

# HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

## **ISTANBUL 2022**

Systemic Fragilities and Counter-Strategies, A *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory* Conference

April 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> 2022, Kadir Has University

## CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Friday

## Saturday

Kadir Has University									
Rooms	503	502	518	501	522				
09.00 Panel sessions	<b>Political Economy of Authoritarianism: Turkey in a Comparative Perspective I</b>  Authoritarian neoliberalism, crisis, and consolidation: the political economy of regime change in Turkey <i>Görkem Altınörs and Ümit Akçay</i>		<b>Marxism: Critical Reflections II</b>  The Crisis of Intellectuality in the Context of the Political Potential of Criticism <i>Melek Zorlu Öztürk</i>		<b>Capital and Political Economy</b>  Export of capital through portfolio theory: The historical case of British Investment Trusts, 1914-1928 <i>Antonis Kyparissis</i>				
	Social assistance as social reproduction of surplus population: Argentine and Turkish social policy between keeping alive and keeping able <i>Fırat Duruşan</i>		Overcoming the Distinction Between the Realms of Freedom and Necessity: Marx's Account of Communism <i>Görkem Giray</i>		Looking Back at Capital Fundamentalism: Turkey under Flexible Exchange Rates <i>Mert Karabıyıkoglu</i>				
	Charity state in crisis: The case of authoritarianism in Turkey <i>Gönenç Uysal</i>		The Class Unconscious Approach as a Tool for Theory and Struggle <i>Baran Gürsel</i>		Revisiting Shaikh's Theory of Inflation: An Empirical Analysis from European Countries <i>Oktay Özden and Hakkı Kutay Bolkol</i>				
	Chair: Galip Yalman		Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen		Chair: Özgür Narin				
	Chair: Fatih Tatari		Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel						
Kadir Has University									
Rooms	503	502	518	501	516	522			
10.45 Panel sessions	<b>Political Economy of Authoritarianism: Struggles for Cultural Hegemony</b>  Higher education and the AKP: From ideological imaginaries to a coherent reproductive strategy for a skilled labor force? <i>Axel Gehring and Ezgi Pınar</i>		<b>The Theory and Practice of Social Reproduction</b>  Theorizing experience: Intersectionality, overdetermination, and political strategy <i>Despina Paraskeva-Veloudogianni</i>		<b>Central Banking and its Discontents: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Monetary Policy Making</b>  The End of Central Bank Independence? Prospects and Crisis of Presidential Monetary Policy in Turkey <i>Ulaş Şener</i>				
	The codes of AKP's authoritarianism: disciplining society, securitization, and the crisis of modern masculinity <i>Candaş Ayan</i>		Social Reproduction Through the Eyes of Late Ottoman Era Fathers: Life, Labor and Affect in Ottoman Middle Class Families at the Turn of the Twentieth Century <i>Müge Özbek</i>		Limits of Dependent Financialization and Political Economy of Turkey's Current Monetary Policy <i>Ümit Akçay and Mehmet Bakı Deniz</i>				
	The "MODI"fication of the Indian State: Reconfiguration of State-Society Relations with Financial Articulation <i>Pınar Kahya</i>		Central Bank Independence: More Discretion than Rules? Novel monetary policy in the Federal Reserve and the ECB and its legal and political implications <i>Pavlos Roufos</i>		Religion, Revolution and the Specters of Marx: Reconsidering Iran and Nicaragua <i>Xavier Gaillard</i>				
	Chair: Pınar Bedirhanoğlu		Chair: Paul Reynolds		Can We Explain the Motivation of Jihadists Based on Marx's Concepts of Social Consciousness and Alienation? <i>Zeliha Burcu Acar</i>				
	Chair: Galip Yalman		Chair: Neslişah L. Başaran Lotz		From "The Origins" To The "History Thesis": Revealing the Path of Engels-Kıvılcımlı Continuity <i>Mert Büyükkarabacak</i>				
	Chair: Zafer Ülger		Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel						
12.30	Lunch								

## Saturday

	Kadir Has University						
Rooms	503	502	518	501	516	522	
13.00 Panel sessions	<b>Political Economy of Authoritarianism: Turkey in a Comparative Perspective II</b>  The Rise and Fall of Authoritarian Populism in Brazil and the US <i>Esra Akgemci</i>	<b>Coping with the Pandemic I</b>  A Marxist critique of biopolitics: historical insight and conceptual analysis <i>Mikołaj Ratajczak</i>	<b>Far-Right and Anti-Fascist Politics in Comparative Perspective</b>  Decoding the contemporary far-right discourse in Greece: Gender, Media, Armed Forces and Church <i>George Souvlis and Rosa Vasilaki</i>	<b>The containment of labor, the fostering of capital in the Anatolian hinterland under the AKP rule</b>  Disciplining and Articulating the Labour: Labour Containment Strategies of the AKP <i>Ezgi Pınar</i>	<b>Marxism and Ecology Reductive and eco-destructive capitalism</b>  Climate Models as "Planetary General Intellect" <i>Daniel Cunha</i>	<b>Global Eastern Europe Panel</b>  A Forum on Putin's War in Ukraine: Antiwar Movement and International Solidarity for Peace  <i>Ilya Budraitskis, Ilya Matveev, Ecehan Balta and Jana Tsoneva</i>	
	Authoritarian neoliberalism or neoliberal authoritarianism: the cases of Turkey and Brazil <i>Sıla Demirörs</i>	The COVID-19 pandemic, health policies, and the crisis of critical citizenship <i>Adeela Arshad-Ayaz and M. Ayaz Naseem</i>	The Political Resistance Strategies of SPD and KPD against German Fascism: Lessons for the Contemporary Anti-Fascist Politics <i>Umut Devrim Özbidéciler</i>	The Resistance against Status Quo: The Case of the Metal Storm in Turkey <i>Alican Çağrı Gökçek</i>	Towards A Dialectical Materialist Understanding of Nature: A Critique of Sustainable Architecture <i>Onur Lami Yalman</i>	Rent appropriation and violence in energy markets: an analysis using Marx's theory of value <i>Fabian Balardini</i>	
	A Political Economy Approach to NFCs Financialisation at Sectoral Level: A Comparison Between Brazil and Turkey <i>Elif Karacimen, Annina Kaltenbrunner and Joel Rabinovich</i>	Work Fits Home?: Remote and Freelance Working during Covid-19 Outbreak <i>Özlem İlyas</i>	The Pakistani Community in Greece and its contribution to the antifascist struggle against Golden Dawn during the 2010's <i>Costas Gousis</i>	Beyond The Liberal Narrative AKP, Capital and Labour Relations: An Introductory Descriptive Analysis <i>Mustafa Kahveci</i>	The Perpetual Decline of the Traditional Union Movement in Turkey during the Neoliberal Globalization <i>Mustafa Görkem Doğan</i>		
	Chair: Özgür Orhangazi	Chair: Atakan Büke	Chair: Panagiotis Sotiris	Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen	Chair: Erinç Yeldan	Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel	

	Kadıköy Municipality (Caddebostan Cultural Center)
17.30	Plenary on <b>Urban Politics: Reclaiming the City: Structures, Actors, and Strategies</b> (Ugo Rossi, Justus Uitermark, Fırat Genç, Ezgi Doğru) Chair: Aylin Topal
20.00	Conference Dinner at Khalkedon

## Sunday

Kadir Has University							
Rooms	503	502	501	522			
09.00 Panel sessions	<b>Political Economy of Authoritarianism: Processes of Class Formation in Turkey in a Historical Perspective</b>  Working-class Struggles under Authoritarianism: The Case of Turkey, 2015-2020 <i>Alpkan Birelma, Ebru Işıklı and Deniz Sert</i>  Class identity and everyday resistance of textile workers in Umraniye <i>Yasemin Antik</i>  Is Proletarianization Progressive? A Debate on the Role of Small Tradesmen in Turkey in Post-Pandemic <i>Müge Neda Altınoklu</i>  Chair: Deniz Parlak	<b>Coping with the Pandemic II</b>  Closing the Vaccine Gap: The Patent Rights Issue and the Cuban Way <i>N. Sinan Odabaşı</i>  Independent Labour Activism and State reactions in Vietnam: Before and after the Covid-19 pandemic <i>Susann Pham Thi</i>  The Pandemic in two neighborhoods of Mexico City <i>Aritz Tutor Anton</i>  Chair: Aylin Topal	<b>Contemporary Capitalism I: Future of Work</b>  Techno-feudalism at the gates? A case for value-form analysis of digital monopolies <i>Mislav Žitko, Toni Prug and Paško Bilić</i>  Neoliberal Globalization, Digitalization and Global Division of Labor: Analyzing the Future of Work and Alternative Models Incorporating with Social Inclusion <i>Ezgi Akçalı</i>  Questioning the transformation of work: The example of delivery <i>Tayfun Mertan</i>  Chair: Özgür Narin	<b>Historiography as Strategy</b>  Social classes in the formation of modern Turkey <i>Neslişah L. Başaran Lotz</i>  War of manoeuvre and war of position in uncertain times: Explaining the divergent trajectories of Marxism-Leninism in Pakistan and India <i>Noaman G. Ali</i>  Renewing Marxist Understandings of the Mongol Empire <i>Joshua D. Gonsalves</i>  Class and Linear Progress: Reclaiming the Romantic Conception of Class Alliance <i>Anna Yegorova</i>  Chair: Cihan Özpinar			
Rooms	Kadir Has University						
11.00 Panel sessions	<b>Political Economy of Authoritarianism: Revolutionary Politics in Global South</b>  Is Revolution a Myth and Somersault in a coffin <i>Emel Akçalı</i>  Why do the protesters block the roads? <i>Iman Ganji</i>  The Workers' Left Front-84 Unity (FIT-U) in Argentina and the difference that difference makes <i>Sena Aydin Bergfalk &amp; Atakan Çiftçi</i>  Collective Solidarity, Social Justice and Local Identity: The Left and the Question of Populism in Kerala, South India <i>P. Muhammed Afzal</i>  Chair: Sinan Yıldızmaz	<b>Marxism and Socialist Ideology in the Ottoman Empire after the 1908 Revolution</b>  Marxism in Ottoman: Muslim/Turkish Socialists in the Ottoman Empire <i>Y. Doğan Çetinkaya</i>  Armenian Socialism in a Revolutionary Youth Organization: The Journal Gaydz <i>Yaşar Tolga Cora</i>  Revolutionary Syndicalism of the Ottoman Workers: Socialist Center of Turkey <i>Stefo Benlisoy</i>  Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen	<b>Contemporary Capitalism II: Platforms, Metaverse, Liquid Corporations</b>  Capitalism as a "Nature Creating" Force: The Metaverse and the Digital Capitalism <i>Yakup Atamer Aykaç</i>  The Emergence and Rise of Liquid Corporations: Moving Beyond Dated Conventions <i>Tansel Güçlü</i>  A critical theory of technology to understand the current trends of digital capitalism <i>Diego Fernando Ramírez Reinoso</i>  New Geographies of Platform Capitalism: Big Techification in Turkey <i>Melih Yeşilbağ</i>  Chair: Özgür Narin	<b>Migration, Labour and Race in Capitalism Today</b>  Misperceptions of the Border: Migration, Race, and Class Today <i>Adam Hanieh and Rafeef Ziadah</i>  Beyond the border-migrant dialectic: the humanitarian border in place <i>Paolo Novak</i>  Disciplining The Syrian Refugee Workers in Turkey: The Functioning of Spatial Fix in The Cities <i>Cenk Saracoğlu and Daniele Belanger</i>  Chair: Cemil Yıldızcan	<b>Marxism and Ecology Capitalist Agrifood System, Authoritarianism and Resistance in the Global South: Insights from Turkey</b>  Rising Authoritarian Neoliberalism in Rural Turkey: Change and Negotiation of Women in a Gendered Agribusiness in Western Anatolia <i>Zeynep Ceren Benlisoy</i>  Agrarian Change and Vulnerability in the Context of Climate Change in Turkey <i>Duygu Avcı, Fikret Adaman, Umut Kocagöz and Gökçe Yeniev</i>  The Question of Food Sovereignty in the context of Authoritarianism: Major Issues in Turkey <i>Atakan Büke and Orkun Doğan</i>  Sweet Cherries Bitter Lives <i>Nil Alt</i>  Chair: Gürsan Şenalp	<b>Analysing the Working Class in the Late Turkish Economy: Struggles, Commodification of the Labour in Public Services and Female Labour</b>  Commodification and Changing Labour in Turkey: The Working Class in the Public Sector <i>Koray R. Yılmaz</i>  Between Neoliberalism and Conservatism: Recent Developments and New Agendas in Female Labour Policies in Turkey <i>Demet Özmen-Yılmaz</i>  A View of Precarisation from Turkey: Urban-Rural Dynamics and Intergenerational Precarity <i>Elif Hacisalıoğlu</i>  Burden or a Saviour at a Time of Economic Crisis? AKP's 'Open-Door Migration Policy' and its Impact on Labour Market Restructuring in Turkey <i>Ertan Erol</i>  Chair: Çağatay Edgüçan Şahin	<b>Marxism and Islam Social Trajectories of Islam and Class</b>  Turkish Islamism and the "rebranding of social class": Manufacture of Consent, Economic Crisis and Ruptures in AKP's hegemonic project <i>Nikos Moudouros</i>  'The Downtrodden' and its Foes: Some Reflections on the Recent Subaltern Protests in Iran <i>Mehrdad Emami</i>  Islamic Liberation Theology in Practice: A Comparative Analysis of British Muslims' Activism Against Class Inequality <i>Sharaiz Chaudhry</i>  Chair: Yücel Demirer

## Sunday

12.45	Lunch					
13:00	Academic Freedom Forum (Saygun Gökarıksel, Deniz Parlak, Yasemin Özgün, Yağmur Çağatay)					
	Kadir Has University					
Rooms	503	502	518	501	516	522
14.00 Panel sessions	<b>Political Economy of Authoritarianism: States of Exceptions: Turkey and Europe</b>  States of exception, militarism, and the crisis of the liberal state: Spain and Portugal, 1917-26 <i>Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez</i>  State, Law and Exception: A Conjunctural Analysis of the Transformation of Law in Turkey <i>Muharrem Enes Kaya</i>  An Overview of the State of Emergency in the Covid-19 Pandemic: Police Practices in Western Europe <i>Taşkın Toprak İpek</i>	<b>Coping with the Pandemic III</b>  Blockage and Circulation in the Global Ocean: The Political Economy of Maritime Capitalism under Covid-19 <i>Liam Camping and Alex Colas</i>  Reclaiming solidarity and relations from the anti-vaxxer protests during Covid-19 times <i>Johanna Bröse</i>  The Nation, Its Pandemic, and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy <i>Despina Lalaki</i>	<b>Refugees and Migrant Workers, Borders</b>  Labour, Migration, Everyday life <i>Lafazani Olga</i>  One Hundred Years, Two Refugee Crises <i>Eleni Kyramargiou</i>  Between Coup and Revolution: Axes of Precarity among Iranian Refugees in Turkey <i>Maral Jefroudi</i>	<b>Political Economy of Statehood and Foreign Aid in Mediterranean Context</b>  Statehood Struggle Within the Context of a Protracted Conflict: Political Economy of the Turkish Cypriot Case <i>Nilgün Öner</i>  The Political Economy of AKP's Foreign Aid: A Regional Assessment of Middle East and North Africa <i>Ardahan Özkan Gedikli</i>	<b>Marxism and Ecology</b> Is anti-systemic exit from the ecological crisis still possible?  The Socio-ecological Question and the Anti-systemic Environmentalism <i>Zehra Yaşın</i>  "End of the World, End of the Month, Same Struggle!": Towards an Ecosocialist Transitional Program <i>Önder Eren Akgül and Eyüp Özer</i>	<b>Alienation: Critical and Contemporary Studies</b>  Artificial Intelligence, Algorithms and Alienation <i>Özgür Narin</i>  Thinking the Way Out of Authoritarianism: Crisis of Neoliberalism, Alienation and Emancipation <i>Ali Yalçın Göymen</i>  Alienation and Exploitation: The Contours of Estrangement <i>Paul Reynolds</i>
	Chair: İsmet Akça	Chair: Cihan Özpinar	Chair: Ekinsu Devrim Danış	Chair: Galip Yalman	Chair: Ecehan Balta	Chair: Ezgi Doğru
	<b>Kadir Has University</b>					
16:00	Workers' Struggle Forum with Aslı Odman and Mustafa Görkem Doğan					
	<b>Kadir Has University</b>					
17.00	Final Plenary on <b>Strategy</b> (Panagiotis Sotiris, Galip Yalman, Şebnem Oğuz) in Memory of Leo Panitch and Aijaz Ahmad Chair: Pınar Bedirhanoğlu					

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