B.A. in Political Science in 1970 and his doctoral degree in Economics in 1977. He has taught at various universities, among which Istanbul University and several universities abroad, among which The Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York. His work is centered on the Marxist critique of political economy, the world economy, and the political development of twentieth century Turkey. He has published widely, mostly in Turkish and English, but his writings have also been translated into many languages, among which Russian, Spanish, French and Greek. He is also an internationalist revolutionary militant.

B522 Household and Youth Indebtedness

Chair: Ecehan Balta

Alice Niffoi Financialization, Household Indebtedness and Imperialism According to the Marxist Theory of Dependency

Utilising Marxist analyzes of financialization and the Marxist Dependence Theory - TMD, this article seeks to examine the surge of household indebtedness as a consequence of both financialization and the imperialistic dependency relations linking the peripheries to the centre of global capitalism, in its current configuration. The focus is on the shifts in the role of the State and social policies adopted under neoliberalism, exploring how these contribute to an escalation in individual and family reliance on credit. Additionally, in peripheral states, these changes contribute to maintaining relations of dependence to the centre of the global market, ensuring the preservation of imperialism through mechanisms of value transfer amid the transformations of capitalism. Three case studies—Brazil, Turkey, and England—are taken into consideration to illustrate these dynamics and their differences. The article also assesses the applicability of Marxist Dependence Theory, initially devised to comprehend the dependent position of South American economies, and evaluates its relevance in interpreting the contemporary scenario. Key concepts, such as the

super-exploitation of labour, and recent interpretations by younger proponents, notably Tatiana Brettas' work on imperialism and financialization, are presented.

Berkay Ayhan, Ahmet Ulcay Politics of Household Indebtedness in Turkey

Households have been able to access debt instruments such as credit cards, consumer credit, car loans, and mortgages in Turkey since the onset of financialization in the 2000s. Justice and Development Party (AKP) has benefited from the micro-level household wealth acquisition along with the macro-level economic implications for the construction-led economic growth model. Turkey's politics of household debt has been analyzed with reference to forced indebtedness (Güngen & Akçay 2015), debtfare state (Güngen, 2021) as well as authoritarian debtfarism (Doğru, 2023). In this paper we ask: How do AKP governments navigate the politics of household indebtedness, and what is its specific role in the 2023 general elections? This study aims to address these questions by analyzing the political struggle over household indebtedness in Turkey through 2002-2023 Grand National Assembly minutes along with available micro- and macro-level data on household debt. We underline that despite its economic benefits to the incumbent government, household debt has destructive social implications such as bankruptcies, divorces, and suicides that became commonplace in the opposition parties' discourse. The opposition parties sought to hold the government responsible for the social implications of indebted households. In response, AKP governments portrayed debt as a private contract between banks and consumers and underlined the wealth accumulation associated with debt. References: Doğru, H. E. (2023) The politics of student loan in Turkey: regimenting the youth through authoritarian debtfarism. *New Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2023.2275014 Güngen, A. R. (2021) Borçlandırma Siyaseti: Türkiye'de Finansal İçerilme, İstanbul: İletişim. Güngen, A. R. & Akçay, Ü. (2015) Borçlandırma ve Türkiye'de Borçluluk, *Praksis*, 38, 4-9.

Havva Ezgi Doğru Governing University Youth Population through Authoritarian Debtfarism

Over the past two decades, the extensive expansion of student loan programs in Turkey has been facilitated through a governance technique; termed as authoritarian debtfarism. Although there is a substantial body of literature in Turkey analyzing the contradictions of Turkish capitalism using authoritarian neoliberalism and examining the relation between state restructuring and different fractions of capital, it often overlooks the mediation between the new economic functions of the state and the lower classes in the process of authoritarian state-making. To address this shortcoming, this research investigates the evolving economic roles of the state regarding student debt governance, achieved by the authoritarian restructuring of the Credit and Dormitories Institution (KYK) to be subordinate to the executive and shielded from democratic intervention. In pursuit of Turkish state's new economic role, the state-led expansion of student loans occurred within a tuition-free higher education framework lacking a sophisticated financial infrastructure and amidst an economic environment characterized by persistent graduate unemployment and inflationary pressures on repayment amounts. Through examination of official documents and in-depth interviews with defaulters, this research contends that authoritarian debtfarism enforces stringent market discipline on university youth, utilizing non-transparency and arbitrariness as governance mechanisms. As a result, graduates' future labour prospects are deferred through long-term debt relations, compelling them to precariously integrate into the labour market as a new segment of the relative surplus population.

B409 Nature of the Crisis in the Turkish Political Economy

Chair: Aylin Topal

Cem Oyvay, Hasan Cömert Currency Shocks and Profit Inflation Under an Authoritarian Regime: Rising Inequality in Turkey

This paper examines the impact of currency shock and high inflation on income and wealth inequality in Turkey. Following the policy rate decisions of the Central Bank of the Republic of Türkiye (CBRT), TL experienced significant depreciation in 2021, which led to high inflation and further currency shocks. The labour share in GDP declined from 27.7% in 2020 Q4 to 24.2% in 2020 Q4. The Gini coefficient increased from 0.401 to 0.433 between 2020 and 2022, reaching its highest level in the last 20 years. Due to several reasons, the increase in prices was predominantly reflected in profits. The unions and labour movements weakened under the authoritarian AKP regime, leaving the workers with

weak bargaining power at a time of high inflation. Moreover, the public statistical institute, TURKSTAT announced highly disputed CPI inflation, which has consistently been lower than the GDP deflator in 2021-2023. The relatively low CPI inflation also limited the growth of wages as the public sector wages were subject to CPI inflation adjustment, and CPI inflation also acted as a benchmark for the private sector wages. The low-interest rate policy of CBRT and FX-protected deposit accounts also boosted asset prices, including real estate prices, and generated additional wealth for the asset holders. The profits in the banking industry also peaked in 2022. The currency shocks generated additional wealth for FX account holders.

Gizem Şimşek The Irrationality of “Returning to Rational Policies” in Türkiye: Crisis and Postponement Mechanisms

Capital accumulation in Türkiye has been going through a deepened crisis in recent years. One of the important indicators of the crisis is the constant change in economic management after the 2018 general elections. In this context, with the latest change of duties in economic management, the following statement of the Finance and Treasury Minister is extremely important: " Türkiye has no other choice than to return to a rational ground." This statement is also meaningful in terms of the historical process of change in capitalist relations in Türkiye. The discourse of "returning to a rational ground", which is important for the construction of capitalism, cannot be considered as a contradiction produced only by the impasses of the crisis. Much more than this, capitalism in Türkiye and the state in which capitalism is formed is also a turning point for political power and capital accumulation. An "irrational" discourse of "returning to rational policies" emerges as a result of the necessity of change that cannot be realized in line with the wishes of capital and the state. In this respect, it is an expression that points not only to the relations of Turkish capitalism but also to capitalist relations operating on a world scale. So, does this statement mean that crisis postponement policies are insufficient, or does it mean a new short-term crisis postponement mechanism? This question is important in terms of the need for capital in the form of foreign currency, which is characteristic of a society like Türkiye that has experienced late capitalistization and late industrialization. It is possible to say that this is the main determinant of irrationality in the decisions of capital and political power in recent times. While the reflection of the crisis in political decisions points to the deepening irrationality of capitalism in Türkiye, the Türkiye Economy Model and low-interest policy, which were implemented in September 2021, have become a concrete expression of this. While the main thesis of the Model in question was put forward as a current account surplus, towards the end of 2022 the process ended in a current account deficit, and this process was accompanied by high inflation and high exchange rates. The search for “rational” policies implemented to provide capital in the form of foreign currency causes the crisis to grow further and increases the social burden of capitalism’s irrationality. The effort of capitalism in Türkiye to cope with this irrationality means simultaneously integrating into capitalist relations operating on a world scale. In this context, the "return to rational policies" that emerged in the political power after the failure of the Türkiye Economic Model, although referring to the irrationality of the previous model, did not create a meaningful change in the exchange rate and inflation policy despite the high interest policy. Based on this framework, the study aims to show the interventions made in the capital accumulation process through state and class relations, to postpone the reality of the recent crisis in Türkiye.

Ekin Değirmenci, Ozan Mutlu Is There an Overaccumulation Crisis in Turkey? Analysis of Profit Rates and Real Mass of Profits

In capitalist economies long periods of expansion and stagnation are mostly determined by the movement of the profit rate and real mass of profit. In this study, we attempt to analyze the long-term accumulation and growth dynamics of the Turkish economy by examining the movement of the profit rate and the real mass of profit.

The transition of an economy from an expansion to a crisis phase is characterized by a stagnation in the real mass of profit as a result of the long-run decline in the rate of profit. The stagnation in the mass of profit gives rise to a prolonged stagnation in the level of investment. From this perspective, we suggest that the long-run evolution of the profit rate, real mass of profit and investment in the Turkish economy in the 1960-2023 period indicates two long periods of expansion and contraction after 1960. The first expansionary period starts in the 1960s and continues until the mid-1970s. The crisis has been overcome with a transformation of the institutional structure of the Turkish economy. We argue that the second period of contraction-stagnation has shown its symptoms since the second half of the 2010s. Since the second half of the 2010s, the Turkish economy has been characterized by ongoing stagnation

similar to the previous one. It is argued that some, but not all, of the symptoms of the crisis begin to be observed during this period.

B311 Critical Political Economy: Crisis Dynamics

Ken Kawashima Japanese Fascism and Uno Kozo's Theory of Crisis

My paper discusses Uno's Theory of Crisis (1953/2022) as a means to address the historical development and repetition of fascism in Japan. Uno's Theory of Crisis offers a radical re-reading of Marx's Capital and argues that the necessity and periodicity of capitalist crisis is caused fundamentally by the commodification of labour-power and what Uno called its formal "(ir)rationality" (or *muri*, 無理, in Japanese). Unlike Marxist theories of crisis that rely on the theory of the tendency of the profit rate to fall or theories of overproduction/underconsumption to prove the necessity of crisis, Uno's theory of crisis argues that capitalist crisis is a repeated and necessary phenomenon of the contradiction between excess capital and surplus populations, which is itself caused by the (ir)rationality of the commodification of labour-power. Extending Uno's theoretical analysis of capitalist crisis to capitalism's historical stage of imperialism, I argue that Japanese fascism in the 1930s and early 1940s should be grasped as a reaction to the contradiction between excess capital alongside surplus populations in the stage of imperialism. The singularity of Japanese fascism is that its militarism and ultra-nationalism sought to resolve the contradiction between excess capital and surplus populations by means of a massive expansion of the munitions and armaments industry in the 1930s and early 1940s. Since the global crisis of 2007-08 and the Fukushima nuclear disaster of 2011, Japanese fascism has been resurrected again, as if by a repetition compulsion. Once again, its militaristic and ultra-nationalist death drive is reanimating the armaments industries, precisely as a means of resolving the capitalist contradiction of excess capital alongside surplus populations and the (ir)rationality of the commodification of labour-power.

Aslıhan Aykaç Towards A Post-Capitalist Political Economy: An Epistemological Exercise

Capitalist world economy entered the new millennium with an intense wave of economic crises, and mainstream economic responses towards the crisis-ridden economy have been in the form of post-Washington consensus, the emphasis on further deregulation and lately with alternative perspectives such as slowbalization and reshoring. Political responses came in the form of right-wing populism, left populism, democratic socialism or in the form of contentious politics. Beyond these immediate institutional responses there has been a flourishing of alternative modes of economic organization that are more local, place-based, mobilizing immediately available resources, compelling a search for new modes of thinking about the future of the world economy, the future of capitalism and given the intensifying ecological dimension of crises, the future of life on this planet. The research question seeks to unravel alternative ways of thinking about economic organization beyond the capitalist premises that have long been taken for granted. The long-term structural limitations and internal contradictions of capitalism necessitate a radical transformation in the way economic relations have been conceptualized, theorized and practically studied. Earlier critiques came from post-Marxist and dependency schools of thought, mainly scholars of Latin American studies and others from the Global South. Yet the making of an alternative epistemological domain continues with arguments of de-growth, commons and commoning, social and solidarity economies, sharing economy, gift economy, circular economies and more. These interventions in the economic realm also bring about a questioning of the political mechanism in its mainstream form, and initiate a transformative perspective. A critical deconstruction of the capitalist economy in terms of its premises, its processes and policy implications will not only provide grounds for further scholarly research but also help motivate decision-makers to change gears for more sound policy making, for hands-on response to crises, and more inclusive, participatory economic reforms. The first part of the paper will provide a brief introduction to the current state of the capitalist world economy with its crisis-ridden nature and slow recovery. The second part will present earlier critiques of the system, alternative perspectives that emerge from the non-Western world in the last fifty years. The third section will focus on the contemporary criticisms and alternative conceptualizations that directly challenge the basic premises of growth, profit, property, productivity and efficiency

and put in its place de-growth, redistributive justice, commoning, solidarity and sustainability. Finally, the paper will refer to the practical evidence of this epistemological shift, non-capitalist forms of economic organization that are germinating in different parts of the world and the political transformations that respond to such change.

Thais Hoshika Stageist Approach and Systematic Dialectics: A Dialogue Between History, Necessity and Political Authoritarianism

The “stageist approach” to the development of capitalism has been predominantly used to explain the particular conditions under which capitalist relations can reproduce themselves and temporarily resolve their contradictions. The question of how capitalism can change and still remain the same has led numerous Marxist traditions to explain conjunctures based on an extensive analysis of concrete political, economic, and ideological conditions of social reproduction at an empirical level, which implies a description of class composition, hegemonic processes, state policies, in sum, a more or less coherent whole of institutionalized practices and configurations in each area of social life. A common ground of the stageist approach is the recognition that such conjunctures must be analysed in terms of history and contingency rather than logic and necessity, leading to a subtle disruption between the simplest level of abstraction and more complex and concrete social processes, the former remaining as a fixed, underlying essence, while the latter is subject to continuing transformations. In the face of such tension, this paper aims to qualify the stageist approach by rescuing the systematic dialectics analysis in a reconciliation fashion. If, on the one hand, the stageist approach can be criticized by the hypostatization of historicity, on the other hand, systematic dialectic is reputed as incapable of dealing with moments in which the object-totality reconstruction demands the incorporation of contingency. The question is if a contingency, such as new forms of political authoritarianism, has become irreversible and, therefore, necessary to the reproduction and accumulation of capital and not an exception of a liberal democratic model. In conclusion, the acknowledgment of the incorporation of new necessities leads to an important political consequence, i.e., the capitalist mode of production becomes more restrictive, narrowing down the possibilities of its reconfigurations.

18:30-20:30 | PLENARY | D-Building 2nd Floor Grand Hall

Middle East in the Wake of War on Gaza

Chair: Ecehan Balta and Saygun Gökariksel

Sara Sagaii A New Rationality: Mapping the Rise in Western Pro-Palestine Sympathies since October 7

Support for Palestine among US Democrats and Independents has been on the rise since Trump’s presidency, and for the first time in the early 2023 it surpassed their support for Israel. This was a major milestone in US politics, given that contrary to most of Western Europe—where public sympathy with Palestinians is higher than with Israel—in the US at any given time between 2/3 to 3/4 of the general public are reliably pro-Israel. The events of Oct 7 temporarily recovered a great deal of sympathy that Israel had lost among US Democrats, but, while since then some of that gain has been lost, support for Palestine continues to rise, with a YouGov poll from late January 2024 reporting overall American sympathy with Palestinians to be double what it was on Oct 8.

Drawing from Fanon and Gramsci and following Abdaljawad Omar’s articulation of the “hopeful pathologies” of the events since Oct 7, which criticizes the reducing of the Palestinian resistance to the irrationality of retaliatory violence, I offer reflections on the dialectics of the rational and the irrational within the Western discursive space that has opened up in support of Palestine since Oct 7. Against views that criticize this support as rooted in an emotional investment in Palestinians as the perfect victims, or resort to whataboutism to dismiss this support as sentimental, I argue this rise in support is backed by a rationality that is an inevitable reaction to both the humanity of Palestinians and the dehumanizing logic of Israel’s colonial project being put on plain display to mass audiences worldwide. This condition, I argue, is in turn born, among other things, out of the seemingly irrational, utterly unadvisable from a PR-standpoint, decision of the Palestinian resistance to engage in an unprecedented pre-emptive strike against the occupation.

N. Sinan Odabaşı The Vagueness of the “Rules Based International Order” and The Significance of the Genocide Case Against Israel

The term “rules-based international order” has been used widely in the policy documents and in the public discourse, especially during the years of the Biden Administration, at times replacing “international law” which harbour explicitly written rules and mechanisms that monitors their implementation. It is a vague concept and can be seen as an alternative branding of the better developed liberal international order of the neoliberal transformation that composed of a range of framework that were structured by law in international relations, global trade, international human rights mechanisms, international humanitarian law and criminal law, among others. But unlike the liberal order’s seemingly unshakeable status during the 1990s, “rules-based” order as a qualifier for the international order emerged alongside the decline in the hegemonic power of the USA while the term itself is ridden with contradictions. This vagueness enables the hegemon of the order, the USA, to selectively apply or interpret the rules, and this became quite evident with the recent episode of violence erupted in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the ambiguities created by this approach are increasingly being questioned, as can be seen in the Global South’s reactions against Israel’s destruction campaign in the Gaza Strip, culminating in the Genocide case brought by South Africa before the International Court of Justice while public spaces in Western cities being turned into venues of mass protests. The Court’s decision on provincial measures is seemingly in line with legal precedents and the Genocide Convention, meaning international law, yet the reaction coming from the commanding heights of the “rules based order” offers not much hope for a ground on which a lasting peace that would honour Palestinian’s fundamental rights could be built.

Madhumita Varma Justified Military Targets: The Zionist Genocide of the Palestinian People Before October 7th 2023

The act of Palestinian resistance to occupation on 7th October 2023 was met with what was called “disproportionate response” or genocide. However, as per the international legal definition of the term genocide, i.e. the 1948 Genocide Convention, the Zionist genocide of the Palestinian people predates 7th October 2023. This paper aims to amplify a few of the Palestinian voices that have been documenting experiences thereof. In considering that genocide is a non-linear process that is undertaken in the long-term, as per the stages of genocide listed by Genocide Watch, my paper will also consider two apparently irrational military tactics historically used by the Zionist forces – the Hannibal Directive and the Dahiya Doctrine. My paper will demonstrate that these two tactics are in themselves revealing of aspects of genocide. The Hannibal Directive, the practice of killing Israeli hostages by the Israeli military to prevent them from being used by Hamas to negotiate the release of Palestinian prisoners points to the genocidal act of taking hostage and torturing Palestinian civilians in Israeli prisons. The Dahiya Doctrine, the destruction of civilian infrastructure through disproportionate force by claiming that they are all the enemy’s military bases, in itself is genocidal by definition. This paper concludes that by legitimising these acts by outlining them as military tactics, Israel is emboldening itself and other genocidal regimes to continue acting with impunity, as it has prior to October 7th 2023 as well.

Ghada Waked Contemporary Art and Uprooting: A Critical Analysis of Art and Culture Responding to the War in Gaza After October 7th

This article delves into the involvement of artists and intellectuals from the Arab world in conversations about Palestine after October 7th, seeking to ascertain whether their viewpoints demonstrate a detachment from reality influenced by privilege, exile, or career pursuits, while considering David Harvey’s theory about spatial fix. In nomadicized world, the central themes orbit around artistic and cultural practices, navigating between the pursuit of anchoring and the exploration of circulations. The discourse extends beyond cultural policies, exploring how culture actively intertwines with life.

Based on Simone Weil’s concept of the need for rootedness, the article scrutinizes the challenges posed by uprooting and its impact on intellectual life. Referencing Weil’s reflections on factory work, the analysis probes the tension between the “world of abstractions” and the “world of real men,” emphasizing the ethical responsibility of intellectuals to critically address the concept of uprooting. The article concludes by questioning whether this intellectual realm is contributing to rent extraction, spatial accumulation of capital, or committed to ethical rootedness.

April 7, Sunday

10:00-11:45 | SESSION 7

B409 Futurology

Chair: Cihan Özpınar

Alan Díaz Alva From Blank Futurism To (Neo)Reactionary Modernism: The Conflicting Historical Temporalities of Contemporary Futurology

It has been noted that contemporary tech sector-adjacent futurology is currently undergoing a shift of sorts. The spreading disillusionment with the technocratic, hyperutilitarian, and rabidly 'rational' approach of ostensibly liberal-progressive endeavours such as longtermism and Effective Altruism is giving way to murkier post-rationalist and neo-reactionary strands of future-oriented thought. While discerning the outlines of this shift and assessing its political implications is of great importance, in this paper I want to take a step back to focus on the conflicting historical temporalities that these futurological strands or currents imply. To do this, I will draw from various strands of Marxist scholarship on the question of time and temporality. Focusing on longtermism as the main example of the first current, I show how it involves the extrapolation, to the farthest reaches of the imaginable future, of clock-time—the hegemonic temporal regime of modernity which is part and parcel of capital accumulation. This is a form of forward-looking temporality that eschews the political potentials of anachronism and what Ernst Block has called nonsynchronism in favour of the bad infinity of progress and what Gary Wilder calls a blank futurism. However, the second current recovers precisely what is foreclosed by the first. Giving shape to a series of (neo)reactionary modernisms which hearken back to perfid archaisms and dangerous fantasies of renewal, it proposes a vision of an 'alternative' modernity, one which combines high technics with authoritarian politics and hierarchical societal structures. What is the relationship between these two historical temporalities? What role does technology play in their constitution?

Richard Hames Towards a Critical Collapsology

Collapsology is the study of the decomposition of social structure. This paper will describe the dominant schools of thought in the discipline and concisely summarises the insights of key thinkers in this space. We argue that no single account is sufficient to grasp our current, planetary-scale predicament. We then introduce 'critical collapsology,' a framework we claim is more theoretically sophisticated, politically sympathetic, and adequate to understanding the dynamics and stakes of the contemporary moment. Drawing primarily from critical theory and complex adaptive systems science, critical collapsology centres around an expanded reading of the notion of the 'institution' and its capacity to organise, displace, and sometimes produce complexity. We leverage the insights of Marxist, Foucauldian, and complexity science thinkers to understand modern social organisation, through this expanded — and dynamical — notion of the institution, as a global operating space produced through the constraints, affordances, and externalities of the paradigmatic institutional composition. A dialectic emerges: the dynamics that drive and sustain modern institutional robustness also produce vulnerability, creating a risk landscape that is global, systemic and, we argue, susceptible to collapse. This context allows us to pose the question of contemporary collapse as a crisis of institutional reproduction, cohesion and maintenance; a crisis likely to exacerbate the pathological aspects of capitalist modernity, and which has substantial implications for the development of individual and collective subjectivities. Combined, these insights provide the first inklings of how a left politics of collapse, informed by both the feminist politics of social reproduction and the politics of decolonial struggles, might emerge.

Sezgin Boynik Ilya Zdanevich's Futurist Vision of Red İstanbul

Renowned Russian avant-garde artist Ilya Zdanevich - Iliazd (1894-1975), was in Istanbul from November 1920 to November 1921. Originally from Tbilisi, Zdanevich was one of the most interesting representatives of Russian Futurism, who collaborated with people like Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova, Mayakovsky, Alexei Kruchenykh and many others. From 1921 he settled in Paris where he wrote, edited and published some of the most

remarkable artist books in collaboration with Tristan Tzara, Pablo Picasso, Max Ernst, among others. Zdanevich is today considered as a representative of the most extreme fraction of the Futurist avant-garde. In 1930, Zdanevich wrote two books dealing with his stay in Istanbul. 'Letters to Morgan Phillips Price' is an epistolary autobiographical novel depicting his journeys in the Turkish-Russian front in 1916 and his stay in Istanbul in 1921. Phillips Price, whom Eric Hobsbawm described as "the best qualified eyewitness to the Russian Revolution" met with Zdanevich in 1916, when he was reporting for The Manchester Guardian. Price and Zdanevich wrote a joint statement published as an editorial to The Manchester Guardian condemning the atrocities of the Russian army against Laz and Turkish population. In 1930, Zdanevich also published a novel 'PhiloSophia', about the Bolshevik takeover of Istanbul in 1921. Composed as a Futurist montage, the narrative of 'PhiloSophia' revolves around Hagia Sophia, involving militant Bolsheviks, confused Whites, and Kemalist conspirators; resulting in "the Soviet wind blowing over the Golden Horn." Both these books, originally written in Russian, were unpublished during Zdanevich's lifetime. Following posthumous editions, I edited the portions of the translations dealing with the "political" aspect of Zdanevich's Istanbul story, which is forthcoming in the series dedicated to Zdaevich's work published by Helsinki based independent publisher Rab-Rab Press. In the Historical Materialism Istanbul conference, I will use this opportunity to present Zdanevich's Istanbul writings and launch the volume presenting translations from 'Letters' and 'PhiloSophia'. The volume also includes bio-bibliographical introduction and annotations to the texts, an essay by the translator Thomas Kitson, and an artistic intervention by Nikolay Karabinovych, an artist from Odessa.

B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Law, Emergency, And Policing I

Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen

Ezgi Duman As an Instrument of Right-Wing Authoritarian Populism "Enemy Criminal Law"

The "enemy criminal law," as suggested by Günther Jakobs, is a concept whereby the state deploys a different kind of criminal law/unlawful law against political opponents, accusing them of dangerous enemies under the "criminal law of the state of necessity." Suppose some "elements" within the country are pointed out as the cause of the state of emergency/necessity. In that case, they are not the citizens but the internal enemy, an "unperson", un-citizen, even un-defendant anymore. The state sees itself as a civil war, not judgment and punishment. Jakobs also notes that although we have not seen an ideal type of enemy criminal law implementation yet, we witness its implementation at different levels and forms today. The "enemy criminal law" became globally an influential concept after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States. It has become popular again as a tool in the hands of authoritarian/right-wing populist regimes after 2008. Furthermore, nowadays, enemy criminal law is not taking place in a veiled manner or behind closed doors but as a part of the election campaigns of right-wing populist parties at this moment, when nativist and nationalist discourses articulate securitization. Although the regime in Turkey is one of the precursors of this general trend, from North and South America to Europe, this is a widespread matter of fact, and this is related to the mission of criminal law, especially in times of crisis. This paper explores the relationship between right-wing authoritarian populism and enemy criminal law by analyzing this trend. For this purpose, this paper discusses the tendency and legal and illegal aspects of right-wing authoritarian regimes in question in the context of "enemy criminal law" and its organic link with politics.

Taşkın Toprak İpek Reflections on Transnational Policing: The Case of 2022 World Cup

While globalization enabled the circulation of goods and services along with people, some fundamental 'services', which had been perceived as national, also spread to other territories. The service of the police is maybe one of the most dramatic of all these. In addition to all the complex transnational policing practices such as Interpol or Europol, there have been other strategies like directly exporting police units. These police units have been utilized to be prepared against the potential social threat in their destinations. This research examines the transnationalization of policing from a materialist standpoint through the case of the World Cup 2022 held in Qatar. Unlike other policing examples, 'exporting police' has become a unique phenomenon. The research strives to demonstrate how 'exporting police' has been adopted into globalization. It argues that national police units are transnationalized by the effect of the marketization of public services, and police retain their importance in quelling social waves. Beyond the information exchange among the international police institutions, psychically transnationalization signifies a

remarkable step for global policing. Even though there are some other examples, this study traces the case of the World Cup 2022 in Qatar, where lots of Global South countries sent part of their national police units.

Bektaş Deneri Watchmen in the Context of the Authoritarian Politics of the Regime and Policing Strategies in Turkey

What are the measures taken by authoritarian regimes to control the everyday practices of citizens? Undoubtedly, regardless of the nature of the regimes, policing is the main strategy used by bourgeois regimes to control the anger of the masses and the everyday life of citizens. However, crises, mass movements, social conflicts lead to changes in these strategies. Modern police institutions began to take shape at the beginning of the 19th century. Since its emergence, many different types of police have been experienced all over the world. Guarding, an older strategy than any other type of policing, is an interesting topic in the context of modern surveillance and policing practices. It is a traditional model based on foot patrolling. Policing strategies in today's world are based on advanced technological surveillance systems. The question arises here: Why does the regime need this traditional strategy? What are the legal and illegal aspects of this regulation? In Turkey, the employment of bazaar and neighborhood watchmen was suspended in the 1990s. However, after 2016, which was an unstable and chaotic period for the regime, thousands of people were recruited under the General Directorate of Security. This situation has created great debates on the regime's security policies. Authoritarian character of the government is a significant issue addressed in the literature. During the AKP rule, Turkey has faced many violations and practices. In this context, we need to discuss and explain what is going on in Turkey's internal security apparatuses. This question concerns the daily practices and control mechanisms of an authoritarian regime. The literature on this issue is generally concerned with legal aspects. Many scholars have discussed the regulation in terms of constitutionality and criminal law. However, I propose to address this issue in the context of the authoritarian tendencies of the regime in Turkey.

B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case I

Chair: Berkay Ayhan

Özgür Üşenmez Comparison of Two Nationalist Fronts in Turkey: 1970s to 2020s

As the latest government maneuver over ignorance of constitutional court decisions demonstrated, Turkey's ruling alliance between Islamists and nationalists passed a new threshold in authoritarian tendencies. Some argue that this is another indicator of right-wing populism while some scholars profess that "fascism as a process" has been closing to its targets through these actions. But when it comes to civil society, trade unions, and organized opposition's reactions, they are relatively silent in the face of these increasing attacks on basic liberties. Retrospectively those Nationalist Front governments in the 1970s were confronted with substantial societal opposition to their almost every move and received fragile consent from influential actors. The biggest example of that resistance against the first Nationalist Front government was the September 1976 DISK strikes to oppose the reinstatement of State Security courts by the government. At the nexus of this political and social crisis, the question that came to my mind was how the current Islamist-led Nationalist Front government in the country has achieved such a degree of control over society and what was the nature of this consent from major actors that differs greatly from that of the 1970s? In this article to respond to the above question we will look at the historical accumulation models of capitalism in each period and general balance of class relationships in national and international conjunctures. To make a comparison between these two periods, analysis of the 1970's import substitution era and how major classes struggled against each other is urgent. Furthermore, to assess the distinguishing patterns of the current era we have to deal with the contemporary discussions regarding the nature of the current Nationalist Front government. Is it a form of Bonapartism, Caesarism or another type of right-wing populism that deviated from democracy temporarily?

Deniz Durdu AKP's Political Strategies and the Risk of Fascism: An Analysis From a Gramscian Perspective

This paper analyzes the political strategies employed by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey following the attempted coup on July 15, 2016, within the framework of Antonio Gramsci's concepts of "integral state" and "historical bloc." It argues that while the AKP may not be a fascist party, it harbors the risk of fascism and employs strategies inherent to fascism, operating within a neoliberal authoritarian populist context. The core strategy of the

AKP revolves around creating and controlling its own main or useful opposition. This strategy particularly aims to keep the Nationalist Front alliance (comprising the Nationalist Movement Party - MHP, İYİ Party, and Zafer Party) within its predefined framework, while criminalizing and marginalizing socialist left and liberal opposition parties (such as the CHP, TİP, and DEM Party). In essence, this framework allows the AKP to maintain its influence and control both in the political arena and civil society, and can be analyzed through Gramsci's concept of hegemony. The AKP's strategy seeks to reshape alliances and conflicts among various segments of society, aligning with Gramsci's theory of the "historical bloc," which aims to influence societal dynamics. While the AKP may not be a fascist party, its actions carry risks that could lead to fascism. These risks not only deepen societal divisions and sometimes create new polarizations, weakening the democratic structure, but also allow the AKP to position itself as the sole solution to these problems. In conclusion, this paper emphasizes that the AKP is not inherently fascist but engages in a neoliberal authoritarian populism that harbors and utilizes the risk of fascism. Furthermore, it highlights that the strategies employed by the AKP may jeopardize Turkey's political and societal integrity and inflict irreversible harm on state institutions. Thus, the AKP's strategy for remaining in power hinges on creating a risky adversary capable of collapsing all legitimacy of the existing state structures.

Mert Büyükkarabacak The Transformation of Political Islam: From Neoliberal Authoritarianism to Neofascism

It is now widely agreed that the last 20 years of AKP rule in Turkey have witnessed a significant transformation in terms of the political regime (Kutun, 2021: 158). However, it is very difficult to say that a similar consensus has emerged on the conceptualisation of the political regime that emerged as a result of this transformation. Researchers from different schools of thought tend to use many concepts ranging from competitive authoritarianism to neoliberal authoritarianism, patrimonialism and Erdoğanism to describe the political regime we live in (Somer, 2021:6). Although this various research reveals extremely important results, they largely limit themselves to describing the *teali yağız* end result and render invisible the class struggles and alliances that bring about the phenomena. In fact, today, we cannot think of the transformation that the state is going through in Turkey as independent from the will of the capitalist factions that are amalgamed with the political Islamist government, which has developed their capital accumulation rate rapidly in recent years with the opportunities created by the state, but nevertheless is aware that it cannot sustain this development capacity as long as it is deprived of the privileges created by the state. As historical examples clearly show, the political effect of the united autonomous organisation of working-class fractions is democratisation, while the political alliances of some of the class fractions with bourgeois fractions seeking to strengthen their position within the state lead to right-wing populism and gradually to neofascism. Conditions in which these alliances weaken reinforce the perception that neofascism is weakening. The historicised narrative of alliances that cut horizontally and vertically across classes and are intertwined with the transformations of the state is crucial for making sense of the transformation leading to authoritarianism.

B516 Gender and Sexuality: Marxist Critiques - Gender and Queer

Chair: Deniz Ay

Gabriela Salcedo Figueira, Gabriela Azevedo Unveiling Gender: On the Marxist Theoretical-Methodological Considerations About Social Unity

This paper analyzes the centrality of unity, as a category, in the historical materialism method and, hence, the necessary comprehension thereof to unravel gender oppression in capitalism. Drawing upon the work of Marx, Lukacs and Kosik on the issue of unity, we argue that the category is fundamental to represent reality in the abstract level on marxist theory. In other words, we seek to understand how gender is unveiled in capitalist social unity. Different feminist socialist perspectives provided substantial contributions to the gender debate and its main problem: the origin of the oppression of women. Nevertheless, many of them were based on a fragmentary understanding, lacking the unitary key to theorize gender under historical materialism. For those perspectives, the explanation of the problem is based on simultaneous systems of oppression working along with capitalism (such as: racism, patriarchy and so on). What the category of unity helps us to understand is that there is only one system of exploitation, domination and oppression, and gender is produced under this dynamic. This comprehension is being developed under the Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) framework, that provides tools to apprehend the existence of racism and gender oppression in its social totality in historical development.

Dicle Demir Challenging Gender-Critical Ideology: A Marxist Perspective on the Global Phenomenon With a Focus on Türkiye's Political Landscape (2019-2024)

The current gender-critical ideology is without question a global phenomenon that identity politics has proved to be unable to combat. In Türkiye, especially, the level of attacks increased with newly introduced actors on the field, alongside the direct agents of the government and its allied parties. In addition to the legal backlash faced by women and LGBTQ+ persons, unfolding e.g. in withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention, there has been an increase in extra-legal aggression, with direct or indirect support or endorsement from the state, e.g. the “Grand Family Platform” (“Büyük Aile Platformu”). In the context of a wider “democracy crisis”, the already existing sphere of rights is shrinking. Such a tendency is without question not endemic to Türkiye, and although the trend follows similar patterns, there are peculiarities specific to countries. This paper will attempt to approach this social question within definite historical limits, i.e. the period between the 2019 and 2024 local elections, and taking into account the specific features distinguishing Türkiye from others in that historical epoch. The chosen period starts with the first election loss of the AKP (aside from June 2015), which resulted in its creation of the furthest right coalition in its history. As a possible pathway to challenge gender-critical ideology, this paper will aim to rediscover the notion of self-determination from a queer and Marxist perspective. The human rights discourse and identity politics are inherently individualistic and fall prey to the liberal status quo. Instead of the prevailing concept of self-identification, which is limiting in geography and potential, I argue that a newly defined “right” to self-determination of women and the LGBTQ+ community can overhaul the hyper-individualistic celebration of and insistence on minor rights advancements. I argue that the collective aspect of the “right” to self-determination can be construed with inspiration from postcolonial and Marxist critiques and such a “right” can open up a new terrain for struggle that is different from and critical to identity politics.

Jana Kujundzic A Queer Marxist Critique of Carceral Capitalism

This article offers a queer Marxist critique of carceral capitalism as a driving force for increasing prosecutions and expansion of criminal offences relating to protest, sexual offenders and ‘gender fraud’ in the UK. In recent decades, widening definitions of sexual offences and expansion of policing protests have been followed by rising moral panic about trans and non-binary people in the UK. Building upon the approaches of anti-carceral feminism and queer Marxism, I argue that these expansions of the carceral state serve to divide the working class based on bourgeois morality enacted in the law, disrupt progressive social movements, and further criminalise and ostracise intimate encounters of trans and non-binary youth. These different aspects are seen as interconnected throughout this paper. Furthermore, drawing on the expansion of police powers and tactics designated to criminalise protestors serves as a useful tool for upholding the social order by the ruling classes. The prosecutions for ‘gender fraud’ can be seen as an example of convergence between carceral state agenda and transphobic trans-exclusionary feminism in the UK. These will be contrasted with the impunity of police officers who committed identity fraud while infiltrating progressive movements in the UK. In this paper, gender is conceptualised based on Gonzales and Neton’s (2013) assertion that it is the anchoring of a certain group of individuals in a specific sphere of social activities. In other words, the gender binary of masculine and feminine is produced and reproduced through the process of anchoring people to particular activities. The queer Marxist lens helps to demonstrate how state criminalization of marginalized groups is constitutive of class-based and gendered social relations of capitalism. Furthermore, as other queer and trans academics and activists have argued, there is a need to better connect the issues of mass incarceration, excessive policing, and control cultures with those of gender and sexual justice.

B401 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Perspectives on Agriculture and Production in Contemporary Urban-Rural Settings

Agnes Gagy Urban Gardens Beyond Ideals: Structural Limits, Institutional Needs, and the Scale of Organization

The decade following the “Great Financial Crisis” of 2008 was marked by protest movements globally, organizing in similar patterns of spontaneous gatherings and square occupations facilitated by social media. As a recent wave of research demonstrated across cases, these movements provided expression of social discontent, but did not create

structures able to construct and enact political programs. Instead, new populist politics – sometimes left-leaning, but more often right-wing – filled the vacuum of social representation these movements criticized. By the early 2020's, hopes associated with new populism to create capacity for left politics by hacking the bourgeois electoral system proved futile. Together with a deepening economic crisis, these failures brought with them a new search for political methods beyond the dimensions of electoral communication. Converging around the concept of “organizing”, new left discussions speak of the need to build coherent political structures for left movements, and the priority to embed left politics into labour organizing. This shift is discursively marked by a rehabilitation of Leninism, and characterized in class terms by a reorientation towards labour by middle class activists. This paper addresses challenges in face of this new direction, specifically in the context of intensifying geopolitical conflict and “green transition” dominated by competing green capitalist industrial policies. My main argument is that destabilization and collapse of basic systems of capitalist social reproduction is a factor that new attempts to construct social power need to engage with – including their own role as actors of destabilization. Revisiting current debates on the lack of internationalist capacity within new left structures, and on “ecological Leninism” as a strategy to work with catastrophe, I conclude with points on what an internationalist dual power strategy may entail in face of those challenges.

Kevin Pankewich Community Gardens and Non-Capitalist Production

We operate within what Foster, York, and Clark (2010), drawing on Marx, refer to as a metabolic rift between town and countryside in terms of nutrient depletion/accumulation and nutrient cycling, including carbon (p. 45-46). Some community garden models may offer an attempt to relocalize some amount of food production to repair or reduce this rift. Where the logic of private appropriation and accumulation are hegemonic, we would be well served to acutely study where functional alternatives, however small, may spring up and what kind of political consciousness they produce. Here the materialist outlook is at its most subversive. It is in this sense that certain types of community gardens and community farms may, in some cases, represent a small archipelago of alternatives to the dominant capitalist mode. In offering geographic sites of collectivized production, without commodified labour or the private appropriation of surplus-value, we may see some seeds of subversion to the dominant capitalist ethos. Where an essay may be convincing and a picture may be worth a thousand words, what tangible, functioning collective growing projects may be worth is potentially immense. Provided these spaces exist in urban environments, to what extent are these projects subverting the logic of capitalism? How do the people operating these spaces perceive what they are doing in relation to the larger economy? This paper attempts to offer some answers from interviews with participants and literature generated from a region in eastern British Columbia, (Canada), on what might be considered non-capitalist units of production.

İrem Kopuz Tea Production in Turkey and Forms of Neoliberalism

The global neoliberal transformation in the post-1980s has affected Turkey, resulting in an export-oriented economy favoring the free market, privatization of public goods, and deepening the struggle between labour and capital. The privatization of state-owned enterprises is a common exercise in this era. The agriculture industry has also been affected by the mass privatization Turkey went under in the past two decades, with seemingly an exception in the case of tea and ÇAYKUR (General Directorate of Tea Enterprises). This state-supported organization in the eastern black sea region where the tea is produced slows down the effects of Turkey's current financial crisis and impoverishment in the region. Having spent two months in villages in Artvin and Rize, I have conducted semi-structured interviews with 28 people who worked with tea. Among them are state tea factory managers and officials, current and retired factory workers, tea producers, and private tea company workers. Discussions in the literature suggested that neoliberalism, in the classical sense, is a necessary analytical tool to explain current economic and social phenomena in Turkey. Another perspective assumes that Turkey is not in any sense neoliberal under the heavy state interventions in the market. Based on this research regarding tea producers in the Eastern Black Sea region in Turkey, I argue that crude neoliberalism has not happened in the area. While privatization is a general exercise of neoliberal policies, in the case of ÇAYKUR, the continuance of state ownership works within a broader neoliberal framework. The results we have derived from the fieldwork show that the case of tea producers differs from the aforementioned dichotomy in the literature. The case of tea producers shows a hybrid form of neoliberalism and state existence, which can contribute to the current discussions by leading us to rethink our analytical lenses.

B518 Climate Political Economy and Critique

Sıla Demirörs Financialization of Climate Governance and Multilateral Development Banks

The financialization of climate governance and the role of multilateral development banks (MDBs) are currently critical aspects within the broader context of capitalism facing a profound crisis encompassing economic and environmental dimensions. This crisis is marked by overaccumulation, stagnation, financialization, climate crisis and ecological disturbances. The paper explores how financialization, a dominant force in economic and social dynamics, has become a significant player in climate change governance. Examining the evolving landscape of climate finance, the paper analyzes its products, practices, and transformations aligned with broader financialization phases. It argues that financialization infiltrates socio-ecological systems through processes such as commodification, privatization, and the securitization of environments.

Notably, a recent trend involves MDBs viewing climate finance as a profitable venture, seeking to attract institutional investors to the green projects approved by these banks. MDBs aim to transform non-tradable loans into tradable securities, each with distinct risk/return profiles. This strategy entices investors through securitization, creating an avenue that supports MDBs in their efforts to mobilize long-term private capital for achieving the sustainable development goals. Examining the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and New Development Bank (NDB), the paper reveals efforts to mobilize private capital through green energy and infrastructure securitization. Despite MDBs advocating securitization, attracting international investors faces challenges due to financial risks and valuation issues related to environmental care and assessments. The paper argues that the current push to attract institutional investors requires a restructuring of financial systems, particularly in the Global South, posing a threat to alternative development strategies. There is a growing concern that public resources might be allocated to mitigate risks associated with developmental assets and absorb the inevitable costs of the financial crisis linked to this more fragile model. Moreover, the paper contends that the concurrent investment by financial and corporate entities in both brown and green projects may lead to the emergence of platforms that neither discard the traditional model nor put forth a viable strategy for a sustainable and equitable future.

Troy Vattese Discussant

Chair: Cemil Yıldızcan

B402 Pamphlet Launch: The Apostate Fascism of Alexander Dugin

Conrad Bongard Hamilton

Chair/Discussant: Harry Halpin

B311 Processes of Class Formation in Turkey I

Canan Urhan Ideology And Alienation At Contemporary Era of Professional Work

This presentation aims to capture the recent surge in mental pathologies related to work, often brought into discussion by policy makers and media, within the framework ideology and alienation. It will reflect on certain themes inherent in contemporary working life, particularly pertaining to professional, white-collar and digital modes of labour, reflecting on concepts such as flexibility, autonomy, love of one's job and independence. It will then move on to a discussion of how these concepts are intrinsically linked to the plethora of mental distress experienced by professional workers today, taking into consideration the immaterial dimensions of labour involved in the process. Individual empirical accounts from a diverse set of professional workers will be portrayed in terms of these concepts and the experience of mental distress such as anxiety, depression, burnout, etc. Finally, the findings will be discussed in light of Marx's theory of alienation as opposed to the prevailing mainstream discussions of mental health and palliative solutions

Yasemin Antik The Material and Psychic Aspects of Alienation: The Case of Textile Workshop Workers of "Yeni İstanbul çarşısı"

Based on my PHD dissertation research which includes an ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation, working in a textile workshop as an “iplikci” for six weeks, and semi-structured in depth interviews with 31 workers who are low waged, ordinary, disorganized, I argue that the workshop workers of “Yeni Istanbul Çarşısı” are objectively and subjectively alienated. Through examination of Marxist conceptualization of alienation, stemming from the production unit, the transformation of the sector and the work, the focus of the labour process, monotony and deskilling, the process of labour alienation is described. And, on the subjective domain the case specific ingredients of subjective alienation is depicted with the related perceptions and feelings. For my case, the affective satellites consist of passivity, nostalgic attitude, distrustfulness and hopelessness. In short, I will elaborate on the inquiry of this small segment of workers mainly keeping alienation in the main focus, highlighting the applicability of Marxist theory into ethnography. Through this micro analysis of class, we are getting closer to grasping the extent of inequality and the effect of capitalism both in the material domain and the mental. Alienation is experienced, perceived and felt by the workers, and its inquiry informs us greatly on their consciousness, perceptions of selves and others. It is shattering the chance of building a positive identity with reference to work. We see that the workers' sense of pride are fractured with injuries through ongoing experience of toil. That is, the workers' stories of pride showcases that alienation and indignity should be distinguished. Their experiences shows that alienation is not static and uniform, that is, it should not be grasped as a zero-sum game. It should be distinguished from dignity. Within this line, alienation and its functions, effects, relations with its' aspects and prospects for resistance is inquired.

Ekinsu Devrim Danış, Doğukan Dere Beyond Compliance and Resistance: Labor Process and Class Struggle of Research Assistants in Turkey's Vakıf Universities

Chair: Mustafa Görkem Doğan

Foundation universities in Turkey have taken on a distinctive shape, embodying key global neoliberal trends in higher education, such as marketization, commodification, and precarization, since the 1980s. This presentation's primary objective is to outline the current structural and subjective conditions of academic labour within these unique institutions known as vakıf universities. Additionally, it seeks to explore the daily personal and collective interactions and enduring practices that shape individual subjects, such as resistance, consent, and various interactions between academic labourers and the “academic capital” personified in managerial personnel and owners. Our fieldwork results are based on interviews with 30 research assistants from eight different vakıf universities in Istanbul, Turkey. Our research methodology involves politically engaged participant observation, aligning our study with ongoing struggles within vakıf universities and gaining deeper insights into movement practices, work experiences, and the meaning-making mechanisms of academics. Our findings reveal that while subtle and seemingly individual forms of resistance may not directly challenge prevalent forms of class exploitation, they serve as indicators that shed light on the class position of research assistants within vakıf universities. Through these cases, we argue that workplace politics cannot be simplistically reduced to a dichotomy of consensus versus open conflict; instead, it manifests through diverse forms, including messy, decentralized, and fragile ones like slacking, gossiping, anonymous personal exposure on social media, as well as public and organized confrontations.

FORUM | 12:00-12:45

B522 Forum: Academic Freedom Quo Vadis?

13:00-14:45 | SESSION 8

B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case II

Chair: Berkay Ayhan

Bora Erdağı, Bartu Şanlı Walter Benjamin, Signs of Everyday Life and the Massification of Society

Benjamin (1892-1940) lays out almost his entire philosophical vision by subjecting the signs of everyday life - behaviours, ideas, events, literature, banalities, social types, the city, building materials, toys, jokes, technique, art, dreams - to a new contextual reading. In general, he brings the particularities and universality in all these signs to the stage of history with the uncanny of a dialectical image. That is why in *One-Way Street* (1928/1997) he compares quotations to armed bandits who rob passersby of their ideas (p.95). Therefore, in Benjamin, signs/dialectical images settle in the cracks of history normalized by the sovereigns. The cracks of history are the anchorage points necessary for the creation of discontinuity. One of the most concrete mentions of how Benjamin reads signs by placing them in the cracks of the history in question is “Imperial Panorama: A Tour of German Inflation” (pp.54-60). According to Benjamin, high inflation does not only hit the poor, it corrupts the whole society. Inflation is not so much an imbalance as a condemnation of life to a bad harvest. In fact, the problem is not the wrong economic policies, as the capitalists claim, but the very mode of existence of empire and capitalism. In this presentation, we want to record the panorama of Turkey’s contemporary social reality with a Benjaminian approach, and bring the here and now to the stage of history with the dialectical image. That is to say, to the lies that have been perpetuated since Gezi and that everyone knows; to the social welfare that has never been realized due to the recurring and supposedly foreign powers’ games; to the huge propaganda works produced regarding the process of indigenization of the war, automobile and energy industries; to the de facto policies created under the name of national and border security; the aestheticized lives of power centres that develop arbitrary attitudes instead of the rule of law based on the rule of law; the foaming presentation of all kinds of superficial solutions to social problems; the terrorization of the search for common interests in public politics; and how the one-man rule crystallizes all these in itself. In other words, it will be discussed where the one-dimensional massification of society will lead Turkey.

Aslı Yılmaz Uçar A Critical Analysis of Bureaucratic Tutelage Discourse of Akp in Turkey: The Role of Bureaucracy as a Veto Player

The Justice and Development Party (AKP), governing Turkey for the last two decades, developed an official narrative of “bureaucratic tutelage.” According to the narrative, the Turkish state structure was established in the 1960s in such a way that Kemalist elites who failed to get an electoral victory took the power into their hands to govern the country through bureaucratic institutions such as civil, military, and judicial bureaucracy, so “politics was substituted by bureaucracy.” AKP, in that sense, attacked bureaucracy as a part of the elitist structure, which is believed to obscure the “general will” of the “pure people” within its populist discourse. What the AKP tried to achieve is narrated as a war against elitism to uphold the will of the nation and its people by “subordinating bureaucracy to politics.” What are stories narrated about bureaucracy? Did Turkey have a bureaucratic tutelage regime in reality? Or is it just rhetoric used by the incumbent government to mobilize the masses against bureaucracy as real and/or potential resisters of the reforms? To get an answer to the question, the bureaucratic tutelage discourse of AKP governments will be analyzed to understand why and how bureaucracy is blamed for obscuring the national will. Then the bureaucracy’s role (judicial, military, etc.) in the decision-making process (legislative process) as a veto player will be analyzed based on the legal documents to understand the role of bureaucracy in the major decision-making process. Finally, the role of bureaucracy in decision-making will be tried to be explained based on the relation of bureaucracy to historical blocks in Turkey through institutional analysis.

B312 Critical Political Economy World Economy/Crisis

Chair: Cihan Ozpınar

Agnes Gagyı What Comes After the Age of Populism: Organizing Within the Collapse

In the last decade, urban gardens have been increasingly promoted as a “good practice” to nurture ecological and social sustainability. From UN policy documents to local governments, experts and activists, urban gardening is upheld as a palpable alternative that can embed ecological sustainability, food security and community relations of care into everyday urban environments governed by the diametrically opposed processes of climate crisis, marketization and cost of living crisis. A growing body of research has recently engaged with limited and contradictory realizations of this urban gardening idea in various locations, and started to reflect on normative definitions of urban gardening as

ideology. This paper proposes a combined reflection on urban gardens' structural limitations, the socio-political conditions of the production of the urban gardening ideal, and on realistic potentials inherent in the current makeup of urban gardening situations to scale gardening's sustainability effects. I argue that while the attractiveness of the urban gardening ideal consists in a promise to immediately bridge between the macro environment of climate crisis and micro-level personal agency, the actual conditions that shape current urban gardening practices rely on formal and informal mediating institutions beyond gardens, at higher scales of collective social organization. I describe such institutions in a case study of contemporary inner city and allotment gardens in Hungary, in terms of socialist/post-socialist legacies of state infrastructures, informality and marketization. Next to factors that limit gardens' sustainability impacts, I point out institutional interventions that would be needed to counteract and transcend those limitations. I use this case to argue that the stakes of realizing urban gardens' sustainability contribution primarily lie at those higher scales of institutionalized co-organization that the ideology of urban gardening promises to skip over

Adem Açar Pax-Americana to Pax-Sinica: (Ir)Rationalities of Hegemony Transformation

Capitalism is going through a painful transition process on a world scale. The hegemony crisis reveals the contradictions of the ongoing process. In this context, it is possible to think of the hegemonic transition process in terms of the deepening of capital, spatial extensification of capital and differentiation. The spatial power geometry is changing on a global scale. The dynamics of the transition from Pax-Americana to Pax-Sinica reveal the inner connections of the process at the conceptual and factual level. When the dynamics of the transition are brought to the factual level, the process operates in two different ways: The rationality of innovation (technological development) in the organic composition of capital and the irrationality of this rational functioning that manifests itself in the form of crisis (the tendency of the rate profit to fall). Considering these two interrelated planes with their spatial consequences makes the pain more visible. The competition between transnational corporations (individual capitals) and the innovations that emerge as a result of the process (class rationality) constitute the infrastructure of the crisis (irrationality of capital) in the total cycle of capital. This dual symbiotic process increases the fragility in the temporal and spatial dynamics of capitalism on a world scale. The temporal and spatial irrationality of the hegemonic transition process in question is also revealed by this fragility. Based on this framework, the study aims to address the rationality and irrationality of the extended reproduction of capital together with temporal dynamics (technological revolutions) and displacing tendency of capital. The study will highlight the economy, that is, the concept of capital accumulation, among the components of the concept of hegemony on a world scale (economic, military, cultural). As a result, the conceptual mechanism of the study will be opened to discussion through the tensions experienced in the transformation of hegemony and the spatial patterns.

Sedef Arat-Koç The New Cold War, Whiteness and "Talent": The (Geo)Political Economy of Ukrainian Refugees in Canada

Since the early phases of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in Winter 2022, several media and academic sources have commented on the highly generous refugee policies towards Ukrainian refugees in an international climate that is otherwise unreceptive and even hostile toward refugees. Comparing policies toward Ukrainians with treatment of refugees coming from the Global South, especially from Syria and Afghanistan, most of the critical analysis has placed the emphasis on the "whiteness" of Ukrainians. Finding this interpretation largely insufficient, and focusing on recent Canadian policies on Ukrainian refugees, this paper aims to interpret refugee policies at the intersection of geopolitics and political economy. While the geopolitics of the post- and the new Cold War helps contextually clarify and substantiate what "whiteness" means and how it is privileged in this context, political economic analysis reveals how refugee policies cannot simply be explained by humanitarian principles and attitudes. Instead, Ukrainian refugees are seen as potentially highly skilled "talent" to be imported. With international, transnational, national dimensions; and supported by NGOs, academic institutions, as well as the state, the paper draws attention to increasing commodification of refugees.

B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Law, Emergency, and Policing II

Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel

Mark Neocleous Why Not 'Social War'?

The paper will argue for a recuperation of the concept of social war within Marxist thought. The concept of social war has a long history, stretching back to the Romans and running through the history of political thought. Marx and Engels often used it. And yet it has been lost, usurped by 'civil war' or just plain 'war'. This has led to Marxism having its arguments about war determined by non-Marxist thought. The paper will argue that we need the concept of social war to make better sense of the class war and of how the class war is permeated by the countless other social wars declared by the ruling class and the state. Unraveling such wars offers a way of understanding the process of pacification since, as we discover, carrying out such wars undergirds the police power.

Biriz Berksoy "Emergency Preparedness", the Rise of the "Disaster/Emergency State" and the Case of Turkey since the 2010s

This paper explores the socio-political reasons behind the frequent utilization of the security rationality called "emergency preparedness" within the daily lives of advanced capitalist countries such as the United States, United Kingdom and Canada since late 2000s and its adoption in Turkey after the Gezi Resistance (2013) and 6-8 October Incidents (2014) leading to the founding of "Security and Emergency Coordination Centers". This rationality prescribes incessant preparation and creation of coordination mechanisms among public/private institutions for swift intervention in "emergency intervals" caused by natural, technological, or human-induced events that presumably have the potential to turn into "catastrophes" and thereby, threaten the maintenance of social order. The paper argues that "emergency preparedness" as a security rationality is increasingly employed as an "internal pacification" project activating war power together with police power under a newly emerging state form. This state form which can be conceptualized as a "disaster/emergency state" arguably takes shape under the influence of growing fascist tendencies crystallizing amid the escalating economic/political crises subsequent to the 2008 global financial crisis, re-configuration of capital accumulation regimes as "militarized accumulation" and the burgeoning social protests/movements. In this post-9/11 period, as the assumption that any individual or "antagonistic politics" can turn into an "existential threat" became decisive, the political power is, pervasively, concentrated at the higher echelons of the executive; sovereign power, in the Foucauldian sense, operating through necropolitics became prevalent on a global scale and the notion of "emergency" turned into a valuable power technology. This state form is arguably fashioned by a militarist/belligerent governmental rationality and prioritizes the regular activation of "war power" that lies at the basis of "state of emergency" for solving social/political problems that are labelled as "existential threats" without resorting, each time, to its declaration.

Erdem Güven From the Liberalization of Martial Law to a Well-Equipped War Machine: An Overview of Pacification Under Authoritarian Statism in Turkey

Challenging institutionalist dichotomies such as military–civil, or war–police, this paper proposes a perspective of security through the lens of state power. Drawing on instances from the 1980s and 2000s it seeks to reflect on how security politics has operated in neoliberal Turkey in conjunction with the social war of capital. The paper first argues that when viewed as part of a politics of pacification as a class strategy accompanying the fabrication of neoliberal order, the main approach underlying the security configuration post-1983 (i.e. transition to the authoritarian statist form) is the 'liberalization of martial law'. This signifies the mediation of social (class) war, of which the martial law had been the unmediated expression, through security; put simply, it is the civilianization of martial law powers for use within the authoritarian statist form. In this regard, contrary to the claims of military tutelage and militarization centred around the NSC, the paper refers to the transformation of national security and emergency powers into a governing technique that surpassed the military's monopoly in the political ordering of civil society and class relations. The second moment of such liberalization is the development of the police institution as the fundamental internal security apparatus and political actor after 1983. The second part of the paper is devoted to emphasizing the alignment of the AKP's security politics with the pacification strategy of the 1980s. In contrast to narratives of 'authoritarian turn' the party has in effect initiated a much intense politics of securitization simultaneously with the demilitarization process carried out within the scope of liberal reforms. Prompting qualitative shifts in the authoritarian state, the party has developed a mode of governing in which policing and practices of war (on terror, dissent, and social commons) are strongly intertwined in creating new zones of pacification.

B518 Socialist Visions

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Metehan Cömert Transcending Capitalism With Small Yet Radical Steps: Towards a Liberation in the Imaginary

Although all aspects of our lives are radically framed by the logic of capitalism, the idea that capitalism cannot survive in its current form continues to receive widespread attention all over the world. Refusing the notorious ‘end of history’, people everywhere are unwilling to see capitalism as the final stage in which humanity triumphs and prospers. Ursula Le Guin’s passionate speech gives hope in a Fukuyamean time when it seems impossible even to imagine a coherent alternative: ‘We live in capitalism, its power seems inescapable—but then, so did the divine right of kings. Any human power can be resisted and changed by human beings’. Translating Ursula’s optimism, the study raises a politically ambitious question: If capitalism is never indestructible, what will replace capitalism and how? At a time when an unshakeable belief persists that any anti-capitalist project, even in the realm of imagination, is doomed to fail, this study remains keenly aware of the phenomenon known as ‘capitalist realism’. However, the study takes the idea of creating cracks in capitalism as its point of departure and insists on seeking answers to big questions. Challenging the notion that capitalist realism is inevitable, we call for the creation, expansion and multiplication of interstitial movements running from the particular to radically change the world. Therefore, we introduce a distinct perspective to construct an alternative project from the struggles of everyday practices. To that end, we focus on the immemorial culture, *meci*, a practice deeply rooted in solidarity in the Fındıklı district of Rize, Turkey, based on the findings obtained from the fieldwork. We conclude by illustrating the potential for ‘small’ and ‘particular’ changes to revolutionize everyday life.

Jonas Grahn Concrete Universality and the Race/Class Problematic: Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, and the Dialectic of Power and Revolution

In this paper, I explore the concept of concrete universality in contemporary Marxist theory with a view to the contributions made by two theorists and activists associated with the Johnson-Forrest Tendency (JFT) in the early postwar U.S., Raya Dunayevskaya and C.L.R. James. Inherited from German idealism, concrete universality became a lesser-known trope in the materialist-dialectical arsenal of traditional Marxism. However, the concept found its way into some of the heterodox Marxisms on the fringes, sometimes clearly on the outside, of the traditional paradigm; Evald Ilyenkov and Lucio Colletti’s writings being prominent examples, along with the writings of the JFT. Today, this lineage informs a vast field of Marxist theorizing concerned with “practically true” abstractions, concepts, and universals. However, from a historical point of view, this field seems to be undergoing a process of diremption, becoming polarized between two rather self-contained circles, with studies of the “abstract domination” and “real abstractions” of capitalist power on the one hand and theories of “insurgent” universalities and revolutionary social forms on the other. Against this background, I argue that contemporary Marxist theory might benefit from Dunayevskaya and James’ work on race, which they approached as a concrete and practical reality at the heart of the economic base of U.S. capitalism and, at the same time, as a locus of social revolution where “black masses as vanguard” prefigured and generated new modalities of universality through struggle.

Serhat Celal Birdal In Search of an Alternative Politics of Affect Against “Punitive Neoliberalism”

Today, instead of hastily diagnosing its failure or end, we need to be able to distinguish how neoliberalism has mutated within itself and reached a “punitive” phase. As William Davies pointed out, after the severe economic crisis that broke out in 2008, we have gone beyond the previous “combative” and “normative” phases of neoliberalism and what we are witnessing today is a “new neoliberalism” that operates through a “punitive” moral system. In contrast to the previous “positive” and “normative” phases in which a potential enrichment and wealth were promised to every “rational” actor in the market, today in “punitive neoliberalism”, a “collective sacrifice” is being expected from everyone, implying that everyone can be “sacrificed” to the market in some way. Furthermore, in this new version of neoliberalism, economic failure and falling into poverty are viewed within a context of moral weakness, and a kind of demonization and hatred are activated against the “losers”. In any case, all these new characteristics could be seen as symptoms of

the fact that neoliberalism no longer operates only through rational choice and interest, but primarily on a largely affective basis and atmosphere. On the one hand, through the economization of all life features, the entire intensity of our life potentials or our whole capacity to think, sense, affect, and act becomes indistinguishable from the “productive forces” of capitalism. Capitalism is becoming more and more successful in capturing and organizing our whole capacity to affect and be affected and in transforming them into assets, goods, services, and business strategies. On the other hand, at the political level, right-wing authoritarian populism derives its legitimacy no more from the operation of a *raison d'état* or the “invisible hand” of the market, but through affective channels. Especially in digitally mediated sensory environments of social media, modulation of affects replaces an old-style operation of ideology. In his article called “What is Class Consciousness?” which was written and published in 1934, on the eve of fascism, Wilhelm Reich underlined that one of the reasons why socialism failed was its absence of a doctrine of political psychology. By revising Reich’s argument, we can also argue that today the left still does not have a doctrine of political psychology as well as a politics of affect. Against the affective politics of neoliberalism and right-wing populism, the left is taking shelter in its own truths and regresses to the level of making “correct” judgments and analyses. So how can the left alternative political action today move beyond combating the idea that political power has become affective, and instead learn how it can itself operate on the same ground? How can it create an affective politics instead of leaving the affective plane and pathos to the monopoly of the right? Based on these questions, this presentation is designed as an introductory attempt to think about the possibility of a left affective politics.

B311 Marxist State Theory

Chair: Havva Ezgi Doğru

Berkay Koçak Repoliticizing the Social Ontology of Capital: Restoring the Impersonal and Coercive Nature of Economic Power to Marxist Political Theory

The seismic impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, encompassing the deterioration of productive forces, a multifaceted crisis, and a chronic escalation of conditions for reproducing labour power, constitutes a paramount substantive challenge to the prevailing global dominance of capitalism. The challenges posed have triggered a renewed investigation into the mechanisms by which capital sustains its pervasive hegemony on a global scale, echoing the scrutiny that followed the 2007-08 financial crisis. This reassessment has prominently emerged as a central area of inquiry within post-2008 Marxist political theory. Notably, such evolution is attributable to the distinctive contributions of a novel wave of non-reductionist perspectives in historical materialism and political economy, as advanced by Value-form theory, Labour-process theory, and Political Marxism. While these approaches have already underscored the significance of reorienting Marxist methodology to a critique that denies the ontological separation of the economy as *sui generis*, self-governed, universal phenomenon, a comprehensive effort by Søren Mau in *Mute Compulsion* (2023) further accentuates this direction. Mau’s work contributes to the growing trend of considering the economic power of capital as a multidimensional reconstructive influx and emphasizes the need to placing capital’s social domination at the core of Marxist political theory to reformulate Marxism’s strategic proposals for the proletariat and the nature. Mau’s exploration of capital’s impersonal and abstract power is enriched by Heide Gerstenberger’s recent work, *Market and Violence* (2024), which delves into the coercive emergence of capital as an impersonal and transforming market domination. This paper aims to critically and comparatively overview the perspectives developed by the recent debates in Marxist political theory in the post-pandemic period concerning the social ontology of capital. It will discuss the key gains in reconsidering the potential implications of understanding and strategizing on the impersonal and global domination of capital for the broader spectrum of Marxism.

Dario Cositore Post-Marxist and Bourgeois ‘Left’ Characteristics: The Unravelling of Marxist State Theory

The critical Marxist theory of the state has undergone a gradual degeneration since the early days of revisionism, with only a few exceptions like some Mandel and primarily Harman, Clarke, and Gerstenberger managing to maintain a coherent stance. However, the deterioration has become more pronounced since the end of the Second World War, evolving into an increasingly irrational state. This transformation is marked by both the defeat of the proletariat and the adoption of post-Marxist and bourgeois “left” characteristics, which, at best, do not surpass reformism. The critique encompasses various state theories, ranging from Poulantzas, Althusser, and Miliband to Offe, O’Connor, Altvater, Hirsch, the last Harvey, Block, and Jessop, illustrating their failure to transcend reformist ideologies. The

text explores the hypertrophicisation of the state during the decline of the capitalist mode of production in the late imperial era, emphasizing the theoretical construction of social relations in contemporary state theories rather than a determined abstraction of historical processes. The petit-bourgeois conception of freedom and equality is dissected, underscoring the ruling class's interpretation and the subtle dangers inherent in the petit-bourgeois perspective. The state is portrayed as an ideologically represented entity, with interventions primarily serving private interests rather than addressing societal issues. It is argued that the state perpetuates absolute juxtapositions by maintaining the separation between commodity production and distribution while attempting to mitigate crises. The state's ultimate role is seen as sustaining contradictions and ensuring the reproduction of elements that perpetuate societal imbalances, rather than addressing poverty, unemployment, health, education and ecology directly.

Teddy Paikin Liberalism Against the Fiscal-Military State: The Nature of Capitalist Ideology in Open and Political Marxism

This article mobilizes Political Marxism's (PM) account of the France's transition to capitalism and Open Marxism's (OM) theory of the social form of the capitalist state to critically reflect on the ideological character of early 19th century French liberalism: specifically, its orientation toward the form of the French state and its stance on the process of capitalist development. I claim that a theoretical approach which synthesizes PM and OM can help illuminate a key division within the French liberal tradition: the split between the ideology of capitalist development and political liberalism. While in an already-capitalist Britain, a comparatively united political and economic liberalism was the ideological handmaiden to capitalist development - demanding that the post-Waterloo fiscal-military state cast off its antediluvian properties in order to better embody the interests of capital in general i.e. the abstract power of money and the law - French political liberals were far more ambivalent toward the process of capitalist development. Instead, the liberal Industrialists of the Censeur Européen primarily attacked the fiscal-military state to advance a mode of social integration opposed to the personal form of domination characteristic of the Ancien regime, extolling a *gouvernement à bon marché* and the moral virtues of work, while remaining dubious of the process of rapid industrial development. They remained both profoundly nomophilic and favourable to commerce, but for largely civic and not economic reasons. I argue that given the institutional requirements of late development, the ideology of capitalism in France could not be politically liberal: capitalist developmentalism remained an anti-republican orientation in France from the Physiocrats, through to the Second Empire's *saint simonisme d'affaires*. I argue that Clarke's account of the relationship between liberal political economy and the capitalist state must therefore be mediated by a Political Marxist account of the origins of capitalist development in order to make sense of the different ideological functions liberalism and liberal political economy have played within different national contexts.

Onur Doğan The Reconstruction of the State and the Population in the Age of Financialization

Beginning with the paradigm shift due to the crisis in mid-70s, we have witnessed a long-term reconstruction of the state, with two complementary yet frictional characteristics. The first is the marketization of every sphere of human life including basic education, public health, etc., and divorcing the management of the economic sphere from the population, from any countervailing social and political effect. This "Weberian characteristic" is complemented by the frictional Schmittian one: This transformation, initially led by a number of national/international independent bodies of market management, would end up requiring an authoritarian leadership capable of forging "public will" accordingly, speaking as "the public will" itself and managing "demos" as a business. Although these two tendencies have often been tagged separately as "globalization" and "right wing populism", actually, this process is a unity of opposites rooted in the contradictions of capitalism. As a whole, the marketization of public life and the commodification of every public service to a large extent have arrived with a social form in which every individual encounter with the state almost on a daily basis concerning every detail of everyday life and the state reaches almost an "omnipotent" existence with CCTVs, social credit systems, CIMER, VAT, etc. I will suggest that they exhibit the only possible civil law of given relations of production. Rather than simply being governmental tools of "bio-politics", they are political relations among people, established by the instrumentality of the state on which the financialization and the survival of capitalism depends. I will delve into what this process means for the future of class struggle and social agency by reconciling some of the frameworks and discussions of 20th century Marxism on the late transformation of capitalism and the state.

B409 On Young Marx

Chair: Özgür Narin

Bernardo Bárzana The Shape of Estrangement: Towards the Ontological Ground of the Young Marx's Critique of Capitalism

Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts have a controversial status. While they have many defenders in the camp of Marxist Humanism (e.g. Lukács, Marcuse, Mészáros) the standard objection against them is that their central critical concept, alienation, is both philosophically unsound and politically problematic (Althusser). Philosophically unsound, because it relies on an untenable ahistorical human essence that the alienated subject has deviated from. Politically problematic, because it evokes a kind of reactionary nostalgia for a prelapsarian state, and closes down the possibilities of what it means to be human. But are these objections justified? How does Marx construct his notion of human essence and what critical function does it play?

In this essay, I attempt to articulate a defensible reading of Marx's understanding of the human essence, and to show its critical potential. Pace Althusser, I argue that Marx does not begin with an abstract notion of the human, and then from there find the capitalist society to be alienated, but rather, quite the other way around: he begins with an analysis of the alienated life process in a capitalist society, and from it, develops a notion of what humanism (or alternatively, communism or association) would be. Hence, contra the philosophical objection, I argue that the human essence is not a point of departure, an ontological ground on which Marx's critique safely stands – but rather, a ground towards which he moves through the negation of alienation. And contra the political objection, I argue that this concept of the human essence does not set rigid bounds on what it means to be human. For the human essence turns out to be labour: the activity of society freely making itself. Human is the free and conscious control of society's metabolism with nature. Humanity, I conclude, can take many forms.

Ksenia Arapko Notes on Karl Marx's Legal Education (1835–1839)

This paper provides a comprehensive overview of Karl Marx's legal education. While the literature devoted to the young Marx is voluminous, not a single author has deigned to comprehensively catalogue and describe the nature of the pupil's formal education in the Faculty of Law during his time at Bonn and Berlin between the first semester of university in 1835 and the attendance of his final legal course in 1839. This lack of documentation has been a major limit to any potential research into Marx and his intellectual development. For it is only on the basis of a clearly circumscribed context and reliable biographical data that meaningful and accurate claims about the pertinence or non-pertinence of contextual features can be made. It is to the overcoming of this limitation in the literature that this work is devoted. This paper will briefly present a systematic account of Marx's courses, lecturers, and their context, namely the early to mid- nineteenth century legal culture. In updating the profile of the young man's intellectual biography and development during the four-year period of his studies, the paper points to some avenues that open up for future interpretive work to take place.

Kaan Kangal Young Marx and the Wood Theft Debates in Prussian Rhineland in the Early Nineteenth Century

This article revisits young Marx's 1842 account of wood theft law. It intends to pursue a balanced approach both to his strengths and limitations without being uncritically hagiographic or dogmatically dismissive. Marx's take on the wood theft question prompted him for the first time to pay due attention to the interconnection between political power, social property relations and the law as a superb instrument of class domination. The weakness of Marx's account was that he was not fully informed about the Prussian forest regulations in the beginning of the 1840s and wrongly presumed that the 1841 bill intended to dispossess peasants of their traditional usufruct rights. This shortcoming does not invalidate Marx's spirited endeavour but sets considerable limitations to it.

B516 Gender and Sexuality: Social Reproduction II

Chair: Coşku Çelik

Alice Kabriti A Comparative Analysis of the Regulation of Prenatality in France and Québec in Light of Social Reproduction Theory

My paper contributes to the expanding literature on the moral education and socio-medical control of working class women by examining the ways in which their pregnancies are regulated through prenatal home visits conducted by professionals in social services organizations in both France and Quebec. It seeks to understand the way the evaluative criteria which assess the health of pregnant women and their future children are socially and medically determined by contextualizing these home visits within the broader framework of the governance of the working class' biological reproduction. My analysis of the role of childbearing in the functioning of capitalist economies is informed by work in Marxist-feminist social reproduction theory - notably by Nancy Fraser and Cinzia Arruzza - and by the debates on the relationship between productive and reproductive labour. The comparison between France and Québec allows me to contrast the impact of different historical developments of the welfare state on the regulation of reproductive labour. I reflect on the contradictions of the welfare state, which in both territories has gradually disinvested itself from health and education institutions while simultaneously reinforcing the mechanisms for the socio-medical surveillance and control of the reproductive labour of working class women. My research is grounded empirically on an ensemble of ethnographic materials gathered in two separate institutions - in Paris, the Protection maternelle et infantile (PMI) and in Montreal the Centre local des services communautaires (CLSC) - as well as on interviews with medical professionals conducting home visits.

Deniz Ay Care-Full Municipalisms to Mitigate the Social Reproduction Crisis at the Urban Scale

Marxist feminists define the “crisis of social reproduction:” Households and communities are less able to provide care work to maintain key social capabilities. Sustain life biologically, e.g., birthing and raising children, caring for older adults and the physically impaired, and socially, e.g., sustaining connections across and within communities are two facets of the enduring social reproduction crisis (Fraser, 2016; Katz, 2001). The organization of social reproduction is a question of power, and who bears the cost as well as the responsibility for sustaining and maintaining life on a daily and generational basis reflects social, political, and economic struggles. As the “urban” is increasingly the site and urbanization is the process through which social reproduction is reorganized, feminist urban theory formulates social reproduction as an urban challenge (Peake et al., 2021). Critical urban studies research explores a wave of counterhegemonic political movement of “new/radical municipalism” to revive citizens’ assembly via politicizing proximity (Russel, 2019; Roth et al., 2023; Davies & Blanco, 2017). On the one hand, new municipalism movement faces electoral failures, shortcomings, and political retreat in establishing alternatives to urban neoliberal agendas of austerity, exclusion, and rising authoritarian tendencies in local politics (Beal et al., 2023; Bua & Davis, 2022). On the other hand, scholars working on care crises normatively propose “care municipalism” (Dowling, 2018; Kussy et al., 2022; The Care Collective, 2020) and “caring planning” (Huang, 2015) as the outstanding viable policy alternative to deepening crisis of care by interventions at the local scale. This paper brings these debates together and develops the “care-full municipalisms” as a conceptual framework to 1) discuss care as a resource from a feminist political ecology perspective and 2) municipalism as an overarching processes of “commoning care” as an emerging response to the crisis of care and an active political struggle empowering new forms of public- commons partnerships by drawing on examples of policy interventions in child and elderly care. References: Béal, V., Maisetti, N., Pinson, G., & Rousseau, M. (2023). When Bookchin faces Bourdieu. French ‘weak’ municipalism, legitimation crisis and zombie political parties. *Urban Studies*. Bua, A., & Davies, J.S. (2022). Understanding the crisis of New Municipalism in Spain: The struggle for urban regime power in A Coruña and Santiago de Compostela. *Urban Studies*, 60, 2054 - 2072. Davies, J. S., & Blanco, I. (2017). Austerity urbanism: Patterns of neo-liberalisation and resistance in six cities of Spain and the UK. *Environment and Planning A*, 49(7), 1517-1536. Dowling, E. (2018). Confronting capital’s care fix: Care through the lens of democracy. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 37(4), 332-346. Fraser, N. (2016). Contradictions of capital and care. *New Left Review*, July-August, 99-117. Katz, C. (2001). Vagabond capitalism and the necessity of social reproduction. *Antipode*, 33(4), 709-728. Kussy, A., Palomera, D., & Silver, D. (2023). The caring city? A critical reflection on Barcelona’s municipal experiments in care and the commons. *Urban Studies*, 60(11), 2036-2053. Peake, L., Koleth, E., Tanyildiz, G. S., & Reddy, R. N. (Eds.). (2021). *A feminist urban theory for our time: Rethinking social reproduction and the urban*. John Wiley & Sons. Roth, L., Russell, B., & Thompson, M. (2023). Politicising proximity: Radical municipalism as a strategy in

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Melda Yaman Elderly Care: Understanding the “Family Strengthening Policies” from the Social Reproduction Perspective

Turkey is currently experiencing an ageing trend, with the number of elderly citizens reaching 8,5 million by 2022, which will make up 10 percent of the total population. This is a significant increase from 8,5 percent in 2017 and is expected to rise to 22,6 percent by 2060. The issue of elderly care has become increasingly critical as the population ages. As people age, they require specific care and support, including special care and rest institutions. However, with the weakening of social policies in the neoliberal period, investments in public nursing homes also decreased significantly. Hence, institutional care in Turkey is far from meeting the needs, and the basic approach to elderly care is home care, where women are held responsible for caring for their elderly relatives. The AKP government attaches great importance to the family institution and implements various policies and strategies to strengthen it, called Family Strengthening Policies. These policies include supporting early marriages, encouraging having many children, and incentives for expanded families (Yaman, 2023). Two essential aspects of these social policies revolve around care policies, which rely on women’s unpaid labour and family assistance. One of the most crucial consequences of the care burden for women is a low employment participation rate, which was 32,8 percent in 2023. In this paper, I will discuss the meaning of AKP’s recent family policies in terms of elderly care and women’s labour from the social reproduction perspective. First, I will try to show that the burden of care being placed solely on women in Turkey is the product of the interaction of neoliberal policies and a conservative patriarchal perspective. Secondly, I will argue that social policies and employment strategies serve the common purpose in this framework: to minimise public expenditures on care and to put the burden of care on women.

B402 Processes of Class Formation in Turkey II

Chair: Özgür Öztürk

Doğukan Dere Two Cases of Occupied Factories Across the Maritsa River: Workers' Self-Management in Vio.Me and Kazova

This paper focuses on the only ongoing recovered factory in Greece (Vio.Me), and the only recovered factory in the recent history of Turkey (Kazova). Vio.Me and Kazova workers occupied their respective factories in 2013 and established their own workers’ collectives subsequently. Since then, they have faced various internal and external challenges including evacuation attempts. In the face of these challenges, the Kazova slowly dissolved throughout 2017-2018 while the Vio.Me Collective recently celebrated its 10th anniversary with a solidarity festival. By focusing on these two peculiar cases across the Aegean Sea and the European Union border, this research aims a two-folded inquiry: i) understanding which factors are effective for the formation, consolidation, and dissolution of these recovered factories, and to what extent, and ii) examining the effects of these journeys on the socio-political subjectivities of the workers, especially their perception on themselves, the production process, and class struggle. Inspired by the intersecting paths of the collectives and solidarity networks they developed across the contentious border and nationalist governments, these inquiries will be accompanied by an effort to reveal the story of knitting grassroots proletarian internationalism among the workers of Vio.Me and Kazova. Hence, this paper aims for a broader significant contribution by i) offering a comparative and analytical account of the formation and disappearance of recovered factories as experiments to counter capitalist hegemony within the field of production, ii) exploring the transformation of the workers’ subjectivities, especially with respect to class struggle and alienation during their struggle to create and sustain recovered factories, and iii) revealing the ways in which the grassroots proletarian internationalism sprout, and the challenges it faces, under a tense and contentious inter-state situation – namely Greece and Turkey.

M. Şafak Sağlam Neoliberal Transformation and Class Struggles in the Akp Era

This study examines the AKP governments in terms of class struggle accompanying neoliberal transformation. It is based on a primary-source research using newspaper carried out on the even numbered days of the year covering 2002-2019 over the Cumhuriyet newspaper. Through a qualitative and quantitative study, it contextualize the root-causes of contention through its own dataset. By zooming in on various cases, it conducts a more detailed exploration, or a micro-storia of some of the most telltale incidents. As a result, this paper argues that the AKP government had two distinct phases. The first period is during the neoliberal transformation accelerated until 2010. In this period, the foundations of flexible employment policies were laid with privatizations, new labour laws and marketization in education and health. In the second period from 2010 to the present, which the results of the neoliberal transformation are being experienced that social distribution relations deteriorated in favor of capital, subcontractors and similar precarious forms of employment coming to the forefront. In the literature, this period has often been discussed through the concept of ‘authoritarianism’. Yet, as the reason for this authoritarianism, a common trope was the government facing cultural, ethnic or pragmatic problems. This study, however, takes a different approach and argues that authoritarianism came to be the management strategy of choice, as a direct result of neoliberal transformation – which, in turn, would more likely than not would cause class reaction. In sum, this study re-centers class politics in the scholarly discussion around democracy.

Müge Neda Altınoklu, Cem Özatalay Petty Bourgeoisification as Social Reproduction: A Contribution of Class Debates in the 21st Century

This paper posits that contemporary financialized neoliberal capitalism has not only driven the process of proletarianization but has also sparked a notable resurgence in petty bourgeoisification in the shaping of class structure all around the world, as well as in Turkey. Marked by the proliferation of petty bourgeois class locations across both formal and informal economies, this quite widespread phenomenon, in a paradoxical way, has not yet been sufficiently studied. This article endeavours to enhance our understanding of the significant restructuring underway within the global class architecture and its consequences for the ongoing reproduction of the capitalist system. Based on statistical data from TurkStat's Labor Force Statistics, Income and Living Conditions surveys and Small and Medium Enterprises Statistics reports prepared jointly with KOSGEB and TOBB, as well as some of the results of field research conducted separately by the authors since 2010, this paper aims to examine the phenomenon of petty bourgeoisification as a form of social reproduction in Turkey. To achieve this goal, the initial focus will be on a theoretical discussion of petty bourgeoisification. However, this discussion necessitates indeed moving beyond a mere exploration of the shift from property relations to control or domination relations, a topic extensively debated in class discussions during the 1970s and 1980s. From a historical materialist framework, petty bourgeoisification in financialized neoliberal capitalism becomes evident in the complex interplay of global and local dynamics and extends beyond governmental encouragement of entrepreneurship as it involves a nuanced transformation of wage labour. Contrary to the idea of a surge in entrepreneurialism in Turkey, in this article it will be argued that there is an increasing prevalence of forms of rentiership where the boundaries between wage labour, self-employment, and rentiership have become more permeable. This framework perceives petty bourgeoisification not merely a mode of social reproduction but also as a practice influenced by the ruling classes. In this sense, it will be equally argued to what extent the numerical size of the petty bourgeoisie and its connection to small property ownership contribute to the maintenance of neoliberal authoritarianism.

15:15-17:00 | SESSION 9

B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case III

Chair: Gökhan Demir

Alp Kayserilioğlu With “Radical Love” Against Erdoğan’s Populism? Oppositional Strategies in Turkey and Their Prospects”

It has become an established narrative in the analysis of Turkish politics to see growing discontent among the population due to political instability and economic hardship on the one hand, and the opposition’s inclusive, pro-democracy approach on the other, as the main factors explaining much of the opposition’s recent successes, especially

in the 2019 local elections. With reference to the election campaign of the opposition candidate Ekrem İmamoğlu, who was then elected mayor of Istanbul, the latter is also understood as an approach of “radical love” that can provide a general model of how populists can be defeated worldwide. However, the victory of Erdoğan and his ruling coalition in the parliamentary and presidential elections of May 2023 seriously calls into question this analytical framework. In my presentation, I will offer an alternative narrative which in turn will also guide my analysis of the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2023 (and possibly also the local elections in 2024). I will focus on how AKP’s embedding of neoliberalism in social redistribution mechanisms coupled with AKP’s often ignored grassroots politics are the core mechanisms that make continued popular support for AKP/Erdoğan possible in spite of severe crises. On the other hand, I will point out that the opposition’s approach itself remains only half-heartedly pro-democratic, partially leading to the reproduction of authoritarian mechanisms while also not presenting an alternative to neoliberalism. That is, the opposition does not in fact present an encompassing alternative to Erdoğan/AKP which is a major reason why those discontent with Erdoğan/AKP do not vote for the opposition. I will conclude with drawing more general lessons from the case of Turkey for the global struggle against authoritarian populism.

Atakan Çiftçi Everyday Politics of Union-Busting: Unravelling the Micro-Dynamics of Akp’s Neoliberal Authoritarianism

As the AKP solidifies a right-wing authoritarian regime and accelerates neoliberalization, understanding the intricate mechanisms of its neoliberal authoritarian statecraft at the grassroots level becomes crucial. This paper seeks to fill existing gaps in knowledge by employing a micro-level lens to scrutinise the legal, illegal, and extra-legal methods deployed by the AKP to undermine the labour movement. While ample research has elucidated the overarching impact of AKP’s rule on the deterioration of democratic rights and the labour landscape, our focus is on uncovering the nuanced tactics employed on the ground level. The paper is rooted in fieldwork, employing participant observation in the industrial zones of Manisa and Tekirdağ. Through semi-structured interviews with vanguard workers, trade union officials, and labour lawyers, we aim to shed light on the recent union-busting strategies employed by the government and employers in the face of an increasingly authoritarian environment. Our analysis commences by examining how the AKP adeptly utilised the 2016 coup attempt and the subsequent state of emergency to further weaken judicial institutions and criminalise political opposition, contributing to the erosion of labour rights. Subsequently, we delve into the intensified and diversified union-busting practices witnessed in our case studies during the post-coup attempt period, providing vivid experiences illuminating contemporary anti-labour measures. Central to our focus is the presentation of on-the-ground experiences, showcasing not only the challenges workers face in unionising but also their resilience, self-organising capacities, and counterstrategies. The findings emphasise the relevance of the labour movement as a source and potential for broader anti-authoritarian struggles.

Alpkan Birelma Labor Mobilization Under Neoliberal Populism: The Case of Turkey

Despite the catastrophic tone prevalent in the literature on labour in Turkey, this paper explores recent successful cases of labour mobilization and the AKP’s responses to contain and appease them. Since the mid-2010s, workers have increasingly staged non-legal strikes. The wildcat strike wave of metalworkers in 2015, ‘Metal Storm,’ attracted the most attention. However, the non-legal strike wave in 2015 was much bigger. According to our ongoing protest event analysis research exploring working-class protests in Turkey, 2015 witnessed non-legal strikes of nearly 65 thousand workers. As a response, in 2016, the AKP increased the minimum wage by 33% against annual inflation of 9%. The number of public sector subcontracted workers had skyrocketed in the 2000s to reach nearly 1 million. Their stubborn mobilization pushed the AKP to transition most of them into regular public employment in 2018. This was a massive nationalization in an era of neoliberalism. The third case is about retirement. In 1999, the retirement age was increased by 15-18 years. This also affected the workers who started working before 1999. This generation of workers began to mobilize in the mid-2010s to retire according to the previous rules. They built associations and organized meetings. Erdoğan declared that he would never accept this demand. However, he did in 2023. Based on these cases, the paper explores labour mobilizations in Turkey. It investigates the delicate balance the AKP strikes between containment/repression and appeasement in response to them. As a neoliberal populist regime, AKP rule (the longest-lasting of its kind) (Tuğal 2022) demonstrates a greater capacity to make concessions to working-class mobilizations. The paper aims to contribute to two theoretical debates: The vitality of the labour movement and the relationship between (neoliberal) populism and the working class.

B312 Marxism and Islam: Voices of Liberation From the House of Islam

Chair: Cihan Özpınar

Batuhan Parmaksız From Modernization Criticism to Anti-Capitalism: Muslim-Left Beyond the Politics of Identity in Turkey

This study explores whether the Muslim-Left adopts a class-based and anti-capitalist political stance beyond the politics of identity. The Muslim-Left is examined in the historical context of political Islamist movements in Turkey which are classified along with protest and emancipatory movements as well as identity movements. The term “Muslim-Left”, used for Islamist-leftist alliances since the 2000s, distinguishes itself from radical Islamism, which rejects secularism and seeks systemic change, and moderate Islamism, which is critical to secularism but compatible with modernism and does not conflict with capitalism. In addition, while Muslim-Left movements are considered in the context of protest and emancipatory movements, radical Islamism is evaluated in the context of both protest and emancipatory movements and identity movements, and moderate Islamism is evaluated in the context of identity movements. The study scrutinizes the Labor and Justice Platform, as a Muslim-Left movement, established in 2011. A qualitative examination of the Platform’s website, encompassing discussions, statements, actions, news, and comments, is conducted using the thematic content analysis method. The findings reveal that the Platform surpasses mere identity politics for two reasons. Firstly, the Platform, structured to prioritize class politics, is evaluated as protest and emancipatory Islamist movements. Secondly, although the Platform emphasizes class politics, it does not subordinate identity politics, adhering to the principle of “the identity of the oppressed is not asked.” This study posits the following arguments: In Turkey, where Islamism emerges through identity politics, the Muslim-Left offers an anti-capitalist, and class-based alternative, evolving from the critique of modernity to an anti-capitalist stance. Furthermore, the presentation of practical initiatives illustrates that, contrary to usual association of Islamist movements with right-wing politics in the literature, religious formations have the potential to support left-wing and class-based politics.

Xavier Gaillard Liberation Theologies, Dependency Theories and Anti-Imperialism: Recipe for Revolution in the Peripheral 70s

Following on my doctoral research, this paper argues that the Weberian concept of ‘elective affinity’ can be elastically applied to the existing relationship between types of Marxism and determined forms of religion radicalized by their context –that is, in specific places and times. In particular, the investigation looks into the busy ideological traffic of the “peripheral” or “third” world in the 70s –which gave birth to opposition movements and revolutionary situations challenging the imperialist status quo– in order to illustrate such potentialities. It asserts that, sociologically, the backbone of these effervescences cannot be explained by focusing separately on one or several isolated discourses. Rather, it can only be understood as being comprised of their overlap, merging, symbiosis and sometimes contradiction. Within the framework of the era’s broader anti-imperialism/westernism, two particular intertwining sense-making strands shone in the ongoing wars of position: Islamic and Christian liberation theologies, with their populist leanings and narrative/utopian logics; and dependency theories, which provided a plausible explanation to the economic problems besieging underdeveloped countries. The chains of equivalence generated by the interactions between these imaginaries (plus others, such as the pedagogy of the oppressed or the concern for human rights) produced the essential idea that the system should and could be changed –that the Blochian “not-yet-become” was, perhaps, not so distant. The paper centers on the dynamics and events of two geographically distinct enclaves –Latin America and the Middle East, represented by the two most undeniable revolutions therein, those of Nicaragua and Iran– to further prove how, notwithstanding the cultural intricacies of each region, the morphology of such ideological encounters was of a similar nature all throughout the global periphery.

Yağmur Ali Coşkun The Doctor and the Teacher, or, the Case for a Marxian Theory of Abrahamic Religions

This paper is an attempt to develop theoretical tools for a Marxian sociology of religion – an area that has been underdeveloped in the Marxist literature beyond notable but individual exceptions. I take steps towards establishing this framework by putting in dialogue two Middle Eastern Marxist thinkers neglected by western Marxism, namely, Dr. Hikmet Kivilcimli of Turkey and Mehdi Amel of Lebanon. I argue that these two thinkers’ views on religion can be

read both as complementing and criticizing one another. The synthesis resulting from putting these two thinkers in conversation offers two advantages. First, it explains the logic of sacralization and the logic of theological change vis-a-vis material social struggles and the resulting social change on a dialectical plane. Second, it avoids the pitfall of economic reductionism of several Marxist accounts of religion that see it as a psychological relief for the oppressed masses at best or a clerical conspiracy at worst. Instead, this framework sees religion as an integral part of changing historical totality, revolutionary in origin, both as an expression of material social change and a cultural resource that later generations draw on for social action. I also argue that the revolutionary origins of religion allow for a possible dialogue with, though not substitution for, the Marxist political project. Finally, I sketch out a possible application of this framework to the context of the Syrian Civil War.

Sezgin Boynik, Tevfik Rada Sosyalist Fecri: Muslim Voice of Yugoslav Communist Party

After the geopolitical shifts at the end of World War I in the Balkans, the newly formed Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) was able to politicize the Muslim population of South Yugoslavia. Influenced by the Soviet Revolution, the Muslim workers, peasants, small handicrafts and shopkeepers from Macedonia, Kosovo and Sanjak area formed their communist clubs where they would gather, discuss and politically organize. In the approaching 1920 municipal and parliamentary elections—the first ever semi-democratic elections in the region—the CPY intensified their propaganda in the South. As a consequence of this, a local newspaper in Turkish language 'Sosyalist Fecri' (Socialist Dawn) was initiated in Skopje. During the legal period of the CPY in 1920, altogether 12 issues of the newspaper were published in Ottoman alphabet. Sosyalist Fecri had an immense influence in Macedonia and Kosovo, which resulted in the unexpected success of the Party in municipal and parliamentary elections. Sosyalist Fecri became the anti-colonial leftist voice of the oppressed Muslim population in Yugoslavia in 1920, and it grew into the platform for the most progressive intellectuals and activists writing in the Turkish language in Yugoslavia. Militants like Ferit Bayram who were editing the newspaper, were also the primary influence for the Muslim internationalists who would join the anti-fascist national liberation struggle in the forties. The newspaper also published writings and poems by Muslim religious leaders (primarily those belonging to the Melami order) who joined the ranks of the CPY. Relying on the unpublished archival documents, the lecture will address this forgotten episode in Yugoslavia, discuss the relevance of 'Sosyalist Fecri' newspaper and situate them in the history of the CPY. Our lecture will be also an occasion to launch the book 'Yugoslavya Komünist Partisi Yayın Organı – Sosyalist Fecri Gazetesi (1920)' that we edited and was published by Sosyal Tarih Yayınları in October 2023. The book presents the transliteration of the 'Sosyalist Fecri' issues, biography of Ferit Bayram, and the lengthy introduction contextualizing the socialist movement among the Muslims in Yugoslavia.

B311 Lenin for the 21st Century: Revolutionary Marxism/ Devrimci Marksizm Journal Panel

Chair: Özgür Öztürk

Özgür Öztürk Rethinking a Key Leninist Concept: Labour Aristocracy

The concept of labour aristocracy has been almost forgotten in Marxist debates. To be sure, this concept was not strictly defined by Marx and Engels. In its original use, it implied two interrelated claims. The first was that there was a split in the (British) working class, and that the privileged upper layers of this class were socially and politically “arm in arm” with the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The second was the “embourgeoisement” of the entire working class in the imperialist era, as the workers of the oppressor nation moved closer to the bourgeoisie. Lenin’s contribution was to combine these two claims. He speaks not of the “embourgeoisement” of all workers in the core countries, but of the bribery of some of them through imperialist surplus profits. Although his theses were later criticised by various Marxist currents, this concept is central to socialist strategy today. In this context, I will try to discuss and update this key Leninist concept. The discussion will broadly cover the weakening of the traditional labour aristocracies and the emergence of new “aristocratic” sections within the working class.

Levent Dölek Imperialism and the Class Nature of the Great Power Struggle

The concept of “great powers” has emerged in history as a political and diplomatic concept. The first striking element that gives great powers the power to fight for sharing on a world scale is military capacity. However, it is clear that having military power must also be explained on economic and class bases. Within the scope of the question of why “Great Powers became great and powerful”, the historical roles of different “great powers” that came to the fore in different historical periods should also be discussed. Theories of imperialism, especially Lenin’s approach, based on the dominance of finance capital and the phenomenon of monopoly capitalism should be the primary method in answering these questions. Today, Russia and China are defined as new multipolarity actors or new emerging powers challenging the US hegemony. Whether this phenomenon reflects reality or not should be questioned on economic grounds and with a class analysis, including capitalist restoration processes experienced by Russia and China. This article sets out to show that not only Russia but also China, along with capitalist restoration, are losing the power which they gained before through socialist planning. And the process of integration of Russia (with an economy simply determined by exportation of energy and raw materials) and China (with an economy determined by manufactured goods exportation rather than capital export) into the imperialist system, along with the great depression that started in 2008, is not causing these countries to catch up with the imperialist west, but is making the national economies of these countries more fragile to the crisis. Russia and China have become the target of a siege, isolation and disintegration campaign carried out by western imperialism rather than entering a “great power” struggle against it.

Sungur Savran Lenin’s Legacy Denied

The experience of the construction of socialism in the 20th century broke its back on the rocky terrain of national-communism, a contradiction in terms according to classical Marxism, but nonetheless a reality of the 20th century. This travesty of the true Marxist conception not only imprisoned the productive forces of the planned economies within the boundaries and possibilities of a single country, but further cast “socialist country” against “socialist country”, leading to the threat of war (USSR-People’s Republic of China) or to the real exercise of war between them (Vietnam-Cambodia and China-Vietnam). And yet all of this was not pre-ordained or an inevitable consequence of Marxist theory and program. On the contrary, on the basis of a loyal allegiance to the thinking of the founding fathers, Lenin developed a completely original strategic vision toward the end of his life, which showed the way forward to world revolution and internationalism for 20th century socialism. He also successfully succeeded to make this vision a most decisive programmatic point for the Communist International. However, as soon as he left the scene, his successors turned to national-communism. Lenin’s legacy for world revolution was abandoned to its own fate, neglected, forgotten, and denied. It is this strategic vision that was proposed by Lenin for the achievement of world revolution that this presentation will try to revive.

B522 Marxist Theory of Revolution and Strategy I

Chair: Gökbörü Sarp Tanyıldız

Guilhem Mevel The Mythology of Bourgeois Revolution: Marx’s Radical Break From the Jacobin Tradition

In a section of the Holy Family, the young Marx famously interpreted the phantasmic reference to the past by the French Jacobins as an unconscious disguise of their class positions. In vindicating the virtues of Antiquity, they were in reality securing the liberation of bourgeois society from feudal social relations, centralizing the political society at one point of history to guarantee the independence and the flourishing of civil society. Therefore, the discourse of the revolutionary bourgeoisie can hardly escape the irrational confusion of temporalities. However, when comparing the political and intellectual interventions of Marx before and after 1848, the question is more complex. While Marx’s theory of revolution is characterized from 1844 onwards by a theory of self-emancipation, his understanding of the relations between the bourgeois and the social revolution dramatically evolved when observing the failure of socialism in 1848. We will defend that the opening lines of the Eighteenth Brumaire are not only a development of the materialist analysis of history, but also a deep operation of self-criticism. Marx’s portrayal of the reflexive and prudent character of the social revolution, contrasting with the illusory and “short-lived” course of the bourgeois revolution, represents indeed a major break with a continuous representation of the passage from bourgeois to social revolution. In this presentation, I will propose to explore the political and historical break in Marx’s theory of revolution from the Jacobin

model of centralized capture of power. Facing the disenchantment of 1848, Marx definitively abandoned the perspective of radicalization of revolutionary course in establishing social harmony. Informed by the experience of proletarian praxis, his revolutionary theory, as shown by his subsequent political writings and interventions, turned to a dialectical reversal of the bourgeois revolution to achieve the self-administration of the social body.

Cem Eroğul Revolutionary Strategy for Today

The main pitfall to avoid in the search for an adequate revolutionary strategy is the tendency to duplicate the latest strategy adopted in the past, which in our case is the dictatorship of the proletariat. This strategy is now totally outdated due to the following obvious reasons: - In developed countries, a transitional period aiming at the rapid development of the productive forces has become superfluous; the price of waging a frontal attack against the tremendous strength of the repressive apparatus of the modern state would be unbearable in terms of human suffering and material devastation; any kind of “dictatorship” would appear revolting to the mature contemporary individual. - In developing countries, the imperialist powers will never allow another successful takeover of the state by revolutionary forces; and in the cases where such a takeover has already been realized they will make sure that no revolutionary social transformation is successfully implemented. This situation is the result of two fundamental social-historic developments: I. As a mode of production capitalism is now totally bankrupt, deprived of any remaining objective legitimacy. II. The state is an oppressive mechanism having usurped the political powers of the people. This was made possible by the class division of society. At the present level of world development the state has lost its usefulness as a political instrument. The preliminary basic step in the implementation of a revolutionary strategy is the elaboration and widespread adoption of a list of revolutionary principles and aims. Here is the list of fundamental aims and principles that I would like to offer to this discussion

Phoebe Braithwaite Capitalist Rationalities, Contradictory Subjects and the Case of Barcelona's PAH

This paper focuses on an instance of progressive social organisation in Barcelona to illustrate a form of anti-fascist organising which points a way beyond binary constructions and modes of thought. The Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH) was established in the wake of the financial crisis in 2009. The PAH developed an empowered, mutually trusting, critically open mode of direct action, campaigning for housing rights and to stop evictions. They devised a protocol whereby migrants to the city, instead of being treated as aliens or constructed as a Spanish or Catalan “enemy other,” were provided with a framework in which they could help other people in the city and thereby counteract the familiar, unidirectional way in which power is assumed to operate. This left-populist work was anti-fascist not in the obvious sense that its members opposed fascism directly, though many did do that, but in that it inculcated a form of social action that counteracted the binary political mentalities (us vs them, thought vs. feeling, rational vs. irrational) in which “authoritarian populism” takes root and thrives. Pursuing a theory of embodied “mutual vulnerability” (Bechler, 2017) I employ the work of Stuart Hall, C.L.R. James, bell hooks and, behind them all, Karl Marx to point up a theory of anti-fascist action which provides a prototype for more mutually trusting, less defensive human common labour. As Marx wrote in *The Grundrisse*: “The conditions and objectifications of the process are themselves equally moments of it, and its only subjects are the individuals, but individuals in mutual relationships, which they equally reproduce and produce anew. The constant process of their own movement, in which they renew themselves even as they renew the world of wealth they create.” My paper investigates the mutuality which impedes fascism and its associated structures of thought and feeling.

B409 Marxism, Culture, Imagination

Chair: Özgür Narin

Blaž Gselman Unearthing the Radical Legacy of Louis Adamic

The presentation seeks to examine the work of the writer Louis Adamic (1898–1951), who had extensively written on the immigrant communities in the U.S. Adamic, who is today by and large a forgotten author, was a vital figure of the 1930s »cultural front« (Denning). An early proponent of the »counter-hegemonic epistemologies« of Los Angeles

(Davis), Adamic went on to become a significant chronicler of the labour militancy of the mid-thirties. In his writings, ethnicity, race, religion, and gender were not to be understood as identity categories, thus essentialized, but as relational mechanisms that produce divisions within the working class. Their structural determination lies in the constant production of differences, which are only integrated into the national bourgeois culture as its contradictions. Thus, capital can organize them in its attack in the class struggle against the working class. It is against this background we want to understand Adamic's statement that "Tolerance is not enough". We will show that "tolerance", as an element of national bourgeois ideology, is not an obstacle to the hierarchization and fragmentation of the workforce. On the contrary, it reinforces them as an ideological tool. Louis Adamič's textual production from the 1930s will be subjected to close reading in order to show the fundamental social contradictions of the historical moment in which it was produced. If we succeed in our analysis, we will ultimately be able to point to the place within the structure of social relations from which Adamic's textual practice had emerged. Thus, we will argue that he was an »immigrant organic intellectual« of the U.S. working class.

Mengqi Sun The Fellow Subjugated: History Writings of Turkey in Chinese Textbooks (1949-1991)

This study offers a comparative analysis of history education concerning Turkey in the People's Republic of China (PRC) and China in the Republic of Turkey, illuminating the complex interplay of memory, identity, and diplomacy in their bilateral relationship. Despite sharing a historical trajectory marked by Western imperialist threats, invasions, and subjugation, which fostered a mutual apprehension of extinction, enslavement, and obliteration, the PRC and Turkey were ideologically and geopolitically divergent during the Cold War, leading to armed conflicts. These experiences and their interpretations have subsequently influenced their respective historical narratives and educational content. The research reveals that in Chinese history education, the portrayal of Turkey is sporadic and fragmented, focusing predominantly on the Kemalist Revolution of the 1920s, depicted as a bourgeois anti-colonial uprising inspired by the October Revolution. Additionally, the Ottoman capture of Constantinople is highlighted as a catalyst for the European Age of Discovery and the rise of capitalism—a narrative increasingly emphasized in recent curricula. In contrast, Turkish history education foregrounds China principally within the context of early Turkish history, casting it as a neighboring adversary of lesser stature. This depiction persists into modern historical instruction, underscoring enduring perceptions. By examining these selective historical representations, the research underscores how history education in both countries is less about factual recounting and more about constructing a national identity and international role that serve present-day political and ideological objectives. This investigation sheds light on the intricate ways in which history is taught and the purpose it serves in shaping collective consciousness within differing cultural and political milieus.

B516 György Lukács' Theoretical Nachlass

Chair: Ateş Uslu

Daniel Badenhorst Lukács' 'Der Junge Hegel': In Search of Its Context

Putting György Lukács' book *Der junge Hegel* [The Young Hegel] in its context has proven a difficult task for his interpreters. Much of the reason for this lies in an inattention to seemingly insignificant details or a high-handed dismissal of the work as emblematic of a conservative or Stalinist period in the philosopher's work. In both cases intellectual incuriosity prevails, and crude caricatures of Lukács' book and its context come to stand in for a meaningful engagement. This talk is dedicated to shedding light on this hitherto obscure period of Lukács' intellectual biography. Refusing the prejudice among Western intellectuals according to which Lukács's name could only ever be related to the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, this talk begins and ends with two Soviet institutions: the Marx Engels Institute and the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Lukács' appointment to the first marks the beginning of the composition of *Der junge Hegel* and shapes the contours of the project. Lukács' position in the second creates the condition for the long delay in the work's publication. By focusing on these two institutions which operate as bookends to Lukács' project on the young Hegel and his time in the Soviet Union this talk aims to call into question a series of uninformed and ultimately ideological prejudices both about the work itself and Lukács' life in the USSR more generally.

Giorgio Cesarale Production, Reproduction, Crisis: Reinterpreting History and Class Consciousness Today

The aim of this paper is to contribute to a renewed understanding of Lukács' "History and Class Consciousness", by highlighting the discontinuity it achieved with respect to German Social Democracy and the way in which its main representatives – from Bernstein to Kautsky – were thinking the relationship between production, reproduction and crisis. Bringing the knot between totality and consciousness back to the forefront, and overcoming the general philosophical premises advocated by the late Engels, Lukács paved the way for a deeper understanding of reification as something from which the proletariat itself was not immune. The last part of the paper addresses how Lukács believes the 'ideological crisis within the proletariat' needs to be tackled in the transition to socialism in order to make the leap to the "realm of freedom".

Oğuz Güreker Dialectics Beyond Method - Theoretical Sketches

Dialectical thought starts with the recognition that "the tension between the concept and being is inevitable and ceaseless." A true dialectician, for the most part, ought to eschew discussions on methodology, given that methods should emerge from the object rather than dictating it. This principle, profoundly articulated by Hegel, too early suppressed by the positivist spirit, leading to an exaggerated emphasis on methodological considerations in contemporary theory. This overemphasis sociologically aligns with the prevalent trend of mistaking means for ends, a phenomenon intrinsically tied to the nature of the commodity, where the value of everything is measured by its functionality, its being becoming secondary to its utility. The conventional concept of theory anchored in scientific endeavors, structured within the division of labour at a specific developmental stage, aligns with the scholarly activities conducted parallel to, yet not evidently interconnected with, other societal functions: in contemporary economics for example the label "theory" has been appropriated by a group that confines itself to largely asocial, ahistorical mathematical "modeling," where one essentially omits the dynamic, historical interrelations between subject and object, knowledge and its material, and between theory and practice. This ideological stance, shared with both older traditions and recent positivism, adopts a mathematical approach akin to natural sciences, blending empirical verification with a mathematicized grammar, assigning meanings univocally to signs. The issues surrounding this approach, some of which will be revisited in this paper, have evolved since the Popper-Adorno debate of 1961—Habermas' distinctions between dialectical and analytic-empirical theories further articulate these longstanding concerns. When the focus leans more towards the outcomes of abstraction rather than the theoretical reconstitution of the whole (from which the outcomes are drawn), the underlying processes that led to the formation of these abstractions through social practice—as continuously shifting and being redefined throughout history—remains overlooked or dismissed as irrelevant in the scientific realm. The scientific method, intended to eliminate subjective and variable nature of opinions—a criticism traceable to Plato—seeks to eliminate ideology through stringent scientific processes. This approach, anticipating Comte's vision of sociology as both scientifically and socially dominant, was essentially prefigured in the ideologies of earlier thinkers. From this perspective, the social role of science remains obscured; it addresses only the significance of theory within its own historically isolated domain, failing to elucidate the broader implications of theory in human life. What we are after is to bring the power of [the idea of] totality—not as an affirmative category but as a critical one—back in theory.

B518 Gender and Sexuality: Love and Other Fantasies

Chair/Discussant: Paul Reynolds Reflections – What Can Marxists Say About Love and Happiness?

Lewis George Bloodworth Love as Capital: Reflections on Eva Illouz's Concept of Scopic Capitalism in the Realm of Dating Apps

The purpose of this paper is to reflect on dating apps and their role within Eva Illouz's conceptualisation of Scopic Capitalism - assessing its efficacy in explaining contemporary love relations. As she defines it, Scopic Capitalism 'is a capitalism that creates a formidable economic value through the spectacularization of bodies and sexuality, their transformation into images that circulate in different markets' (2021, p.108). Dating apps rely on this very economy of the image and effectively prioritise and uplift the circulation of what Illouz refers to as sexual capital – a bodily capital which is gendered and symbolic. Following this, we can also see that dating apps represent an interesting case for assessing a broader set of issues related to debates within Marxism pertaining to Immaterial and Affective labour

(Hardt & Negri; 2000). These concepts led to an optimism in the immanent possibilities of labour within a postmodern context – since they pluralise the possible sites of both struggle and political cooperation. In this vein, more recently Hardt and Negri supposed that information technologies, particularly algorithms, harbour a radical potential ‘algorithms continually add social intelligence to the results of the past to create an open, expansive dynamic’ (2017, p.118). Such a perspective fails to appreciate that algorithms are in actuality simplistic vehicles for the generation of what MacKenzie Wark has termed ‘surplus information’ (2019, p.11), and that they recursively reinforce biases through the flat application of regression analysis (Silva & Kenney; 2018). What is missed in the optimism of Hardt and Negri is thus the very issue of value and its connection to subject formation. These tensions will be explored more broadly in this paper – and connected to an already existing set of projects related to the role of dating apps in both the contemporary capitalist economy and their impact on love relations more broadly.

Tilbe Akan Right to Be Unhappy? A Marxist-Feminist Approach to the Understanding of Capitalist Happiness

Contemporary society finds itself engulfed in the fetishism of happiness, where the nuanced social dimensions of this emotion are often overlooked. This study delves into the intricate web of capitalist happiness discourse, dissecting its detachment from social ties and its transformation into a commodified entity divorced from broader societal contexts. Under the veneer of positivity and healing, happiness becomes a conceptual materiality and a tool of class power, serving to legitimize and further commodify the structures of contemporary capitalism. Building upon Sara Ahmed’s insights, we explore how happiness operates as a political discourse, used to defend and legitimize particular societal configurations. A Marxist-feminist lens guides our analysis, leading us to assert the right to be unhappy as an integral facet of resistance against the dominant power structures. Ahmed aptly notes, "Happiness translates its wish into a politics, a wishful politics, a politics that demands that others live according to a wish" (Ahmed, 572). Thus, our inquiry extends beyond the mere critique of capitalist happiness, advocating for the recognition and defense of the right to be unhappy. One critical dimension of the capitalist happiness narrative involves its self-legitimization to pacify and repress the populace. The expectation that all should strive for happiness becomes repressive, penalising marginalized classes, races, and women who find happiness more elusive. This illusion of social mobility coerces the unhappy into conformity, fostering cooperation and accommodation to maintain a non-threatening facade in the eyes of the ruling class (Ellen, 5). In this study, we aim to unravel the multifaceted nature of capitalist happiness, specifically focusing on its role in controlling and pacifying individuals. Our analysis will underscore how it functions as a class weapon, perpetuating societal norms and reinforcing the ruling power’s legitimacy. Furthermore, we will explore the political possibilities inherent in reclaiming the right to be unhappy within the framework of the capitalist understanding of happiness. References: Ahmed, Sara. "Killing Joy: Feminism and the History of Happiness." *Signs*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2010, pp. 571–94. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.1086/648513>. Accessed 26 Jan. 2023. Ellen, Hannah Ruth, "What Do Women Want? The Feminist Pursuit of Happiness" (2019). Honors Theses. 2292. <https://digitalworks.union.edu/theses/2292> Foucault, Michel, 1926-1984. *Discipline and Punish : the Birth of the Prison*. New York :Pantheon Books, 1977.

17:30-19:30 | CLOSING PLENARY | D-Building 2nd Floor Grand Hall

Marxist Theory of Revolution and Strategy

Chair: Aylin Topal

Kevin B. Anderson Marx’s Late Writings: Theories of Revolutionary Change and of Alternatives to Capitalism

In his last years, Karl Marx (1818-83) sketches three types of revolutionary change, each of them different from the united working class uprising that forms the conclusion of the first volume of *Capital*. Important as that rigorously dialectical, though abstract model is, it does not deal with race, colonialism, gender, the state, or other concrete factors discussed in some of his other writings, especially his late – largely unpublished – writings. (1) In 1869-70, Marx speculated that a British workers uprising might be sparked by one in Ireland led by the peasant-based Fenian nationalist movement. Inside Britain, English chauvinism and prejudice towards the Irish blunted working class solidarity and retarded formation of class consciousness. (These Marx writings build upon those of the 1860s on race, class, and revolution during the US Civil War.) (2) During the 1870s, Marx clarifies and deepens his concept of communism in the German and French editions of *Capital* (1867-75), in the *Civil War in France* (1871), and especially in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875), where he sketches non-statist forms of free and associated labour that

go far beyond the more centralist and statist notions put forward in the Communist Manifesto. (3) In his 1877-82 writings on Russia, Marx suggests that resistance in its communal villages against capitalist encroachments could lead to a form of modern communism, if this resistance could link up with the Western European labour movement. On Algeria, India, and Latin America, his notes on communal village structures and anti-colonial resistance imply something similar, and also take up gender in a serious way.

Ali Yalçın Göymen From the Common to the Commune: Thinking the Political Form of the Communist Movement in the 21st Century

During the last decade, we witnessed a rejuvenation of thinking on communism's theoretical foundation. In that regard, one notion attracted a great deal of attention: the common. Dardot and Laval proposed this notion as a principle of the coming revolution. Negri criticized their approach as being idealist and proposed a redefinition. He believed that the common was the material base of the coming society. In this paper, I'll make a critical assessment of these positions and claim that the common needs to be also theorized from a political standpoint. It needs to be conceived in relation with a political form (the Commune). I'll assert that only through such a political form we can attain a means to institute collective responsibility, action, and leadership that is able to transcend the capitalist relations of production and the property relations around them.

Ayça Çubukçu After Negri: Rethinking the Politics of Assembly

Highlighting the significance of Antonio Negri as a revolutionary philosopher of the global left in the 21st century, this talk will engage with Hardt and Negri's organizational and theoretical proposals in their book, *Assembly*, to reconsider the means and ends of contemporary left internationalism in our vexing moment of global crisis.

Paul Reynolds Between the Strategic Limitations to Reform Parties and the Strategic Problems of Transformative Parties: A Conceptual Exercising of Some Thoughts

Current debates on strategy face a number of paradoxes and contradictions. Successful revolutions have happened in countries with vanguardist parties and undeveloped proletariat composition from limited industrial development – Russia, China, Cuba. Parties that began as revolutionary outsiders and took parliamentary and reformist positions have generally been domesticated, subverted by electoral and populist politics, enmeshed in their political culture and institutional formations. This summarises labour politics in the UK and Eurocommunist politics. Revolutionary parties are marginalised by the power nexus of systemic and ideological forces that preserve the status quo and reformist parties tend to become a part of that nexus in order to secure limited gains and the benefits of accommodation. This first speculation into this area seeks to work within these poles, and review what strategic approaches might overcome the structural limitations to reform or revolution approaches. It seeks to compose strategic insights from four sets of tensions: the need to make immediate political impacts and visibility with the need to preserve long term vision and sustain the gap between the two politically; the need to embed in popular consciousness as well as secure ideological and political presence – between micro (meso) and macro politics; the need to establish a political culture and presence that builds movement and intervenes in current political events whilst retaining its core identity and political will; the need to balance political tactics – entryism, engagement - with a clear and sustained message of alternative. These issues – temporal, spatial, cultural, political (economy) and navigating strategy/tactics – are central to developing a sophisticated political mapping that both provides a conceptual general framework from which transformative organisations can develop the particular strategic operations to advance their agendas. This involves using some of the ideas of Gramsci, the British Marxist Historians, Bensaïd, Poulantzas, LeFebvre, De Certeau, Badiou and the Mouffe-unencumbered Laclau.

Presenters

(in alphabetical order)

Adem Açar, Siirt University
Agnes Gagyi, University of Gothenburg
Ahmet Gire, Independent Researcher
Ahmet Ulcay, Gaziantep University
Alan Díaz Alva, Leuphana Universität Lüneburg
Alexandros Minotakis, University College Dublin
Alfredo Saad Filho, Kings College, London
Alice Niffio, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro
Ali Rıza Bayrak, Izmir University of Economics
Ali Yağiz Yıldız, Ozyegin University
Ali Yalçın Göymen, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin
Alice Kabriti, École Normale Supérieure, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Alp Kayserilioğlu, University of Tübingen
Alper Duman, İzmir Economy University
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Anna Beria, Kingston University, London
Antonis Balasopoulos, University of Cyprus
Antonis Faras, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
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Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez, New University of Lisbon
Aslı Yılmaz Uçar, Altınbaş University
Aslıhan Aykac, Ege University
Atakan Çiftçi, Galatasaray University
Ayça Çubukçu, London School of Economics and Political Science
Aykut Örküp, Independent Researcher
Barış A. Yentür, Galatasaray University
Başak Koşanay, Istanbul Bilgi University
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Baver Yeşilyurt, Hacettepe University
Bektaş Deneri, Kocaeli University
Berkay Ayhan, Kadir Has University
Berkay Koçak, The University of Waikato, New Zealand
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Bora Erdağı, Kocaeli University
Canan Ozlem Altuntas, Atilim University
Canan Urhan, Istanbul Technical University and UCL

Cem Erođul, Retired Prof., Ankara University
Cem Oyvat, University of Greenwich
Cem Özatalay, Galatasaray University
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Demet Bolat, Demet Bolat
Demet Şahende Dinler, University of Sussex
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George Souvlis, University of Ioannina
Ghada Waked, Independent Scholar
Gerardo Otero, Simon Fraser University
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Giuseppe Quattromini, Scuola Superiore sant'Anna Pisa
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Helena Martins, University of Ceará
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İrem Kopuz, Boğaziçi University
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Jonas Grahm, Mid Sweden University
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Kanishka Goonewardena, University of Toronto
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Kenan Van De Mieroop-Al Bahrani, Leiden University
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Lukas Stolz, Leuphana University
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Matheus Gobbato Leichtweis, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul
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Mehmet Gürsan Şenalp, Atılım University
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