



**Rethinking Rationalities and Irrationalities within the
Times of Crisis and Radical Transformations**

April 5-7, 2024

Kadir Has University, Istanbul

In Association with

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Turkish Social Sciences Association (Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği)

Social Research Foundation (Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı)

Mülkiyeliler Birliği

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HISTORICAL MATERIALISM ISTANBUL 2024

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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

April 5, Friday

13:00-15:00 Registration | **B-Building 4th Floor**

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 Mühdan Sağlam Problems Created by Fossil Fuel Rich Countries Hosting Cop Meetings. 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 Pınar Bedirhanoğlu Rethinking Bourgeois 'Irrationality' via the Modern Republican Form of the Capitalist State Juho Korhonen Nation-State Irrationalities 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 George Souvlis Perry Anderson and Antonio Gramsci: A British Reading of the Gramscian Hegemony 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 Ismi Nikoleta Mathioudaki Behind Closed Doors: Decrypting De Facto Detention Regimes and Crimmigration in Greece 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 John Ringson Agrarian Radical Transformation and the Command Agriculture Policy in Zimbabwe: A Phenomenological Evaluation. 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 Mamed Azizov Post-Soviet Azerbaijan at the crossroads of Imperialism and Capital 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: 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 Salih Soysal Critics of Neoliberal Authoritarianism: Revisiting Poulantzas' Authoritarian Statism and Beyond Şebnem Oğuz Revisiting Current Marxist Debates on Contemporary Fascism: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis</p> <p>Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel</p>
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<p>B518 Marxism and Technology: “Material Weapon”</p> <p>Lea Kuhar Uncovering the Real: A Critical Exploration of the Meeting Point Between Marxism and Psychoanalysis Eleonora Antonakaki Giannisi Indifference in an Economy of Technological Substitutions Pierre Schwarzer Artificial Intelligence and the Crisis of Meaning</p> <p>Chair: Paul Reynolds</p>	<p>B516 On Western Marxism II</p> <p>Guilhem Mevel The Antinomies of a Revolutionary Legacy: Gramsci and Sartre on the French Revolution Yener Çıracı An Integrated Marxist Class Analysis: Going Beyond the Dualism Kaan Kangal Friedrich Engels and the Problem of the Beginning of Western Marxism</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	<p>B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism I</p> <p>Felipe Catalani Hatred or Indifference: Günther Anders as a Theorist of Fascism Gregorio Demarchi Spinoza, Marx and Late-Modern Despotism Conrad Hamilton Capitalism’s Foresworn Shadow: Of the Social Formation</p> <p>Chair: Aylin Topal</p>
<p>B312 AKP’s Foreign Aid Policy and the MENA Region</p> <p>Ardahan Özkan Gedikli The Political Economy of Akp’s Foreign Aid: A Regional Assessment of Middle East and North Africa Mehmet Erman Erol Turkey’s Engagement with the Middle East and North Africa: A Critical International Political Economy Perspective Ekin Önşan Political Economy of the Migration in The Mena Region in the Changing Global Order Basri Alp Akıncı Turkish Foreign Aid to Africa Under the Akp Era: From a Gramscian Perspective</p> <p>Chair: Sibel Karadağ</p>	<p>B401 Studies in Political Economy</p> <p>Aykut Örküp Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and Commoner Pirates: Piracy as an Act of Commoning Eren Kozluca The Finite Marxism of Christian Palloix: The Viewpoint of Socialization in Marxian Critique of Political Economy E. Ahmet Tonak, Sungur Savran The Third Great Depression as a Manifestation of the Historic Decline of Capitalism</p> <p>Chair Havva Ezgi Doğru</p>	

18:45-19:30 Cocktail Reception | **B-Building 4th Floor**

19:30-21:30 Plenary | **D-Building Grand Hall**

<p>Neoliberalism: Crises, Imaginaries and Dissent</p> <p>Alfredo Saad Filho Crises in Neoliberalism, Crisis of Neoliberalism, and the Threat of Neoliberal Fascism Demet Şahende Dinler Neoliberalism from Below and Conditions of a Subaltern Hegemony 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>
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<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 Sinan Haskan Unraveling the EU's Core-Periphery Divide and Its Dynamics: A Critical Examination of Economic Disparities and Political Shifts 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: "Immense Accumulation of..."</p> <p>Çağdaş Yalçinkaya Unicorn to Kraken: The Concentration and Centralization of Capital in the Era of Big Tech Baver Yeşilyurt, Volkan Ahıskalı, Ekin Bal Competition-Technical Change-Profit Rates Nexus: A Critical Realist-Marxian-Oriented Simulation Antonis Faras, Zamil Kampa Crite-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 Rosa Luxemburg and Ancient Slavery in The Greco-Roman World</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Ian Tewksbury</p>
<p>B402 Progress and Development: Latin American Perspectives</p> <p>Katarzyna Bielińska Ideas of Progress and Development and Their Critiques in Their Diversity Karolina Kulpa Gender and Development: Latin American Perspectives 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 Luis Andueza Notes on Climate, Late Neoliberalism, and the Hydropolitics of Crisis in Chile 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 Ali Rıza Bayrak, Fitnat Cimsit Framing Urban Crime: Video Essay Approach to Visualizing Crime Against the City Sinem Yildiz The Effect of Local Governments on Public Space Through Spatial Interventions: The Case of Beyazit Square Pınar Demircan Neoliberal Dilemma of Urban Defense Under Akp: The Case of Sinop Nuclear Project</p> <p>Chair: Havva Ezgi Doğru</p>
<p>B311 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Revisiting Historical Antifascism</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: TBC</p>	<p>B401 Critical Political Economy IV: Financialisation and Modelling Political Economy</p> <p>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 Gizem Armutçu Tax Reliefs to Wage Earners: Comparative Case Studies</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	

<p>B401 Animal Exploitation and Capitalism</p> <p>Raisa Pina Development for Whom? The Global Meat Industry, Elite Wages and Social Inequality in Brazil</p> <p>Troy Vettese Three Cages: Animal Domestication, the Rise of Civilization, and the Next Capitalist Pandemic</p> <p>Öykü Şafak Çubukçu Going Plant-Based and Anti-Capitalism</p> <p>Chair: Ecehan Balta</p>	<p>B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Neoliberalism and Fascism in Eastern Europe</p> <p>Gavin Rae Disguised Workers: The Transformation of Labour and the Myth of Entrepreneurship In 'Post-Socialist' Polish Capitalism</p> <p>Magdalena Gawin On the Trail of Contemporary Fascism in Poland. Between the Right and Neoliberalism</p> <p>Gábor Erlich The Struggle Against the 'Illiberal Professional-Managerial Class' via Reclaiming Gramsci et al. In the East-Central European Semi Peripheries</p> <p>Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel</p>	<p>B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: The Frankfurt School</p> <p>Yasmin Afshar Class or Racket? On Adorno's Conception of Class Theory in The Late 1960s"</p> <p>Sara Minelli The Emergence of the 'Masses', Between Conformism and Collective Political Action.</p> <p>Renata Guerra Reflections On Dialectics in Adorno and Horkheimer's Discussion Protocols of the Late 1930s and Early 1940s</p> <p>Chris Wortman Education at the Encounter Between Dewey and the Frankfurt School: The Crisis of Capitalist Schooling as Crisis of Instrumental Reason</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>
<p>B516 Marxism and Islam: Political Economy, Culture, and the Crisis In 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 Altınörs The Political Economy of Islamic Neoliberalism</p> <p>Deniz Parlak Islamic Capital's Struggle for Cultural Hegemony: Modern/VIP Mosques</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 Mierop-AI Bahrani Value in Time and Time as Value: Accounting for the History of Slavery</p> <p>Chair: Barış Alp Özden</p>
<p>B518 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>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

<p>B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture: Marxian Critiques of Capitalist Agri-Food Systems</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Cemil Yıldızcan</p>	<p>B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism II</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Şebnem Oğuz</p>	<p>B518 Gender and Sexuality: Social Reproduction I</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Paul Reynolds</p>
<p>B516 Marxism and Technology: Critical Inquiries</p> <p>Henry Halpin Artificial Intelligence and Real Abstraction Sayan Bhattacharyya Transforming Epistemic Invisibility in Networked Cognitive Capitalism Through Probabilistic Metadata 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 Ozren Pupovac Althusser's Politics of Structure Vladimir Rizov On the Unevenness of Origins: Historical Materialism According to Louis Althusser and Walter Benjamin 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 wants to be put in a later session, arrives late</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	<p>B409 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: 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 Giorgos Velegrakis From Austerity to Privatizations and Vice-Versa: Some Thought on the Crisis-Driven Environmental Conflicts in Greece Alexandros Minotakis Monopolies and New Forms of Media-State Convergences in the Greek Media System Antonis Faras Navigating Through Stormy Seas: Economic Inequality, Political Narratives, and the Quest for Alternatives in Greece</p> <p>Chair: Aylin Topal</p>

14.00-15.45 Session 5 (cont.)

<p>B311 The Crisis in Historical Materialism Sponsored by the Institute for the Radical Imagination</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Cihan Özpınar</p>	<p>B401 Decolonial Politics in European Peripheries: Redefining Progressiveness, Coloniality and Transition Efforts</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Pınar Bedirhanoğlu</p>
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16:15-18.00 Session 6

<p>B402 Ecology, Food, and Agriculture Critical Readings in/on the Anthropocene</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Selma Değirmenci</p>	<p>B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Marxism, Fascism and Authoritarianism – The Greek Case II</p> <p>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 and Angelos Kontogiannis Mandros The Eurozone Crisis and Public Attitudes Towards the EU During The 2010s: Evidence From Greece.</p> <p>Chair: TBC</p>	<p>B312 Gender and Sexuality: Marxist Feminist Politics</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Coşku Çelik</p>
<p>B518 Marxism, AI and Digital Commons</p> <p>Özgür Narin "All That is Solid Melts into Air" and Then Condensed Into Data Paul Reynolds Technological Power and the Culture of Inertia in Late Capitalism 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 Demirer The Intellectual Legacy of Marxism in Turkey: Contemporary Challenges and Developments Hakkı Özdal Evrensel Newspaper: An Experience in Daily Marxist Publication for the Working Class Cemran Öder Left and Independent Publishing Field in Turkey in the Context of Intellectual Capital 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 Berkay Ayhan, Ahmet Ulcay Politics of Household Indebtedness in Turkey Havva Ezgi Doğru Governing University Youth Population through Authoritarian Debtfarism</p> <p>Chair: Ecehan Balta</p>

16:15-18:00 Session 6 (cont.)

B409 Nature of the Crisis in the Turkish Political Economy Cem Oyvat, Hasan Cömert Currency Shocks and Profit Inflation Under an Authoritarian Regime: Rising Inequality in Turkey Gizem Şimşek The Irrationality of “Returning to Rational Policies” in Türkiye: Crisis and Postponement Mechanisms Ekin Değirmenci, Ozan Mutlu Is There an Overaccumulation Crisis in Turkey? Analysis of Profit Rates and Real Mass of Profits Chair: Aylin Topal	B311 Critical Political Economy Crisis Dynamics Ken Kawashima Japanese Fascism and Uno Kozo's Theory of Crisis Aslıhan Aykaç Towards A Post-Capitalist Political Economy: An Epistemological Exercise Thais Hoshika Stageist Approach and Systematic Dialectics: A Dialogue Between History, Necessity and Political Authoritarianism Chair: Mehmet Türkay
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18.30-20:30 Plenary | **D-Building 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

<p>B409 Futurology</p> <p>Alan Díaz Alva From Blank Futurism To (Neo)Reactionary Modernism: The Conflicting Historical Temporalities of Contemporary Futurology</p> <p>Richard Hames Towards a Critical Collapsology</p> <p>Sezgin Boynik Ilya Zdanevich's Futurist Vision of Red İstanbul</p> <p>Chair: Cihan Özpınar</p>	<p>B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Law, Emergency, And Policing I</p> <p>Ezgi Duman As an Instrument of Right-Wing Authoritarian Populism "Enemy Criminal Law"</p> <p>Taşkın Toprak İpek Reflections on Transnational Policing: The Case of 2022 World Cup</p> <p>Bektaş Deneri Watchmen in the Context of the Authoritarian Politics of the Regime and Policing Strategies in Turkey"</p> <p>Chair: Ali Yalçın Göymen</p>	<p>B312 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Debating "Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism" and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case I</p> <p>Özgür Üşenmez Comparison of Two Nationalist Fronts in Turkey: 1970s to 2020s</p> <p>Deniz Durdu Akp's Political Strategies and the Risk of Fascism: An Analysis From a Gramscian Perspective</p> <p>Mert Büyükkarabacak The Transformation of Political Islam: From Neoliberal Authoritarianism to Neofascism</p> <p>Chair: Berkay Ayhan</p>
<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>Chair: Fuat Ercan</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 /Paper TBC</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>Ekınsu 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>	

B522 Forum: Academic Freedom Quo Vadis?

Özgür Narin
Deniz Parlak

13:00-14:45 Session 8

<p>B522 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Debating “Neoliberal Authoritarian Populism” and/or Fascism: The Turkish Case II</p> <p>Bora Erdağı, Bartu Şanlı Walter Benjamin, Signs of Everyday Life and the Massification of Society Fırat Çoban Far-Right Politics as the Emergency Apparatus of The Establishment: Palace Regime, Victory Party and Refugees Aslı Yılmaz Uçar A Critical Analysis of Bureaucratic Tutelage Discourse of Akp in Turkey: The Role of Bureaucracy as a Veto Player</p> <p>Chair: Berkay Ayhan</p>	<p>B312 Critical Political Economy World Economy/Crisis</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Cihan Ozpınar</p>	<p>B401 Revisiting Marxist Theories of Fascism and Authoritarianism: Law, Emergency, and Policing II</p> <p>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</p> <p>Chair: Saygun Gökarıksel</p>
<p>B518 Socialist Visions</p> <p>Kaveh Boveiri On the Actuality of Socialism - The Sketch of an Alternative Reading Metehan Cömert Transcending Capitalism With Small Yet Radical Steps: Towards a Liberation in the Imaginary Jonas Grahn Concrete Universality and the Race/Class Problematic: Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, and the Dialectic of Power and Revolution 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 Dario Cositore Post-Marxist and Bourgeois ‘Left’ Characteristics: The Unravelling of Marxist State Theory Teddy Paikin Liberalism Against the Fiscal-Military State: The Nature of Capitalist Ideology in Open and Political Marxism 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 Ksenia Arapko Notes on Karl Marx’s Legal Education (1835–1839) 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 Deniz Ay Care-Full Municipalisms to Mitigate the Social Reproduction Crisis at the Urban Scale 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 M. Şafak Sağlam Neoliberal Transformation and Class Struggles in the Akp Era 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: 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 Parmaksiz 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>Yagmur Ali Coşkun The Doctor and the Teacher, or, the Case for a Marxian Theory of Abrahamic Religions</p> <p>Sezgin Boynik, Tefvik Rada Sosyalist Fecri: Muslim Voice of Yugoslav Communist Party</p> <p>Chair: Cihan Özpınar/Deniz Parlak</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>Dionysios Skliris The Actuality of the Notion of Revolution</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>Maria Karazanou Participatory Theatre as a Common Space for Intercultural Dialogue: A Creative Encounter Among Students and Young Prisoners in a Greek Prison</p> <p>Chair: TBC</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>
<p>B518 Gender and Sexuality: Love and Other Fantasies</p> <p>Lewis George Bloodworth Love as Capital: Reflections on Eva Illouz’s Concept of Scopic Capitalism in the Realm of Dating Apps</p> <p>Tilbe Akan Right to Be Unhappy? A Marxist-Feminist Approach to the Understanding of Capitalist Happiness</p> <p>Chair/Discussant: Paul Reynolds Reflections – What Can Marxists Say About Love and Happiness?</p>		

7:30-19:30 Closing Plenary | D-Building Grand Hall

<p>Marxist Theory of Revolution and Strategy</p> <p>Kevin B. Anderson Marx’s Late Writings: Theories of Revolutionary Change and of Alternatives to Capitalism</p> <p>Ali Yalçın Göymen From the Common to the Commune: Thinking the Political Form of the Communist Movement in the 21st Century</p> <p>Ayça Çubukçu After Negri: Rethinking the Politics of Assembly</p> <p>Paul Reynolds Between the Strategic Limitations to Reform Parties and the Strategic Problems of Transformative Parties: A Conceptual Exercising of Some Thoughts</p> <p>Chair: Aylin Topal</p>

REGISTRATION

Here is the information on how to register for Historical Materialism Istanbul 2024:

Please note that we won't implement early registration. Once you confirm your attendance by 1st March, you can register online before the Conference or complete your registration at the desk.

The conference fees are:

	Global North	Global South	Turkey
Full-waged	125\$	60\$	400TL
Low-waged	75\$	35\$	100TL
Unwaged	25\$	10\$	Gratis

Bank Accounts:

Account Name: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği

USD Account

TR19 0006 4000 0024 2990 0000 71 | BIC/SWIFT: ISBKTRIS(XXX)

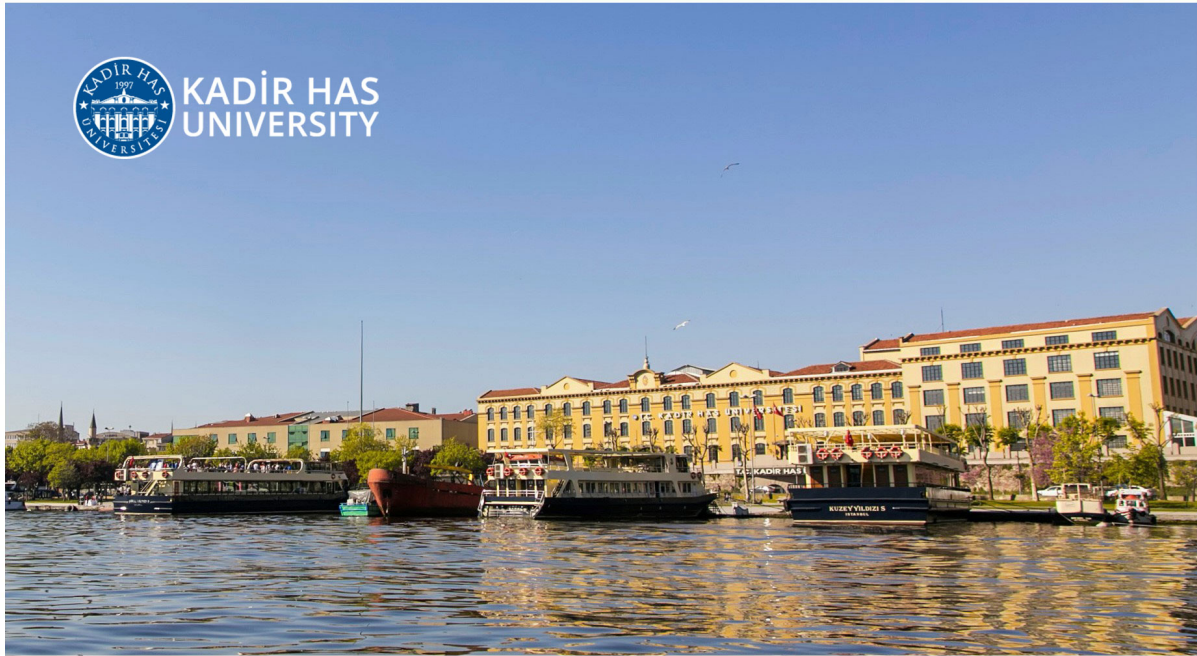
Explanation: While giving the transaction order, **please indicate your name and add “Solidarity Contribution” following your name.**

Turkish Lira Account

TR64 0006 4000 0014 2990 0046 01

Açıklama: İşlem talimatı verirken **lütfen adınızı belirtin ve adınızdan sonra “Dayanışma Katkısı” ifadesini ekleyin.**

EVENT VENUE



VENUE MAP

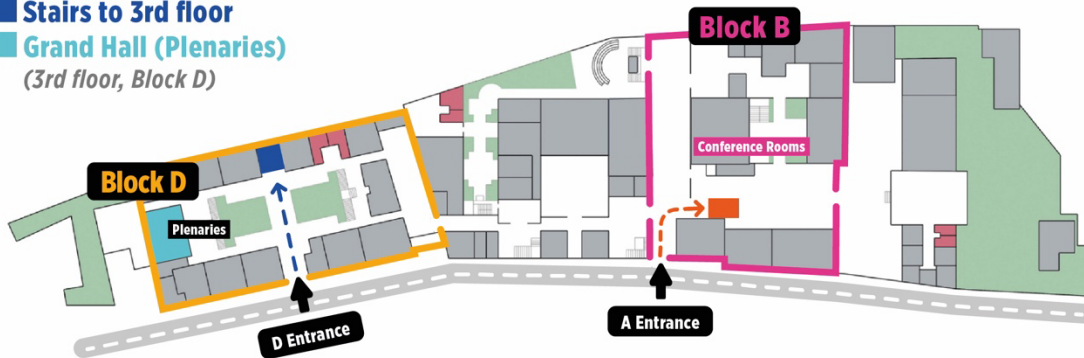
Block B

- Stairs to upper floors
- Conference Rooms
(Upper floors, Block B)

Block D

- Stairs to 3rd floor
- Grand Hall (Plenaries)
(3rd floor, Block D)

HISTORICAL
MATERIALISM
ISTANBUL2024



EVENT VENUE DETAILS

The Historical Materialism Istanbul 2024 Conference will take place in **Buildings B and D** at Kadir Has University.

Building A – Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences

- This building is the biggest hall on campus, connecting **Buildings D** and **B**. Building A has a separate entrance. This is the closest entrance to sessions. It is not wheelchair accessible.

Building B – Faculty of Communication

- This building is where parallel sessions will take place on the second, third, and fourth floors. The registration desk is located on the fourth floor (top floor). Coffee breaks will also be served on the fourth floor of this building. You can take the stairs or the elevator to the session rooms.

Building C – Faculty of Art and Design

- Rezan Has Museum, located on campus, is in this building. Hosting genuine exhibitions and cultural activities since 2007 in the frame of its vigorous museum studies, Rezan Has Museum has become a museum site connecting the past to the future with its Ottoman structure dating back to the 17th century and Byzantine cistern to the 11th century. For more information: <https://www.rhm.org.tr/en/>

Building D – Faculty of Law and Faculty of Engineering

- The plenaries will take place in the Grand Conference Hall, located on the third floor of the building. You can take the stairs or the elevator to this hall. This building has a wheelchair-accessible entrance.

Registration Desk

The registration desk will be located on the fourth floor (top floor) of **Building B**. Registration opens at 13:00 on Friday. Please visit the registration desk for any questions.

Presentations

Session rooms are equipped with touchpad computers and projectors. HDMI cables will also be available. Please bring a USB memory stick for your presentations.

Lunch and Coffee Breaks

All coffee breaks will be held in **Building B** on the fourth floor (top floor).

The cocktail on the 5th of April (Friday) will also take place on the fourth floor (top floor) of **Building B**.

Lunch will be available at **Building A** on the ground floor. The price of a four-course lunch is **120 TL**. Please note that the lunches are not covered by the conference fees.

Additional Food and Coffee

There are three different food and coffee places in operation during weekdays on the campus: Starbucks (between A & D Buildings), Simitçi Dünyası (D Building), and Espresso Lab (A Building Garden).

Financial

There are two ATMs (Yapı Kredi and Garanti Bankası) located at the ground level of A Building.

Dinner and Night Life Venues in Istanbul

Istanbul has a vibrant city center with plenty of opportunities for dinner and nightlife. Kadir Has University is located at the city center's hub, close to Taksim, Şişhane, Karaköy, and Old City. For larger groups, we recommend making reservations in advance.

Wireless Internet Connection Guide

1. Please choose "KHas-Guest" to connect to network.
2. Please enter your mobile phone number to the screen that will automatically open, in which "Misafir" (Guest) tab is selected. Please remove zero from the number while entering, the number should start with the area code (For visitors who use a foreign mobile phone operator, the number should begin with the country code, followed by the area code. They must insert their number without zero or without “+” in the beginning.)
3. Please click on "Şifre al/Kaydol" (Get password) button.
4. Please insert the password received by the mobile phone and approve the internet usage agreement.
5. Please click on "Giriş" (Login) button.

In order for visitors using a foreign mobile phone operator to get password, visitors must make sure that roaming for audio and SMS is turned on. In the event, the web browser is not automatically opened, the same screen for entering the password can be reached by manually opening the web browser and entering the following address:
<http://www.khas.edu.tr>

ACCOMMODATION

The following is a list of suggested hotels. HM is not in charge of accommodation booking. We kindly advise you to book directly with hotels.

Nippon Hotel <https://www.nipponhotel.com.tr/> | [Location](#)

Cartoon Hotel <https://www.cartoonhotel.com/> | [Location](#)

Gezi Hotel Bosphorus <https://www.gezibosphorus.com/> | [Location](#)

The Marmara Pera <https://www.themarmarahotels.com/pera> | [Location](#)

The Marmara Taksim <https://www.themarmarahotels.com/tr/taksim> | [Location](#)

Troya Hotel Balat <https://troyahotelbalat.com/> | [Location](#)

The Pera Hotel <https://www.theperahotel.com/> | [Location](#)

DIRECTIONS

On your arrival in Istanbul, you may purchase the **IstanbulCard**, which is essential for public transportation in the city, except for HavalST and Havabus, the shuttle buses used between Istanbul Airport and Sabiha Gökçen Airport and the city center.

Below are the ticket prices for IstanbulCard's unlimited city pass. The IstanbulCard app is also available to download on AppStore and PlayStore. For more information: <https://www.istanbulkart.istanbul/OurCards>

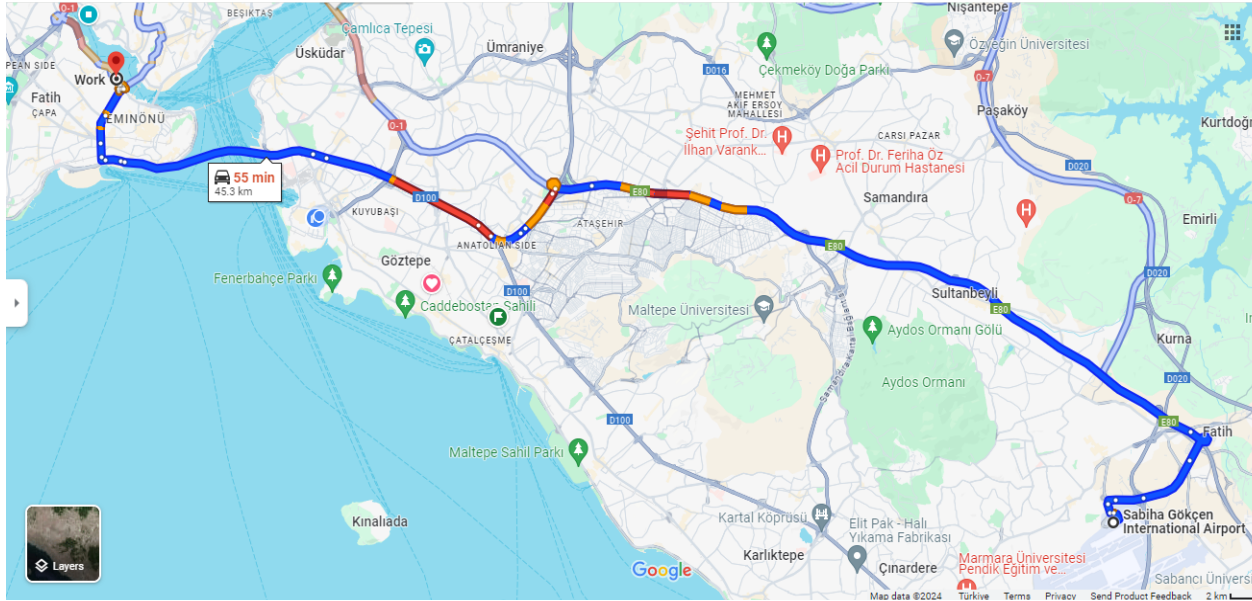
Istanbul City Card Fee Table

Card Type	Pass Fee	+ Museum and Bosphorus Tour
1 Day Unlimited Pass	₺345	₺1910
3 Days Unlimited Pass	₺680	₺2245
5 Days Unlimited Pass	₺1350	₺2915
7 Days Unlimited Pass	₺1735	₺3300
15 Days Unlimited Pass	₺2610	₺4175
<i>Bosphorus Tour and Museums</i>	-	₺1635

Arriving at Kadir Has University from the Sabiha Gökçen Airport (SAW) (on the Anatolian Continent)

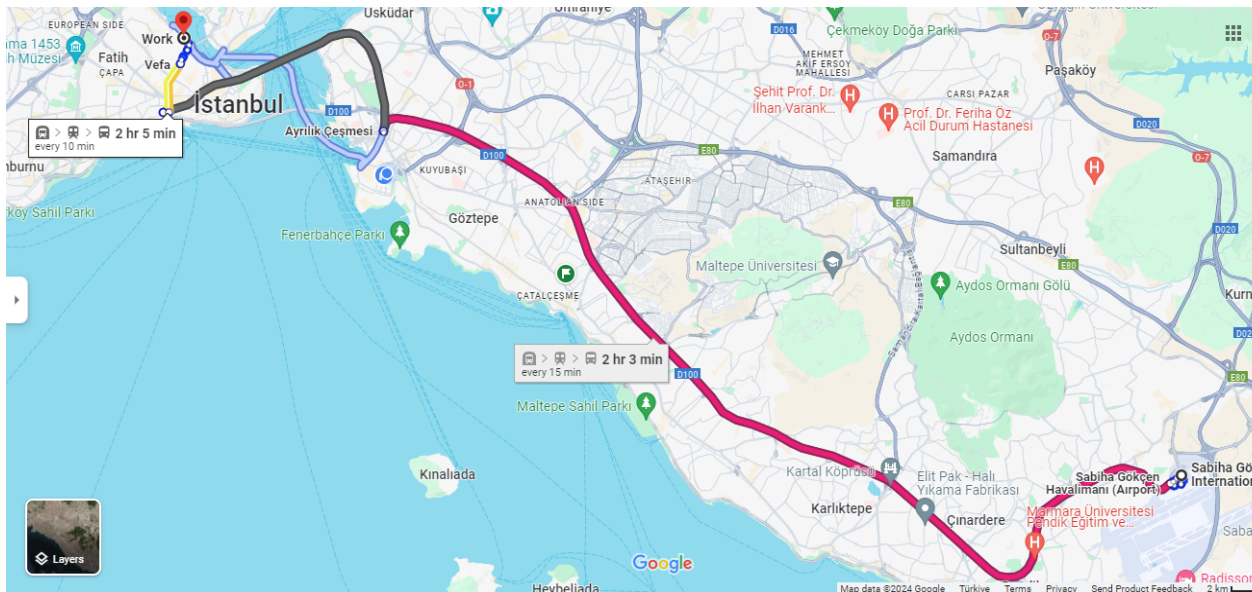
Kadir Has University is 44 km from the Sabiha Gökçen Airport, and total use will cost approximately 1000-1500 TL when Eurasia (Avrasya) Tunnel is used. The trip will take about one hour by taxi.

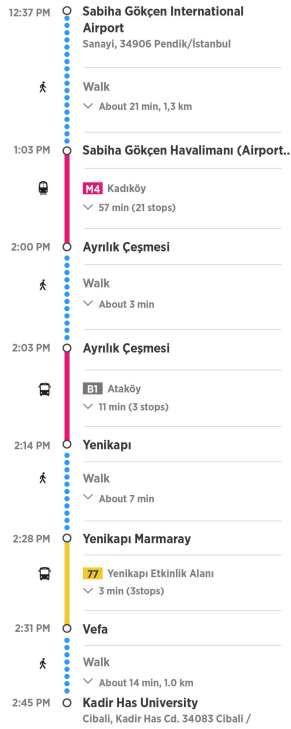
Map 1. From Sabiha Gökçen Airport to Kadir Has University by Taxi



Map 2. From Sabiha Gökçen Airport to Kadir Has University by Public Transportation

There are four different ways to get to Kadir Has University by using public transportation.





1) M4 metro line – Marmaray – IETT bus lines

The recommended way of using public transport from the Sabiha Gökçen Airport to Kadir Has University is to take the M4 metro line towards Kadıköy and depart at Ayrılıkçeşmesi. Then, you can transfer to Marmaray towards the Halkalı direction and take off at Yenikapı. From Yenikapı, you can take the IETT bus numbered “77” and take off at the “Vefa” station.

2) E-3 IETT bus line – M2 metro line- T5 tram line

After landing at Sabiha Gökçen airport, you can walk about 80 meters to the airport’s (Platform Direction) bus stop. You can take the E-3 bus to 11 stops and leave in 4. Levent stop. After that, you can use the M2 metro line (Yenikapı direction) and get off at the Haliç stop. Finally, after walking the Haliç Bridge towards Eminönü, take the T5 tram from Küçükpazar stop to Cibali (Otogar direction). The whole route will take approximately 1h 19m.

3) HAVABUS - M2 metro line -T5 tram line (recommended)

After landing at the airport, white Havabus shuttles are parked in front of terminal exits on the arrival floor. You can use Havabus to go to Taksim Avenue. The road takes approximately 1.5 hours, and this period may vary according to the traffic density. The last stop for Taksim is the Divan Hotel. After arriving in Taksim, you can use the M2 metro line (Yenikapı direction).

After 3 stops, get off at Haliç Stop. Finally, after walking the Haliç Bridge towards Eminönü, take the T5 tram from Küçükpazar stop to Cibali (Otogar direction).

**Havabus service hours are given below, which may be subject to change. For more information, please visit: <https://www.havabus.com/>*

Departure hour for Taksim Airport - Sabiha Gökçen;

03:30	04:00	04:30
05:00	05:30	06:00
06:30	07:00	07:30
08:00	08:30	09:00
09:30	10:00	10:30
11:00	11:30	12:00
12:30	13:00	13:30
14:00	14:30	15:00
15:30	16:00	16:30
17:00	17:30	18:00
18:30	19:00	19:30
20:00	20:30	21:00
21:30	22:00	

Departure hour for Sabiha Gökçen Airport - Taksim;

06:30	07:00	07:30
08:00	08:30	09:00
09:30	10:00	10:30
11:00	11:30	12:00
12:30	13:00	13:30
14:00	14:30	15:00
15:30	16:00	16:30
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21:30	22:00	22:30
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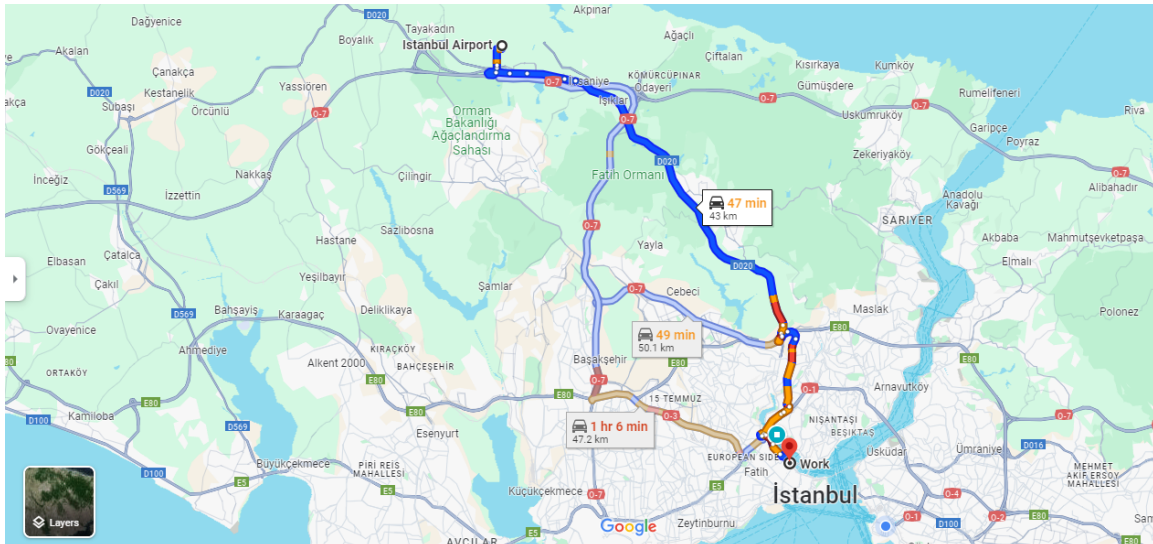
4) Walk - M4 Metro line - Kadıköy Ferry - T5 tram line

After landing at Sabiha Gökçen Airport, walk for 1.3 kilometers (about 21m) and get into the M4 Kadıköy metro line. Use the metro for 22 stops and get off at the Kadıköy station. After getting to Kadıköy station, walk to the Kadıköy Ferry Port. Get in Kadıköy-Eminönü Ferry Line. Get off at the Eminönü port and walk for about a minute. Use the T5 tram line (Otogar direction), and after 2 stops, get off the tram at the Cibali station.

Arriving at Kadir Has University from the Istanbul Airport (IST) (on the European Continent)

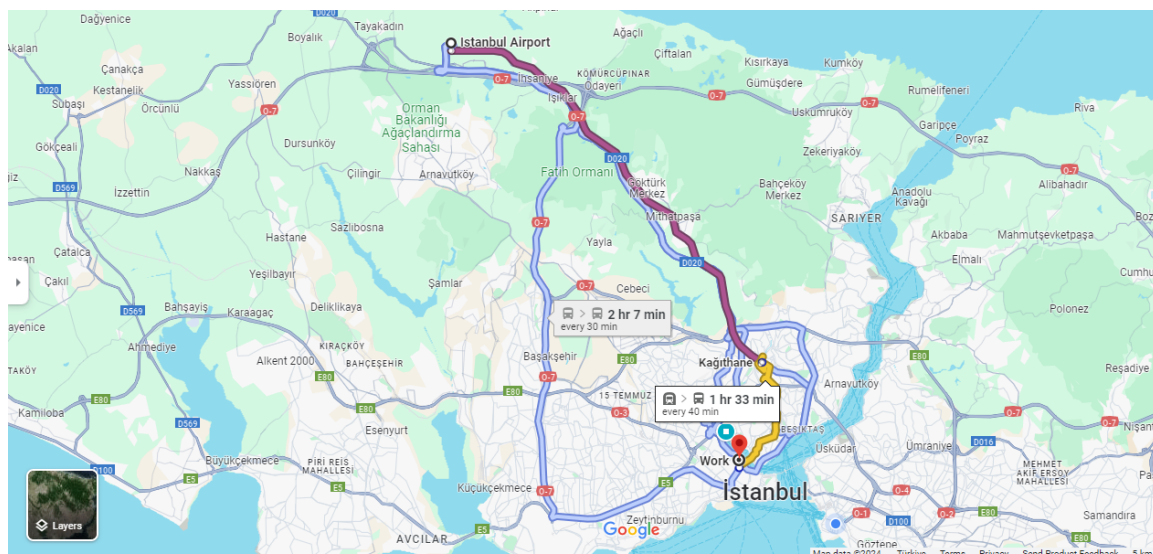
Kadir Has University is 43 km away from Istanbul Airport, and the total use will cost approximately 800-900 TL, and the trip will take about one hour by taxi.

Map 1. From Istanbul Airport to Kadir Has University by Taxi



Map 2. From Istanbul Airport to Kadir Has University by Public Transportation

There are two convenient ways to get to Kadir Has University by taking public transportation.



1) HAVAIST – M2 metro line - T5 tram line (recommended)

After landing at Istanbul Airport, HavalST shuttles are parked in front of terminal exits on the arrival floor. You can use HavalST to go to Taksim Avenue. After arriving in Taksim, you can use the M2 metro line (Yenikapı direction).

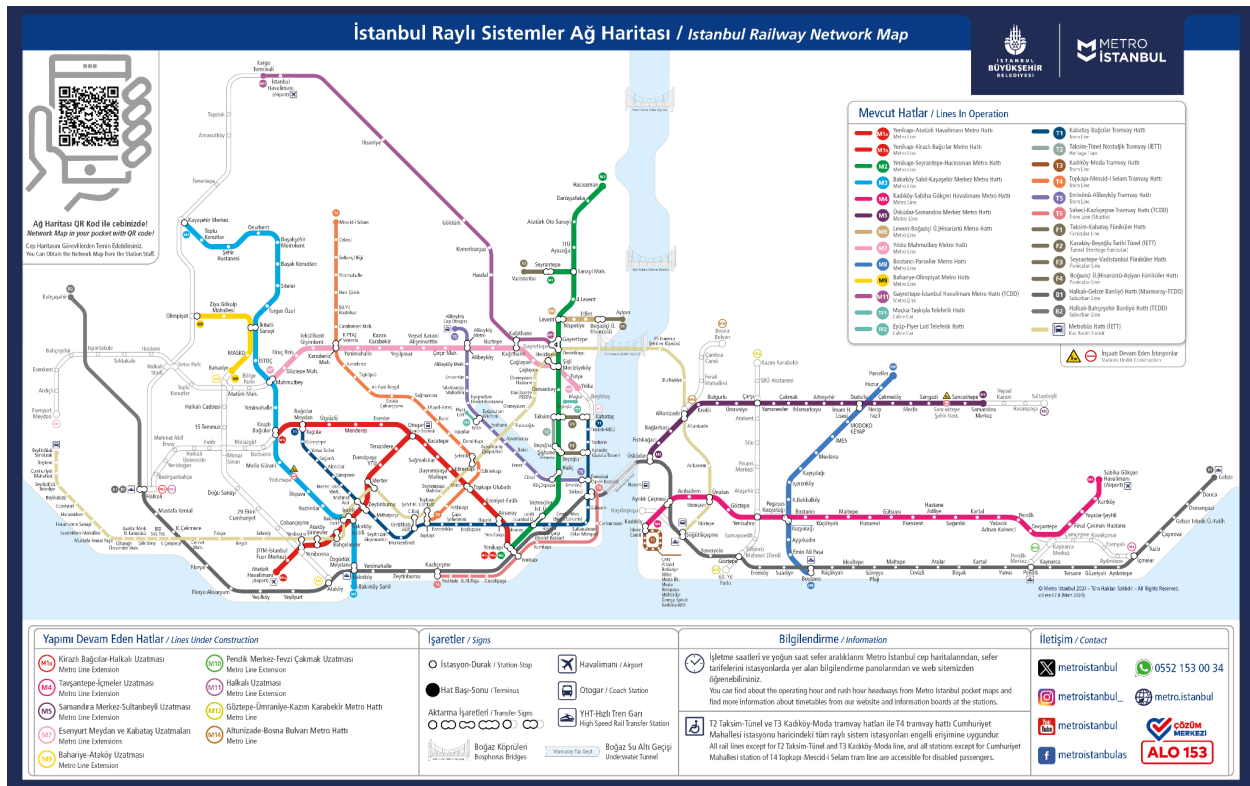
After 3 stops, get off at Haliç Stop. Finally, after walking the Haliç Bridge towards Eminönü, take the T5 tram from Küçükpazar stop to Cibali (Otogar direction).

**The service hours of Havaist are given below and may be subject to change. For more information, please visit: <https://www.hava.ist/sefer-saatleri.php?lang=en>*

2) M11 metro line - M2 metro line - T5 tram line

After landing at Istanbul Airport, walk about 1.5 km. After entering the M11 metro line, go until Gayrettepe stop. At the Gayrettepe stop, transfer to the M2 metro line (Yenikapı direction).

After 3 stops, get off at Haliç Stop. Finally, after walking the Haliç Bridge towards Eminönü, take the T5 tram from Küçükpazar stop to Cibali (Otogar direction).



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Historical Materialism 2024 Istanbul is made possible by the work of following individuals:

Conference Organizing Committee

Elçin Aktoprak, Berkay Ayhan, Ecehan Balta, Coşku Çelik, Ezgi Doğru, Saygun Gökarıksel, Ali Yalçın Göymen, Ali Rıza Güngen, Özgür Narin, Özgür Orhangazi, Cihan Özpınar, Deniz Parlak, Paul Reynolds, Aylin Topal, Galip L. Yalman, Onur Yıldız, Cemil Yıldızcan

Volunteers

Gülener Kırnalı, Çağdaş Yalçınkaya, Ayşe Göç, Mahir Güzelsoy

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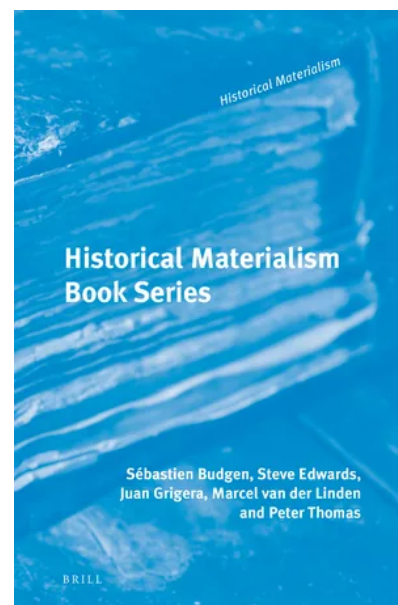
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Historical Materialism is an interdisciplinary journal dedicated to exploring and developing the critical and explanatory potential of Marxist theory. The journal started as a project at the London School of Economics from 1995 to 1998. The advisory editorial board comprises many leading Marxists, including Robert Brenner, Maurice Godelier, Michael Lebowitz, Justin Rosenberg and others.

Marxism has manifested itself in the late 1990s from the pages of the *Financial Times* to new work by Fredric Jameson, Terry Eagleton and David Harvey. Unburdened by pre-1989 ideological baggage, *Historical Materialism* stands at the edge of a vibrant intellectual current, publishing a new generation of Marxist thinkers and scholars.

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