‘TOWARDS A COSMOPOLITAN MARXISM’

Historical Materialism Annual Conference 2005, 4-6 November

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

University of London Union, and School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, WC1

The Editorial Board of Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory, in collaboration with the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Committee, the Editorial Board of the Socialist Register, and the Faculty of Law & Social Sciences and the Department of Development Studies at SOAS is pleased to announce its annual conference, ‘Towards a Cosmopolitan Marxism’, 4-6 November 2005.

Since its inception, Historical Materialism has been firmly committed to the project of creating a space of dialogue and debate which extends across disciplinary, linguistic and cultural borders, and promotes the circulation, cross-fertilisation and expansion of critical Marxist thought. For the 2005 conference we have invited a wide range of leading figures in European Marxist thought to discuss the terrain of a future ‘cosmopolitan Marxism’. This will be an exciting weekend of comradely exchange, which the Editorial Board of Historical Materialism hopes will grow into an important annual international event.

The conference will be organised with three plenary sessions (Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture, Socialist Register and Historical Materialism plenary sessions) and workshops dedicated to specific themes. Workshop themes include: the philosophy of Nietzsche, the critique of Liberalism, Gramsci, Althusser, the young Marx, the break-up of Yugoslavia, the interpretation of Capital, Marxism and intellectuals, Marxism and philosophy, ‘mutations’ in the mode of production, visions of socialism, Deleuze and Marx, imperialism, Venezuela, the Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism, thinking the political, and combined and uneven development.

The Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture, ‘The Politics of Assumption, the Assumption of Politics’, will be delivered by Michael Lebowitz on Friday evening, 4 November.

The Socialist Register Plenary Sessions, to launch the 2005 edition of the Register, edited by Colin Leys and Leo Panitch, ‘Telling the Truth about Class’ and ‘The State of the Third Way’, will be held on Saturday evening, 5 November.

The Historical Materialism Plenary Session, ‘War and Capitalism’, will conclude the conference on Sunday afternoon, 6 November.

The language of the conference will be English with consecutive translation provided for a limited number of sessions, where necessary.

Attendance is free. However, the conference is entirely self-funding and we will depend on voluntary donations by attendants and participants to support the event. The suggested donation is £20 waged and £10 for unwaged for the full event, and £10 and £5 for one-day attendance.

Please register in advance by email to help us to guarantee sufficient seating: <historicalmaterialism@soas.ac.uk>
CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Friday 4th – UNIVERSITY OF LONDON UNION (ULU)

2.30-3.00pm Room 3D– Registration

2.30-3.00pm Room 3D– Opening Presentation – Editorial Boards of Historical Materialism, Socialist Register, and the Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture Committee

3.00-4.45pm SESSION 1

Workshop 1.1 – Room 3C – Lineages of Contemporary Imperialism

Chair: Jim Kincaid
Tobias ten Brink & Oliver Nachtwey, ‘Lost in transition - theories of imperialism and the German world market debate in the 1970s’
Alan Freeman, ‘Bolivar to Bolshevism: what can the writers of history learn from its makers?’

Workshop 1.2 – Room 3D – "It is difficult to be a Marxist in philosophy..."

Chair: Esther Leslie
Frieder Otto Wolf, ‘Finite Marxism– some problems involved in re-reading Capital’
Peter Osborne, ‘Marx and the philosophy of time’, Nicolas Vieillescazes, ‘Keep it real: Jameson as a storyteller’

Workshop 1.3 – Room 3B – Combined and Uneven Development

Chair: Paul Blackledge
Neil Davidson, ‘From uneven to combined development: between the Enlightenment and the Third International’, Colin Barker, ‘Some reflections on uneven and combined development’

Break

7.00-9.00pm – Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Lecture – School of Oriental and African Studies – Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

Chair: Chris Arthur
Michael Lebowitz, ‘The politics of assumption, the assumption of politics?’

Conference social – Venue to be announced
Saturday 5th – SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (SOAS)

10.00-11.45am

**Workshop 2.1 – Room B102 – Capital**

Chair: Jim Kincaid
Wolfgang Fritz Haug, 'Marx’s learning process – against “correcting Marx with Hegel” (Engels, Anti-Dühring)'
Chris Arthur, 'Capital as an object for theory',
Respondent: Michael Lebowitz

**Workshop 2.2 – Room B111 – Althusser**

Chair: Peter Thomas
Gregory Elliott, ‘Althusser in his limits’
Vittorio Morfino, ‘The primacy of the encounter over form’
Mikko Lahtinen, ‘Conjunctures – Althusser’s aleatory interpretation of Machiavelli’

**Workshop 2.3 – Room B104 – Yugoslavia**

Chair: Alberto Toscano
Rastko Mocnik, ‘Yugoslavia in the world-system’
Ozren Pupovac, ‘Project Yugoslavia: the singular and the plural’

12.00-1.00pm Lunch

1.00-2.45pm

**SESSION 3**

**Workshop 3.1 – Room B102 – Capital**

Chair: Alfredo Saad-Filho
Geert Reuten, ‘On the quantitative homology between circulating capital and capital value; the problem of Marx’s and the Marxian notion of “variable capital”’
Riccardo Bellofiore, ‘A ghost turning into a vampire: the concept of capital and living labour’
Roberto Fineschi, ‘The four levels of abstraction of Marx’s concept of capital’
Respondent: Alan Freeman

**Workshop 3.2 – B111 – The Critique of Liberalism**

Chair: Alberto Toscano
Domenico Losurdo, ‘A counterhistory of liberalism’
Respondents: Alex Callinicos, G.M. Tamas

**Workshop 3.3 – Room B104 – Selections from Das historisch-kritische Wörterbuch des Marxismus (Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism)**

Chair: Peter Thomas
Juha Koivisto & Mikko Lahtinen, ‘Conjuncture’
Thomas Barfuss, ‘Conformism’
Jan Rehmann, ‘Ideology-critique’
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<th>Time</th>
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<td>2.45-3.00pm</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
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<td>3.00-4.45pm</td>
<td><strong>SESSION 4</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Workshop 4.1 – Room B102 – Capital</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Chair: Sam Knafo</em>&lt;br&gt;Andrew Kliman, 'Reclaiming Marx's <em>Capital</em> from the myth of inconsistency: notes on a new book'&lt;br&gt;Mino Carchedi, 'Marx and the business cycle'&lt;br&gt;Alan Freeman, 'Bortkiewicz, Sweezy, Sraffa and the sacrifice of scientific integrity to academic respectability: why the theory of history requires the theory of value'&lt;br&gt;<em>Respondent: Riccardo Bellofiore</em>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Workshop 4.2 – Room B111– Gramsci</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Chair: Paul Reynolds</em>&lt;br&gt;Giorgio Baratta, ‘Gramsci among us: Hall and Said’&lt;br&gt;Rocco Lacorte, ‘“Language” and “translation”, “praxis” and “culture” in Antonio Gramsci’s <em>Prison Notebooks</em>’&lt;br&gt;Fabio Frosini, ‘Immanence and historical materialism in Gramsci’s <em>Prison Notebooks</em>’&lt;br&gt;Derek Boothman, ‘The multiple sources of Gramsci’s concept of Hegemony’&lt;br&gt;<strong>Workshop 4.3 – Room B104 – Venezuela</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Chair: Alex Colas</em>&lt;br&gt;Marta Harnecker, ‘Venezuela: a revolution <em>sui generis</em>’&lt;br&gt;Michael Lebowitz, ‘What path is Venezuela constructing?’&lt;br&gt;Chris Harman, ‘Venezuela: important steps to come’&lt;br&gt;4.45-5.00pm</td>
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<td>5.00-6.30pm</td>
<td><strong>Socialist Register PLENARY, Khalili Lecture Theatre (SOAS Main Building)</strong>&lt;br&gt;– Telling the Truth about Class&lt;br&gt;<em>Chair: Colin Leys</em>&lt;br&gt;G.M. Tamas, ‘The truth about class’&lt;br&gt;<em>Discussants: Alex Callinicos, Simon Clarke</em>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Socialist Register PLENARY, Khalili Lecture Theatre (SOAS Main Building)</strong>&lt;br&gt;– The State of the Third Way&lt;br&gt;<em>Chair: Alfredo Saad-Filho</em>&lt;br&gt;Colin Leys, 'The cynical state: the corruption of policy-making in Blair’s Britain'&lt;br&gt;David Miller, ‘Propaganda-managed democracy: lies and the Iraq war’&lt;br&gt;Michael Kustow, ‘Playing with the truth: the political role of the theatre today’&lt;br&gt;Elisa Van Waeyenberge, ‘Stiglitz’s “Third Way”? The truth about the “post-Washington consensus”’&lt;br&gt;8.30pm</td>
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Sunday 6th – SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (SOAS)

10.00am-11.45am

SESSION 5

Workshop 5.1 – Room B102 – Nietzsche's philosophy and the postmodernist “hermeneutics of innocence”

Chair: Peter Thomas
Domenico Losurdo, ‘Nietzsche, the aristocratic rebel’
Jan Rehmann, ‘Towards a deconstruction of postmodernist neo-Nietzscheanism’
Respondent: David McNally

Workshop 5.2 – Room B111 – Visions of Socialism

Chair: Paul Reynolds
Paresh Chattopadhyay, ‘Worlds apart: socialism in Marx and in early Bolshevism’
Martin Thomas, ‘Three traditions? Marxism and the USSR’

12.00-1.00pm – Lunch

1.00-2.45pm

SESSION 6

Workshop 6.1 - Room B111 – The Young Marx

Chair: Matteo Mandarini
Roberto Finelli, ‘A failed parricide’
Respondents: Sean Sayers, David McNally, Peter Thomas

Workshop 6.2 - Room B104 – Thinking the Political

Chair: Giuseppe Tassone
Massimiliano Tomba, ‘Another kind of Gewalt: the possibility of the impossible’
Alberto Toscano, ‘Scattering the ashes: truth and violence in Badiou’s Marxism’

Workshop 6.3 – Room B102 – Marxism and Intellectuals

Chair: Esther Leslie
Alex Demirovic, ‘Intellectuals, epistemological terrains and formative stages of critical-materialist theory’
Thomas Barfuss, ‘Active subjects, passive revolution: agility, cleverness, irony’
Paul Reynolds, ‘History, subject and dialectics: deconstructing the Marxist intellectual’

2.45-3.00pm – Coffee break

3.00-4.45pm

SESSION 7

Workshop 7.1 – Room B111 – "Mutations" in the mode of production

Chair: Alberto Toscano
Mario Candeias, ‘Hightech, Hartz and hegemony’
Carlo Vercellone, ‘The hypothesis of cognitive capitalism’
Bob Jessop, ‘The future of the capitalist state revisited’
| Workshop 7.2 – Room B104 – Deleuze and Marx | Chair: Matteo Mandarini  
Nick Thoburn, “‘Marxism in general has never existed’: Deleuze and Guattari’s Marx”  
Jason Read, ‘The age of cynicism: Deleuze and Guattari on the production of subjectivity in capitalism’ |
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| Workshop 7.3 – Room B102 – Iraq | Chair: Paul Blackledge  
Loukas Christodoulou, ‘The corporate occupation of Iraq and worker resistance’  
Ali Kadri, ‘Iraq: then and now’  
Subir Sinha, ‘Solidarity after Iraq’ |
| 4.45-5.00pm – Coffee break |  |
| 5.00-7.00pm – Historical Materialism PLENARY – War and Capitalism – Room B102 | Chair: Sebastian Budgen  
Michael Krätke, ‘The political economy of war’  
Alex Colas, ‘Civility and violence’  
Peter Gowan, ‘Capitalism and war’  
Conference social – Venue to be announced |
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chris Arthur (London, author of The New Dialectic and Marx's Capital)

Giorgio Baratta (University of Urbino, author of Le rose e i quaderni. Il pensiero dialogico di Antonio Gramsci)

Thomas Barfuss (Freie Universität Berlin, author of Komformität und Bizarres Bewusstsein)

Colin Barker (Manchester Metropolitan University, co-editor of Leadership and Social Movements)

Riccardo Bellofiore (University of Bergamo, editor of Global Money, Capital Restructuring and the Changing Patterns of Labour)

Derek Boothman (University of Bologna, author of Traducibilità e processi traduttivi. Un caso: A. Gramsci Linguista)

Tobias ten Brink (Fachhochschule Frankfurt/M, author of VordenkerInnen der globalisierungskritischen Bewegung: Pierre Bourdieu, Susan George, Antonio Negri)

Alex Callinicos (King's College London, author of Making History: Agency, Structure, and Change in Social Theory)

Mario Candeias (University of Jena, author of Neoliberalismus, Hochtechnologie, Hegemonie)

Mino Carchedi (University of Amsterdam, author of Frontiers of Political Economy)

Paresh Chattopadhyay (Université du Québec à Montréal, author of The Marxian Concept of Capital and the Soviet Experience)

Loukas Christodoulou (Corporate Watch)

Simon Clarke (University of Warwick, author of Marx, Marginalism and Modern Sociology)

Alejandro Colás (Birkbeck College, co-editor of The War on Terror and American Empire after the Cold War)

Neil Davidson (Open University, author of Discovering the Scottish Revolution 1692-1746)

Alex Demirovic (Universities of Wuppertal, Frankfurt am Main and Bern, author of Modelle kritischer Gesellschaftstheorie)

Gregory Elliott (Edinburgh, author of Althusser: The Detour of Theory)

Roberto Finelli (University of Bari, author of Un parricidio mancato)

Roberto Fineschi (Università degli Studi di Siena, editor of Karl Marx: Rivisitazioni e prospettive)

Alan Freeman (University of Greenwich, co-editor of The New Value Controversy)

Fabio Frosoni (University of Urbino, author of Gramsci e la filosofia)

Peter Gowan (London Metropolitan University, author of The Global Gamble)

Chris Harman (Editor of the journal International Socialism, author of A People's History of the World)

Marta Harnecker (director of the Centro de Investigaciones Memoria Popular Latinoamericana (MEPLA) in Havana, Cuba, author of Making the Impossible Possible: The Left at the Threshold of the XXIst Century)
**Wolfgang Fritz Haug** (Freie Universität Berlin, author of *High-Tech-Kapitalismus. Analysen zu Produktionsweise, Arbeit, Sexualität, Krieg und Hegemonie*, editor of *Das historisch-kritische Wörterbuch des Marxismus*)

**Bob Jessop** (University of Lancaster, author of *The Future of the Capitalist State*).

**Ali Kadri** (American University of Beirut)

**Andrew Kliman** (Pace University, co-editor of *The New Value Controversy and the Foundations of Economics*)

**Juha Koivisto** (University of Helsinki, author of *Unruly Subjects*)

**Michael R. Krätke** (University of Amsterdam, author of *Geschichte der Weltwirtschaft*)

**Michael Kustow** (theatre producer and writer, author of *theatre@risk*)

**Rocco Lacorte** (University of Chicago, co-editor of a forthcoming anthology on Gramsci, Language and Translation)

**Miko Lahtinen** (University of Tampere, author of *Niccolò Machiavelli ja aleatorinen materialismi. Louis Althusser ja Machiavellin konjunktuurit / Niccolo Machiavelli and aleatory materialism. Louis Althusser and Machiavelli's conjunctures*)

**Michael Lebowitz** (Professor Emeritus of Economics at Simon Fraser University, author of *Beyond Capital*)

**Colin Leys** (Queen’s University, Canada, author of *Market-Driven Politics*, co-editor, the *Socialist Register*)

**Domenico Losurdo** (University of Urbino, author of *Hegel and the Freedom of the Moderns*)

**David McNally** (York University, Toronto, author of *Bodies of Meaning: Studies on Language, Labor and Liberation*)

**David Miller** (Strathclyde University, editor of *Tell Me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion in the Attack on Iraq*)

**Rastko Mocnik** (University of Ljubljana, author of *How Much Fascism? Essays on post-communist politics*)

**Vittorio Morfino** (University of Milano-Bicocca, author of *Il tempo e l’occasione. L’incontro Spinoza Machiavelli*)

**Oliver Nachtwey** (University of Göttingen, author of *Weltmarkt und Imperialismus. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der klassischen marxistischen Imperialismustheorie*)

**Peter Osborne** (Middlesex University, author of *The Politics of Time*)

**Ozren Pupovac** (Open University, editor of the journal *Prelom*)

**Jason Read** (University of Southern Maine, author of *The Micro-politics of Capital: Marx and the Prehistory of the Present*)

**Jan Rehmann** (Freie Universität Berlin, author of *Postmoderner Links-Nietzscheinismus: Deleuze und Foucault, eine Dekonstruktion*)

**Geert Reuten** (University of Amsterdam, co-author of *Value-Form and the State*)

**Paul Reynolds** (Edge Hill College, co-editor of *Marxism, Intellectuals and Politics*)

**Alfredo Saad-Filho** (SOAS, editor of *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction*)

**Sean Sayers** (University of Kent, author of *Marxism and Human Nature*)
Subir Sinha (SOAS, author of Uncommon Grounds: Rule and Resistance in Rural India, forthcoming)

G. M. Tamás (Central European University, author of On Post-fascism)

Martin Thomas (London, author of Three Traditions? Marxism and the USSR)

Massimiliano Tomba (University of Padova, author of Krise und Kritik bei Bruno Bauer. Kategorien des Politischen im nachhegelschen Denken)

Alberto Toscano (Goldsmiths College, author of The Theatre of Production: Philosophy and Individuation between Kant and Deleuze)

Nick Thoburn (University of Manchester, author of Deleuze, Marx and Politics)

Peter Thomas (University of Amsterdam, author of The Gramscian Moment, forthcoming)

Elisa Van Waeyenberge (SOAS, co-author of Correcting Stiglitz: From Information to Power in the World of Development)

Carlo Vercellone (University of Paris I, editor of La fin du capitalisme industriel?)


Frieder Otto Wolf (Freie Universität Berlin, author of Radikale Philosophie)
DIRECTIONS FOR THE RUSSELL SQUARE CAMPUS (SOAS)

The Russell Square campus (SOAS) is situated to the north east of Russell Square in Central London. It can be accessed by a variety of means (see subway and bus maps):

By Underground/Subway:

The closest station is Russell Square station (C5 on the subway map provided in the program), which can be found on the Piccadilly line. Also within walking distance are

- Euston station (Hammersmith & City, Metropolitan, and Circle Lines)
- Euston Square (Northern and Victoria Lines)
- Goodge Street (Northern Line)
- Tottenham Court Road (Central and Northern Lines)
- Holborn (Central Line)

By Bus:

There are various buses which go through Russell square. From North London (59, 68, 91, 168), West London (7, 91), South London (59, 68, 168), South East London (188). There are a great variety of buses going through the general area of Bloomsbury where the campus is. The best way for finding an efficient route is to consult the Transport for London Journey Planner <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/journeyplanner>. 
General Map of the area around Russell Square